

JERUSALEM PILGRIMS

Before the Crusades

[translated by]

John Wilkinson

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To my mother

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UNITS OF MEASUREMENT

Some of the authors translated below use units of measurement which are nowadays unfamiliar. The following are rough equivalents.

	ENGLISH	METRIC
Finger	$\frac{3}{4}$ - inch	2 cm.
Palm	3 inches	7.25 cm.
Foot	1 foot	30 cm.
Span (<i>orguia</i>)	6 feet	1.8 metres
Sagene	7 feet	2.1 metres
Stade	[600 feet 200 yards]	180 metres
Verst	1166 yards	1066 metres
Mile	1614 yards	1475 metres
Parasang	3.9 miles	6.25 kilometres

Note that ten Roman miles are about the same as nine English miles.

Local variations make it hard to be certain about precise equivalents. But most of our authors aim to provide only approximate indications of length and size.

ABBREVIATIONS

Sources are occasionally indicated by their date rather than by author and title. Thus 358 A.D. 75–385 means the work listed under 358 A.D. in section C of the List of Sources (pp. 546/70 below), section 75, page (or, as in this case, column) 385 in the edition there mentioned, or:

Athanasius, *History of the Arians* 75, *Patrologia Graeca* 25, col. 385.

For an alphabetical list of authors which gives the dates we assign to them see section B of the List of Sources (pp. 542/5 below). The authorities most frequently followed in questions of dating have been J. Quasten, *Patrology*, vols I–III, Utrecht 1950, 1953, 1960, and, particularly for the later works, H. G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, Munich 1959.

AA.SS.	= <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , Antwerp 1643 ff.	CSL	= <i>Corpus Christianorum</i> , series Latina, Turnhout 1953 ff.
AB	= <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , Paris and Brussels 1882 ff.	DACL	= <i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie</i> , ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols, 1907/53.
AL	= <i>The Armenian Lectionary</i> , summary in <i>Eg. Tr.</i> pp. 262/77.	Eg. Tr.	= <i>Egeria's Travels</i> , tr. J. Wilkinson, London 1971.
AMJ	= <i>Antiquities Map of Jordan</i> , three sheets, Amman (1949), Karak and Ma'an (1950).	Eg. (P)	= Peter the Deacon (reproducing passages from Egeria) as suggested in <i>Eg. Tr.</i> pp. 179/210.
Ant.	= <i>Antiquities</i> .	Egger	= U. Holder-Egger (ed.) <i>Vita Sancti Willibaldi</i> in <i>MGH Scriptores XV</i> (pt. 1, 1887) 86/106.
AOL	= <i>Archives de l'Orient Latin</i> , Paris 1884.	EH or HE	= <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> .
Assemani	= J. S. Assemani, <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> , 4 vols, Rome 1719/28.	Finegan	= J. Finegan, <i>The Archaeology of the New Testament</i> , Princeton, N.J. 1969.
b-prefix	= Babylonian version (of a Talmudic tract).	GL	= <i>The Georgian Lectionary</i> translated by M. Tarchnischvili as <i>Le grand Lectionnaire de l'Eglise de Jérusalem</i> , vol. 1 (CSCO 189, <i>Scr. Iber.</i> 10), Louvain 1959.
BA	= <i>Biblical Archaeologist</i> , Cambridge, Mass. 1938 ff.	Guérin	= V. Guérin, <i>Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine</i> , Paris 1868/80: Judée, 3 vols; 1868/9: Samarie, 2 vols, 1874/5: Galilée, 2 vols, 1880.
BASOR	= <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> , Baltimore, Md. 1919 ff.	H.	= Horvah (meaning "ruin").
BHG	= <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , ed. 3 by F. Halkin, vols I–III, Brussels 1957.	HE or EH	= <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> .
BHL	= <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> (<i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i> 6), ed. Socii Bollandiani, 2 vols and supplement, Brussels 1898/1901 and 1911 (= <i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i> 12).	HM	= <i>Schedule of Historical Monuments and Sites</i> , 1944 (<i>Palestine Gazette</i> No. 1375, suppl. 2) London 1944.
Bord	= The Bordeaux Pilgrim: see <i>Eg. Tr.</i> pp. 153/63.	Heb. N.	= Jerome, <i>Book of Hebrew Names</i> .
C-prefix	= <i>Commentary on</i> .	Hennecke	= NTA (see below)
Capt.	= <i>The Capture of Jerusalem</i> , by Stratogius (c. 760 A.D.).	Hg.	= <i>Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt</i> , by J. Jeremias, Göttingen 1958.
CBC	= <i>Corpus of the Byzantine Churches in the Holy Land</i> , by A. Ovadia, Bonn 1970.	HL	= <i>The Lausiac History</i> by Palladius.
CERP	= <i>Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces</i> , by A.H.M. Jones ed. 2, Oxford 1971.	HN	= <i>The Natural History</i> by Pliny
CIG	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> .	HUCA	= <i>The Hebrew Union College Annual</i> , Cincinnati 1924 ff.
CIL	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .	j-prefix	= Jerusalem version (of a Talmudic tract).
CIS	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .	Kenyon DJ	= K. M. Kenyon, <i>Digging up Jerusalem</i> , London 1974.
Couasnon	= Ch. Couasnon, <i>The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem</i> , London 1974.	Kenyon Jer.	= K. M. Kenyon, <i>Jerusalem</i> , London 1967.
CP.	= Constantinople	Kh.	= Khirba (meaning "ruin").
C.P.–G.	= <i>Le Calendrier Palestino-Georgien du Sinaiticus 34</i> (<i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i> 30) by G. Garitte, Brussels 1958.	Kopp	= C. Kopp, <i>The Holy Places of the Gospels</i> (e.t.R.Walls) London 1963.
CSCO	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> , Paris etc., 1903 ff.		
CSEL	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Vienna 1866 ff.		

Kötting	= B. Kötting, <i>Peregrinatio Religiosa: Wallfahrt und Pilgerwesen in Antike und Alter Kirche</i> , Regensburg/Münster Westfalen 1950.	PPTS	= Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society.
LA	= <i>Liber Annus Studii Biblici Franciscani</i> , Jerusalem 1951 ff.	PUM	= <i>Palestine under the Muslims</i> , by G. Le Strange, London 1890, reprinted Beirut 1965.
L. loc.	= Jerome, <i>Book of Places</i> .	QHGen	= <i>Questions on the Hebrew of Genesis</i> by St Jerome.
L. Proph.	= <i>Lives of the Prophets</i> , c. 80 A.D., often ascribed to Epiphanius.	R.B.	= <i>Revue Biblique</i> , Paris 1892 ff.
LS	= <i>Loca Sancta</i> , by P. Thomsen, Leipzig 1907, reprinted Hildesheim 1966.	RCS	= <i>A Revised Catalogue of the Ancient Synagogues of the Holy Land</i> , by S.J. Saller, Jerusalem 1969.
LXX	= Septuagint version.	REJ	= <i>Revue des Etudes Juives</i> , Paris 1880 ff.
M.	= martyr.	Renoux, Codex	= A. Renoux, <i>Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121, Introduction aux origines de la Liturgie hierosolymitaine</i> (PO 35, fasc. 1, No. 163), Turnhout 1969.
MAH	= <i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire</i> , Paris 1883/1970.	RQ	= <i>Römische Quartalschrift für die christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte</i> , Rome 1887 ff.
Meehan	= D. Meehan, <i>Adamnan's "De Locis Sanctis"</i> (<i>Scriptores Latini Hiberniae</i> 3), Dublin 1958.	SEG	= <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , Leiden 1923 ff.
MM	= <i>The Madaba Mosaic Map</i> , by M. Avi-Yonah, Jerusalem 1954.	Stummer, Mon.	= F. Stummer, <i>Monumenta historiam et geographiam Terrae Sanctae illustrantia</i> , (<i>Florilegium Patristicum</i> 41), Bonn 1935.
Molinier-Köhler	= A. Molinier and C. Köhler, <i>Itinera Hierosolymitana</i> , Vol. 2, Paris 1885, reprinted Osnabrück 1966.	SWP	= <i>The Survey of Western Palestine</i> , by C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, 3 vols, London 1881/3.
Mon.	= <i>Monumenta</i> .	Tr.	= <i>Travels</i> .
MP	= "Mosaic Pavements in Palestine", by M. Avi-Yonah, <i>QDAP</i> 2 (1933) pp. 136/81 (Nos. 1/181); 3 (1934) pp. 26/73 (Nos. 182/362); and 4 (1935) pp. 187/93 (Nos. 363/424).	TS	= <i>La Terra Santa</i> .
MRP	= "Map of Roman Palestine", by M. Avi-Yonah, <i>QDAP</i> 5 (1936) 139/93; and second ed. Oxford 1941.	Typ.	= <i>The Typicon of the Anastasis</i> , mid-10th century.
MUJ	= <i>Mélanges de l'Université St-Joseph</i> , Beirut 1906 ff.	V-prefix	= <i>Life of</i> .
NTA	= <i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> , by E. Hennecke (e.t.R. McL. Wilson) 2 vols, London 1963/5.	VA	= L.H. Vincent and F.M. Abel, <i>Jérusalem, Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire</i> , Paris 1912/26.
o.c.	= <i>opus citatum</i> .	WM	= <i>Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures, the Syriac Version</i> , tr. J. E. Dean, Chicago, Ill. 1935.
On.	= <i>Onomasticon</i> .	y-prefix	= Jerusalem version (of a Talmudic tract).
PBV	= <i>Prayer Book Version</i> .	ZDPV	= <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i> , Leipzig 1878 ff.
PD	= Peter the Deacon, <i>On the Holy Places</i> .	ZKT	= <i>Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie</i> , Innsbruck/Vienna 1877 ff.
PG, PL, PQ	= <i>Patrologia Graeca, Latina, Orientalis</i> .	ZNTW	= <i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums</i> , Giessen/Berlin 1900 ff.
PEQ	= <i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i> , London 1868/1936 and its successor, the <i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i> , London 1937 ff.		

PREFACE

This book provides new English translations of eighteen texts dealing with Christian pilgrimage in the Holy Land. They were written between 385 A.D. when Saint Paula arrived for her pilgrimage with Saint Jerome, and 1099 A.D. when the Crusaders captured Jerusalem. I have already collected and translated the earlier texts in *Egeria's Travels* (S.P.C.K. 1971) to which this book stands both as a continuation and, in a number of points, as a corrective.

Almost all our texts have already been translated into English, some by T. Wright in his *Early Travels in Palestine*, published in 1848, and many more in the *Library of the Palestine Pilgrim's Text Society*, which issued its tracts between 1884 and 1899, when they were finally bound together in ten volumes. The impetus for this large collection came largely from Titus Tobler, whose new edition of many of the texts was published in 1879 under the auspices of the Société de l'Orient Latin. But by a sad coincidence in 1898, at the very time when the *Library* was completed, far superior texts of most of the works became available in the Vienna corpus, through the labours of Paul Geyer. Some of his work has still not been surpassed, and is reprinted in the new collection of texts in the Latin series of *Corpus Christianorum*; but most of the texts in this fine edition are provided in new versions.

I am conscious of my good fortune in being able to make my translations on the basis of good editions, and of having access to the results of almost a century of scientific archaeology and map-making. But I have become more conscious still of my debt to the written works of Père F.-M. Abel. Again and again he proves to have been the first to identify the important questions in the documents, and again and again his proposed answers are unquestionably correct.

The reader of this book will need to take account of three points in particular. In the first place the Holy Land contains several different places which have the same Arabic names, and most sites have a modern Hebrew name as well as one in Arabic. To indicate a place simply by a name is thus very often confusing, and to avoid this confusion I have usually given with each name a map reference to the Palestine Grid. These references each consist in six or more figures which form two groups. The place to which they refer will be found in the square of which the left hand side corresponds with the first group of figures and the bottom with the second. The grid is shown on Map 3, and numbers belonging to it have been included in the margins of Map 11, and of subsequent maps showing the Holy Land.

Secondly, since I have need to refer often to works with long titles by patristic and medieval authors I have had to do all I can to record the references in as brief a form as possible. So I have reduced each one to two elements: the first identifies the work, chapter, and section, and the second records the page number in the edition quoted, which is the one mentioned in the List of Sources below. These two elements are joined by a dash.

A work may be identified in one of our references either by its author or the year in which it was published, but most of our references to authors of the Latin Kingdom are by date rather than name. Where a page reference is given in the form "— p. 157" it usually refers to a page in the present book, but when it is found in the form "— 157" it usually refers to some other work.

Thirdly, in order to reduce the number of footnotes to the translations, and to avoid repetition, I have consolidated all notes dealing with topography in the Gazetteer. For these notes the only reference-system is the place-names themselves.

A complete Gazetteer of Byzantine Palestine and Arabia is needed, but I have not tried to provide it here. It would contain a good many military and monastic sites which I have deliberately omitted, since they are not mentioned by pilgrims. I also deliberately omit almost all the expressions of doubt I might have voiced about the pilgrims' descriptions of the things and places they were shown. Too many were not authentic for it to be worth drawing attention to the fact in each possible case.

Many friends and scholars have given me help. Among them I am specially grateful to the Revd Harold Nahabedian, who translated the Armenian texts, and to Father F. L. Lemoine, who translated the Syriac. I am also greatly indebted to Canon Edward Every, who has generously shared with me his expert knowledge of ecclesiastical Greek and of the Holy Land both during the writing of this book and for long before. I should also like to record my gratitude to Dr Dan Barag, Giles Barber, Esq, Dr. Andreas Bauch, Father Pierre Benoit O.P., The Revd Christian Braw, Dr Magen Broshi, The Very Revd Henry Chadwick, Mrs Rafiq Farah, Dom Jean Gribomont O.S.B., Father Charles Cousanon O.P., Dr Patrick Henry, Professor George Kilpatrick, Professor Dr Siegfried Mittmann, Dr. Hugh Plummer, Professor Dr Emilio Saez, Dr. R. W. Southern, Yoram Tsafrir, Esq, and Archibald Walls, Esq.

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I much appreciate the kindnesses and technical help given me by Mr. Issa and Miss Beatrice Habesch, and by Yusif Khoury, Esq. Mrs Na'man Assad has given most generously of her time and skill in typing the manuscript, the Revd Ted Todd has provided understanding and imaginative support, and to both of them I am more grateful than I can say, as of course I am to my wife Alix.

Jerusalem, Christmas 1974

JOHN WILKINSON

A SURVEY OF THE SOURCES

Thousands of pilgrims had already come to the Holy Land before the arrival of the Crusaders, but very few wrote about their experiences. This chapter introduces the main documents on pilgrimage written between 385 and 1009 A.D., and translated later in this book,¹ and mentions some of the other books and events which contribute to our understanding of pilgrims before the Crusades.²

The first Christian to write down his account of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in any detail came from Bordeaux in 333 A.D., and the next was a lady who came half a century later and spent three years in the Holy Land. Her name was Egeria and it seems likely that she came from somewhere else on the Atlantic coast, possibly Galicia.³ The series of translations presented in this book starts with the description of a pilgrimage by a Roman noblewoman named Paula, who came to Jerusalem in the year 385 A.D., and ends with an account of the visit of a certain Lethbald from Burgundy in 1033 A.D.

The direct sources for pilgrimage during this period are surprisingly few. From the seven hundred years with which we are concerned, we have less than half as many texts as were written in the following century, when the Holy Land was part of the Latin Kingdom. One third of the texts here translated were written in the sixth century, whereas we have no detailed accounts of pilgrimage from the tenth or eleventh centuries. We can of course gain some useful information about pilgrimage from books and pamphlets concerned with other subjects, such as letters, sermons, or handbooks on biblical interpretation or liturgy, especially when they were written in the Holy Land, and a few extracts from these are translated below. But there are serious gaps in our knowledge.

Nine of the eighteen works translated fall neatly into three types: thus three are first-hand accounts by people who have made the pilgrimage themselves, the pilgrim from Piacenza, the priest Jacinthus, and Bernard the Monk. Sophronius, since he writes in poetry, tends to idealise the pilgrimage he is imagining, and Jerome, though he himself accompanied Paula on her pilgrimage sets out to describe her reactions rather than his own.⁴ Three more of our authors describe pilgrimage made by others, namely Dicuil, who is brief and matter-of-fact, Adomnan who adds a good deal to what Arculf told him, and Hucburt who causes confusion by her determined efforts to embroider Willibald's style. We also have three guide-books: both the *Breviarium* and Theodosius' *Topography of the Holy Land* belong to the early years of the sixth century, and the first version of Epiphanius the Monk's *Account of the Holy City* is likely to have been written in the mid-seventh century, or at about the same time that Arculf was visiting the Holy Land. Each of these guide-books shows how this type of book comes to be expanded or revised, and from the *Account* we learn how influential a guide-book can be.

Saint Jerome

Before St. Jerome won the favour of Pope Damasus in Rome he had spent some time in the desert of Chalcis (Kinnasra in N. Syria) to consider whether he might be called to be a monk. In 385 A.D. Damasus had been dead a year, and Jerome, then in his early forties, finally decided to adopt the monastic life and to leave Rome for good. He left for the East in August, and in the autumn went to Antioch to meet two noblewomen from Rome, a mother and her daughter, who had also resolved to come to the East and to spend the rest of their lives there as nuns. Their names were Paula and Eustochium, and they had already been his friends and pupils in Rome.

From Antioch the three started out on a pilgrimage which Jerome described in two of his letters. The former, written in 392/3 A.D., six years after the pilgrimage, is *Letter 46*, addressed to another Roman noblewoman Marcella, and invites her to come on pilgrimage. On the basis of his personal experience of the journey Jerome enthusiastically describes to Marcella the discoveries she will make when she comes to the holy places. But he does not enter into great detail, and what he says in this letter he repeats in 404 A.D. in a fuller form and with many important additions in *Letter 108*, his obituary of Paula.⁵

Letter 108 contains a long passage (translated below, on pp. 47/52) describing the pilgrimage he had made with Paula nineteen years before.

In writing this letter Jerome was looking back over a long period, and his object was not so much to provide an accurate topographical guide ("I have not set out to write a travel book about her"⁶) as to show his readers Paula's

1. For a list of these works see p. 45 below.
2. For a chronological list of the source material see below pp. 212/16, and for the method of reference to them p. viii.
3. Their descriptions of the Holy Land are translated by the present author in *Egeria's Travels*, London, 1971.
4. Jerome's use of "I" instead of "she" in 12.14 — pp. 50, 52 below seems to be nothing more than a variation in style, and introduces nothing noticeably personal.
5. Paula died, according to the *Letter*, on 26 January, 404 A.D., and Jerome seems to have written the obituary without delay: see F. Cavallera, *St. Jérôme, sa Vie et son Œuvre*, vol. I, Louvain 1922, p. 59.
6. See 8.1 — p. 47 below.

reactions. So we should be ready for some vagueness in matters of detail. Indeed this pilgrimage was probably the only major excursion made by Jerome amongst the biblical sites, despite the fact that they formed the subject matter of so much of his writing.⁷

Jerome's main interests as well as his habits of thought had crystallised in the years since the pilgrimage. Indeed he had translated the whole Bible and written seven of his commentaries by the time Paula died, and his approach to pilgrimage in the *Letter* is almost identical with his approach to the biblical text in his commentaries. He seeks the spiritual sense of the biblical places by proposing an etymology of their names,⁸ and thus, rather than literally writing about Paula's physical or geographical movements, he often tries to bring out the inner meaning of her visits to the Holy Places.

The etymology identifies for each name a supposedly original meaning, which Jerome may⁹ or may not¹⁰ develop further. Sometimes the etymology itself is prophetic, like the names Benoni and Benjamin¹¹ but as often as not Jerome takes the etymological meaning as linked with some other prophecy and its fulfilment.¹² In this way (stilted as it must seem to the modern reader) Jerome seeks to present Paula's pilgrimage not as an ordinary utilitarian journey, but as a progress itself significant because it is set among significant places. Indeed they mean so much that Paula herself in her pilgrimage was occasionally acting out a prophecy by choosing one place and avoiding another.¹³

To treat a pilgrimage in this way was a *tour-de-force* probably much admired by Jerome's contemporaries. Topographically however the *Letter* is at times confusing. So when Jerome tells us that Paula did not wish to visit Kiriath-sepher he instantly exploits the meaning of the name, but leaves us uncertain whether he was speaking of a place he knew or simply of a place-name remembered from the Bible.¹⁴ Nor can we always be sure whether he is describing what existed at the time of the pilgrimage in 385 A.D., or what had developed by 404 A.D. when he was writing.

The influence of Jerome on the subsequent understanding of the Holy Land by Christians from the western world was immense. We shall see below, for instance, how often subsequent works drew on his commentaries and particularly on the *Liber Locorum*, his translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*. But his influence also spread rapidly during his own life-time; thus his description of the site of the Ascension was reproduced both by Paulinus of Nola and by Sulpicius Severus within ten years of being written.¹⁵

The Early Fifth Century

Jerome outlived Paula for sixteen years. Among Jerome's causes for sadness after her death the most disastrous came in 410 A.D., when Alaric captured Rome. For him, as for his younger contemporary Augustine, the fall of Rome demanded a readjustment of thought at practically every level. For some Christians in Palestine the griefs of the period were somewhat relieved in 415 A.D. by the discovery of what (according to the village priest who discovered them) were the bones of Stephen the First Martyr. Miraculous discoveries of this kind were valued at that time not only for their own sake, but also as signs of God's favour to the reigning emperor, in this case Theodosius II. But of this discovery Jerome significantly made no mention.

Jerome himself died in 420 A.D., three years after Eustochium, and thus escaped the dispute between the so-called Monophysites and Orthodox. Their quarrel raged in the Holy Land for the remainder of the fifth century, and involved all the leading members of the Church. A distinguished Monophysite supporter was another Roman noblewoman who had become a resident of the Holy Land, called Melania, the second person of this name to come and settle as a nun on the Mount of Olives. She built herself first a cell there in 417 A.D., and then a monastery.

Various aspects of life in Palestine are known to us through the authors of the early fifth century. So for instance both the famous monastic writers, Palladius and Cassian, started their time as monks near Bethlehem during the lifetime of Jerome. At roughly the same time the last vestiges of official paganism died out, and we have in the *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza* an account of this process which is so vivid as to suggest to some critics that its author, a deacon called Mark, was writing fiction. Possibly some of the details of Mark's account are artificial but his general picture of the friction between a growing Christian community and surviving pockets of polytheists is elo-

7. See J. Wilkinson, *St. Jérôme, sa contribution à la Topographie*, R.B. 1974, pp. 245/57.

8. Jerome had himself prepared a translation of some earlier book which gave these etymologies: it is the *Book of the Translation of Hebrew Names* (here abbreviated as *Heb. N.*), edited by P. de Lagarde and reprinted in *CSL* 72. The meanings proposed stand within a long religious tradition, but often appear wild to the modern student of Hebrew.

9. As with "Bethlehem", 10.3 - p. 49 below.

10. As with "Sion", 9.3 - p. 49 below.

11. See Gen. 35.18 and *Letter*; 10.1 - p. 105 below.

12. See 10.3.8, 11.1 - pp. 49/50 below.

13. See 11.4 - p. 50 below.

14. Josh. 15.16f and II Cor. 3.6; see also 11.4 - p. 50. Jerome shows no sign of knowing the place in his translation of the *On. L. loc.* 79.12/15.

15. See Jerome, *Letter* 58.4 - 531, to Paulinus, Paulinus' *Letter* 31.4 - 271f. to Severus, and Severus' *Sacred History* 2.33-148; on this correspondence see P. Courcelle, "Paulin de Nole et saint Jérôme", in *Revue des Études Latines* 25 (1947), pp. 250/56.

quent and reliable. The contemporary Jerusalem Talmud provides surprisingly little information about places of pilgrimage. Christian sites are hardly likely to be mentioned, since relations between Christians and Jews were now poor, and became worse when Theodosius II passed his anti-Jewish laws. But we might expect to find a greater volume of information about popular Judaism than we do even if it had survived only in the form of criticism. The latest, and in some ways the most important, Christian writers of this time were Socrates and Sozomen, whose *Church Histories* both appeared soon after 439 A.D. Sozomen is more important to us than Socrates, since he knew Palestine, and was born at Bethelia, a town not far from Gaza.

In 438 A.D., which was the year before Melania died, Empress Eudokia paid her first visit to Jerusalem, and was present when the relics of Saint Stephen were deposited in his first shrine.¹⁶ Like Empress Helena before her she presented costly gifts to the churches,¹⁷ and eventually returned, five years later, to the Holy City, where she spent the last sixteen years of her life. During this period, as we are told by Cyril of Scythopolis,¹⁸ she built "a great number of churches, and monasteries for the poor and aged more than I can count". Her magnificent generosity was interpreted as a fulfilment of Psalm 51.18. "Do good to Sion in thy good pleasure (= *eudokia*, Gk.): build thou the walls of Jerusalem",¹⁹ but in view of the aptness of this reference it is important to notice that the "walls" are not necessarily the city walls,²⁰ but could be simply the walls of the churches and monasteries mentioned by Cyril. Of these we know the names of only a few. Near Jerusalem we know that she built a church of St. Peter on the road to Jericho,²¹ a leprosarium in the Phordisia (perhaps meaning "Gardens")²² and a home for the aged "facing the city" which contained a chapel of St. George.²³ Otherwise we are certain of only one other church she founded in Jerusalem, namely the large church of St. Stephen just to the north of the city where she herself was eventually buried.²⁴ Our documents leave us in no doubt that Eudokia founded a great many Christian institutions, and was rightly famed for the generosity of her gifts.²⁵ But we are hard put to it to name many of them.

In about 440 A.D. a priest and well-known preacher of Jerusalem called Hesychius²⁶ wrote a *Panegyric on Saint Stephen*, and also a book of *Problems and Answers* which may be based on a work of Eusebius now lost.²⁷ Both works pass on local knowledge of considerable value to us.

Eucherius

Eucherius was Bishop of Lyons from about 434 to 449 A.D., but some scholars have believed that the *Letter to Faustus*,²⁸ which has survived as one of his works, in fact belongs to a much later date. The *Letter* certainly contains parallels with Adomnan (c. 685 A.D.) and also with Bede (702/3 A.D.),²⁹ which might exist because parts of the *Letter* were copied from works by the other two authors.³⁰ But it is equally possible that the borrowings were the other way about. In fact we find some manuscripts of Bede which acknowledge "Eucherius" as the source of certain passages, and in these passages the text is obviously dependent on the *Letter*. Though Adomnan never mentions his written sources by name it is evident that he too knew Eucherius, since his description of the Elcona Church takes the form of a commentary on a passage in the *Letter*.³¹

We may therefore be sure that the *Letter* was written by an author named Eucherius. Was this Eucherius the fifth-century Bishop of Lyons? Gennadius gives a description of Eucherius' literary output without mentioning the *Letter to Faustus*, but the omission is of no great consequence, since Gennadius ends by saying that Eucherius wrote "other works necessary in both an ecclesiastical and a monastic education"³² and the *Letter* could be one of them.

It is therefore possible that Bishop Eucherius was the author, and the excellent Latin of the *Letter* would certainly fit better with the period just after Jerome than with the late seventh century. It is also likely that Eucherius,

16. *Life of Melania*, 58/9 - 244/5.

17. Socrates, *EH* 7.47 - 840.

18. *V. Euth.* - 53.5.

19. The verse was first used in this sense, as far as we can tell, by John Malalas, *Chron.* 14 - 532.

20. The wall which goes south-west from the S.E. corner of the Haram esh Sherif seems to be of a suitable date to have been a gift of Eudokia: see p. 84 below and Evagrius, *EH* 1.22 - 2484.

21. Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euth.* - 53.5.

22. Nicephorus Callistus, *EH* 14.50 - PG 146.1234.

23. Cyril Sc. *V. Job. Hes.* - 204.9.

24. Cyril Sc. *V. Euth.* - 53.5.

25. The most important documents not mentioned above are John Rufus, *Pler.* 20-39 and *V. Pet. Ib.* - 123; and Marcellinus Comes, *Chron.* year 439 - 926.

26. Theophanes, *Chron.* - 83.

27. Eusebius' *Evangeliorum Diaphonia*, see G. Bardy in *RB* 1933, p. 226 and A. Wenger in *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 2 (1956) 458/61.

28. Translated on pp. 53/5 below.

29. See *CSL* 175, pp. 250, 252 and elsewhere.

30. This was the view of P. Geyer in *Adomnanus, Abt von Jona*, I, Progr. Augsburg, 1895, pp. 18/19, which was adopted by A. Heisenberg, *Gräbeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig 1908, pp. 129/37, even though Geyer had already retracted it in *CSEL* 39, Vienna 1898, p. xviii. The argument which caused Geyer to change his mind, was that of K. Furrer, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1896, Nr 18, p. 473. Furrer pointed out that Eucherius' chapter 17 on the temple area must have been written before the existence of Muslim buildings there.

31. Compare *Letter*, 10 - p. 53 below and Adomnan's *Bk. I*, 25.1 - p. 101 below.

32. *Ser. Eccl.* 63 - PL 58.1096.

if he had written such a letter, would have sent it to Faustus, for both had been monks together in "the Island" (presumably a reference to Lerins), and Faustus was elected Abbot there just before Eucherius went off to be Bishop of Lyons. The Letter would therefore come from a time after the writing of the latest work it quotes, which is Jerome's Letter 129, written in 414 A.D. and before Eucherius' death in about 449.³³

The author tells us at the beginning of his work that he was inspired to write it by a traveller who had been to Jerusalem, and he evidently supplemented what he was told by research in his library. From the literary standpoint his letter is impeccable, but it is mostly written in such general terms that it adds little to our knowledge of the Holy Land.

The Later Fifth Century

By strenuous efforts Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, achieved a long-cherished ambition at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D., by obtaining the title of Patriarch of the Three Palestines.³⁴ Unfortunately for him he was thought to have reversed his doctrinal position during the Council, and the objections of his own clergy were so violent that he did not dare return to his see city until the Count of Palestine provided him with an army as bodyguard. Tradition has it that he had already begun to carry out works at the Tomb of the Virgin Mary,³⁵ and a church was certainly there by 518 A.D.³⁶ But there is some doubt about his connection with it, for no document tells us in so many words that he built it, and in the later Jerusalem calendar it is connected not with Juvenal but with Emperor Maurice (582/602 A.D.).³⁷

Palestinian monasticism was now reaching the height of its prestige, and was attracting aspirants from many distant places. Its most famous monastery, the Great Laura of Sabas, was established in 483 A.D.

John Rufus

In or before 491 A.D. there died Peter the Iberian, who as a Monophysite bishop suffered from some of the worst conflicts of the time. His biography was written in about 500 A.D. by a disciple named John Rufus,³⁸ who belonged to the Monophysite community at Maiumas. Peter had headed this community, and John acted as his companion towards the end of his long life, accompanying the bishop on some of his travels round Palestine. Though John wrote in Greek we know his work only through a Syriac translation of mediocre quality.

Peter, or Nabarnugius as he was called before becoming a monk, came from the kingdom of Iberia, roughly equivalent to modern Georgia in the U.S.S.R. As a probable heir to the Iberian throne he was removed from his home at the age of twelve so that he could be brought up in the court at Constantinople. There he came into contact with both the Empress Eudokia and, during her visit in 437 A.D., Melania the Younger. Perhaps with the help of the latter he escaped to Jerusalem, where she encouraged him to become a monk, and where under her influence he avoided the orthodox party, and often spent time in Gaza, where monophysitism was particularly strong. Eventually he was consecrated as monophysite bishop of Maiumas near Gaza during the time when Juvenal was away in Chalcedon attending the Council.

The two passages of the *Life* translated below, on pp. 57/8, describe Peter's visit to Mount Nebo and the discovery of Moses' tomb there, and a dream about pilgrimage in the holy places of Jerusalem.

The Breviarius

The *Breviarius* or "Handbook" on Jerusalem is hard to date, but since in content it closely resembles passages in both the *Life of Peter the Iberian* and Theodosius' *Topography* (which we shall soon describe) we can be reasonably certain that it belongs to the first few years of the sixth century. The work has reached us in two forms,³⁹ neither of which can derive from the other.⁴⁰ Rather both the forms depend on an original document⁴¹ which has been often

33. If Eudokia in fact rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem she must have done so after 444 A.D., and could have enclosed the pool of Siloam, as mentioned by Eucherius 9 - p. 53 below. But we cannot be sure that she was concerned literally with the city walls.

34. E. Honigsmann provides a valuable account in "Juvenal of Jerusalem", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 5 (1950), pp. 209/79.

35. It is said, possibly with truth, that Empress Pulcheria asked Juvenal in 451 A.D. about a church which had been built over Mary's Tomb: see the "Euthymian" interpolation into John Damascene, *Hom. 21 in Dormit.* 12 - PG 96,737.

36. Theodosius 10 - p. 66 below.

37. GL 1148 (15 Aug.), but note that GL 1320 (23 Oct.) puts the dedication of Maurice's church on one date, while CP-G 250 (13 June) mentions another church on the spot, which could be Juvenal's.

38. An English summary of the *Life* was published by D. M. Lang in his *Lives and Legends of the Georgian Saints*, London 1956, pp. 57/80. J. B. Chabot published a French translation of passages of topographical interest in *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 1895, pp. 367/97, (which should be used with caution). See the important work of P. Devos, "Pierre l'Ébère, quand vint-il à Jérusalem", *AB* 86 (1968) 337/50.

39. See Appendix 2 below, pp. 182/3.

40. The longest passage where both forms are identical is only eight words in length: see lines 24/6.

41. Though the original version is lost, it seems possible to reconstruct it: see Appendix 2 below, pp. 182/3. The parts of the work which seem to us to have belonged to the original document are underlined in the translation below on pp. 59/61.

copied, and represent two traditions already separate from each other. In form the *Breviarius* is a simple guide-book to Jerusalem, and recognisably akin to some of the anonymous writings from the time of the Latin Kingdom.⁴² The additions were doubtless made by people who had used the guide-book and annotated it with observations of their own.

Very short guides of this kind were ostensibly written to be carried round in the Holy Places themselves. But, as we can see from the texts written during the Latin kingdom, they were in fact distributed not in the Holy Land but in the West: thus one of them begins:

If anyone from Western countries should wish to go to Jerusalem, let him go ever eastwards, and he will find the places of prayer in the region of Jerusalem just as they are here described.⁴³

Another opens with this promise:

Every one who wants to visit the Promised Land will reach these places.⁴⁴

A third guide ends:

These and others too are the places to be venerated by the faithful.⁴⁵

Such wording strongly suggests that the guides were used as publicity material, perhaps produced in the form of broad-sheets to be displayed by shipping agents. There is no definite clue (apart from its length) that the *Breviarius* was used in this way, but its text is certainly short enough to be written out for public display, and its title specifically refers to this brevity.

The Babylonian Talmud, which also appeared soon after 500 A.D. refers to hundreds of places in and outside *Eretz Israel*, but it mentions them in ways which seldom help us to identify them. Moreover the names hardly ever coincide with sites visited by Christian pilgrims.

Theodosius

The identity of the Theodosius who wrote *The Topography of the Holy Land* is unknown, and his style almost totally impersonal. The first judgement to be passed on him is unfavourable, and comes from the pen of a scribe who had begun to copy the book out, and then abandoned the task with the ironic note "These are the dying words of Virgil".⁴⁶ Any one concerned with style or grammar is likely to agree, and the whole plan of the work is startlingly confused. Chapters 1/11 deal with the Holy Land in an order which is reasonable enough, but the rest of the text keeps switching from the Holy Land to Egypt, Persia, or the Chersonese, and back again. Nevertheless the work is of considerable value for our present purpose, since it mentions a very large number of places to which pilgrimage was made, and seems to belong to a definite period, which we may judge to be not much later than the time of the Emperor Anastasius' death in 518 A.D. At any rate there are several references to Anastasius, and none to later emperors.

The inconsistencies of style may well be revealing. Saints, for instance, are sometimes given the title *sanctus* or "Saint", but often *domnus*, which we translate "my Lord". Similarly Christ, besides receiving the title *Domnus* (or occasionally *Dominus*, which for the purpose of distinction from *domnus* we translate "the Lord"), is sometimes called "*Domnus Christus*", "my Lord Christ". Theodosius thus seems to have compiled his work from a number of written sources which used different sets of titles, and had a personal interview with the deacon Eudoxius, whose name is mentioned in section 30 - p. 71 below. Some time after he had completed his writing a few additions were apparently made and these are identified in the analysis printed as Appendix 3 below.

It is unlikely that Theodosius ever expected that his work would be reproduced in its present form. Thus he would surely have included some mention of Bethlehem in any systematic presentation, but as it stands Bethlehem is missing. In fact the text reads like that of a notebook into which he has collected material from guide-books, and works on liturgy (and perhaps exegesis) with the intention of giving them a more polished and orderly presentation. But the revised edition may never have been written. In the event the notebook itself was recognised as valuable, and a good many copies have survived.

42. The short anonymous writings among those listed as I - IX in the List of Sources from 1100 A.D. to 1187 (pp. 215/6 below).

43. Anonymous Writer 1 of c. 1100 A.D.

44. Anon. Wr. VIII of c. 1185 A.D.

45. Anon. Wr. VII of c. 1175 A.D.

46. Virgilius moriens dictavit: see Geyer's note on 143.10.

The Reign of Justinian

Justinian came to power in 527 A.D. and ruled for nearly forty years. On Palestine, as on the rest of the empire, he left his mark by a vast building programme, but he probably paid little attention to the Holy Land as such except when it caused him political problems. His attitude to the holy places is probably best understood in the light of the one pilgrimage we know him to have made, which was not to Jerusalem, but to Germia in Galatia, which he visited in 563 A.D., two years before his death.

Two years after Justinian's accession the Samaritans rebelled and tried to set up an independent kingdom of their own, burning down the churches of the Christians.⁴⁷ They were severely repressed, and the Jews also were made subject to harsh legislation, probably for fear they would follow the Samaritan lead.

Cosmas Indicopleustes

Cosmas Indicopleustes had been a merchant, but became a monk, and finished his *Christian Topography* in about 547 A.D. His main purpose in writing it was to show the errors of Ptolemy's system of geography (including his view that the earth was round) and to provide an alternative system more in accordance with the Bible. In the course of his work he gives a short account of the Exodus, which he takes to have been along the pilgrim-route used in his day. This passage provides a valuable supplement to other accounts of this route, even though Cosmas himself may not have travelled along it, and is translated below on page 73.

Procopius of Caesarea

Most of what we know about the reign of Justinian depends on the historical writings of Procopius, the secretary of Belisarius, who was the most famous of Justinian's generals. Procopius may have had a special interest in Palestine, since he was born in Caesarea, its capital, and in his work on Justinian's buildings gives a glowing account of New St. Mary in Jerusalem, besides some valuable information about Samaria and the monastery at Sinai. This passage is translated below on pages 75/7. In order to compliment the Emperor, Procopius is sometimes tedious in his expressions of praise, but in this work he took his facts from official sources, and is thoroughly reliable.

The Great Monks

Palestinian monasticism was at its zenith during the reign of Justinian, and when he died, a monk named Cyril of Scythopolis decided to write the life of Saint Euthymius, in whose monastery he had started his ascetic life, and later on that of others, including Saint Sabas, whose monastery he joined at a later stage. Fortunately for historians, Cyril proved to be a biographer of outstanding quality, and although we are not here concerned with the lives of the great monks for their own sake,⁴⁸ we shall often find that Cyril provides useful information about the topography and events of his time. Cyril remembered the time when Sabas visited Scythopolis, but the saint had been dead about ten years when Cyril became a monk and the biographies were written in about 557 A.D.

The Piacenza Pilgrim

In about 570 A.D., to judge from its contents,⁴⁹ a work was written which is far the most vivid and unself-conscious description of pilgrimage from our period. Its author, whose name we do not know, came from Piacenza, and evidently enjoyed everything and every one he encountered in the Holy Land except the Samaritans. He mentions a great many places and practices of which we have no other evidence, and although occasionally confused and inaccurate he conveys more vividly than any other writer from our period the variety of experience which makes up a pilgrimage. His work has reached us in two versions, of which we have translated only one (on pp. 79/89 below). There seems to be no need to translate the other,⁵⁰ since it attempts simply to clear up obscurities in the first text and to leave out anything which seems unintelligible⁵¹ or unedifying.⁵² The editor who produced the second version also made constant alterations to grammar and word order, and changed place-names in a way which shows that he was unfamiliar with the country.⁵³ He makes only two additions of substance, one of which we can track

47. See Procopius' account on p. 76 below. The revolt is also mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Sab.* 70 — 172.1 ff, and by John Malalas, *Chron.* 18 — 656.

48. The history of Palestinian monasticism is admirably presented by D. Chitty in *The Desert a City*, Oxford 1966.

49. See especially p. 79, n. 5; H. Grisar, *ZKT* (1902), 766 suggested c. 580 A.D., but produced no decisive evidence for this exact date.

50. It is to be found in *CSG*, 175, pp. 155/74.

51. See for example lines V 187.6 and 215.15; or 210.3, where the words *quia consecratio est* are omitted, (see V 175.15).

52. Thus the unedifying tale of an attempted business deal with nuns is changed into a harmless story about a girl lost in the desert: see 34 — pp. 86/7 below and V 212.7f.

53. For instance *Neocaesarea*, V 195.22 and *Eluahal*, V 211.8.

down to its source.⁵⁴ The other⁵⁵ probably came from some written source not known to us, though it is just possible that it was contributed by an eyewitness.

It was once believed that the first version contained interpolations,⁵⁶ but there seems to be only one word which is sure to have been added at a later stage to the text.⁵⁷ It is more likely that the text as we have it contains some slight dislocations of what the pilgrim wrote than that there were any substantial additions at a different period.⁵⁸

To the present writer the effect of the book is patchy. Some passages, which read like records of personal experience contrast with others which seem factual and dry. Perhaps this is because (as seems to appear from Maps 25/28) the pilgrim includes mentions of places which were not actually on his route. He may have been told about them by a living guide, or copied them down later on from a guide-book. And, as the pilgrim himself warns us, his memory is imperfect.⁵⁹

The Madaba Map

Although it is broken round the edges, the Madaba Map is of particular interest, with its plan of Jerusalem (see Map 12 and its inset). Its graphic form enables it to provide us with information which has survived nowhere else: thus we have several city plans beside that of Jerusalem, some interesting indications of vegetation, and enough information in many cases to judge the relative importance of the different places represented. In the plan of Jerusalem we can certainly identify five of the ten or eleven churches, but can only make conjectures about the rest. Where the map is not quoting the Bible it usually represents the Holy Land as it was at a late stage in its Byzantine development, and the Map was probably made at some date close to the year 600 A.D.

Sophronius of Jerusalem

Sophronius began his working life as a teacher of rhetoric after an upbringing and education in Damascus. In about 580 A.D. he became a monk at St. Theodosius' near Jerusalem with his companion John Moschus. Soon afterwards the two moved to Sinai and eventually, after working in Alexandria with St. John the Almoner, returned to St. Theodosius'. Eventually he left for North Africa and returned to become Patriarch of Jerusalem in 633/4 A.D.⁶⁰ His *Anacreontica* 19 and 20 were expressions of a longing to return to the Holy Places, so there is some likelihood that they were written at some stage during the many periods when he was absent from Jerusalem and the Holy Land. By the details he mentions about the Eleona Church and the Church of Holy Wisdom⁶¹ we know that he was thinking of them as they were when still intact, but this does not mean they were actually intact when he wrote. Indeed we have another *Anacreonticon* which must have been written after 21 March 631,⁶² and it is quite possible that Sophronius only began writing poems of this kind at the end of his life. In view of all these uncertainties we have avoided suggesting any definite date, and take it that "about 614 A.D." will beg the right question.

The *Anacreontica* are not arranged in chronological order, and in the printed collection the two we have translated below on pp. 183/9 seem to stand in the wrong order. The opening of 19 reads like the continuation of a poem rather than its beginning, and the ending of 20 displays a degree of metrical confusion which suggests some tampering. We have therefore treated *Anacreonticon* 20 as the beginning of a poem and 19 as its continuation.⁶³ Arranged in this way the poem describes the complete "Jerusalem Circuit" as we shall be discussing it below.

54. V 210.8 is drawn from *L. Proph. Isaiah* 1 — 34.

55. The words "And in the place behind this rock an altar has been made in the place where the Lord was crucified", V 203.25/7.

56. This suggestion was made by Sir C. W. Wilson in his notes to the translation by A. Stewart, *PPTS* 1887, p. iv, but his only argument was that some of the pilgrim's statements seem to be legendary in character.

57. The unfortunate addition "Saracens": see below, p. 88, n. 48.

58. Two short passages seem to have become transposed: see below, p. 81 nn. 12/13 and nn. 20/21. The first passage in question would fit very naturally in the place of the second, but the second ought to be two or three lines earlier than the position at present occupied by the first. At the beginning of 41 — p. 88, nn. 48/9 below, there may perhaps have been a re-arrangement.

59. See p. 84 below.

60. See C. von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem (Théologues Historiques 20)*, Paris 1972, especially pp. 54/85, for the details of his life.

61. See lines 73/80 — pp. 91/2 below and lines 5/8 — p. 92.

62. *Anacr.* 18, which describes the return of the Wood of the Cross by Heraclius on this date, for which see von Schönborn, *op. cit.* pp. 84/5.

63. R. Vailhé, *R.O.C.* 8 (1903) p. 382 was the first to notice that the two should be re-united in this way; he thought they were written before 614 A.D.

The Persian Invasion

By the beginning of the seventh century Constantinople had fostered Christian development in the Holy Land for nearly three hundred years. By contrast it had repressed the Samaritans and the Jews with increasing ferocity, and to them the Christians' New Rome presented itself as an alien and bigoted power. Where their interests were concerned it acted in a manner at best neutral, but ordinarily hostile. Hence when at this period the Parthians, or eastern bloc, began to encroach into what had hitherto been a preserve of Constantinople, or the west, they met with a ready welcome from the two local communities who had been deprived of influence.

In 611 A.D. the Persian king Chosroes II began a series of invasions designed to take advantage of the growing instability of Constantinople. Chosroes, surprisingly enough, owed his throne partly to a Byzantine emperor who had in 602 A.D. been overthrown and executed by the Emperor Phocas. Thus when Phocas was himself overthrown by Heraclius in 611 A.D. we might have expected overtures of friendship from Chosroes, but the Persian king instead decided to gain what he could from the confusions of Byzantium, refused to recognize Heraclius, and invaded his empire.⁶⁴ Antioch fell to the Persians in the same year, Damascus two years later, and it was not hard to see that Palestine might be the next objective.

We have two main accounts of what happened in Jerusalem in 614 A.D., both of them crucially important for our understanding of the places visited by Christian pilgrims. The first is a work by a certain Strategius called "The Capture of Jerusalem" and the second, by an Armenian called Sebeos, a "History of Heraclius". The first tells us that Strategius escaped to Jerusalem before 628 A.D.⁶⁵ and the second that Sebeos wrote his history about sixty years after the events described.⁶⁶ Indeed the two accounts make an excellent complement to each other.

Sebeos informs us⁶⁷ that Razmiz, the Persian general had camped in Caesarea, the capital of Palestine⁶⁸, and that "the remainder of the Hebrew nation" had made common cause with him. Razmiz then sent a message to the citizens of Jerusalem offering them peace and prosperity if they surrendered of their own accord. Strategius gives us a different account, saying that the Persian army came up to the city, and the Patriarch Zacharias argued for surrender, seeking "to save the people and preserve the holy places".⁶⁹ In either case the disagreement among the Christians led to the Persians' decision to capture the city, and Sebeos says that at this point Christians began to murder Jews, some of whom managed to escape over the walls into the Persian camp.

Whichever of our authors is correct the Persians had to punish the Christians. They besieged the city, and took it, then carried out a massacre of its inhabitants and set it on fire.⁶⁹ Much destruction ensued: many of the churches were burned over the heads of those who had fled to them for sanctuary,⁷⁰ and since the Persians were also intent on plunder, they removed all the gold and silver of the city,⁷¹ much of which was church treasure.

We are told by Strategius⁷² that the survivors were then divided into the skilled, who were to be taken away to Persia, and the rest, who were temporarily detained in the Pool of Mamilla. While they were there, so Strategius tells us, some of the Jews began to destroy and burn churches.

As soon as communication was established between Razmiz and King Chosroes the latter gave the order to pardon the captives, rebuild the city, and restore every one to his place. He also ordered that Jews should be expelled from the city.⁷³

The Persians evidently arranged for the dead to be counted, since we are told numbers in both our source-documents. After Strategius has described the siege and capture of the city he gives what reads like a first-hand report of an interview with a certain Thomas who, after the departure of the Persians, went round with a group of helpers, counted the slain, and buried them in "caves . . . tombs and mounds".⁷⁴ This account is valuable as a list of buildings in Jerusalem at the time, but tells us little about their condition.

The Persians left the city in the charge of Modestus, Abbot of St. Theodosius, who was put in charge of the restoration of the city. Sebeos has preserved for us a letter⁷⁵ written by Modestus to the head of the Armenian Church, Komitas, (Catholikos 617-25 A.D.) in which he tells him what a comfort it had been to receive the annual pilgrimage from Armenia, and thanks God for changing his enemies, the Persians, into friends, and ridding the city of the tyrannical Jews. He also speaks of "all the Jerusalem churches" having been restored. But he can hardly be speaking literally. Some of the churches appear to have been destroyed for good in 614 A.D., since they are never mentioned again, and

64. F. Macler, *Histoire d'Héraclius par l'évêque Sébéos*. Paris 1904, ch. 24, p. 65.

65. 20.1 - (Ar.) A. 31, (Geo.) 44.

66. Between A.D. 661 and c. 675; Macler, *op. cit.* p. viii.

67. 24 - 66.

68. S.13 - (Geo) 9: not Ar. A or B.

69. Sebeos 24 - 69.

70. Capture 8.7/8, 17 - G. 14/15, Ar. A. 10/11 (which are slightly different).

71. Sebeos 24 - 69.

72. Capture 9.5/6 - G. 16, Ar. A. 11/12.

73. Sebeos 24 - 69.

74. Capture 23.2, 11 - G. 50/51 (not Ar. A).

75. Sebeos 25 - 70/73.

there must have been a good deal of destruction, seeing that our sources blame both Jews and Persians for it. But this destruction need not have been a systematic dismantling except, perhaps, in a few cases. Strategius has an instructive sentence on this subject, saying that the Persians "burned down the holy churches and destroyed several, pulled down glorious altars, trod venerable crosses under foot and - filthy wretches! - spat at the lifegiving icons". All these are acts of sacrilege, but in terms of structural damage the sentence is a violent *diminuendo*. In fact three important churches seem to have been destroyed entirely by the Persians: Constantine's Eleona which was replaced by something much more modest; Holy Wisdom, in place of which the "New Sophia" was built elsewhere; and New St. Mary which was not replaced. The rest were burned and, no doubt, looted. Hence Modestus' restorations, generously financed by the Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almoner, probably amounted in most cases to the replacement of movables, re-roofing, and re-decorating.

Despite the quality of Modestus' leadership the Persian invasion marked the end of an era. The general had forced Patriarch Zacharias to produce for them the box which contained the wood of the Cross and to accompany it to exile in Persia. And at about the same time in Rome John Moschus was completing his *Spiritual Meadow*, in which he recorded for posterity a Palestinian monasticism at what, as it turned out, was a level never equalled again. The Cross was indeed returned to Jerusalem seventeen years later,⁷⁶ but it remained there for only seven years more.

In 622 A.D., when the prophet Muhammad had made his momentous flight from Mecca to Medina, a third force sprang up beside the traditional rivals, Persia and Constantinople. At the very time these empires were making peace with each other Christian Arabs and Muslim Arabs were fighting the battle of Mauta on the eastern boundary of Roman Arabia.

The Muslim Conquest

Thus in 631 the recovery of the Cross was an event of less moment than might have been the case in a time of Byzantine military strength. Modestus, whom Heraclius left to serve as Patriarch, died before the end of the year, and, possibly after a three-year interregnum, was succeeded by Sophronius, now in his seventies. As his patriarchate began the political situation was deteriorating, and in 634 A.D. disorders at the time of Christmas forced Sophronius to hold the liturgy in Jerusalem rather than Bethlehem. In 635 A.D. the Muslims from Arabia overran Palestine and in 636 Heraclius was defeated by Muslim armies at the Battle of the Yarmuk. Two years later Sophronius received the favour he requested of the Muslims, and was allowed to surrender Jerusalem to the Caliph himself, on condition that life was spared.

The attitude of the Arab conquerors to the countries they now invaded was one of caution. They themselves had little understanding of the economic system of the region where they had obtained control, and with remarkable restraint decided as far as possible to preserve the existing order. Thus they avoided disrupting the commerce of the area, which was far in advance of what they had known in the cities of the Arabian desert. They permitted Christians and Jews to remain in their own religions on condition that they paid the poll-tax,⁷⁷ and they carried out the occupation of their newly-conquered lands not by monopolising the existing cities, but by building camps, usually on sites not hitherto occupied. Thus it was that Ramla eventually came into existence as the capital of Palestine. In contrast with the Persian invasion the Muslim conquest seems to have caused little material damage. It is not therefore surprising that pilgrimage was able to resume within, at the most, a single generation.

Adomnan

According to the Venerable Bede,⁷⁸ Adomnan,⁷⁹ who was Abbot of Iona from 679 A.D. to 704 "wrote a book about the Holy Places of the greatest value to many readers. It had as its source the things told and dictated by Arculf, a bishop of Gaul who went to Jerusalem to visit the holy places. He travelled all over the Promised Land, and then went to Damascus, Constantinople, Alexandria, and many islands in the sea; on his return to his native land he was carried by a storm onto the western shores of Britain. After many experiences he reached Adomnan, the servant of Christ of whom we have spoken, who found him to be learned in the Scriptures and an expert on the Holy Places. He was very happy to provide him with hospitality, and happier still to listen to him. So much so, indeed that whenever Arculf described one of the important things he had seen in the holy Land, Adomnan took care to write it all down as quickly and completely as possible.

76. In 631 A.D.: see V. Grumet, *Byzantinische Forschungen* 1 (1966), 139/49, and Capture 24.9 - (G)55, (Ar) A. 37.

77. Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, Marmadji p. 181, recalls the Caliph's tolerance. Even though the text may not be authentic it probably echoes accurately enough what was promised: "In the Name of God the Merciful and Lord of Mercy. From 'Umar ibn al Khattab to the citizens of Aelia, They shall have security for their lives, their children, their goods, and their churches, which shall neither be pulled down nor occupied."

78. *HE* 5.15 - Plummer 316, compare Bede *de loc. sanct.* 19.4 - 323/4.

79. The usual spelling, Adomnan, appears certainly to be incorrect: see L. Bieler, *CSL* 175, p. 177, n. 1, and the apparatus to p. 183, V 221, lines 6/7.

"So he created a work which, as I say, is useful to many people, especially those who live far away from the places where the Patriarchs and Apostles used to be, and can know the holy places only through what they learn from books. His book he presented to King Aldfrith, through whose generosity it was handed on to be read by lesser people. To its author he presented many gifts, and so sent him back to his home country."

Adomnan's book on the *Holy Places* and this passage of Bede tell us all we know about Arculf, but of Adomnan himself we know a good deal more. He visited King Aldfrith of Northumbria (685/705) both in 686 and 688 A.D.,⁸⁰ which means that *On the Holy Places* is likely to have been written at the latest before the second visit,⁸¹ and cannot at the earliest have been before 679 A.D. when he was made Abbot.⁸² These limits for the possible dates of Adomnan's composition may possibly be linked with the date of Arculf's journey by the event in one of Arculf's stories which he said took place "nearly three years ago in Jerusalem",⁸³ but it could well be that Arculf is here doing no more than repeating words which formed a fixed part of the story. We are unlikely to narrow the dates for Arculf's journey to anything less than some time between 679 and 688 A.D.

Before or during the time when Arculf visited Iona,⁸⁴ Adomnan read a number of books about the Holy Land, as we can tell from some of the questions he puts to him.⁸⁵ But it is also clear that in the process of composition Adomnan used a number of books, some of which he mentions,⁸⁶ and besides what seem to be classical echoes we find him drawing on Eucherius,⁸⁷ Jerome, Hegesippus and Sulpicius Severus.

Adomnan rendered posterity a great service when he copied out some of the Church plans which Arculf had made for him. These are almost the only architectural plans we have till the sixteenth century.⁸⁸ Plans and text alike show that ecclesiastically the Holy Land had made a rapid recovery after its recent upheavals.

Adomnan evidently went to great trouble to record accurately what Arculf had told him, but one or two of his errors⁸⁹ suggest that Arculf had left Iona before being able to check his final text. These occasional mistakes are usually easy enough to check, and detract little from the value of the work. Through their enthusiastic co-operation Arculf and Adomnan enable us to form a remarkably clear picture of the holy places as they appeared in the early years of the Umayyad dynasty.

The Umayyad Period

Abd el Malik ibn-Marwan became Caliph in 685 A.D. and eventually presented Jerusalem with its greatest architectural masterpiece by building the Dome of the Rock. It was finished in 692 A.D. and is both the first large building to have been erected by Muslims, and also one of the finest in the world. Among his public works this Caliph evidently repaired the roads, since we know of three milestones bearing his name.⁹⁰ Within ten years of his death the Mosque el Aqsa had been built near the Dome of the Rock, and Ramla had been founded to replace Caesarea and Jerusalem as the first city of Palestine.

During the reign of Abd el Malik, in 702/3 A.D., the Venerable Bede compiled a work which, judged by its wide and constant readership, is one of the most influential ever to have been written on the holy places. But Bede had never been in Palestine, and his book, since it contains nothing original,⁹¹ has not been included among our present collection of translations.

With the gradual conquest of Spain during the early years of the eighth century the Muslim empire attained its greatest extent, having in less than one century captured a greater area than Rome had ever ruled. To this period in Palestine belong the completion of the Jerusalem Lectionary or *Kanonarion* (preserved in Georgian), and the writing of the treatise *On the Orthodox Faith* by the renowned John of Damascus, a monk of the Great Laura of Saint Sabas. To this time belong also the pilgrimage of Willibald and the first version of the Guide-book by Epiphanius the Monk.

80. Adomnan, *V. Columbae* 2.46 — AA.85 June (2) p. 226.

81. D. Meehan argues for a later *terminus ante quem*, *op. cit.* pp. 4/5. On pp. 10/11 he shows that Arculf spoke of a journey lasting 2½ to three years in all. But his argument from Arculf's description of the Church of St. Mark in Alexandria though ingenious is extremely fragile.

82. Assuming that this is the office creating the overwork mentioned on p. 116 below.

83. P. 98 below, and cf. *ibid.* "alia die". If we are to take these phrases at their face value then the latest date for his visit to Adomnan is 683 A.D., since Caliph Mu'awiya died in 680.

84. Meehan, p. 12, n. 4 shows that Arculf's audience is sometimes mentioned in the singular and sometimes in the plural: we should thus picture him as addressing the community as well as being interviewed by Adomnan.

85. Thus the answer given in I.6.3 — p. 97 below would naturally arise from Eucherius 6 — 53 below, and Adomnan's question about the Tomb of David, p. 104 below from Jerome, *Letter 46*, 13 — 343.

86. For instance on p. 106 below.

87. See above, p. 3.

88. On their different versions and development see Appendix 4. The only contemporary plan known to the present writer is that of the monastery at St. Gall.

89. Thus at I.18.2 — p. 100, Adomnan says Arculf was shown the rock at which Stephen was stoned, whereas what he was shown was surely the stones: compare *Breviarium* 4 — p. 60 below. Again Adomnan seems to regard the bronze circular rail in the Ascension church as a small object like a reliquary (see I.23.6 — p. 101 below) whereas the plans suggest that it was a large open area.

90. At Abu Ghosh, Bab el Wad, and Choziba, see *RB* 1903, 271; 1894, 138; 1897, 104.

91. L. Frailpoint, *CSL* 175 in his notes to pp. 252/80 indicates Bede's sources, including Eucherius, Adomnan and Hegesippus: add also to ch. 2, lines 65/7, Jerome, *C. Esa.* 8.5, and to ch. 5, lines 16/18, Jerome *C. Mat.* 10.28.

Half-way through the eighth century in 746 A.D., Palestine suffered from one of the most serious earthquakes ever recorded, which damaged many more buildings than those which had suffered in the Persian invasion. We hear of damage at this time to the temple area in Jerusalem, to Tiberias on the west of the Jordan and Jerash on the east, and can visit the ruins of the Umayyad palaces near Jericho and the Sea of Galilee. There was no time to repair them for in 750 A.D. the Umayyads were ousted. They were replaced by a new dynasty, the Abbasids, who retained supreme power over Muslims (in name if not always in fact) during all the rest of our period.

Epiphanius the Monk

One of the three works which concern us from the early Abbasid period is a guide-book which was probably completed between 750 and 800 A.D. It has reached us in a confusing state. It claims to be by Epiphanius, a monk, and the core-document (c. 675 A.D.) seems to give directions for a pilgrimage from Asia Minor (probably Constantinople) to Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the Jordan.⁹² Like the *Breviarium* the guide-book was annotated and altered as it continued in use, and we find that a second version was in circulation which included a guide to Egypt and Galilee. In the mean while the first version received an addition dealing with Galilee, and finally the two versions were combined. The result is at times confusing, and we can neither identify the Epiphanius whose name is attached to the work, nor say at which stage in its development he made his contribution. This book was evidently valued by those who read it, since we find two other works which seem to depend on it, a chapter on Helena in the Holy Land in a pre-Crusader *Life of Constantine* and a short guide-book in Armenian,⁹³ which was written during or after the Crusades.

Jacinthus

Leaf 5 of codex 14 in the library of León Cathedral is filled by the beginning of a description of a pilgrimage in the Holy Land.⁹⁴ Unfortunately no more of it has been preserved, and we are thus deprived of work by an author both observant and accurate. We cannot identify the priest Jacinthus who wrote it, but should assume that he came from Spain.

The work cannot be later than the leaf on which it is written, which belongs to the tenth century, and the author mentions a general destruction in the Holy Land, which ought to help us with the dating. Probably we should ascribe the destruction to an earthquake, possibly the one of 746 A.D.⁹⁵

Hugeburch

In about 780 A.D. a nun named Hugeburch wrote the *Life of Saint Willibald*, mainly based on his own account of his travels in the east between 724 and 730 A.D.⁹⁶ Willibald, like Arculf, visited also Constantinople and Rome, and eventually became bishop of Eichstätt in Bavaria. He himself is lively, and interesting when he describes his time in Syria and the Holy Land, but Hugeburch embeds this material in a wordy biographical framework which adds only a few items of knowledge to those she took down at Willibald's dictation. We have therefore tried to omit from the translation below⁹⁷ anything which seems to be merely Hugeburch's invention, and printed only what comes from Willibald himself. He is the only English pilgrim of our period to describe his travels, but once he had left the country at the age of twenty he never returned, and ended his days as a missionary bishop in Germany.

Charlemagne and the East

The state of mediterranean politics at the time of Hugeburch is well illustrated by the events of the year 788 A.D. In the west Roland, Warden of the Breton Marches, was killed in Charlemagne's first campaign in Muslim-occupied Spain, and in the east the Byzantine army was defeated by the Arabs and the Bulgarians. But in the next thirty years Charlemagne succeeded in creating for himself a position which was the most powerful in western Europe. In the mean while Abbasid power remained at its height during the rule of Harūn er Rashīd, who was Caliph in Baghdad.

92. The present author's hypothesis about the transmission and development of this work appears in Appendix 5 below, pp. 198/9.

93. See the translations in Appendices 6 and 7, pp. 200/204 below.

94. See Z. García Villada, "Descripciones desconocidas de Tierra Santa en códices Españoles, II: Descripción del presbítero Jacinto", in *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 4 (1925), 322/4. The sections in the translation below are numbered according to the paragraphs in this edition. The text, at present extremely rare, is about to be reprinted in Z. García Villada, *Obras completas*, Barcelona 1974, but for convenience is provided in Appendix 8 below.

95. García Villada believed the destruction to have been due to the Muslim conquest, but Jacinthus does not mention any persons as responsible.

96. See Appendix 9 for further details.

97. See pp. 125/35 below.

from 786/809 A.D. Charlemagne could be useful to Harūn as a counterweight to the power of the remaining Umayyads in Spain, and Harūn could help Charlemagne in his rivalry with the East Roman empire. Hence it is reasonable to suppose that the two emperors would seek contact with each other, and there is no lack of Christian documents telling us that they did.

"Then he (Charlemagne) came to the Most Holy Sepulchre of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (also the place of the Resurrection), adorned the holy place with gold and gems, and also placed on it an immense gold banner. Amongst all the holy places he specially adorned the Manger of the Lord and his Sepulchre, for King Aaron (Harūn) granted him permission to do as he wished. And what garments and spices, and wealth of eastern treasures he gave Charles!

"Then going on, the Most Prudent King went with King Aaron as far as Alexandria, and the Franks and Hagarenes rejoiced together as if they were blood brothers. So Charles said farewell to King Aaron, who returned to his own country."⁹⁸

For later Christian writers in the west it was only natural that their greatest Emperor should have been treated with respect and friendship by other Emperors, even if they were Saracens, and suitable that Charles should have visited the Holy City, since such a visit by some great Christian Emperor was a sign that God was about to usher in the millennium.⁹⁹ Such stories were especially popular elements in the apparatus of propaganda which pointed towards the Crusades. But at the start of the ninth century they were not yet so influential, and Charlemagne's *Life* by Eginhard makes it clear that he never went to Jerusalem. He did, however, have contact with Harūn, though such contact probably meant more to Charles, with his pretensions to rule the West, and to his biographer, than it did to Harūn, riding as he was on the crest of the Abbasid wave. No contacts between Charlemagne and Harūn are reported by Muslim authors.

Charlemagne's royal annals form the basis of the *Life* written about 820 A.D. by Eginhard. For the year 799 A.D. they inform us that Charlemagne sent an embassy to the East taking presents to the Holy Sepulchre, and for the following year how the ambassador returned, bringing with him as a "blessing" from the patriarch the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary, with a banner.¹⁰⁰ Eginhard goes on to say that when these ambassadors were received by Harūn "not only did he grant their requests, but he also conceded that that sacred and saving place (meaning the Holy Sepulchre) should be assigned to his jurisdiction".¹⁰¹ It therefore sounds as though the keys indicated real, if limited power, over the Holy Sepulchre,¹⁰² and such an interpretation is supported by Bernard the Monk, who about seventy years later, says¹⁰³ that he stayed in the hospice of Charlemagne, and describes its work and some of the property attached to it.¹⁰⁴

The Commematorium

The *Commematorium* was written as a result of the good relations between Charlemagne and the Abbasid authorities. Its preparation involved research and travel which would probably have been impossible without official approval, and the results of the enquiry show that Christian institutions in the Holy Land were flourishing. The official who compiled the *Commematorium* is unknown, and mainly because there is only one manuscript of the work it is often hard to supply the missing words. This is particularly unfortunate, since some of the matter omitted is unexpected: it is hard (for instance) to see why there should have been no mention of St. George's at Lydda. The document may have been prepared in about 808 A.D., because in the preceding year Charlemagne's *Annals* tell us that he received his final embassy from Harūn. The manuscript, written in the ninth century, is preserved in Basle Public Library.

Dicuil

Dicuil is the name of the author of the famous book on geography called *de Mensura Orbis*. But the name Dicuil is by no means unique among Irish monks of the ninth century, and several were alive and at work in 825, when the book was written. Thus the author may possibly be a Dicuil who was born in about 760 A.D. and became Abbot of Pahlacht, but we cannot be certain.

The book is known principally for its description of Iceland and the region to the north, but also contains an account of a pilgrimage to Egypt which is translated below on p. 139. The same author produced a book on grammar which is now lost.

98. Benedict, Monk of St. Andrew on Mt. Soracte, *Chron.* 23 — PL 139,35, writing in about 1000 A.D.

99. See N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, London 1972, p. 32.

100. *Annales royales* (Kurze), pp. 111, 113; compare L. Halphen (ed.), *Eginhard, Vie de Charlemagne*, Paris 1923, ch. 16, p. 46.

101. *Eginhard, loc. cit.*: see also L. H. Vincent, *R.B.* 1927, pp. 239 f.

102. Thus L. Bréhier, *Les Origines* (Congr. franc. de Syrie (1919), *Séances et travaux*, fasc. 2) 1919, pp. 15/38.

103. Ch. 10 — p. 142 below.

104. Harūn is also said to have given Charlemagne some villas near the Potter's Field in Jerusalem: Christian Druthmar, *Expos. in Mat.* 27.7, PL 106, 1486.

Fidelis, who made the pilgrimage to Egypt achieved far less than Egeria who had visited the same places four centuries before. But he shows us one interesting fact, that the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, which had been put in order by Amr Ibn el As in A.D. 640, was still open when he visited it between 762 and 765.¹⁰⁵ It was finally blocked by Caliph al Mansur in 767 A.D.

Arab Writers 1

From A.D. 864, when Ibn Khurdadbiḥ wrote *The Routes*, we have a succession of Muslim writers on geography and history in Arabic who enable us to visualise something of the state of the Holy Land at this period. But they show little interest in Christianity or Christian pilgrimage, and for this reason the Arab writers of the ninth century have no place in this collection except as indirect witnesses to the setting of pilgrimage.

Bernard The Monk

The last full account of a pilgrimage before the Crusades is that of a certain Bernard, who provides us with a definite (though wrong) statement of the date when he wrote. Fortunately he provides us with enough references to make it clear that the date must be about A.D. 870.¹⁰⁶ The precision of date thus obtainable adds greatly to the value of this work. Besides giving us information about pilgrimage sites Bernard provides many valuable details about the mechanics and hazards of Mediterranean and Levantine travel in the declining years of the Abbasid caliphate.

Photius

At the time of Bernard's pilgrimage, Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople was in exile. He used part of this period from 867 to 878 A.D. to produce his *Amphilochia*,¹⁰⁷ a series of about 300 questions and answers on exegetical and doctrinal subjects addressed to Amphilochius, Archbishop of Cyzicus. Question 107 is one of the most detailed accounts of the Holy Sepulchre edicule we possess. It seems to have been written down by Photius from a description by an eyewitness.

The Decline of Muslim Power

Between the mid-ninth and mid-tenth centuries Islam was weakening, and when, as frequently happened, the army of the Byzantine empire fought the Muslims, it usually won. Islam also suffered from internal divisions which were paraded before the world in 908 A.D. by the setting up of a rival caliphate in Egypt, that of the Fatimids.

Two works from the mid-tenth century are specially useful to us. The first is by Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, and is entitled *The Book of the Demonstration*. Eutychius completed it before 944 and besides giving a valuable list of churches in the Holy Land and their commemorations, he provides some useful insights into the theological meaning of pilgrimage. It is sometimes hard to tell whether Eutychius had visited the Churches of which he writes, and he may simply have read about them, possibly in a source from some earlier century.

The second work of this period of special importance to us is the *Typicon* of the Anastasis, a detailed set of instructions for the performance of the liturgy of Holy Week at the Holy Anastasis in Jerusalem. The copy we have was revised in the twelfth century, but the revisions and additions are usually easy to identify, and the details it contains are often of great interest. From the late tenth century there are no Christian writings of direct concern to us, but the Muslim al Muqaddasi ("The Jerusalemite"), who published his *Description of the Muslim Empire* in 985 A.D. says much which is important for the understanding of his native city in the Abbasid period.

Caliph Hakim

From A.D. 996 to 1021 there reigned as the Fatimid Caliph in Egypt one of the most eccentric men ever to have wielded power in Islam, Hakim bi'amrillah.¹⁰⁸ He was only eleven years of age when he came to the throne, and the eunuch Barjawan, his tutor, acted as regent. But at the age of fifteen Hakim called him to his presence and had him killed, and during the next ten years progressed through religious enthusiasm to fanaticism and, eventually, madness, acting throughout with unusual cruelty. Christians and Jews were unpopular for the wealth they had amassed through the favour of the earlier Fatimids. In 1003 A.D. he took his first steps against them and in 1008 A.D. he seized the property of the churches, and forbade the Palm Sunday processions, whether in public or in

105. See Letronne, *Recherches*, pp. 20, 24.

106. See below especially pp. 141, nn. 1, 2, 5, 6, 142 nn. 12, 13, 144 n. 17.

107. Edited by S. Oeconomus, Athens 1858.

108. De Lacy O'Leary gives a short and valuable account of Hakim's life in his *Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate*, London 1923, 123 — 188.

churches, throughout his realm. In 1009 A.D. he arrested the Patriarch of Alexandria, and, on the following day, sent orders to the governor at Ramla to "destroy, undermine, and remove all traces of the holy Church of the Resurrection". The governor caused the church furniture to be seized, and "the church was knocked down as far as ground level, except the parts which were impossible to destroy. Abu Dhahir demolished the Cranion, the Church of St. Constantine and all its surroundings, and did all he could to leave no trace of those holy buildings. This Abu Dhahir did all he could to uproot the Sepulchre and to remove all trace of it, and to this effect he dug away most of it and broke it up".¹⁰⁹ Wars and earthquakes caused the Church of the Resurrection to remain in a half-ruined condition¹¹⁰ till 1048 when Constantine Monomachus completed its restoration.¹¹¹

William of Tyre, in informing us of this date, points out that it was fifty-one years before the arrival of the Crusaders. Indeed Hakim's destruction of the Holy Sepulchre gave a new impetus to the belief that the West should move to the aid of the East, and the eschatological Emperor pay his visit to Jerusalem. New versions of the story of Charlemagne's voyage to Jerusalem and Constantinople now appear, with the topical addition that the cause of his journey was a letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem telling him how the pagans were maltreating the Holy Sepulchre.¹¹²

Rodulf Glaber

Our final translation presents an extract from Rodulf Glaber's *History of His Own Time*. The author was born in Auxerre and became a monk of Cluny soon after 1000 A.D. His monastic career was stormy, but despite frequent upheavals, as he moved from one monastery to another, he managed to write a History which he completed in 1044.¹¹³

The extract translated below¹¹⁴ displays an attitude to pilgrimage which has not appeared in any of the previous sources we have discussed. The mass pilgrimage to Jerusalem is conceived as the crowning achievement of earthly life by some of those who joined it. The heavenly and the earthly Jerusalem seem to have merged in the pilgrims' minds, and they are caught up in an experience which is hardly distinguishable from that of passing to the next world.¹¹⁵

109. Yahya al Antaki, *Hist.* I. 195f - 184.

110. Yahya, *History* I.230 - VA 246.

111. William of Tyre, *Hist.* I.6 - 20.

112. See for example V. Castets, *Iter Hierosolymitanum*, Montpellier 1894, p. 28.

113. Further biographical details are given in PL 142, 610.

114. See p. 147.

115. See N. Cohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 63/5.

TRAVEL IN PALESTINE

"In old times the Land of Canaan was provided with plenty of cities, towns and villages, and in old times every one knew the whereabouts of these cities as well as their names. But for the people of the present day who are from abroad and did not live there from birth all but a few of the place-names are unknown . . . All the properties and buildings of the Jewish people and of the whole region were destroyed, and although occasionally one sees ruined sites, practically all the names have been altered."

These words written by Theoderic, a pilgrim who came to the Holy Land during the Latin Kingdom,¹ are probably a legitimate comment on the Land as it was shown to him. How far would they have been appropriate in the fourth century A.D.? To what degree were the monuments and topography of biblical times even then beyond recovery?

Certainly there had been no radical change in the number and type of cities in the country between the time of the apostles and 300 A.D. The general pattern was maintained, and indeed strengthened, by the construction of a fine system of paved roads. The strength of this tradition is shown by the fact that of thirty-nine cities mentioned by Strabo (a contemporary of Christ) in his *Geographica*², thirty-two are still cities today, and much of the Roman road-system is still in use.

The Cities and Towns

Pliny the Elder, whose *Natural History* appeared in about 77 A.D.³ mentions over sixty places in Palestine, and the celebrated Ptolemy,⁴ in the following century, over a hundred, most of which are still inhabited, or can at least be identified with certainty. Thus we are usually on firm ground when dealing with Roman or Byzantine cities. But it is a different matter with the mainly Semitic topography reflected in the Old Testament, with its thousand-odd place-names. Even the New Testament, which mentions about twenty-five names in the Holy Land sets us some difficult problems. This is partly because, as Theoderic knew, the bearers of the tradition, the Jews, had been banished from the district of Jerusalem when it became Aelia Capitolina.

We are therefore greatly indebted to Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea from about 315 to about 340 A.D., who took the trouble to make a list of all the place-names in the Bible, and enter against as many of them as he could the Byzantine place-names with which they might be identified. He seems to have used some official list or map as the source of the Byzantine names,⁵ and has thus preserved many which are otherwise unknown to us. The resulting work, the *Onomasticon* is of great value to us since it has salvaged about three hundred place-names in use in the fourth century, many of which might otherwise have disappeared. Sometimes, though not always, Eusebius offers identifications which seem from other available evidence to be correct for the biblical periods. How often was he right? On our answer to this question a great deal must depend. For if, as we have seen, Eusebius provided our best evidence for the topography of his time, he also laid the foundation for the itineraries to be followed by later pilgrims.

In fact one-third of Eusebius' identifications correspond with those generally accepted by modern scholars,⁶ and there are nearly half as many again which could be correct. Half the total number of names mentioned by Eusebius are not recognisably correct on the evidence we possess, but in the majority of these cases Eusebius himself never claimed to make a positive identification.

Let us therefore turn to the places with biblical associations mentioned by our pilgrims and other writers of the fourth century. How many of these sixty-six places agree with the identifications proposed by present-day scholars?⁷ The proportion turns out to be higher than that for Eusebius, probably because the places concerned were more frequented. Thirty-eight out of sixty-six (or a little over half) are correct,⁸ and about a quarter could be,⁹ while only

1. 1172 A.D.: 1 - 3.

2. XVI, ii, 2, 22/5, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1883, pp. 637, 644/9.

3. For the Holy Land see 5.14/18, ed. Teubner, I, 159/65.

4. *Geog.* 5.14.18/16.3, ed. Müller, Paris 1883, pp. 978/1000.

5. For the present author's suggestions on Eusebius' method see *R.B.* 1974, 245/57.

6. The standard for this calculation is the list on pp. 371/85 of Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible, A Historical Geography*, Eng. tr. A. F. Rainey, London 1967.

7. Here taking as a standard H. G. May and others, *Oxford Bible Atlas*, London 1974.

8. Places agreeing with modern identifications: names in parentheses are not mentioned in sources later than the fourth century: (Adummim), (Aijalon-Yulu), Anathoth, Antipatris, (Arimathea-Rantis), Ascalon, Bethany, Bethel, Beth-horon, Bethlehem, Beth-zur, Caesarea Palaestinae, Caesarea Philippi, Capernaum, Mt. Carmel, (Dan-village), Diospolis, Gaza, Mts. Gerizim and Ebal near Neapolis, (Gibeah of Saul), (Gibeon), Hebron, Jericho, Jerusalem, Joppa, R. Jordan, Kiriath-Jearim, Memphis, (Nain), Nazareth, (Ramathaim-zophim-Rantis), Samaria/Sebaste, Sarepta, Shechem, Shiloh, Sychar, Tekoa, (Timnath-serah). The only other place in this category to be added in our period as a whole was Bethsaida-Julias, first mentioned in the fifth century.

9. Eighteen places are possibly correctly located in terms of modern identifications: Mt. Abarim, Aeeldama, (Valley of Achor), Philip's Spring-Ain ed Dhirwa, (Beth-peor), Bethphage, Cana, Caphar-barucha, (Cherith-W. Yabis),

four are definitely wrong.¹⁰ Thus between a half and three-quarters are correctly-placed in terms of modern biblical scholarship. Since modern scholars have used the *Onomasticon* as part of their evidence for identifications, our argument might be circular. But there is nearly always evidence of other kinds which they have used.¹¹

Besides the categories we have mentioned there is another, which may or may not overlap with them, comprising those six remaining places which the present author believes to have been chosen because they seemed suitable places for biblical events whose historical location was unknown.¹² Because these "suitable" places and objects came to form a large part of the setting of pilgrimage, we shall be returning to examine them in the next chapter.

Pilgrimage was thus based not on an entirely imaginary topography of the Holy Land, but on one which began, so far as we are able to judge, in a reasonably accurate form. Moreover the fourth-century topography was not forgotten, and, despite many additions, is largely followed by pilgrims to this day.

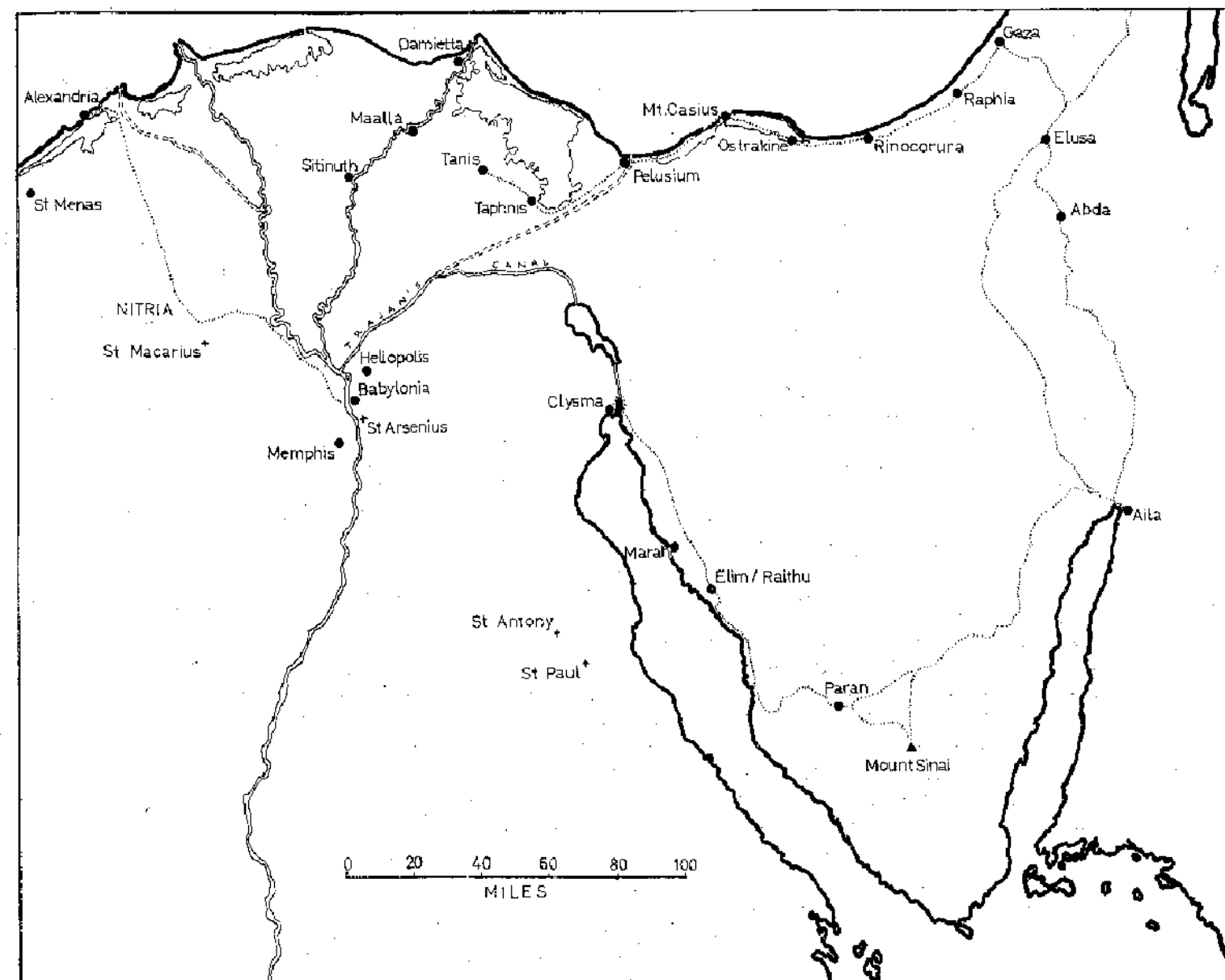
Travel Conditions

Remarkably little has been written about the physical details of travel in our period,¹³ since most travellers took them for granted. In Palestine the methods of travel remained roughly the same from the time of (let us say) the trader who brought obsidian from Anatolia to Jericho in about 7,500 B.C. until the advent of the railway soon after 1875 A.D., and the motor-car during the first World War.

Until a century ago all travellers in the Holy Land were obliged to travel either on foot, in the saddle, or in some such vehicle as a cart or carriage. Gregory of Nyssa is our only author to speak of using a carriage in Palestine,¹⁴ and Arculf is the only one to mention waggons. He tells us there were not many to be seen.¹⁵

Outside the Holy Land there were possibilities of travelling by river or canal. Thus Bernard, who had sailed across the Mediterranean to Alexandria, reached Babylonia by travelling on a Nile boat (see pp. 141f. and Map 1), and went back by another branch of the Nile to Damietta (p. 142); and Fidelis went by boat along Trajan's Canal to the Red Sea (p. 52). Boat travel was probably far from luxurious, but was sure to be less uncomfortable than over-land journeys in the hot season. For this reason Paula avoids the journey from Egypt to Palestine by road, and takes ship at Pelusium (p. 113). We hear also of a journey from Sinai to Thebes (p. 119), which evidently included a voyage of at least eighteen miles across the Red Sea. Ferries across rivers are so ordinary as usually to call for no comment.¹⁶

Like the rest of the Roman empire Egypt was at the beginning of our period provided with a variety of excellent metalled roads, like the one from Palestine going through Rinocorura to Tanis. So long as these were being maintained by the imperial administration they were paved with large smooth stones to a width of twenty feet, marked with mile-stones, and systematically provided with rest-houses or *mansiones*, where official travellers could spend the night, and post-stables or *mutationes* where the imperial couriers could change horses. A list of these points is given by the Bordeaux pilgrim for his whole journey from the Atlantic coast,¹⁷ which suggests that he was himself travelling on official business. Civilians were occasionally received into official *mansiones* for protection,¹⁸ but ordinary travellers usually stayed in inns, about which they tell us next to nothing.¹⁹ We hear of such an inn in Palaestina Tertia at the end of the Byzantine period at a desert city called Nessana. It was known as "The House of Abu Joseph, son of Doubabos", and had two storeys and a walled yard where animals could be kept. It also boasted ninety-six bed-mats, a number sufficient for the needs of a caravan of considerable size.²⁰ Such places were regarded as haunts of vice,²¹ and the



Map 1

- Gethsemane, (Mt. Gassh), (Gibeon of Phineas), Golgotha, Gilgal, Crossing-place at Jordan, Morasthi, Paran, Samson's Spring. One place in this category was added in the fifth century (Ain Hanniya as Philip's Spring) and two in the sixth, En Kerem as the village of John Baptist and Magdala.
10. Wrong sites: (Eusebius' Aijalon), (Mts. Gerizim and Ebal near Jericho), Hermonium, and the Praetorium near the Temple. Wrong sites added later in our period are four in the sixth century, namely Bethulia, the Tower of David, Ramathaim-zophim-Nabi Samwil, and Shiloh-Deir el Azar, and one in the seventh century, namely the Cherith mentioned by John Moschus, apparently meaning the W. Qilt 185-138.
11. For the criteria used in identifying biblical sites see Y. Aharoni, *op. cit.* pp. 113/17.
12. Four have to do with the placing of the Exodus-journey on the way from Clysma to Jebel Musa, which, since it seems to have had no Jewish authority, must be assumed to have been a Christian invention: these places are Elim, the Half-way Point, the Desert of Shur, and Mount Sinai. With these we may compare the places judged suitable for the visit of the Holy Family on the flight into Egypt. Those named in our period are Ascalon, Damietta, Memphis and Pelusium. Those who selected the Sinai sites went into minute detail, for which see *Eg. (P)* V 3/17 - 205/10 and *Tr.* 1.1/5.10 - 91/8. Two more of the sites give a location for miracles not given a definite place in the New Testament, Mt. Tabor for the Transfiguration and Tabgha for the Feeding of the Five Thousand. This selection of places, because of (as we suppose) their suitability rather than because they were suggested by any tradition, is likely to have been made by the monks of the place, who chose those topics of meditation which seemed best to fit the surroundings of their monasteries.
13. One of the few books is that of D. Gorée, *Les Voyages, l'hospitalité et le port des lettres dans le monde romain des IV^e et V^e siècles*, Paris 1925, but it is chiefly concerned with official journeys.
14. *Letter* 2 - 1013.
15. 2.12 - p. 106 below.
16. But see p. 111 below.
17. Like Willibald the Bordeaux pilgrim travelled from Italy to the Holy Land by road. But most pilgrims travelling from Italy preferred to sail: see pp. 125/6, 133 and 142 below.
18. *Eg. Tr.* 7.2 - 101.
19. But note the inns at and near Surandela, p. 88 below, and on the road from Pelusium to Gaza, p. 142 below.
20. See P. Coll 100, translated in C. J. Kraemer Jr., *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 3 (*Non-literary Papyri*), Princeton 1958, p. 27.

foundation of Christian hospices for pilgrims²² may have been intended to save the guests from temptation as much as to minister to their needs for food and shelter.²³

The area of Lower Egypt and Sinai shown on Map 1 measures about 250 miles from Gaza in the north to the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula (the length of Ireland), and about 350 miles in width (roughly the length of England, from the Isle of Wight to Berwick-on-Tweed). How long did it take to travel about in this part of the world? We are given several answers on pp. 119/20 below: thus

Min. distance in miles		days	miles per day	conditions
80	Alexandria to St. Macarius	6	13½	sandy desert
50	St. Macarius to Memphis	4	12½	sandy desert
85	St. Arsenius to St. Antony ²⁴	4	21¼	limestone hills
57	St. Antony to Crossing-point	2	28½	limestone hills
94	Raithu to Mt. Sinai	5	18¾	river beds
380	Thebes to Babylon ²⁵	16	23¾	good roads by Nile.

The Bordeaux pilgrim never travelled in Egypt, but he tells us all the distances between staging-posts from Constantinople to Jerusalem.²⁶ The average distance is 20¼ miles (with a maximum²⁷ of 29 and a minimum²⁸ of 15). We may also compare the journeys described in Baedeker's *Palestine und Syria*, 1876²⁹ and some of those in Sir Harry Luke's *Traveller's Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, which was published in 1924, by which time not all the roads used by tourists were metalled.

Min. distance in miles		days	miles per day	conditions
16	Jerusalem, Nabi Samwil el Qubeiba, Jerusalem ³⁰	1	16	steep tracks, poor surface
21	Jerusalem to Hebron ³¹	1	21	good-road
73	Ma'an to Aqaba ³²	4	18¾	track in stony desert
36	Amman to Jarash ³³	2	18	winding river bed.

Baedeker warns against trying to travel the forty miles from Jaffa to Jerusalem in one day, saying it is too long,³⁴ and would involve about twelve hours of travel on horseback.

Amongst our authors not one says he rode a horse; indeed all the horses mentioned belonged to soldiers.³⁵ Bernard seems to have ridden a camel,³⁶ and camels were much used for heavy loads such as water or baggage.³⁷ Most of our pilgrims probably travelled on foot,³⁸ or by donkey.³⁹ Taking Luke's figures as a basis for calculation we therefore find that travellers expected to go on donkey or horseback at about five miles per hour on good tracks, and to cover about nineteen miles in a normal day, but on cross-country journeys the speed was cut from five to about two-and-a-half miles per hour, and a day's journey was about twelve miles.

21. Gregory of Nyssa, *Letter 2* — 1012 B.

22. Like Paula's (p. 52 below), Justinian's (pp. 75, 76, 84), or Charlemagne's (p. 142). These were endowed Christian foundations which provided for the travellers' needs without charge, and were sometimes, or perhaps usually, in the care of monks. An example is the hospice (or *xenodochium*) which in about 595 A.D. St. Gregory the Great sent Probus to found and to become its abbot, *AA.SS. Mar.* (II) 150, 157, 159: perhaps this was the one used by Leithald, p. 147 below. The *xenodochium* of St. George was another endowed foundation, since it gave food to hermits, p. 87 below.

23. Accommodation was sometimes needed for crowds of pilgrims coming at the same time: see Eusebius, *Dem.* 6.18. 23 — 278, Sozomen *EH* 4.5 — 143, and Adomnan *I.L.S.* — p. 95 below.

24. The source tells us that St. Antony is "east" of St. Arsenius, whereas, as can be seen from Map 1, we would call this direction south-east. Such expressions did not exist in ancient times, except in connection with the names of winds, and what lay "east" of you included every thing which lay before you when you faced east.

25. The text must here read "Babylon" or "Memphis" rather than "the Holy City": see p. 120.

26. Bord. 571.9/589.4 — *CSL*, 175.8/14.

27. *Ibid.* 571.11/572.1.

28. *Ibid.* 573.5/6.

29. Partly reprinted as K. Baedeker, ed. *Jerusalem and its surroundings*, Jerusalem 1973.

30. Luke, *op. cit.* p. 206.

31. Baedeker, *op. cit.* p. 175.

32. Luke, *op. cit.* p. 275.

33. Luke, *op. cit.* p. 279.

34. Baedeker, *op. cit.* p. 1.

35. Below, pp. 88, 114/15.

36. Below 23 — p. 289. The Piacenza pilgrim saw people riding them both in Sinai and in Jerusalem, 35 — p. 175: as *Eg. Tr.* 6.2 — 100.

37. Below pp. 87, 145, also firewood, p. 106.

38. Thus below, p. 128, "they walked into Galilee".

39. Like Egeria, *Tr.* 11.4 — 106 or Bernard, below p. 145. Donkeys are advocated by Luke, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

The route from Aila to Paran may have been used by the more hardy of the pilgrims, like the one from Piacenza (see p. 87 below), and as its line suggests (see Map 1) was probably in use as a trade-route long before the establishment of the Monastery of the Bush,⁴⁰ and the investiture of Jebel Musa with the memories of Mount Sinai. This route provided the most rapid means of access from Jerusalem to Jebel Musa, a waterless journey of thirteen or perhaps fifteen days.⁴¹ The alternative route, by way of Pelusium, lasted twenty-two days, of which ten were occupied in reaching Pelusium and twelve in going on to Sinai.⁴²

Pilgrims had not only to travel in the Holy Land, but to reach it. At the speeds we have been discussing this proved a major undertaking in terms of time. The following table shows some of the periods involved.

Person	start from	months travelling	months in Holy Land	months away from starting-point
Bord, P.	Bordeaux	10½ ^a	3 ^b	13½ (minimum)
Egeria	Galicia ^c	13 ^d	36 ^e	49 (minimum)
Piac. P.	Piacenza	7½ ^f	?	?
Arculf	Gaul ^g	9(?)	9 ^h	?
Willibald	Rome ⁱ	25 (+ 24 in CP)	35 ^j	84
Bernard	Rome ^k	4½ (minimum) ¹	?	?

Several saints' biographies mention pilgrimages to the Holy Land, and say how long they lasted. Thus in about 670 A.D. St. Reinelde spent seven years away from home of which two were devoted to her stay in Jerusalem,⁴³ and a contemporary of hers called Thomas (later Abbot of Farfa) stayed in the Holy Places for three years,⁴⁴ the same length of time as John of Gothisia, about a century later.⁴⁵

Inexperienced travellers were exploited by Muslims, and Bernard was forced by a Muslim captain (with his numerous crew) to pay a disembarkation fee before he could go ashore.⁴⁶ But Christian shipmasters could be just as unscrupulous, as we know from writers in the time of the Latin Kingdom. Bernard also describes the endless process of seeking permits from the Muslim authorities,⁴⁷ and seems shocked by the rate of exchange, though in the case he mentions the money-changer was probably acting fairly.⁴⁸ It is thus hardly surprising that travellers took their revenge by trying to deceive the authorities, and Hugeburc describes St. Willibald's smuggling as if it were in no way

40. *Eg. Tr.* 4.6 — 96.

41. Egeria comments on the lack of water, (P) Y3 — 205, and her remarks are illustrated by the Piacenza pilgrim, 36 — p. 87 below. If we follow the remarks of the latter we should count four days from Jerusalem to Elusa and nine days (see 37 — p. 87) from Elusa to Sinai, making thirteen. But Egeria, if she is speaking of this route in (P) Y3 — 205, says it has fifteen staging-posts.

42. *Eg. Tr.* Y4 — 205.

a. About 328 days, if we follow the sums in the text, allowing for return journeys Bordeaux/Milan 549.7/558.1f, and CP/Jerusalem 601.2/3, for extra days for the long journeys between Bordeaux and Arles 553.1f, and less days than *marstones* between Capua 612.5, Rome, and Milan 617.7f.

b. Ninety-five days, or the difference between the 116 days' return journey CP/Jerusalem/CP, and the 211 days spent away from CP, mentioned at 571.6/8.

c. Galicia is no more than the most probable guess.

d. Adding 33 days, representing 2 x 350 miles' travel, for the difference between Galicia and Bordeaux, to the figures of the Bordeaux pilgrim, her journey may have taken (72 + 122 + 166) + (33) = 393 days = 13 months.

e. *Eg. Tr.* 17.1 — 113: see also — 237/9.

f. It is forty miles from Piacenza to Milan. Our calculation thus involves using the Bordeaux pilgrim's figures less 2 x 40 miles (= 4 days): 238 days - 4 = 234 = 7½ months.

g. Calculated as from Arles to Jerusalem and back. In fact we are not sure that Arculf came from Arles and still less sure that he came back, but he did come from Gaul. Bord's figures from Arles are 280 days or nine months as a minimum for the return journey.

h. See p. 93 below.

i. See 10B — p. 125 below. In fact he returned not to Rome but to Monte Cassino.

j. Willibald took fifteen months to travel from Rome to Antardus: 28th March 723 A.D. (10B — p. 125) to end of June 724 A.D. (11 — p. 126), and ten months travelling back from Tyre (29 — p. 133) to Monte Cassino (31 — p. 133). Since he spent two years in CP (29 — p. 133) and the whole time away was seven years (32 — p. 133) he must have spent about 35 months or three years in Syria.

k. For the journey Mt. Gargarus/Barris/Tarentum Bernard 3/4 — p. 141 mentions a total of 240 miles. In fact the distances total about 350 miles, for which we allow fifteen days.

l. The journey from Tarentum to Alexandria lasted thirty days (4 — p. 141), to Babyloniasix days (7 — p. 142) and back to Tanis six days (8 — p. 142). From Tanis "across the desert", presumably to Gaza, is seven days (9 — p. 142), and from Gaza to Jerusalem probably occupied four days (10 — p. 142). For the outward journey we should therefore reckon a minimum of 68 days. Since the distance from Agropolis (the port nearest the Mount of Gold) to Rome took six days the return journey (see 20 — p. 144) took sixty-six days.

43. *AA.SS.* 16th July (IV) 177, of uncertain date and authorship.

44. *AA.SS.* 10th Sept. (II) 605, perhaps written in the eighth century.

45. *AA.SS.* 26th June (V) 190, written by a contemporary.

46. See 5 — p. 141 below.

47. See pp. 141, 145 below and also pp. 126 and 132.

48. See p. 141 below. Bernard was not anti-Muslim, as he shows in 23 — p. 145. Christians as Christians had to pay the poll-tax mentioned on p. 142 below, and there seem to have been special taxes for some churches: see p. 128 and 56 — p. 138 below. The Market tax mentioned on p. 142 below has nothing specifically to do with Muslims.

reprehensible.⁴⁹

It is far from clear how travellers dealt with the problems of carrying money. Some had a good deal, since the Piacenza pilgrim tells of his travelling-companion being willing to spend a hundred gold shillings (p. 87 below), while others had little or none, and begged for food (p. 126). Although robbers are never mentioned in our pilgrimage texts, they certainly existed and flourished,⁵⁰ and travellers were also threatened by lions.⁵¹ They therefore tried to travel in groups⁵² for protection: we hear of travel in pairs.⁵³ Bernard set out from Rome with two companions, and Willibald from England in a family group of four,⁵⁴ but most of the groups were probably much larger.

Guide-books were available,⁵⁵ but most travellers both wanted and needed a guide. In Galilee, and perhaps also elsewhere Paula and her party were guided by a Jew,⁵⁶ and Jerome mentions the people who explained the Temple both as "guides"⁵⁷ and also as "the simpler brethren",⁵⁸ a phrase in which the word "brethren" may well mean that they were monks. If so they were acting as guides, much in the way that the hermit Peter of Burgundy helped Arculf.⁵⁹ Guides were particularly needed in the desert, where some one evidently organised the daily routine of the Piacenza pilgrim, and a papyrus of almost the same date as his pilgrimage speaks of an Arab escort who took pilgrims to Mount Sinai.⁶⁰

The Roads

Roman roads in the Holy Land are increasingly well known, and we can go a good way towards picturing the experience of our pilgrims as they travelled along them. The road shown in Map 2 was used by many of them, whether they sailed to the mainland from Cyprus or came by road from Constantinople. The distances on this road are carefully noted by the Bordeaux pilgrim,⁶¹ who gives figures for the intervals between cities (marked on this map with large circles and names in capital letters), staging-posts or *mansiones* (marked as small circles), and post-stables or *mutationes* (marked by triangles). The port for Cyprus was Antaradus, four days' journey north of Berytus, both of them cities in Phoenicia, and the traveller remained in Phoenicia until he crossed the border of Palestine after leaving the post-stable north of Dor.⁶²

The intervals between the staging-posts vary, as can be seen by comparison with the scale marked along the left-hand side of the frame. Thus on the thirty-six mile journey from Caesarea to Diospolis, which involved eight hours of riding, there was an intermediate inn, surely at Antipatris (see p. 47). This was probably created as a stage at which most civilians probably stayed,⁶³ even though couriers may have had to conform with the official layout of the *mansiones*, and ride on to Diospolis.

As appears from the heights shown on Map 3, the road from Tyre to Antipatris was level, and the traveller could easily cover a good deal of mileage in a day. But as soon as he turned east into the hills he was travelling on winding roads among steep hills, which slowed him down. A further difficulty awaited him to the east of Jerusalem since apart from some oases and irrigated areas everything below the 600-metre contour line (from Tel Qeriyot 162 084 in the south to Beit Dajan 185 177 in the north) is desert till one reaches the hills on the east side of the Jordan. This modern map with its large conurbations indicates a population considerably bigger than that of the Byzantine period. But Map 12 suggests that there were then a greater number of settlements in the Negeb, or southern desert.⁶⁴ Then as now most of the deserts were peopled by nomadic tent-dwellers.

Map 4 shows what is left of the Roman road from Jerusalem to Gaza. Comparatively little of this road remains in use today, and hence an unusually large number of its milestones have been preserved, of which two display numerals.⁶⁵ From the constant importance of Jerusalem and Gaza we may deduce that there had been a direct road

49. See p. 132 below.

50. Such as Cyriac, the robber of Emmaus, John Moschus, *Pr.* 165 – 3032.

51. Pp. 87, 139 below. Cyril of Alexandria speaks of lions hiding at Calamus near Jericho to lie in wait for people going up to Jerusalem, in *Pr.* 67.31 – 1158.

52. See pp. 81, 126, 133 below.

53. See below p. 132, which describes exceptional circumstances, and ch. 28, which speaks of a woman escorted by an Ethiopian who was probably a eunuch belonging to her household.

54. See pp. 141, 124, 254 below.

55. Eucherius' *Letter to Faustus* is an example, pp. 53 ff below.

56. See pp. 125, 141, below.

57. *Locorum monstratores*, Jerome, *C. Esz.* 38.4ff – 445.

58. *Simpliciores fratres*, Jerome, *C. Mat.* 23.35 – 219f.

59. Adomnan 2.26.5 – p. 109 below.

60. See 36 – p. 87 below, and *P. Colf* 89 – 257, which mentions a fee of 3½ *solidi*.

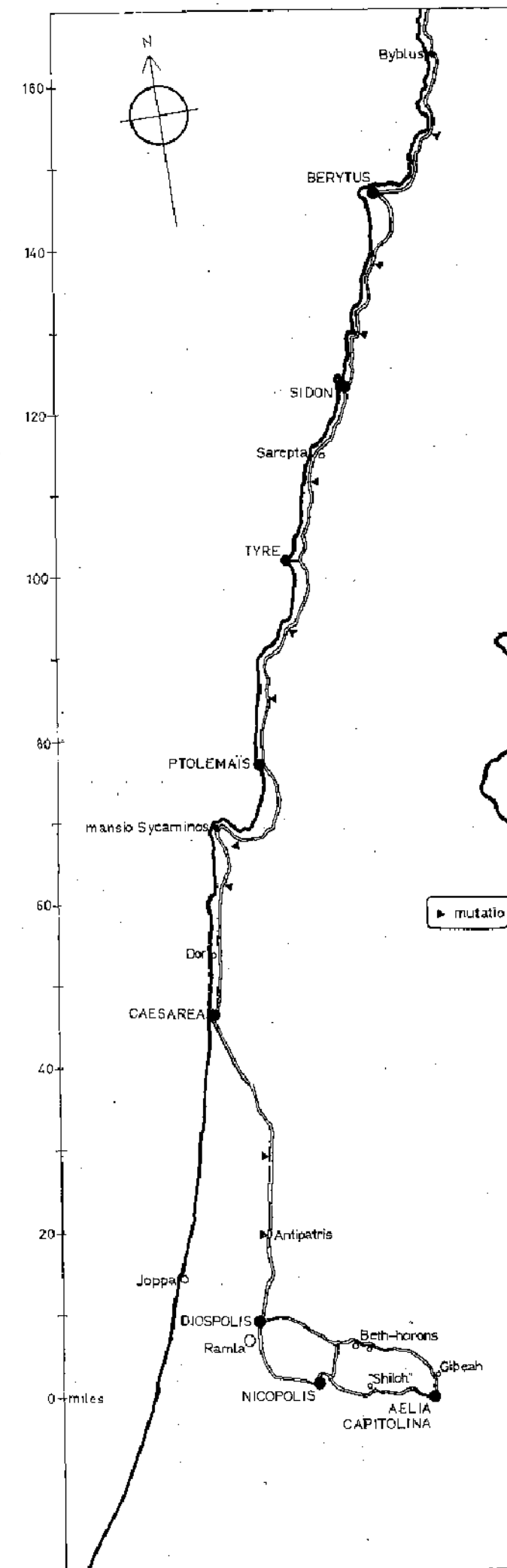
61. *Bord.* 583.8/585.1, 600.1/6.

62. *Bord.* 585.3 – 12.

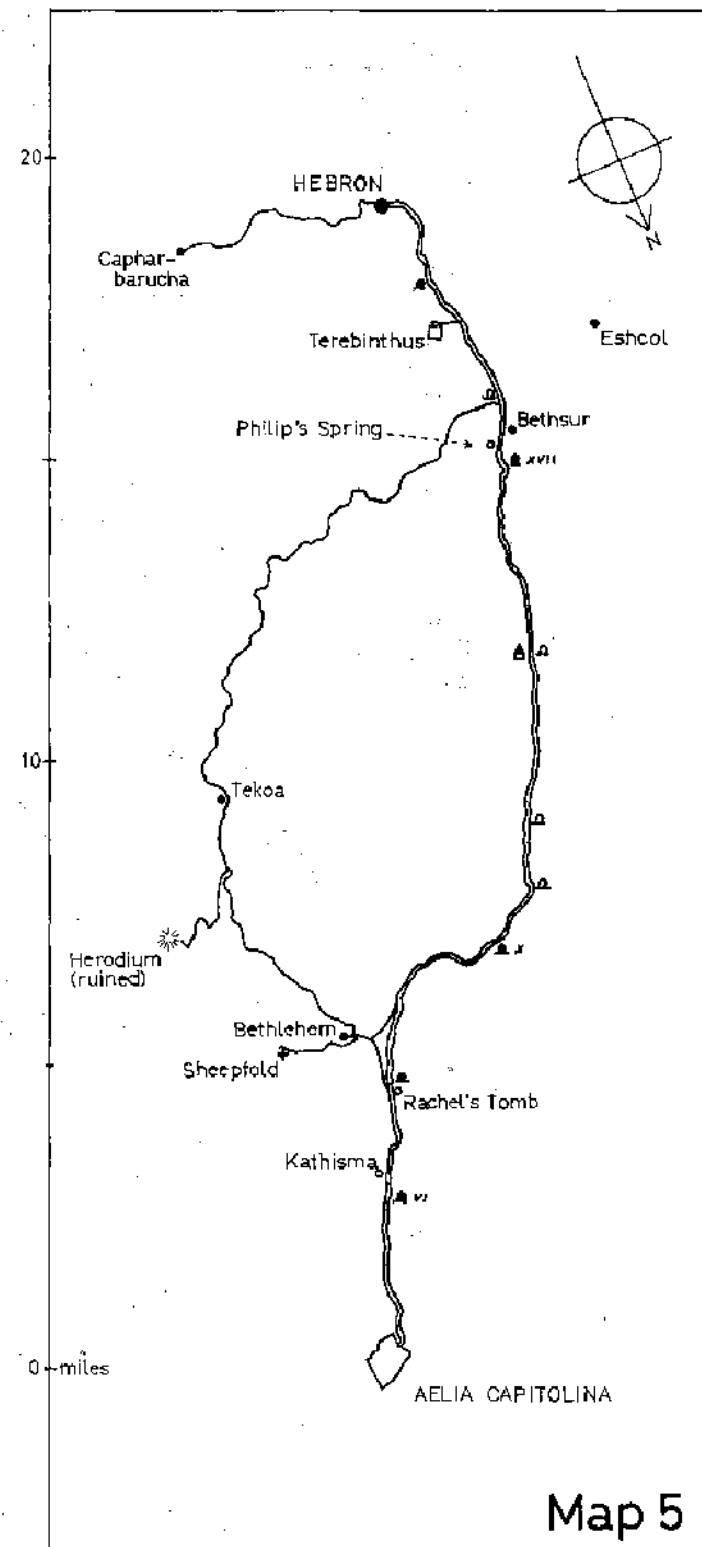
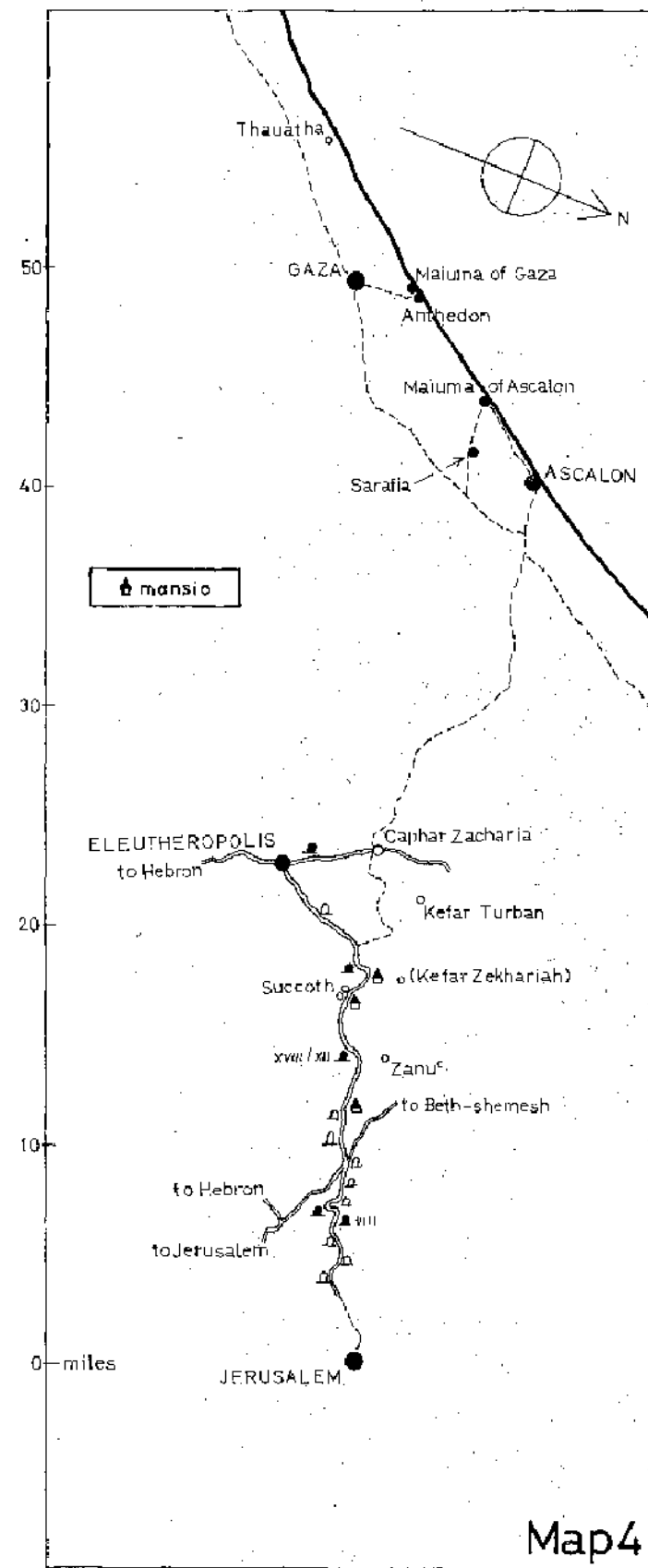
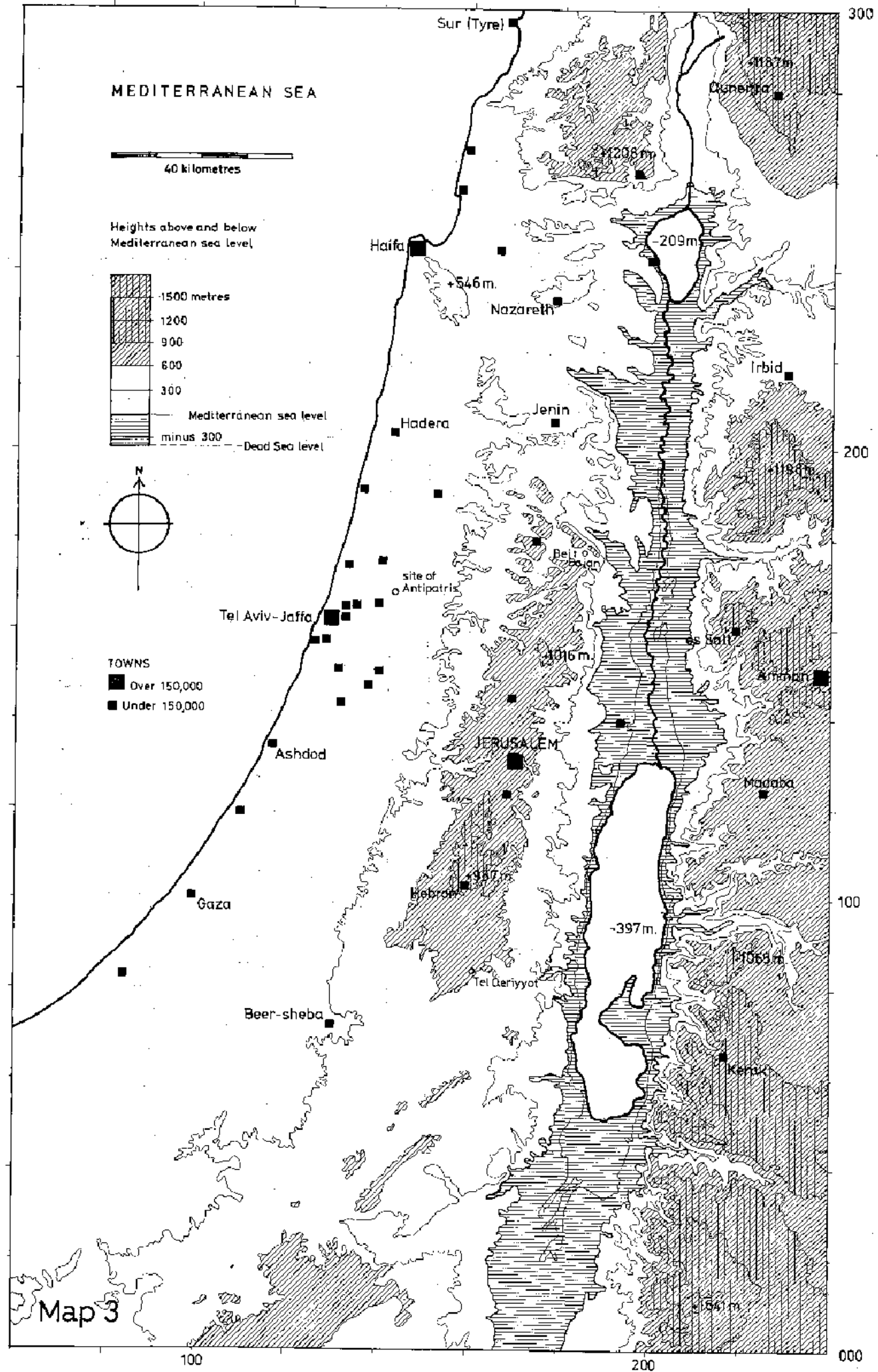
63. Thus Epiphanius the Monk, 1 – p. 117 below, counts it an eight-day journey from Tyre to Jerusalem.

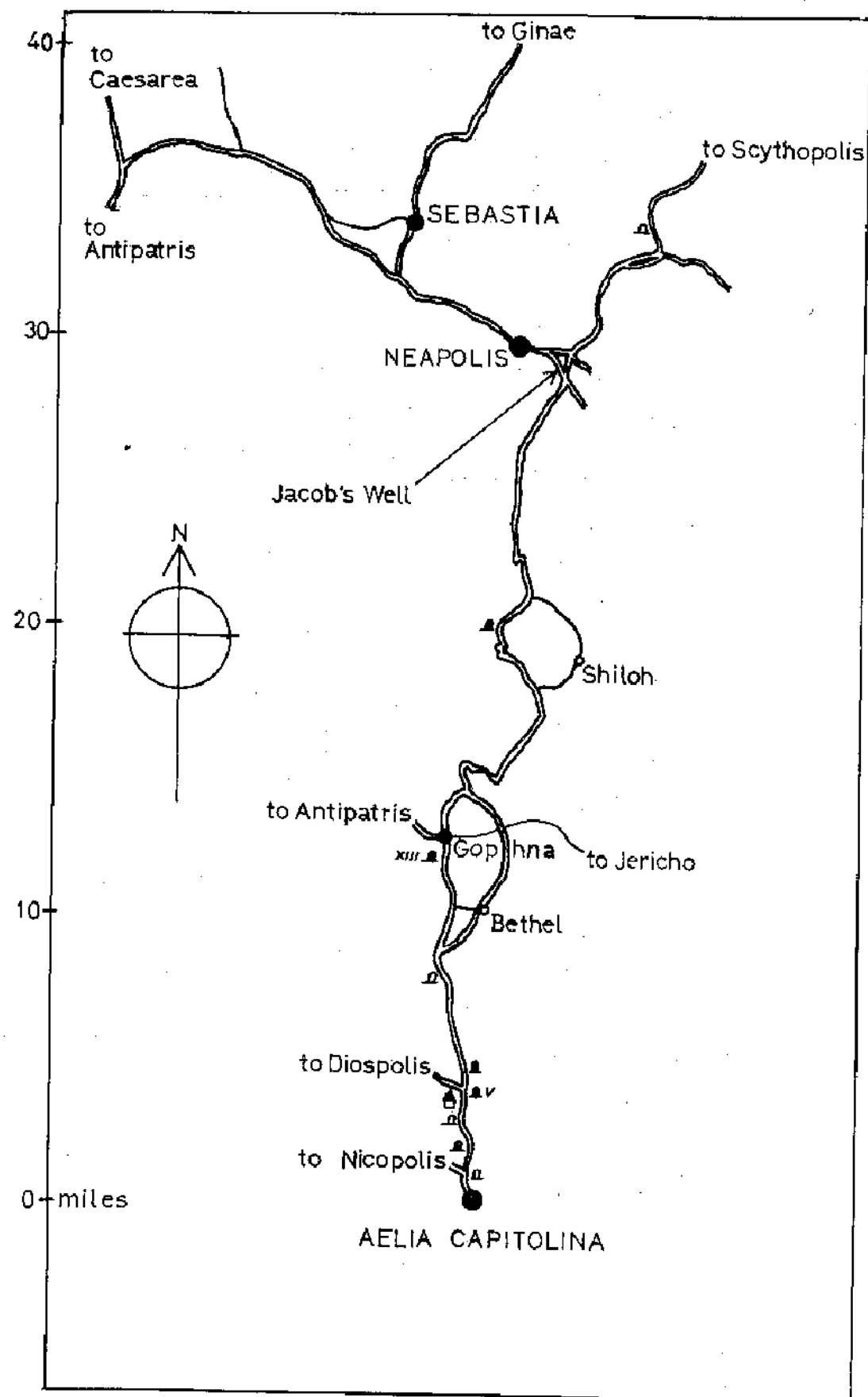
64. Which has its northern limits somewhere between the grid lines north and south of Beer-sheva 130 072.

65. See M. Avi-Yonah, "The Map of Roman Palestine" in *QDAP* 5 (1936) pp. 139/93 for the source of this information. A new map of Roman roads and milestones is now being prepared: in the meanwhile the sources of the most up-to-date information can conveniently be found in S. Dar and S. Applebaum's article in *PEQ* 1973, p. 91. Milestones are shown by a round-headed symbol, open if the milestone is not inscribed, and solid if it has an inscription. The map indicates the way in which ancient roads are better-preserved in the hills than they are on the coastal plain.



Map 2





Map 6

between them from time immemorial, and in any case long before 200 A.D. when the Emperor Septimius Severus raised Betogabra to the status of city and gave it the name Eleutheropolis. Hence the pre-Roman road and perhaps also the first of those laid by the Romans probably followed the dotted line beyond Succoth, and the side-roads Succoth/Eleutheropolis/Caphar-Zacharia probably came to be used as the main road only after the time of Septimius.

Eleutheropolis was thirty miles away from Jerusalem, a longish distance for one day's journey, and from the time before it existed the first staging-post between Jerusalem and Gaza was at Succoth.⁶⁶ which is twenty miles from Jerusalem. The second was presumably at Ascalon, and the journey to Gaza would thus have taken three days. After the development of Eleutheropolis a good many travellers seem to have gone to visit it on their way to Gaza,⁶⁷ and thus probably spent four days in making the journey. Our pilgrims used this road mainly as a means of going to Egypt, whether by road along the coast, or by ship from Maiumas of Gaza, and it led past only one notable holy place, the Tomb of Zacharias.⁶⁸

All the pilgrims who came to Jerusalem visited Bethlehem,⁶⁹ and travelled along the first part of the road shown in Map 5. They followed the watershed as far as Rachel's Tomb, which stood beside the fork where the road to Bethlehem left the main road to Hebron, and most would have aimed to spend the day in Bethlehem visiting the Sheepfold and the Church of the Nativity, and perhaps to spend the night in one of the pilgrim hospices there⁷⁰ before going back to Jerusalem or on to Hebron. The journey from Jerusalem to Hebron was not difficult, and could comfortably be done in one day, so long as the traveller was ready to bypass Bethlehem. Two of the travellers described in our texts may have followed the subsidiary road through Tekoa,⁷¹ with its Monastery and Tomb of Amos.

The Hebron road was probably identical with the one in use today as far as the pools at Etam 165 121. From that point it mounted westwards and then ran south along the top of the ridge forming the watershed as far as Halhul 160 109. It rejoined the line of the present road somewhere near Philip's Spring, went on past the Terebinth, and so reached Hebron. From Hebron the road divided into three southern branches going to Eleutheropolis, Beer-sheba, and Carmel-Malatha.

The northern part of the same road is shown in Map 6. From Jerusalem to Neapolis is a distance of about thirty miles, implying for most travellers more than a day's journey. The first might be as far as Bethel⁷² or Gophna, with its important crossroads. But it is likely that Christian pilgrims went further and stayed somewhere near the northern border of the district of Aelia Capitolina in order that they could pass the twenty-odd miles through Samaritan territory the next day as quickly as possible. The Samaritans occupied the area belonging to the city of Neapolis, and most Christians would wish to stay in the friendlier atmosphere of Sebaste to its north-west. In fact there is at present an inn, Khan el Lubban 172 162 which is in precisely the right position near the border between the district of Aelia and that of Neapolis, and it may well stand in succession to a roadside inn of the Byzantine period.

The Samaritans made no attempt to conceal their hostility to non-Samaritan travellers in their area, and the Piacenza pilgrim describes vividly the way they treated passing Christians and Jews.⁷³ Probably they also succeeded in keeping all but a very few Christians from residing in their district, as can be seen from Map 7.⁷⁴ There is an almost complete absence of Christian church ruins from our period in the city area of Neapolis⁷⁵ and in this respect it stands in sharp contrast with the area of Aelia. The map since it represents only what has survived and been found in each area, is bound to give us a picture which is incomplete. Thus there were no doubt a good number of churches and synagogues on the coastal plain, but many of the remains are likely to have disappeared into the soft and sometimes swampy soil. Archaeology is not therefore a satisfactory guide to the religious allegiances of those who inhabited the plain, and even in the hills it leaves a great deal to be desired, since church remains can disappear simply by being robbed and destroyed.⁷⁶ Nevertheless the map is still informative, and the remains show the effectiveness of measures excluding the Jews from the area of Aelia during the late Roman and Byzantine periods, and at the same time the predominance of Jews in the population of Galilee.

66. The staging-post is shown by a symbol with a pointed top: its remains exist, as reported by C. Kuhl and W. Meinhold, *FD* 1929, 121.

67. Such as Theodosius 3 — p. 65 and Piacenza pilgrim 32/3 — p. 85 below.

68. Mical's Tomb is mentioned only once during our period, by *Eg. (P)* V 8 — 203, and probably lay away from the main road.

69. Six miles away, a journey of 1 hr 20 min, according to Baedeker, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

70. See below 14.4 — p. 52 and Jerome, *Ep.* 66.14 — 665 for the hospices founded by Paula.

71. See below, pp. 50, 131.

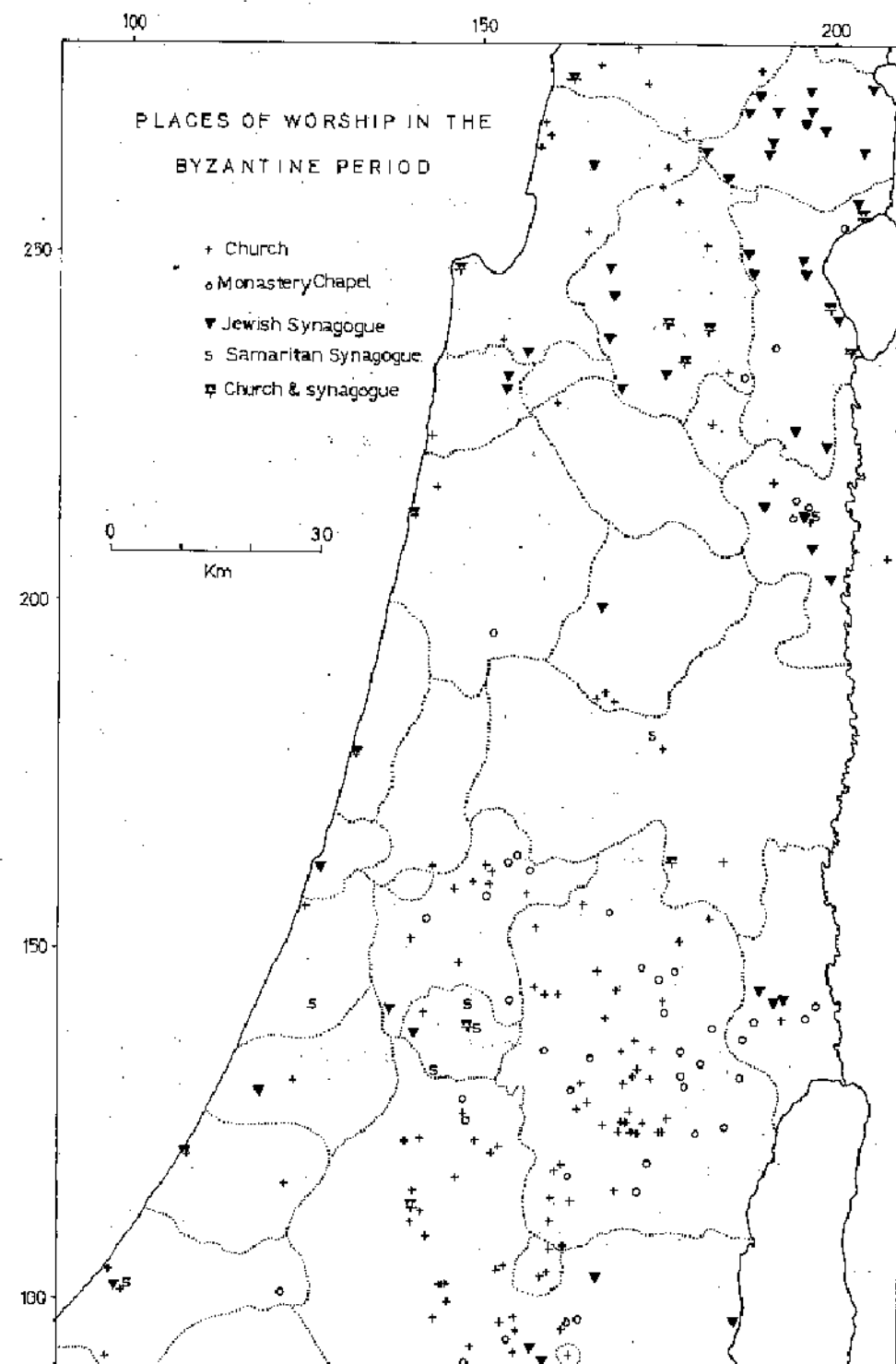
72. See below 2 — p. 63 and compare 13.1, 3 — p. 51.

73. Piacenza pilgrim 8 — p. 81. Perhaps Epiphanius the Monk and Bernard say nothing of Jacob's Well because they avoided the area belonging to the Samaritans.

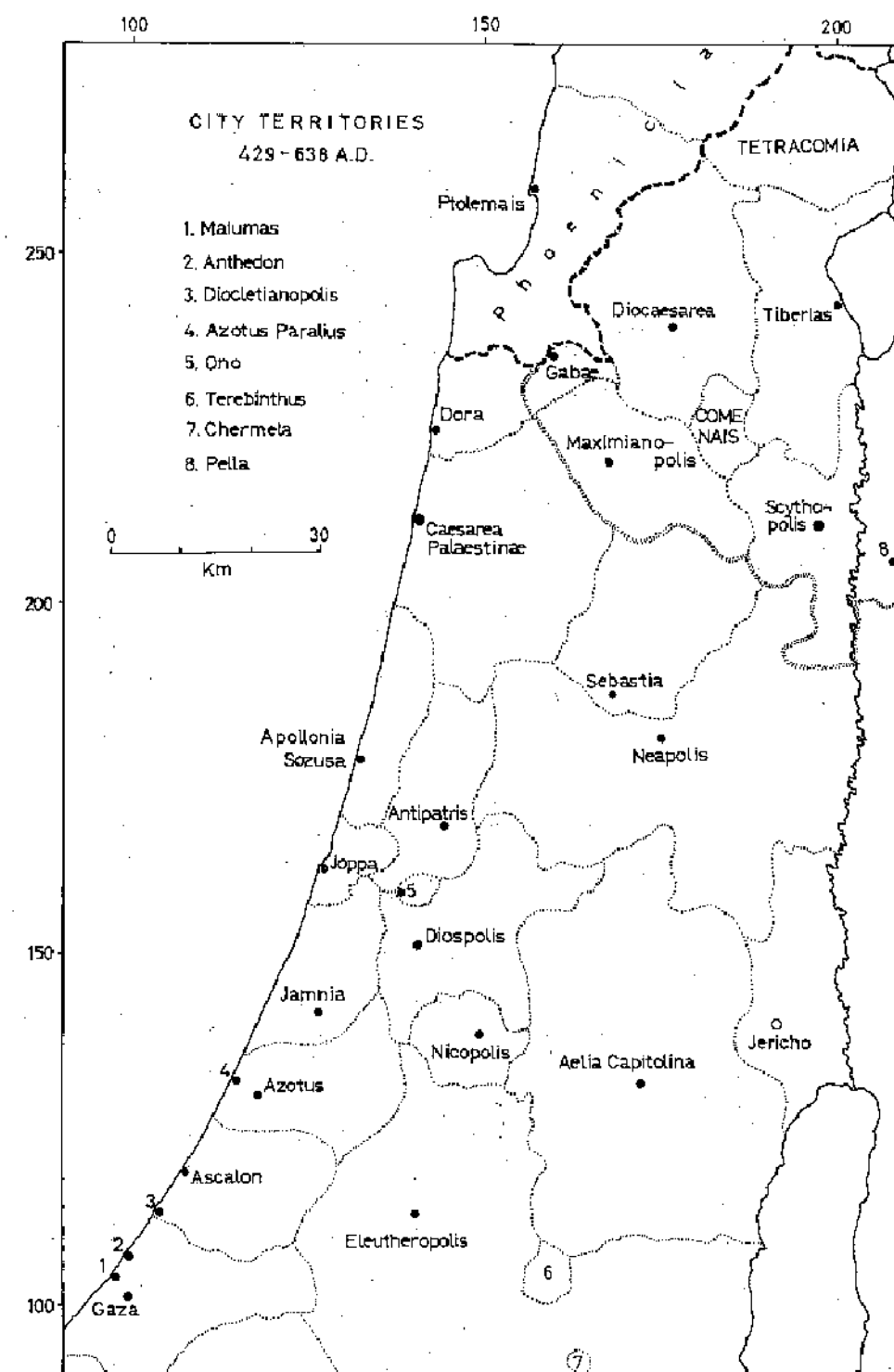
74. This map comprises Map 7a, which shows the city areas of Byzantine Palestine and the places of worship from our period whose remains have been found, and Map 7b which provides the names of the city areas; Appendix 1 names the sites containing the remains.

75. The churches shown are those of Shiloh and Eduma, with the chapel on Gerizim. From Procopius 7.17 — p. 76 below we learn of other churches in the area, but not of their numbers.

76. The creation of Departments of Antiquities has done much to decrease the damage being done. For destruction in the previous period see *RB* 1898, 122; 1904, 430 and 1907, 475.



Map 7a



Map 7b

The roads in the Galilee area deserve further exploration, and Map 8 contains a good many guesses. Nazareth had no special importance to the Roman administration before the fourth century, and therefore no place in the original road-system, and we know nothing certain about the road from Scythopolis to Sebaste in its south-western section.⁷⁷ These are represented on Map 8 by indications derived from roads and tracks which exist today.

Map 9 shows the road running east from Jerusalem to Heshbon, a three-day journey with staging-posts at Jericho and Livias. The point at which this road crossed the Jordan was identified first with Joshua's crossing-point when he entered Canaan (see Josh. 4.9/13), and then also with the place where Jesus was baptized (see Mark 1.9/11). By a detour from this road the pilgrim could reach the site which was recognised as having been that of ancient Jericho and its spring, Elisha's Fountain (see 2 Kings 2.19/22), and near the road at Bassat el Kharrar were a hillock associated with the ascension of Elijah (see 2 Kings 2.11) and, in some place of which we are not at present certain, the site of Gilgal. Probably it should be near Kh. el Mafjar and el Jurn (see Map 10). Map 10 also shows the location of three oases in the Jericho area. Khirbet el Mafjar is at the western end of one of them, being fed by water channelled to it from the Valley of Nu'eima, Tell es Sultan (the site of ancient Jericho) is the western end of another which includes el Jurn and the site of modern Jericho, and the third was at el Alayiq, the site of Jericho in the Herodian and New Testament periods, fed both by water brought down the Wadi Qilt and by the older systems which were diverted to serve it. Pilgrims during our period used to stay down by the Jordan at Qasr el Yehud (the Monastery of Saint John the Baptist, p. 129 below). Slightly to the north-east of Qasr el Yehud is one of two shapes outlined on this map, which represent the course the River Jordan once took. The course has changed, probably many times, since New Testament times.

Facing Qasr el Yehud and on the far side of the river are some remains of a church, probably the one built by the Emperor Anastasius to commemorate Christ's baptism. Behind the church runs the swampy valley full of small trees and bushes called Bassat el Kharrar. The hillock at the eastern end of it was taken to have been Armona, the place of Elijah's ascension, and the spring was associated with John Baptist.

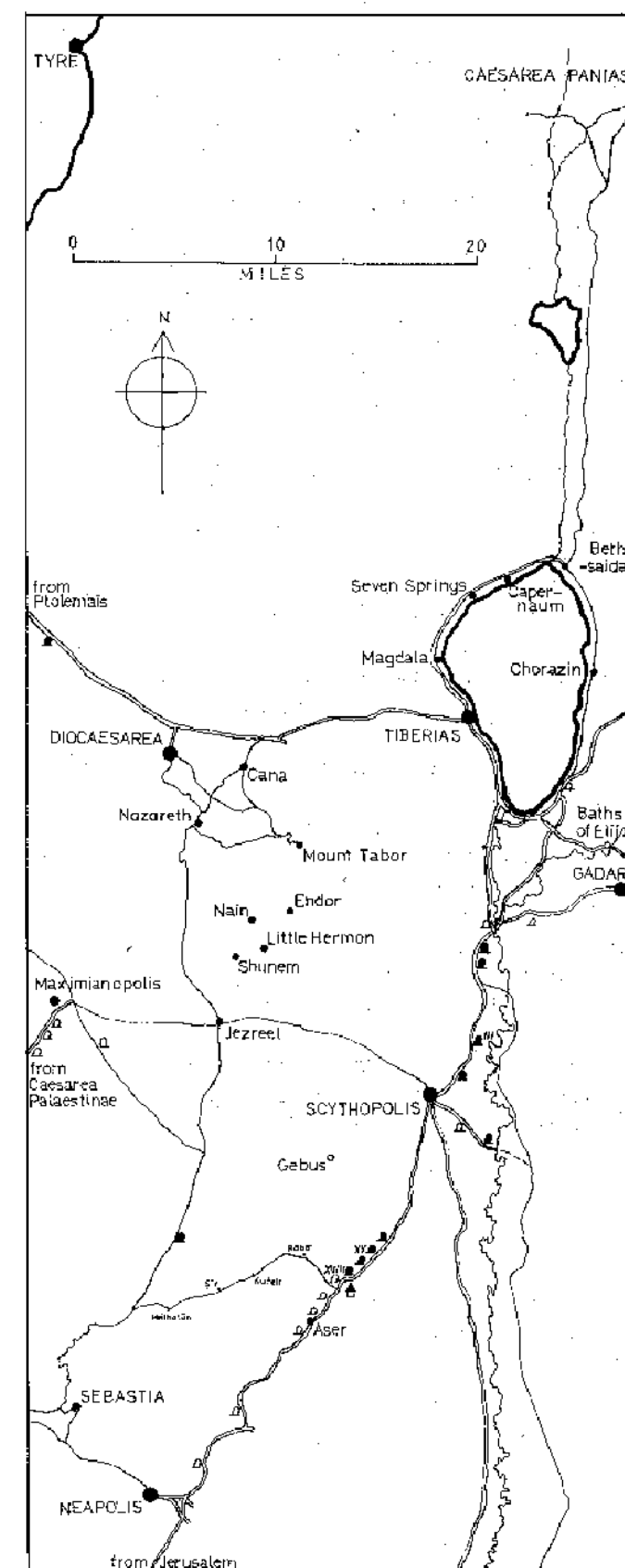
The city of Jerusalem, or Aelia as it was also called both in Greek and Arabic, was surrounded by a wall in our period, and its extent may well have varied from time to time. Not very much evidence for the wall has been precisely dated, and although we know its line fairly well (except in the stretch to the north of David's Tower, immediately south of the Temple enclosure, and to the east of Holy Sion) we cannot yet give a comprehensive account of its development.⁷⁸ In making the maps (see Map 11) we have assumed that the wall ran nearly due north from David's Tower.

In comparison with the Jerusalem of the twentieth century the city of the Byzantine period would have seemed unexpectedly monumental and open. Entering by the Damascus Gate the visitor entered an open space containing a huge pillar (clearly shown on the inset of Map 12). Probably three wide columned streets led out of this space, of which the westernmost led to the Anastasis and Martyrium, Constantine's great churches beside the Forum, which constituted the city centre in the Roman period.⁷⁹ Further on along the same street, and on the east side of it was the range of buildings leading to New St. Mary. The street reached the line of the present south wall, and then entered a distinct and less formal street-system which was accommodated to the steep slopes of Mount Sion.

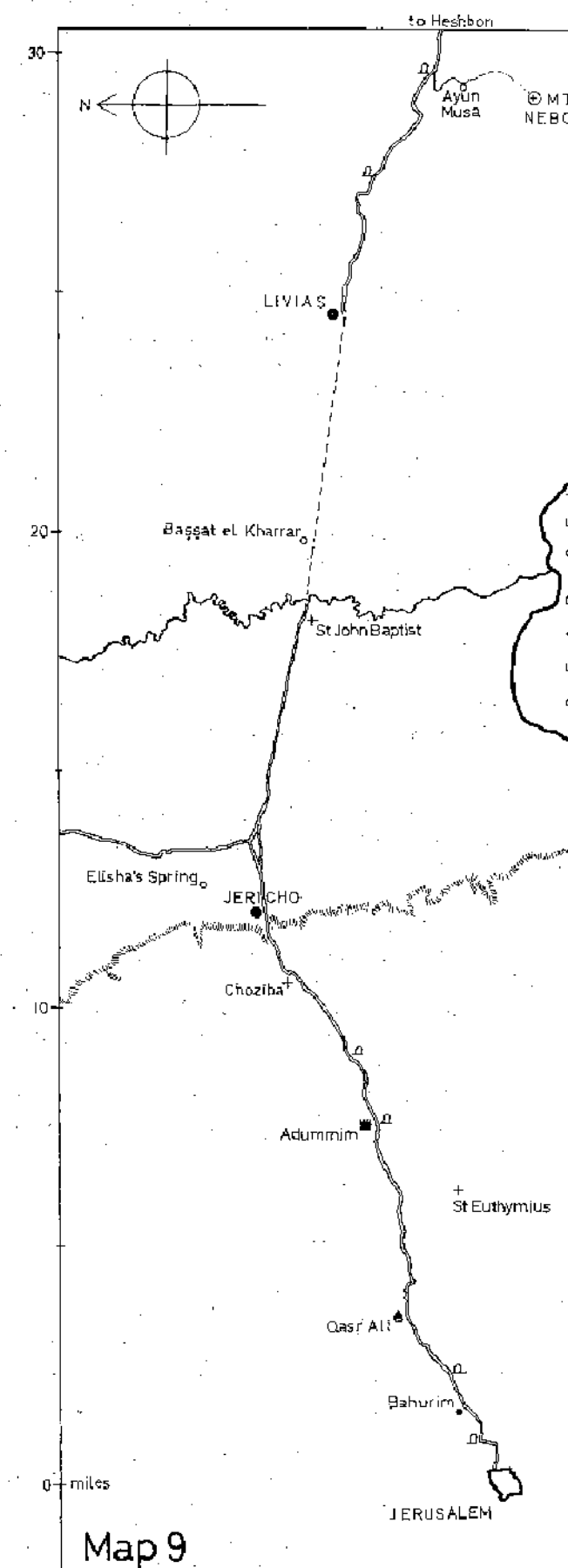
Jerusalem was the goal of pilgrimage, and had indeed been treated by the Jews not only as the centre of the land of Judah,⁸⁰ but also as the centre of the world.⁸¹ Christians regarded it in precisely the same way, as can be seen by the position of the city on the Madaba Map (Map 12). This Map is of special interest because it shows its maker's estimate of the relative importance of the places it represents in 600 A.D., which is probably the date when it was made. One of its sources may have been a Roman road-map,⁸² and for over half the Palestinian sites it depends on the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius. Its accuracy provided a reasonably stable foundation for the interpretation of the Holy Land in the Byzantine and succeeding periods.

Non-Religious Interests

Our travellers and books are mainly concerned with the holy places, and almost all their interests, since they are in some sense religious, will most appropriately be discussed in the next chapter. But they sometimes tell us of non-religious interests. We hear a little, for instance, about their reactions to the people they met. So the Piacenza pilgrim tells us that there was no love lost between the Jews and the Christians,⁸³ and the stories Christians told about Jews



Map 8



Map 9

77. The road from Nazareth to Mt. Tabor is unknown (see pp. 65, 81) and for the road near Sebaste see p. 63. below. Nazareth was first described as a "city" only by the Piacenza pilgrim, p. 79 below.

78. See 2. — p. 160b below.

79. Arguments for this layout are assembled in the present author's article "The Streets of Jerusalem", *Levant* 1975, pp. 118/36.

80. *Letter of Aristides* 83, *Josephus*, *War* 3.52 (see 30 — p. 55 below).

81. Philo, *Legatio* 294, *Midrash Ezek.* 38.12.

82. See M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map*, Jerusalem 1954, pp. 28/32 and fig. 11.

83. See 5 — pp. 79/81, where the context includes enthusiastic admiration for the Nazareth Jewesses.

show that this remained generally true after the Muslim conquest.⁸⁴ Jews and Christians had shared the monument at Hebron, but there was a wall built there to separate them.⁸⁵

Despite occasional expressions of gratitude for courtesy⁸⁶ and kindnesses,⁸⁷ most of our pilgrims appear to regard local people with curiosity and little more.⁸⁸ Thus up till the time of Caliph Hakim they express no hostility to "Saracens", whether they use the word in the sense of "beduin"⁸⁹ or of "Muslims",⁹⁰ even though they are barbarians⁹¹ who are always likely to attack Roman or Christian outposts.⁹²

Pilgrims also noted down some of the "wonders" they saw, whether those were buildings, like the Pharos at Alexandria,⁹³ or strange histories or habits.⁹⁴ Most of those we are about to mention were recorded by the Piacenza pilgrim, who took a great interest in plants and vegetables. But he can hardly have visited the Dead Sea shore, since he tells us that not even wood will float in it (p. 82).

Among plants and vegetables neither the olives, vines, or wheat, being the three staple products of the East Mediterranean, normally evoke any comment, nor the fig-trees.⁹⁵ But the special fertility of Nazareth moves the Piacenza pilgrim to list its produce as "corn, fruit, wine, oil, apples, and millet" (p. 81). He tells us of the "manna" in Sinai (p. 87) and the imported pistachio nuts he was given at Clysma (p. 88) and remarks especially on the Jordan valley date-palms,⁹⁶ with their "dates which weigh a pound" (p. 82), the pepper-tree at Elim (p. 88) and the huge Jericho citron (p. 82).⁹⁷ Arculf also noticed trees; pines on the road to Hebron (p. 106) and woods by the Sea of Galilee (p. 107). Though garlic and radishes seem to have grown in the Sinai region (see pp. 87/88), the garrison there at Paran had to have its straw and barley brought in from a considerable distance (p. 88).

The attention of the pilgrims in our period was caught by camels, which they encountered in both Palestine and Egypt,⁹⁸ and by the water-buffaloes of the Huleh swamps.⁹⁹ Asses, horses, mules and oxen were all more familiar,¹⁰⁰ but the crocodiles at Alexandria were of great interest,¹⁰¹ and so was the amazing lion which fed with an ass.¹⁰² Near Paran the Piacenza pilgrim saw lions, leopards, wild asses, gazelles and mules (p. 87), and on the banks of the Jordan serpents "from which people make antidotes against poisoning".¹⁰³ Locusts were seen by Arculf in the same area.¹⁰⁴ Whether the word "hippocentaurs", p. 71 below, was used to describe a known or a fictitious species of animal is hard to say.

Rich and poor in the Holy Land today both travel a great deal faster than those of our period. They need no longer carry all their money in their person, nor need they fear lions, which in that region are long extinct. But any one who knows the country will recognise the large majority of the characteristics of travel as they are described in this chapter. The occasional camel is still to be seen in the streets of Jerusalem, and twice a year the Beduin make their migrations at the same speed and by the same means as their Saracen ancestors, whether we speak of those of the period with which we are here concerned, or of those who travelled the land in the days of Abraham.

84. Stories in *Eg. (P)* V4 - 200; p. 115 below, with which compare Gregory of Tours, *GL Mart.* 1.22 - 724; pp. 98 and 120 below. Note also the stories of Jewish participation in the sack of Christian buildings in Jerusalem. *Capt.* X.9-18, and Sebeos, *Hist.* 24-68, and in Ascalon; Yahya - 140.

85. See p. 85 below.

86. For instance in Sinai, pp. 87/8, Alexandria, p. 89, and Tanis, p. 142 below.

87. For instance the gifts of food, p. 87, or the treatment in prison, p. 126 below.

88. For instance *Eg. Tr.* 6.2 - 100 and 35 - p. 87 below.

89. The meaning intended by Jerome in the quotation at 17 - p. 54 below.

90. As in Adomnan 1.1.14 - p. 95 below, and Willibald 12 - p. 126 below.

91. The word used by Procopius 9 - 76 below.

92. See *Eg. (P)* Y6 - p. 206, Piacenza pilgrim 40 - p. 88, and *Comm.* 32 - p. 137 below.

93. Mentioned on p. 119 below.

94. See 13 - 67 and 32(a) - 71 below.

95. See below pp. 83, 100, 120 (with which contrast p. 117).

96. See below p. 85, as p. 106, 142 and 73, 88.

97. Also, if the emendation is correct, grapes which are used to soothe fevers, p. 82 below. Note also Arculf's "wood honey", 2.23.3 - p. 108 below.

98. Palestine, pp. 95, 106, 132 below; Egypt pp. 87, 111, 142.

99. See p. 128 below.

100. See for instance pp. 95, 111, 114, and 132 below.

101. Pp. 89, 111 below.

102. See p. 87 below, which, rather surprisingly, is given no religious interpretation.

103. 12 - p. 82 below.

104. 2.23.2 - p. 108 below.

PRAYER IN THE HOLY PLACES

Peregrinatio, from which the English word "pilgrimage" is derived, had not yet acquired this meaning in the Latin of our period, and meant simply "going abroad". Indeed there was no single word for pilgrimage, either in Latin or Greek, but only the phrase to "go to pray at" a place.¹ Prayer is thus the distinctive activity of pilgrimage, and for the pilgrims mentioned in this book the goal was "the Holy Places".² This phrase was used in our period to describe not only the places of Christ's ministry but also synagogues³ and churches,⁴ and was thus used in rather the same way as the word "sanctuaries" in modern usage. The Christian pilgrim, then, made towards holy places in the Holy City⁵ and the Holy Land,⁶ with the intention of praying there. But, apart from the fact that his particular places and their interpretations were within a Christian framework, he was undertaking a journey for prayer hardly at all different from the pilgrimages of his pagan contemporaries. Pilgrimage as such was neither the invention nor the monopoly of Christianity.

Local Cults

Holy places had been common in Palestine since a time long before the emergence of Christianity, and there is reason to suppose that some of the most ancient have continued in use to this day.

The centralisation of Israelite religion in Jerusalem survived as a successful policy only for a short period at the start of the Israelite monarchy. When local loyalties reasserted themselves King Jeroboam did not attempt to repeat the policy of the previous united kingdom, but besides the two main sanctuaries at Bethel and Dan, set up local "shrines on the hill-tops also" (1 Kings 12.30).⁷ From that time onwards the retention or abolition of these hill-shrines⁸ was a constant concern of the kings, and the frequency with which the subject is mentioned in the history of the monarchy shows that these shrines were valued highly by the followers of popular religion.⁹

Despite the prohibitions of ancient Israelite orthodoxy and the difficulty of accommodating shrines of this kind within the doctrinal structure of Islam, hundreds of hills in the Holy Land today are still crowned with *wells*, domed chapels containing "pillars" and flanked by oak trees. Although the title *weli* (meaning "mighty one") refers to the Muslim saint or worthy said to be buried beneath the pillar only a few *wells* are literally buried there. Rather, it seems, the shrines collectively preserve some ancient pre-Islamic cult which, as their form and location strongly suggest, stands in line with the hill shrines of the history of ancient Israel. The *wells* may thus provide a Muslim disguise for the ancient local baals of Canaan.¹⁰

About the stages which may have lain between the Israelite hill-shrines and the modern *wells* we can only speculate.¹¹ Perhaps we should see one stage in the post-exilic monuments known as "Tombs of the Prophets". These are little mentioned in official documents, but are described in the *Lives of the Prophets*,¹² and also in the Gospel according to St. Matthew (23.29) which is roughly contemporary with the first version of the *Lives*. If we are right to think of them as a continuous phenomenon of the Holy Land, they were always unorthodox and unofficial. Thus they are tolerated because they are presented as the tombs of persons mentioned in the Bible or (later) in the Qur'an, and there may be some which appear in our accounts of Christian pilgrimage because in this way they had become to some

1. This phrase is used almost universally, for instance by Gregory of Nyssa, *V. Macrinae*, prol. - 960, *Eg. Tr.* 13.1 - 108 and n. (-220), Mark the Deacon *V. Porphy.* 4-5, Sozomen, *E.H.* 2.1 - 47, *V. Metanias* 34-190, and Dicuill 1 - p. 139 below.

2. An expression common in this sense from at least the time of Jerome, *Ep.* 47 - 346 (as in *Ep.* 139 - 267f). In Greek the phrase appears in references given in the last note, and the alternative phrase, "the venerable places", *oi oēsbaiaoi tonoi*, is also frequent; thus Mark the Deacon 4 - 5, and Petr. Helladicus, *V. Theog.* 5 - 82.

3. See for instance *RCS* 11(2) - 17, 41 - 32, 50 - 37; also *SEG* 8.267, 277.

4. See for instance *R.E.* 1969, 399; and *SEG* 8.6, 323, 344.

5. An idea which may have sprung out of Jeremiah 31.38/40, where the word holy implies that the city belongs to the Lord, as something both dedicated to him and protected by him. The phrase "holy city" is used in Isa. 52.1, Dan. 9.24, and Neh. 11.1, but the Christian use of the phrase was probably derived from Matt. 4.5. Rev. 21.2 does not apply to the earthly city.

6. A phrase first recorded in Zech. 2.12, and since used more by Christians than by the Jews, who prefer to speak of it as "The Land", or "The Land of Israel".

7. See 1 Kings 3.2/3: "set up" here probably means "re-established".

8. This is the N.E.B. rendering of *bamoth*. We know that not all *bamoth* were on hills; see for instance Jer. 7.31.

9. See for instance 11 Kings 21.2/3 and the command in Deut. 12.2.

10. Proponents of this theory include E.W.G. Masterman and A.S. Carrier writing in J. Hastings (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 11, pp. 79/82 and Vol. 9, p. 250b. Some parallels can be drawn with Greek hero cults: see *op. cit.* Vol. 10, pp. 651/3, where J.A. MacCulloch points out that it was not unusual for two places to claim the remains of the same hero.

11. See Jeremiah *Hg.* p. 116.

12. See *Lives of the Prophets* 1 - 34, 2 - 35, 3/4 - 37, 20 - 39, H.1, M.2, A.2 - 40 (etc.), H.2 - 44, 5 - 45, J.2 - 46, 4 - 48. Jeremiah mentions a number of Prophets' Tombs which are now wells: see *Hg.* pp. 26, 88, 115; 35, 39, 48, 75, and 90.

extent officialised. But their main importance is to remind us that there seems to have been no organised religion in Palestine without some adherents who also practised religion of a less organised kind at local shrines. This local religion was in some ways a common denominator between those who were officially Jewish, Samaritan, "Saracen",¹³ or ostensibly worshipping Greek gods (like Zeus on Mount Gerizim)¹⁴ or Roman ones (like Jupiter Capitolinus in Aelia Capitolina),¹⁵ for at the annual feast of the shrine many local people nominally of different religions seem to have taken part.¹⁶ So both pagans and Jews participated in the local pre-Constantinian feast at the Terebinth,¹⁷ no doubt because this and the sanctuary of the Patriarchs at Hebron¹⁸ were part of the same unorthodox Idumaean cult of Abraham.¹⁹

Just as local religion was characterised by local feasts, which were attended by large crowds, and usually made the occasion of a market,²⁰ so Christians from Jerusalem in the fourth century celebrated a number of feasts in villages²¹ which may have been intended to supplant earlier feasts, or perhaps to continue them in a purified form. Christians seem to have extended their scope, bringing in people from a wide area around,²² and introducing symbolic acts which were interpreted as miracles. Such perhaps was the fountain at Gerasa which ran with wine on the feast of the Epiphany,²³ and such eventually was the Holy Fire in Jerusalem.²⁴

Besides holding these feasts Christians identified and visited various places where they believed that biblical events had taken place (or rather that God had performed his mighty acts).²⁵ In this too they were adopting a pattern of worship at local holy places which had something in common with the pre-Christian religions. Some of the actual places had never had any pre-Christian associations, so far as we can judge,²⁶ but by the mere fact of using them Christians were creating a pattern like those of the religions around them. We know too of a number of Christian religious buildings which stood on the sites of pre-Christian sanctuaries.²⁷ In supplanting the cults which had preceded them the Christians saw themselves as a triumphant army overpowering the idols of paganism,²⁸ but by the very form of their victory they were adopting the idiom of those they conquered.

The same pattern is evident when we examine places of healing in our area, of which the most famous was that of St. Menas in Egypt,²⁹ which had been a sanctuary before it was adopted by Christianity. We may suspect a similar evolution at the hot springs of Palestine and Arabia, such as the baths of Moses at Livias or the Baths of Elijah near Qadara, especially since the procedures followed at the latter sound identical with those customary at Aesculapia.³⁰ But Christians were in no position to take over such places before the advent of Constantine, and though before his period of power they already had their own bishops, and therefore churches for regular worship, their holy places seem to have been unobtrusive. Several were caves³¹ (which were appropriate for the revealing of mysteries) and several were buildings, installations and ruins in the city to which they gave a Christian interpretation.³² Thus the

13. See p. 87 below, and Epiphanius, *Haer.* 51.22.10f - 285f.

14. See Photius (here citing Asclepiodotus), *Bibl.* 242-1284.

15. The temple of the Capitoline triad is shown on one of the earliest coins of Aelia, No. 3 in L. Kadman, *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina (Corpus Nummorum Palaestinensium I)* Jerusalem 1956, p. 80.

16. Thus Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* regularly calls them "the people of the district", as at Ensim, 8.12ff; Gilgal 66.4; and note the similar phrase at Areopolis 36.25; and Hermon 20.11.

17. Pagans, *On.* 6.13 (7.20f.) and Jews, Sozomen *E.H.* 2.4 - 54.

18. First mentioned presumably by Josephus, *War* 4.532, and probably a donation to adherents of the local sanctuary by Herod the Great, following the same policy as at Sebastia. Note the existence of a "Jewish" feast of Jacob and David at Hebron, p. 85 below.

19. The cult may in practice have been tolerated by Judaism, but ran counter to its insistence that the Temple in Jerusalem was the only religious sanctuary for Jews.

20. For instance at Terebinthus: see the confused account by George Syncellus, *Chron.* - 1.202 and *p.A.Z.* 1.4; at Hebron, p. 85 below; and at Petra and Elusa: see Epiphanius, *Haer.* 51.22.10f - 285f and Köttling, p. 322.

21. The Armenian Lectionary of the early fifth century mentions three: Anathoth 53 - 272, Kiriath-jearim 61-274 and Bethphage 65 - 274, and the Georgian Lectionary many more.

22. The greatest crowds came to Jerusalem for the feast of the Dedication (or, as it was later called, of the Cross): see *Eg. Tr.* 49.1/2 - 146f, 31 - p. 71 below, and 1.8/9 - p. 95 below. The crowds at Easter did not include bishops, since they had to preside over the liturgy in their own cities on that day: *Eg. Tr.* 20.5 - 118 and Jerome *Agst John Jer.* 39 - 391.

23. Deacons draw it, saying "Take it to the ruler of the feast" (John 2.8): see Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.1/2 - 301 and C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, p. 218, whose archaeological evidence points to a Christian origin for the miracle.

24. See below p. 142 n. 16; and for other miracles at annual feasts pp. 67, 119, 129 and 145.

25. Some of those were already being venerated by Jews. See Thamma, Elijah's cave on Carmel, and the Pool of Siloam.

26. Such as Capernaum or Nazareth.

27. Including Gerasa (see Kraeling, *loc. cit.*), and Abarim, Bethlehem, Damascus, Elusa, Gaza, Mt. Gerizim, Gilgal, Golgotha, R. Jordan, Memphis, Kh. Miyamas, Pania, the Terebinth, and Tiberias; for which see the Gazetteer below.

28. The triumphalist language suggests this interpretation: see for example Eusebius, who describes the Holy Sepulchre as "the very trophy won by the Saviour in his battle against death", *Laud. Const.* 9.17 - 221. Jerome does not make it clear whom the Lord has conquered when he says "churches have been erected like banners of the Lord's victories", *Ep.* 46.13.4 - 344, but Isidore of Pelusium is unambiguous when he says "The gentiles have had their mockery at the venerable Tomb of Christ. But there will be an even louder laugh at the fact that a tomb has eclipsed their famous temples", *Ep. Lib.* 27 - 1080.

29. See pp. 88/9 below and n. 52.

30. See 7 - p. 81 and Gazetteer below; also Köttling, p. 26. Note also the hot springs south of Tiberias (not mentioned by pilgrims of our period, but see 1106 A.D.: 79-62) and the sulphurous spring on Jebel Duh, *Eg. Tr.* P3 - 192.

31. Such as the one at Bethlehem, known to Justin and Origen, probably the one on the Mount of Olives (Eusebius, *Dem.* 6.18.23 - 278) and possibly the one at Gethsemane (Eusebius, *On.* 74.16).

32. Buildings like the House of Rahab, Bord. 597.1 - 161, installations like the Pools of Siloam, Bord. 592.1/6 - 157, or Bethesda, Origen *C. Jn.* 5.2 - 532, and the following ruins (for which see the Gazetteer below): Temple, palace

Bordeaux pilgrim was introduced to a highly-developed biblical topography of Jerusalem,³³ even though in his time there were as yet very few churches built.

An International Role

Immediately after 314 A.D. Eusebius speaks of a phenomenon which sounds new. People were coming to Bethlehem from the ends of the earth, and to the Mount of Olives.³⁴ We know very little about the pilgrims who came to the Holy Land from overseas in the period before Constantine,³⁵ but with his rise to power the Land with its holy places suddenly moves into a position of international importance. This moment was remembered as having been in some way decisive, later writers were not always sure why. Most of them came to assume that it had been the time when Constantine and Helena founded most (if not all) of the churches in Palestine.³⁶

In their new role the holy places became, probably for the first time in the history of the Palestinian Church, the objects of a deliberately-imposed policy. If Jerusalem was to announce to the world the triumph of Christendom (and of Constantine), it must do so in a manner "conspicuous and worthy", to borrow the phrase Eusebius uses to describe Constantine's intentions for Christ's Tomb.³⁷ New and glittering buildings were to be erected to proclaim the mysteries which lay at the heart of the faith, the three holy caves³⁸ at Bethlehem, Golgotha, and the Mount of Olives. If we place the commemorations of these caves in relation to the christological section of the third-century Baptismal Creed,³⁹ and that of the six-century *Te Deum*⁴⁰ we find that all three express the same classic view of Christ's work:

THE BAPTISMAL CREED

Dost thou believe in Christ
Jesus the Son of God?

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS

Thou art the King of Glory,
O Christ.

1. BETHLEHEM

Who was born of Holy
Spirit and the
Virgin Mary,

Thou art the everlasting Son of
the Father. When thou tookest upon
thyself to deliver man: thou didst
not abhor the Virgin's womb.

2. GOLGOTHA

Who was crucified in the
days of Pontius Pilate,
And died,
And rose the third day
living from the dead,

When thou hadst overcome the
sharpness of death: thou didst
open the kingdom of heaven to
all believers.

3. MOUNT OF OLIVES

And ascended into the heavens,
And sat down at the right
hand of the Father,
And will come to judge the
living and the dead?

Thou sittest at the right hand of
God in the glory of the Father,
We believe that thou shalt come
to be our judge.

All this was positive. But the construction of the churches, at least at Bethlehem and Golgotha, implied the abolition of the pre-Christian sanctuaries which had been occupying the sites. We may thus picture a number of possibilities as being open to the Christian community as it began to understand its international responsibility. It

and thrones at Memphis; Heliopolis; Pharaoh's chariot-tracks at Ghyasma; many ruins near Jebel Musa; Jericho, foundations of walls; Salim, Melchizedek's palace; Livias, Israelite houses; Endor, witch's house; Jezreel, Naboth's tower.

33. See 589.7/596.3 - 155/60.

34. See Eusebius, *Dem.* 1.1 - 3, 7.2 - 330, 6.18.20 - 278.

35. See *Eg. Tr.* - 10/12.

36. Thus the precise but easily-misunderstood language of Paulinus of Nola (403 A.D.) *Ep.* 31.4 - 271, turns into a general picture of Constantine and Helena "rebuilding Jerusalem after its destruction", John Rufus, *V. Pet. Ib.* - 37. Before long everything of importance was ascribed to them: see Gregory of Tours (c.585 A.D.) *Gl.Mart.* 1.9 - 713 and Appendix 7 below, pp. 202/4.

37. Eusebius, *V. Const.* 3.25 - 164.

38. Eusebius, *V. Const.* 3.41 - (*PC* 20) 1101 and 3.26 - (*Eg. Tr.*) 164.

39. From E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, London 1960, pp. 5/6.

40. Based on the PRV.

could consider expanding existing holy places used for Christian devotion,⁴¹ appropriating and redeveloping sites previously used by non-Christians,⁴² or establishing new sites. Or it could simply leave well alone. So we find that several holy places first mentioned in the fourth century are never mentioned again by our pilgrims,⁴³ and must therefore have had their permanent place not in itineraries followed by pilgrims from other parts of the world, but in local devotion. We know too of others which went on being used by local Christians but had never, so far as we know, been visited by foreign pilgrims.⁴⁴

In one particular instance Christians seem to have appropriated all the meanings of a site without taking over the site itself. In a memorable passage Eusebius describes the Tomb of Christ at its discovery as "the Holy of Holies, the Cave",⁴⁵ and goes on to contrast the "New Jerusalem", by which he means the new churches on Golgotha, with the "far-famed Jerusalem of old time" which lay facing it.⁴⁶ Constantine's new Christian buildings, by implication, eclipse the glories of the ruined Jewish Temple, just as in the theology of his day the Cross and resurrection were thought to have eclipsed the old dispensation. Thus Golgotha becomes the true Mount Moriah where Abraham offered his son Isaac,⁴⁷ where Adam was created,⁴⁸ and where Zacharias' blood was shed.⁴⁹ The relic of Solomon's ring, which was instrumental in the building of the Temple, is now shown near the Cross,⁵⁰ as is the Horn of Anointing used by the Jewish kings.⁵¹ And as confirmation of this appropriation of the Temple-values by Christians we may perhaps note that representations of the edicule of the Holy Sepulchre suggest that it was very like Jewish representations of the Ark of the Covenant.⁵²

Arising though it did out of a sometimes incongruous combination of local places of devotion and international pilgrimage the new use of the Holy Land gradually took on a settled pattern. This depended on the one hand on the physical factors mentioned in the last chapter, the roads which were used and the hospices which were built, and on the other hand on the growth of a tradition of guiding, by which certain places were habitually included in or omitted from an itinerary. The detailed topography of Jerusalem reported by the pilgrim of Bordeaux is replaced by another, with a greater emphasis on churches. Indeed this new Jerusalem circuit came to be used by foreigners and local people alike.⁵³

We can identify some of the ingredients in the developed tradition of guiding, especially the stories pilgrims were told. There were three main kinds. The first we may describe as scriptural illustrations. These include the association of peculiarities in the landscape, real⁵⁴ or imaginary⁵⁵ with words found in the Scripture, (usually the psalms) by identifications,⁵⁶ fulfilments,⁵⁷ or confirmations.⁵⁸ The second are local stories told to illustrate the dignity of the community or city in which they are told:⁵⁹ and while most come directly from their cities⁶⁰ we have two about Diospolis which were being told by story-tellers in Constantinople.⁶¹ The third type seems to have been invented with the specific intention of explaining some peculiar phenomenon or object. So we have a story explaining the origin of an altar in the Anastasis,⁶² and another saying why the Holy Ascension has no roof.⁶³

41. Probably the caves on the Mount of Olives and Gethsemane are examples.

42. Decisions to appropriate were made for the places listed above on pp. 34, nn. 25 and 27. A decision against appropriating was made in the case of the Jewish Temple: this decision had already been made by the Roman authorities under Hadrian, and his policy was simply continued by Constantine.

43. Such as the Tomb of Micah, *Eg. Tr.* V.8 - 203.

44. Such as the cave at Bethany or the sanctuary at Ain Ma'mudiya, *R.B.* 1951, 205, 249 and 1946, 572.

45. Eusebius, *V. Const.* 3.28 - 165.

46. *Op. cit.* 3.33 - 167; but see the full text in *P.C.* 20 - 1095f.

47. 2(A) - p. 127, etc. See *II Chr.* 3.1 and *Gen.* 22.2.

48. For the Jewish belief that Adam was created at the altar in Jerusalem see Joachim Jeremias, *Golgotha*, Leipzig 1926, p. 39 (= *Angelos* 2 (1926) 78), who notes *Gen. R.* 14.9, 15.9 - ed. Horeb 31a, 12f and 32a. 16/18; *Pirqe R.E.* 11, 12; *Pal. Targum* on *Gen.* 2.7 and *Midrash haGadol* on *Gen.* 25.9.

49. See *II Chr.* 24.20/22; and 3 - p. 60 below.

50. See *bGitt.* 7.68a.

51. This relic does not seem to be mentioned in Jewish sources.

52. See especially the edicule on the Bet Alfa floor, *CNI* 14, pl. 1, (also shown on the front cover of *R.C.S.*), with which compare flask Monza 3.1x (*Eg. Tr.* - 247). Both edicules are sprouting into life.

53. Thus for instance Peter the Iberian, p. 57 above, Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Euth.* - 71.1, or John Moschus, *Pr.* 105 - 2964, 127 - 2988, 170 - 3036. The same circuit may have been in the mind of Theodore the Studite, *Letters* 2.15 - (*PG* 99) 1159, though, like Bord. 595.6 - 160, he unaccountably mentions the Transfiguration.

54. The heat in the Jordan valley really makes the hills shimmer: see 22 - p. 69, and *Ps.* 42.8, LXX and PBV. And there was probably no shadow at midsummer from the column, 1.11 - p. 99 below, which illustrates *Ps.* 73.12 (LXX).

55. For instance the special "dew of Hermon", 9 - p. 81 below.

56. Such as the "salty waste", 35 - p. 87 below.

57. The tale that there is no rain in the Shephelah (31 - 85) "fulfills" *II Sam.* 1.21.

58. Like the water from the rock, 2.3.2 - 104, confirming *Ps.* 78.16, or Adam's burial in dust, 2.9.5 - 105, confirming *Gen.* 3.19.

59. Like the story about the Lord's headcloth, 1.9 - 98, showing that Christians are better than Jews, or the story about the downpour, 1.1.7/13 - p. 95, showing God's special regard for Jerusalem.

60. From Flusa, 34 - p. 87, from Sicily, 2(18)2/6 - p. 107 below, which, since it explains *Matt.* 5.13, also belongs in our first category; and from Constantinople, 3.2.1/8 - p. 113.

61. The story at 3.4.1/13 - p. 114 may originally have explained why there were ten holes in the column of St. George; and the story at 3.4.14/31 - 114f. was originally, no doubt, independent, but was made to confirm *Lev.* 27.28, 33.

62. See 28 - pp. 70f.

63. 1.23.14/19 - p. 101, to which Adomnan adds two further explanations in 1.23.3/4 - p. 100. A similar story, told by Hrabanus Maurus, *Hom.* 70 - 133, explains why the Golden Gate is walked up. Elsewhere unusual natural

Sometimes such stories drew attention to something unusual the pilgrim could see, and used it to recall a biblical story. Such was probably the case with the column on Sion, which had on it the peculiar marks which were said to be Christ's fingerprints, showing how he grasped it when he was being scourged.⁶⁴ Sometimes, however, the whole story simply seems rigged to impress the visitors, as with the Bethlehem Well of the Star.⁶⁵ Occasionally we may guess that a story has been invented to Christianise a place which had previously been pagan.⁶⁶

It is often hard to classify these stories, since they seem to belong to several types at the same time. Thus a story may need only a slight adaptation to make it confirm some scriptural point. A good story exists in its own right, independently of the motive which led to its first telling.

It is well-known that guides and story-tellers did not always tell the truth. So we find several methods of confirming the truth of a story; thus the teller may say that it has been handed down from his forefathers,⁶⁷ or that he heard it from a bishop.⁶⁸ Arculf tells us of his stories that one comes from "the Christian residents",⁶⁹ another from "men of experience",⁷⁰ and a third and "thoroughly reliable account" was learned "from some expert story-tellers".⁷¹ Wherever possible he confirms his stories,⁷² or says that others confirm them.⁷³

The Question of Authenticity

Christians visiting the Holy Land, in the period before the Crusades, as at the present day, wanted to "trace the footprints of Jesus and his disciples, and of the prophets",⁷⁴ the very places and things of which they read in the Bible. How could they be sure that the places they are shown were authentic?

Since 1838 A.D., when Edward Robinson and Eli Smith made their exploration of Palestine, studies of its historical geography and archaeology have become steadily more scientific. Modern archaeologists may well envy the people who knew the land in the early Byzantine period, when so many buildings now ruined or lost were still in use, and when they could still make use of living traditions and memories of sites which have since been forgotten. Indeed we have already seen how the existence of these traditions enabled Eusebius to attain a fair degree of accuracy in the *Onomasticon*.⁷⁵ And it is likely that the Jerusalem Church knew and cared about its Holy Places. For it was a relatively unimportant Church, compared with the rapidly-growing Christian communities in Asia Minor, Italy, Africa, and Spain, and needed to make efforts if it was to remind the world of its special place among the Churches.⁷⁶ In the Holy Places it had an asset of which no other Church could boast. We may therefore suppose that from an early stage in their history the Christians of Jerusalem were anxious to show the places to their visitors, and that the foundations of a reasonably sound topography thus came to be laid. Even without this special stimulus there were certain definite landmarks which would naturally be remembered, such as the Pools of Bethesda and Siloam, and certain less precisely-defined areas, like the Garden of Gethsemane,⁷⁷ of which we know the position rather than the extent.

Having said this we are in danger, however, of misunderstanding the expectations of pilgrims in the period before the Crusades, and before Robinson. In certain respects they were more likely than we are to make correct identifications, but not because they were looking for the same kind of truth by the same means. Circumstantial evidence, like the small pieces of gold and silver found in Egeria's time at Sedima,⁷⁸ may have been enough in their eyes to confirm that it had been the site of Melchizedek's palace, but this is not scientific archaeology. The authenticity of the Holy Places for the early Christians was to be measured by a standard of faith and prayer rather than of logical proof. Thus Eusebius tells us that at its discovery the Tomb of Christ in Jerusalem "by its very existence bore clearer testimony to the Saviour's resurrection than any words".⁷⁹ In this phrase he is not so much saying that the Tomb proves that the Saviour rose again, as that it proclaims that he did. It serves as a "witness to the resurrection"⁸⁰ rather in the same way as the apostles, and like the apostles its work is to evoke rather than to compel belief. The holy places thus confirm and amplify a belief already accepted, and, so to speak, cry out against the denial of this faith: "If you deny

phenomena are explained in terms of the Christian religion, such as the Volcano, 30 - p. 133 below, and "The Lord's Field", for which see pp. 69, 82 below.

64. 592.4/5 - 157. For another similar story explaining a column without a base see 25 - p. 84 below.

65. See IV.8 - p. 117 below. The story is connected with the act of looking into the well, and the same combination of story and act is exemplified by the equally rigged miracle with the synagogue bench in Nazareth, 5 - p. 79 below.

66. Such, perhaps, were the springs associated with Christ at Emmaus, p. 156 below, and at "Ramah" with the Theotokos, 28 - p. 85 below.

67. 3.2.1 - p. 113; like Eusebius, *Dem.* 7.2 - 330 and *Eg. Tr.* 12.2 - 107.

68. 34 - p. 85. In saying something similar Huguere also says she had witnesses, on p. 135 below.

69. 1.9.1 - p. 98.

70. 3.4.1 - p. 114.

71. 3.4.14 - p. 114.

72. So at 1.23.18 - p. 101; 2.3.4 - p. 104; 2.17.5 p. 107; 3.4.12 - p. 114.

73. 1.9.1 - p. 98.

74. Origen, *C. Joann.* 1.28 (fr. 6.40) - 286f.

75. See p. 15 above.

76. The vigorous efforts of Juvenal to obtain promotion to Patriarch provide a case in point.

77. *Mark* 14.32, *John* 18.1.

78. *Eg. Tr.* 14.2 - 110.

79. Eusebius, *V. Const.* 3.28 - 165.

80. *Acts* 1.22.

(the Crucifixion) there are many things to refute you . . . the House of Caiaphas refutes you, showing by its present devastation the power of him who was judged there".⁸¹ Doubt is not for Christians, but for pagans.

The usual authentication of a site was thus either by a tradition or by direct revelation. Thus a monk is told by God where to dig, and finds the coffin of Job,⁸² or a shepherd sees a vision which shows him where Moses is buried.⁸³ The "discovery" or "invention" of saints' bodies was sometimes made easy by the Palestinian practice of placing dry bones in ossuaries, stone boxes on which the name of the dead person was scratched. More often than not the names so associated with the bones could also be found somewhere in the Bible. Thus an ossuary was recently found in Jerusalem marked with the names Martha and Mary;⁸⁴ the obvious conclusion would in a pre-scientific period have been accepted without hesitation.

During our period it was, as often as not, still possible to know where biblical cities and villages had been. But the question for the pilgrim was not only whether he was in the right settlement or area of ruins, but whether he had reached the particular spot which gave the place its significance. It was, for instance, very easy to go to Caesarea, but where was the exact spot where Cornelius had been baptised?⁸⁵ Often in our earlier works on pilgrimage we find that the pilgrim was shown the focal points in a place by a member of the local Christian community as a normal act of hospitality.⁸⁶ But while the guide was showing the pilgrim round, and telling the story connected with his city or church, he was in an ideal position to boast about it, and we find the Bishop of Edessa also giving Egeria a tract to take away.⁸⁷

In the three centuries between the time of Christ's ministry and the reign of Constantine the main features of the Palestinian landscape, and the majority of its towns and villages are unlikely to have changed very much. But it is a different matter when we are dealing with the trees, houses, and rooms which were chosen as the focal points of pilgrimage. Indeed only four about which we hear in the fourth century correspond with what we can identify by other means,⁸⁸ four are possible,⁸⁹ and four definitely wrong.⁹⁰ All the remainder, numbering thirty-four, seem to the present author to have been chosen arbitrarily on grounds of devotion rather than of tradition.⁹¹

Our suspicion that almost three-quarters of these sites were arbitrarily selected to become the foci of pilgrimage is to some extent borne out by the conventional descriptions they bear. The most common names are the "House of" so-and-so or the "Tomb of" so-and-so, but neither phrase can be understood literally. It was not thought strange, for instance, that there should be two tombs for the same saint, and before the Crusades there were two tombs of Joseph,⁹² just as today there are two tombs of Jonah.⁹³ In the modern world we do not think it strange that in the same region there should be several memorials dedicated to the same person, and we should allow the word "Tomb" in this context to have much the same extension of meaning as our "memorial". Tombs of this kind which were venerated in our period bore the names not only of prophets⁹⁴ but also of other notable figures in the Old⁹⁵ and

81. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 13.38f — 817/20; see also 10.19 — 685/8, and 14.22 — 853/6.

82. See *Eg. Tr.* 16.5 — 112, and Appendix G — 282.

83. See p. 57 below, and the revelation of St. Stephen's burial, *PL* 41.807f, and of the Twelve Stones in the Jordan, John Moschus, *Pr.* 11 — 286f.

84. Finegan 274 — 244. The names from a grave in Bethlehem, Bord. 598.7f — 162 no doubt came to be collected in this way.

85. Shown to the Bordeaux pilgrim, 585.7 — 153.

86. Egeria was usually shown by the bishop: see *Tr.* 8.4; 12.7; 19.1, 6, 16; 20.3; 21.1; but at Sedima by the presbyter and clergy of the place, 14.1. The PISCENZA pilgrim, Willibald, and Bernard also mention the fact that they had contact with bishops, but not that they were guided by them: see pp. 85, 126, 142 below.

87. *Eg. Tr.* 19.19 — 117.

88. Including the non-biblical Tomb of Helena with the Font of Siloam, Jacob's Well, and the Temple area. The Pool of Beth-zatha, also in this category, was first mentioned in the fifth century.

89. Possibly authentic fourth century foci are the House of Peter at Capernaum, Macpelah at Hebron, the Place of Baptism on the Jordan, and the place of Elijah's ascension.

90. Wrong sites are the Tomb of Moses at Abarim, of David at Bethlehem, and of John Baptist at Sebastia; and Joseph's granaries at Memphis.

91. Foci arbitrarily chosen include thirty-four in the fourth century, the holy wells at Asealon, the Tombs of Abner, Amos, Caleb, Eli, Joshua, and Lazarus; the caves of the Nativity of Christ, of the Annunciation, on the Mount of Olives, of the Shepherds, of Elijah and the Hundred Prophets; the Houses of Caiaphas, Cornelius, David (in Hebron), Rahab, the Widow of Nain, and the Woman with the Issue of Blood; the meeting-place at Bethphage, Philip's Huts at Caesarea, the Gethsemane rock, the Twelve Stones at Gilgal, the Tree of Zacharias, the Tree at the Terebinth, the churches of Dorcas at Joppa and of Elijah at Sarepta, Lot's Wife, the garden in Nazareth, the place of the Ascension, the three sites at Tabgha, and the Temple at Shiloh. Twenty more sites were added in this category by documents written later in our period. Three in the fifth century: the Tomb of the Innocents in Bethlehem, Elijah's Cave on Mt. Carmel, and the Upper Room of the Last Supper on Mt. Zion; eight in the sixth century: the Houses of Peter and Andrew, of Philip, of the sons of Zebedee and of Elizabeth; the cenacle-cave in Gethsemane, the Tomb of Joseph in Hebron, Jeremiah's pit, and the place where the Holy Family rested at Memphis. None are mentioned in documents of the seventh century, but there are six in the eighth: the Houses of David in Bethlehem, and of John and Zebedee; the place of the Feeding of the Four Thousand, the mounting-place at Bethphage, the Lithostrotion on Zion, and the chapel of Melchizedek on Tabor. There are two from the ninth century, the Mount of Precipitation at Nazareth and the place at Pelusium where the Holy Family rested; and one from the tenth, the place of the Paralytic at Capernaum.

92. At Shechem, Bord. 588.1 — 154 (as Josh. 24.32), also at Hebron, *Plac. P.* 30 — p. 85 below.

93. At Mesh-hed and at Hahul. Joshua too has a tomb at Kufr Haris which was venerated at the same time as the one at Tibna: see Jeronias, *Hg.* pp. 40/2, 46/8.

94. Zacharias, Joad, Elisha, Obadiah, Ezekiel (with others) and Isaiah.

95. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob with their wives; Goliath, Absalom and Jezebel (whose tombs were stoned: see p. 85 below and *Eg. (P)* V 5 — 201); and Eli and Hzekiah.

New⁹⁶ Testaments.

The phrases "Tomb of" and "House of" seem almost to coincide in the case of Cornelius,⁹⁷ and we are told of Cleophas that he was martyred in the place where his house was revered.⁹⁸ We may suspect a transition (or combination) of a similar kind in the case of the Shepherds of Bethlehem, whose tombs are shown in the seventh century in what had been simply their church in the fourth.⁹⁹ In several instances the "House" is said to have been made into a church,¹⁰⁰ and of these "house-churches" the most famous, which was "altered into a church"¹⁰¹ was the one on Mount Zion.

How far does the Byzantine proportion of authentic sites remain in the Holy Land today? Our answer will depend on knowing first how much was destroyed in the Persian invasion and the other disasters of the seventh centuries, and second how far the Crusaders broke with tradition when they arrived in the country.

About half the ordinary churches whose remains have been discovered were no longer occupied after the seventh century, but only one-fifth of the holy places cease to be mentioned by our pilgrims.¹⁰² This is consistent with what we know from other sources, that the Muslims converted the inhabitants of many Christian villages and cities to Islam, but that they permitted Christian pilgrims to continue visiting their holy places. Muslims indeed, with their special regard for the *Hajj* or pilgrimage, regarded it as natural that Christians should wish to come.¹⁰³

A more radical change occurred in the early years of the Latin Kingdom, up till 1187 A.D. Geographically one authentic place-name is now mentioned of which nothing had been heard since Eusebius wrote the *Onomasticon*,¹⁰⁴ and three of those added are possibly authentic.¹⁰⁵ But nine are wrongly identified,¹⁰⁶ and eleven more seem to have been arbitrarily chosen on devotional grounds.¹⁰⁷ Six more arise out of natural features or sites.¹⁰⁸ Thus in adding twenty-nine places to the map the Christians of the Latin Kingdom introduced about twenty-five which were probably fanciful, besides five more which were attached to extra-biblical stories.¹⁰⁹

So far as smaller sites and focal points are concerned the situation was no better. The Temple area was now for the first time pressed into the service of Christianity and this, and perhaps also the tomb of Paula and Eustochium in Bethlehem, were authentic. But six of these smaller features are wrongly identified,¹¹⁰ and eleven more seem to have been chosen on devotional grounds.¹¹¹

96. Cleophas, Cornelius, James the Great, Joseph, Lazarus, Mark, the Shepherds, Simeon, Tabitha, the Virgin Mary, and Zebedee.

97. Cornelius' house, 8.2 — p. 47 below; his tomb 46 — p. 89 below.

98. Cleophas' martyrdom 4 — p. 65 below; his house 8.2 — p. 47 below.

99. The Shepherds' tombs 6 — p. 105 below; their church *Eg. (P)* L 1 — 185.

100. So the Houses of Cornelius, p. 47; of Cleophas, p. 47; of Elijah, p. 47; of the Bl. Virgin Mary, 84, 83; of Peter, p. 81; of Rahab, p. 82; of Peter and Andrew, 96.5 — p. 128. Note also the House of Abraham at Haran, *Eg. Tr.* 20.5 — 118.

101. See *Eg. Tr.* 43.3 — 141.

102. This proportion seems to emerge from the archaeological and documentary evidence assembled in the Gazetteer.

103. Note the words of the old gentleman in 12 — p. 126 below.

104. Etam, now Kh. el Kokh 167 161 was fortified by Rehoboam, II Chron. 11.6. Eusebius refers to another Etam in the Shephelah, *On.* 96.5, Jud. 15.8 where there was a river. In 1106 A.D.: 51 — 42 we have the river of Etam (which seems to be part of the aqueduct-system at el Burak 166 121) placed at the former site, which, though a mistake, does at least show that the place-name was preserved there.

105. Arimathea near Sebaste, 1106 A.D.: 74 — 58; Bethulia near Tiberias, 1130 A.D.: — 423; and Emmaus near "Ramah", 1106 A.D.: 62 — 52.

106. Bethsaida near Magdalla, 1106 A.D.: 82 — 64 (but for the true site 1102 A.D.: — 38); Capernaum near Caesarea, 1106 A.D.: 66 — 53 (but for the true site 1106 A.D.: 73 — 64); "Decapolis", 1106 A.D.: 84 — 65; Dothaim near Tiberias, 1130 A.D.: — 423 (but for the true site 1165 A.D.: 2 — 114); Gibeah of Phineas at Tell el Ful, 1130 A.D.: — 428; Mount Gibeon near Jericho, 1106 A.D.: 36 — 32 (but for the true Gibeon 1137 A.D.: P2 — 191); "Gaza now called Gazara", 1172 A.D.: 36 — 83; Lake of Gennesaret (= L. Huleh) 1106 A.D.: 83 — 65; Mount Shiloh (= Nabi Samwil), 1172 A.D.: 38 — 87.

107. Bethfaroel, a stage on the Flight into Egypt, 1130 A.D.: — 415; where Abraham left the young man, 1106 A.D.: 45 — 38; where Adam was created at Hebron, 1130 A.D.: — 414; properties of Judas and Paul in Jerusalem, 1106 A.D.: 15 — 18; Mountains of Modin, 1172 A.D.: 38 — 87; denarius-miracle and cure of blind men at Beisan (Matt. 17.27, 9.27) 1106 A.D.: 75 — 58; Thirty pieces of silver made in Haffa, 1172 A.D.: 39 — 89; Mount of Temptation near Jericho, 1102 A.D.: — 36; Cain slaying Abel near Nablus, 1172 A.D.: 42 — 94; Habakkuk at Tekoa 1106 A.D.: 56 — 48.

108. See 1102 A.D.: — 35, the Monastery of the Cross; 1106 A.D.: 75 — 58, the spring where Christ bathed; 1165 A.D.: 16 — 164, the arch under which the B.V.M. suckled her son; 1172 A.D.: 24 — 61, the stone in Gethsemane; 1177 A.D.: 6 — 932, the stone where Christ sat; 1185 A.D.: — 196, the Fountain of Emmaus.

109. Bethlehem where the trees bow down at Christmas, *Anon.* III, 5 — 132; Hebron where Adam mourned Abel, 1130 A.D.: — 414; En Kerem, the Church of Refuge (of *Protev. Jas.* 22.3 — 387) 1177 A.D.: 26 — 956; the "Village of Esau", 1106 A.D.: 94 — 72; where Christ wrote the Our Father on a stone, 1102 A.D.: — 34.

110. Wrongly identified: the portrait at Casale Balnearum, 1130 A.D.: — 429, "Bethel" on Mount Gerizim, 1165 A.D.: 2 — 116; the House of the Shunammite at Jericho, 1106 A.D.: 35 — 31; the Antonia in Jerusalem, 1172 A.D.: 4 — 10; Gihon near Aeldama, 1130 A.D.: — 427, which may be a confusion with Gehenna; the House of Pilate near the east gate, 1172 A.D.: 4 — 10.

111. Devotional: at Bethlehem (a) Christ's pillow and the table of the Magi, 1102 A.D.: — 35, (b) "Bethel" and the House of Jesse, 1106 A.D.: 49 — 41; the Well of the Covenant (= Ain ed Dhirwa?) 1106 A.D.: 51 — 42; at Hebron House of David, 1137 A.D.: N2 — 97, 190; at Jerusalem, the Prison of the Jews, 1106 A.D.: 15 — 18; the Arch of Judas, LKM 40b; Peter at the Prison, 1165 A.D.: 16 — 162; Joseph's pit, 1172 A.D.: 28 — 69; at Tiberias the tombs of Mary, Lazarus's sister, 1165 A.D.: 6 — 33, and of Elisha and Joshua, 1106 A.D.: 79 — 62.

A Setting for Pilgrimage

"The principal motive which draws people to Jerusalem" said St. Paulinus of Nola, "is the desire to see and touch the places where Christ was present in the body, and as a consequence to recite, 'We will worship at the place where his feet stood'."¹¹² Our religion prompts us to see the places to which Christ came."¹¹³ The places and things visited by the pilgrim matter specially to him because they were used by Christ in his ministry of salvation,¹¹⁴ and in the setting of the Holy Land we are able to touch and see some of those very things he touched and saw. It is of course true that God is not confinable to any place,¹¹⁵ and certainly not to the Holy Land alone, as the main defenders of pilgrimage readily admitted. But it is equally true that Christ in his earthly ministry visited some places and not others. This is why "people are drawn from the ends of the earth to see where the Lord was born, buried, and crucified."¹¹⁶

Many writers speak of pilgrimage in terms of sight: thus Paula wanted "to see Jerusalem and the holy places",¹¹⁷ and Sophronius tells of his desire to "gaze at", to "see", and to "behold" them.¹¹⁸ The Holy Land invited the pilgrim to see in several different ways. He could look at the material things, "these lifeless objects which can confirm the truths of long ago",¹¹⁹ but these "traces of his Birth, Cross and Passion" are "still fresh".¹²⁰ In considering them we "see in types the signs of the Lord's incarnate sojourn here".¹²¹ From seeing it is a short step to picturing or visualising the events of the history of salvation, to "contemplate the crucifixion at Golgotha . . . to see with the eyes of the Spirit".¹²² Consequently Paula pictures the Lord on the Cross, and actually sees him in the Manger.¹²³ Nor should we be over-precise in marking the boundary between visualising and receiving a vision.¹²⁴

Just as seeing can be understood in different ways, so can touching, and people in Jerusalem, according to Cyril of Scythopolis, "so to speak touch truth daily by means of the revered places where came to pass the mystery of the incarnation".¹²⁵ Contact in some sense unites a person with what he touches, an idea which the Bible makes most familiar in the negative context of contracting uncleanness.¹²⁶ But there is a correspondingly positive idea that by touching someone or something holy a person unites himself with its holiness. Thus the woman with an issue of blood (Mark 5.27) came up behind Jesus and touched his cloak, making her contact with him in a way still common in the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. Now the classic gesture of contact is the kiss: but the Hebrew verb *nashaq* means both "touch" and "kiss", in Greek and Latin the words for "kiss" and "venerate" are often identical,¹²⁷ and the frequently-used phrase, to "venerate the holy places"¹²⁸ therefore carries within it the connotation of contact. So we find the Piacenza pilgrim on arrival in Jerusalem prostrating himself and kissing the ground,¹²⁹ and Paula embracing the tomb-shelf at the Anastasis with the passion of a lover.¹³⁰

The belief that holiness was imparted by contact was inherited by Christians from the religions around them, including Judaism.¹³¹ But it was hard to intellectualise, and to modern ears the principles, when they come to be expressed, sound as crude in the works written in our period as they do when they appear in the Bible. We suspect statements like the following:

112. LXX Ps. 132 (131).7.
 113. Paulinus No. 1, *Ep.* 49 – 402, written in 409 A.D. Thus John Rufus' monks treat it as normal that a Christian should wish to see the Holy Places, 198 – p. 57 below, and Jerome says it is a duty, *Ep.* 47 – 346. The expression "many wanted to die there", p. 147 below, is an extreme expression of the normal attitude.
 114. Thus Cyril of Scythopolis writes, "All of us who inhabit this holy land (cf. Zech 2.12?) have received by a tradition . . . from the apostles the true confession and belief in this . . . mystery of Christ, which came to pass here by the instrument of the . . . Cross, of the . . . Resurrection, and in fact also of all the holy places", *V. Sab.* 153.2.
 115. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* 4.5 expresses this by using the rare word *ἀνενήπαρτος*. Since Sophronius, as bishop, used Cyril's catechetical lectures in Lent, we may guess that Cyril was the source from which he borrowed the word for *Orat.* 1 – 173.
 116. John Chrysostom, *Exp. in Ps.* 110 – 274.
 117. See p. 47 below.
 118. Below pp. 91.12, 49, 51, 92.91, 17: as in Iacintus, 1 – p. 123 below, and Bernard, 1 – p. 141.
 119. Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 49 – 402: note Gregory of Nyssa's objection, "we believed before seeing the holy places", *Ep.* 2 – 1013B.
 120. Jerome, *Ep.* 47 – 346.
 121. Gregory of Nyssa, *Life of Macrina*, prol. – 960.
 122. From the *Life of St. Silvanus* (c. 700 A.D.), *AA.SS.* 17th Feb. (III) 30.
 123. See 9.2 and 10.2 – p. 49 below: Jerome uses comparable expressions in *Ep.* 46.13 – 343 and *Cl. Eph.* II prol. – 477.
 124. Thus a sixth-century source describes how St. Dositheus saw an icon of hell in Gethsemane and received a vision telling him to be a monk: *AA.SS.* 23rd Feb. (III) 382.
 125. Cyril Scythop., *V. Sab.* – 154.16.
 126. See Lev. 11.26, and the many similar passages.
 127. The connection between them is well discussed by G.F.M. Vermeer, *Observations*, pp. 93/7. Note also the use of *nashaq* in 1 Kings 19.18.
 128. Used for instance in *V. Melaniae* 34 – 190, *V. Patrum (Pelagia)* 12 – 663, Theodore of Petra, *V. Theod.* 7.14 – 105; frequently by Cyril of Scythopolis (for instance *V. Euth.* 71.1, *V. J. Hes.* – 213.5) and by John Moschus, for instance *Pr.* 91 – 2949.
 129. 18 – p. 83 below: this classic action on arrival (for which see *Odyssey* 5.463) is surprisingly rare in our sources.
 130. See 9.2 – p. 49 below. For the formal action involved in the kiss see 46/7 – p. 92 below and n. 6, and compare 20 – p. 83 below.
 131. See for instance Exod. 29.37, 30.29, Hag. 2.13, and II Sam. 6.

Faith accepts that everything which touches the sacred body is holy.¹³²

or this:

The Wood of the Cross is to be venerated as something made holy by having touched his sacred body and blood, (and so are) the nails, the lance, the clothes, and his sacred "tabernacles", that is to say the Manger, the Cave, saving Golgotha, the life-giving Tomb, Sion . . . and such like.¹³³

We might prefer that our authors (and the Bible) did not speak of things as holy; but only of people. But they do,¹³⁴ and the riches as well as the dangers of this language are part of the Christian's inheritance.

Contact was not limited to kissing. Indeed the pilgrims show how holy places and their relics were used to serve as the scenery and properties in a dramatic ritual, and we hear of Christians going to eat in a cave where Christ ate with the disciples,¹³⁵ of filling a water-pot at Cana,¹³⁶ and of bathing at the Place of Baptism on the Jordan.¹³⁷ All these were ritual acts done, as we are told, to "gain the blessing" of the mystery which hallowed the place or thing. Participatory rituals of a roughly similar kind were the "miracle" with the bench at Nazareth and the throwing of stones at the tombs of wicked people such as Goliath or Jezebel.¹³⁸

Another ritual which we are surely right to call dramatic, even though it is restrained and largely devoid of realism, was evolved in Jerusalem during the fourth century. During the Great Week the whole community participated in the Great Week by a series of processions which followed the order of the events of Christ's passion.¹³⁹

Both expressions, the phrase "seeing in types" and the phrase "touching the truth" point to something deeper than merely physical sight and touch. On the one hand they echo the sacramental theology of their time (though from our period we have no developed "theology of pilgrimage"), and on the other they seem to be modelled on thought-patterns close to those used by Jerome in interpreting the Bible, when he sought a spiritual meaning which would go hand in hand with the literal. The two phrases stand as they are, and their authors do not elaborate them. Nor perhaps should we.

As some places and relics were chosen to serve as scenery for biblical events others were taken as settings for non-biblical narratives. Six such settings come to be mentioned in the fifth century, of which five are connected with the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose cult was then being actively discussed on the international scene.¹⁴⁰

Some pilgrims brought offerings to the Holy Places;¹⁴¹ some made use of objects provided for the enactment of ritual dramas. But almost all must have returned home taking some memento. Such objects were intimately associated with the experience the pilgrims had received in the holy place, and helped them, as his load of earth helped Naaman,¹⁴² to keep that experience fresh when they arrived home.

In Egeria's time some of the things taken home by pilgrims had been given them as "blessings", a word which still meant first and foremost the gift from a Christian host to his guest.¹⁴³ But by the sixth century we find the same word being used to describe what was taken by the pilgrim himself from some place where it was provided with

132. Gregory of Tours, *Glor. Mart.* 1.7 – 712.
 133. John Damascene, *Fid. Orth.* 4.11 – 1129.
 134. See for instance Exod. 28.2, 30.25; Num. 5.17, 6.20, 31.6; II Chr. 5.5; Ps. 2.6, 11.4; Isa. 52.1, 64.10; Ezek. 42.13; Hag. 2.12; Matt. 7.6, Rom. 11.16; II Pet. 1.18.
 135. See 10 – p. 66 below and 4 – p. 79.
 136. See 4 – p. 79 below and 13 – p. 128; like drinking from the sponge used at the crucifixion (Matt. 27.48), 20 – p. 83 below, or from the reliquary, 22 – p. 84; see also the vessel in 2 – p. 79 below, and the bucket in 6 – p. 81.
 137. 16 – p. 131 below, and *AA.SS.* 17th Feb. (III) 30. Sobeos, *Hist. Herac.* 25 – 74 seems to speak of pilgrims actually being baptised in the Jordan (as 11 – p. 82 below), no doubt at a late age, as Constantine had wished to be, Eusebius, *V. Const.* 4.62 – 1216. Other instances of bathing or washing appear at 4 – p. 79, 24 – p. 84, and 2.3.4 – p. 104 below.
 138. 5 – p. 79, 31 – p. 85 below and *Eg. (P)* V5 – 201. Another participatory act, flagellation in the place where Christ was scourged, is not recorded till the time of the Latin Kingdom, 1170 A.D.: 25 – 62. Sometimes we are able to identify the commemorations made at a site only by noticing what relics come to be shown there. Thus Holy Sion contained several relics of the Passion which probably came from a time before the building of the Churches on Golgotha, notably the column of scourging, *Bord.* 592.4 – 157, the crown of thorns, 4 – p. 60, and the rod (*ibid.*), which is presumably that of Matt. 27.29. Similarly there were relics illustrating the Last Supper at Golgotha, namely the Cup (3 – p. 60) and basin (1.20 – p. 117); also perhaps the linen cloth of II.1 – p. 117 if this was originally intended as the one of John 13.3, then misleadingly glossed. These may have originated in a time when the Supper was commemorated principally on the Thursday of the Great Week at the buildings on Golgotha (see *Eg. Tr.* 35.1/2 – 134/5) and before the general recognition that the Supper had taken place on Sion. A further group of relics is very hard to associate with the places where they were kept: thus the chain, 27 – p. 84, the "charger", 2 – p. 59, or the column and head of St. Theodota, 22 – p. 84.
 139. See *Eg. Tr.* – 73/7.
 140. Her Nativity at the Sheep Pool, her dismounting at the Old and New Kathismata, her Falling Asleep on Sion, and her Tomb in Gethsemane: the fifth site was the "Estate of Agrippa". The only later sites mentioned in this category during our period are (in the sixth century) Diocæsarea as the scene of the Virgin Mary's childhood, and Tabgha as the scene of the Apostles' baptism; in the eleventh century Choziba as the place where Mary's birth was announced to Joachim, and in the twelfth En Kerem as the place of refuge mentioned in *Protev. James* 22.3 – 387.
 141. See for instance 2 – p. 79 and 18 – p. 83 below, with note.
 142. II Kings 5.17.
 143. See *Eg. Tr.*, pp. 24f.

this intention.¹⁴⁴ These "blessings" were expected, at least by the Piacenza pilgrim, to have healing virtues. He speaks of diseases being cured by the "dew of Hermon",¹⁴⁵ and of the crude oil near Clymas curing those possessed by demons.¹⁴⁶ Twigs¹⁴⁷ and cloths¹⁴⁸ are also taken for their healing power, but the nature of the object matters little so long as it comes from the holy places. Perhaps the nearest equivalent to our tourist snapshots were the "measures" made from a ribbon cut to the length of some holy place or object.¹⁴⁹ These had the advantage that they did not involve the destruction of the object exposed for veneration.¹⁵⁰

Of all places in the world Jerusalem was the most obvious source of relics, and St. Ambrose tells the tale of St. Helena taking the nails from Christ's Cross back to her son Constantine.¹⁵¹ Constantine sent to Jerusalem for relics to place in his Church of the Apostles in Constantinople, since Jerome tells of relics of Andrew, Luke and Timothy being taken on this occasion, and of the bones of Blessed Samuel being taken to Thrace by the Emperor Arcadius.¹⁵² In the sixth century we hear of the first of a long succession of travellers from Gaul who had come to seek relics, Queen Radegund, who "sent again for relics of the saints from Jerusalem and all the east". Real journeys of this kind were certainly made,¹⁵³ but there are also some accounts which were clearly invented to provide spurious relics with a plausible origin, and others which are simply told to glorify some hero. A frequent scene in such stories describes the Patriarch of Jerusalem loading the pilgrim with the relics he desires.¹⁵⁴ As it happens not one of the accounts we have translated below is concerned with the acquisition of major relics.

Pilgrim Expectations

The overall motive for pilgrimage seems to have been the quest for perfection,¹⁵⁵ sought in this case particularly by going to places where God's mighty acts had been performed, and worshipping him there. A sixth-century Iberian pilgrim called Antony expresses this by saying "I adore God in his holy Cross and Resurrection",¹⁵⁶ and as a result, a pilgrim expects to dedicate himself afresh to God, and to begin a new life. A symbol of putting off the old and beginning anew was, for the Piacenza pilgrim, the tonsure and shaving of his beard on top of Mount Sinai,¹⁵⁷ and for a good many pilgrims the visit to the Holy places was in fact the prelude to entering the monastic life.¹⁵⁸ On their pilgrimage therefore some of those who intended to become monks or nuns visited the great exponents and examples of this way of life.¹⁵⁹

Part of the reason why pilgrimage was seen as a means of perfection was that the journey itself was so full of dangers, uncertainties and hardships: St. Magdaleneus, for example, travelled to Jerusalem with great hardship, *cum magna viarum angustia*.¹⁶⁰ Illness was frequent (but so also were miraculous cures),¹⁶¹ and deaths were not unusual.¹⁶² On the journey the pilgrim was thus reminded that he was at risk, and that God was his only reliance. Pilgrimage therefore came to be seen as an exercise particularly suitable to penitents, as we hear in a letter written to Abbot Modestus in Jerusalem by Metropolitan Komitas of Armenia. Writing of the benefits of the Easter pilgrimage to his people he

says,

they washed away their sins by penance, fasting, and charity in carrying out this hard journey without rest night or day.¹⁶³

We hear also that Saint Marcianus often persuaded penitent prostitutes to go to Jerusalem, and paid their expenses,¹⁶⁴ and in the sixth century, in what may be our earliest reference to pilgrimage as a penance, we read that some people of Edessa who had committed blasphemy were first of all made to fast, and "when they came to themselves they dressed in black because of what had happened, and went in crowds to Jerusalem".¹⁶⁵ Pilgrimage came also to be imposed as a penance in the West, possibly as a substitute for permanent exile,¹⁶⁶ and the first clear case comes from the ninth century. Three brothers who had killed a priest who was also their uncle were sentenced by their bishops in South Italy:

to make iron chains and bind them tightly on their arms, and then make the circuit of the holy places in dust and ashes, until such time as God accepted their penance.¹⁶⁷

The resulting journey lasted over three years.

On such pilgrimages, and probably others as well, a special point was made to practice the threefold rule of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving.¹⁶⁸ Some people seem not to have eaten at all on the journey.¹⁶⁹

Pilgrimage led Christians into a situation where there were many spiritual obstacles to be encountered. There was an ever-present danger of superstition and a temptation to gather souvenirs as if they would be almost magically efficacious. But the heart of the matter lay deeper, as we see in the motives ascribed to Egeria by her eulogist Valerius:

In the strength of the glorious Lord she fearlessly set out on an immense journey to the other side of the world. Guided by God she pressed on until after a time she reached what she had longed for, the most holy places of the birth, passion, and resurrection of the Lord; . . . her purpose was to pray and to find edification; for the more she had advanced in holy learning the more insatiably her holy longing burned in her heart.¹⁷⁰

Pilgrimage brought its own special rewards, which Eutychius of Alexandria described in the tenth century, when he wrote of the holy places as a pledge of the kingdom of heaven and the delights of the world to come:

By these relics and places . . . Christ gave us, all joined in one, a blessing, a sanctification, an approach to him, pardon for sins, feasts in which men come together in his name, spiritual joy without end, and witnesses confirming the Scriptures.¹⁷¹

His words seem to sum up precisely the hopes which drew pilgrims to the Holy Land in our period, and the experiences they described when eventually they came home.

144. See 18 — p. 83; 23.4/8 — p. 101, and Gregory of Tours, *Glor. Mart.* 1.7 — 712, which mention holy earth, like that which a certain Hesperius had in his room "to avoid suffering", Augustine, *City of God* 22.8.6 — 820. For holy oil see 16 — p. 83 below; also 20 — p. 83 and Gregory of Tours, *Mir. S. Mart.* 2.24.

145. See 9 — p. 81 below. Probably the manna, 39 — p. 87 below, was expected to do the same, and the Jordan water of 14 — p. 82 below.

146. See 42 — p. 88 below.

147. See 46k, 47.12 and Rev. 22.2; in our period *Eg. Tr.* 8.3 — 102, Adomnan 2.11.5 — p. 106 below, and George Hamartolos, *Chron.* 4.236 — 877.

148. One at Memphis displayed a portrait of Christ, 44 — p. 88 below; one in Jerusalem had been woven by the Virgin Mary, 1.10 — p. 98; and one was Christ's shroud, 1.9 — p. 98.

149. 22 — p. 83 (see n. 31) and 23 — p. 84 below. These were justified by reference to the handkerchiefs and scarves of Acts 19.11/12, which Cyril Jer., *Cat.* 10.19 — 699 mentions as if they were still on display in Jerusalem.

150. Pieces of the rock table at Tabgha were regarded as "very effective" for cures, *Eg. (P)* V.3 — 196/200, and the present state of this rock shows the extent of damage which pilgrims were ready to do to gain relics.

151. Ambr. in *Ob. Theod.* 47 — 1399; see also the version of this story recounted on p. 202 below, Jerome's unfavourable reaction to it, *C. Zach.* 14.20 — 898, and Gregory of Tours, *Glor. Mart.* 1.5 — 709.

152. Implied but not stated by Eusebius *V. Const.* 4.58ff — 1209/12, but affirmed by Jerome, *c. Vig.* 5.43 — 343.

153. For several other Frankish examples see the list in *AA.SS.* Oct. (IX) 38.

154. Introduced into the *Chanson de Charlemagne*, lines 158/65 — 5, in much the same way as it appears in the eleventh-century (but not the ninth-century) *Life of St. Magdaleneus*, *AA.SS.* 4th Oct. (II) 539.

155. See the contemporary *Life of St. Fructuosus of Braga*, *AA.SS.* 16th Apr. (II) 435.

156. In the contemporary source *AA.SS.* 24th May (V) 429.

157. See 37 — p. 87 below.

158. Among those who became monks or nuns were Paula, 10.7 — p. 50 and 14.4 — p. 52 below, Willibald 31 — p. 133, Cosmas, contemporary life in *AA.SS.* 6th May (II) 116; Theodosius the Sicaote before 550 A.D., contemporary life in *AA.SS.* Apr. (II) 43; in the seventh century Thomas, who stayed in Jerusalem three years after his pilgrimage and after returning to Italy became Abbot of Farfa, *AA.SS.* 10th Sept. (III) 605; in the eighth century John of Gothia, who spent three years in Jerusalem before becoming a bishop, (contemporary life in) *AA.SS.* 26th June (V) 190. Agilus who was a viscount in the sixth century "gave up everything" before setting out on pilgrimage, *AA.SS.* 30th Aug (VI) 567.

159. Like Paula, 14.2 — p. 52; see *Eg. Tr.* — 22/6 and Kötting, p. 301.

160. In the eighth century, according to the 11th-century *Life in AA.SS.* 4th Oct. (II) 513.

161. See for instance pp. 89 and 131 below, and *AA.SS.* 24th May (V) 423 f. No pilgrims go to the Holy Land expressly for the purpose of healing, so far as we are told. Contrast Kötting, p. 13.

162. See below, 7 — p. 81, 8 — p. 125 and p. 147.

163. Sebeos, *Hist. Herae.* 25 — 74.

164. In the pre-tenth century *Life in AA.SS.* 10th Jan. (I) 616. Marcianus himself lived in the fifth century.

165. Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* (tr. J. B. Chabot), vol. II, Paris 1901.

166. See U. Berlière, "Les Pèlerinages Judiciaires au Moyen-Age", *Revue Bénédictine* 7 (1899) 521. Such pilgrims were obliged to travel on foot (p. 525).

167. *AA.SS.* 24th Oct. (X) 847 f.

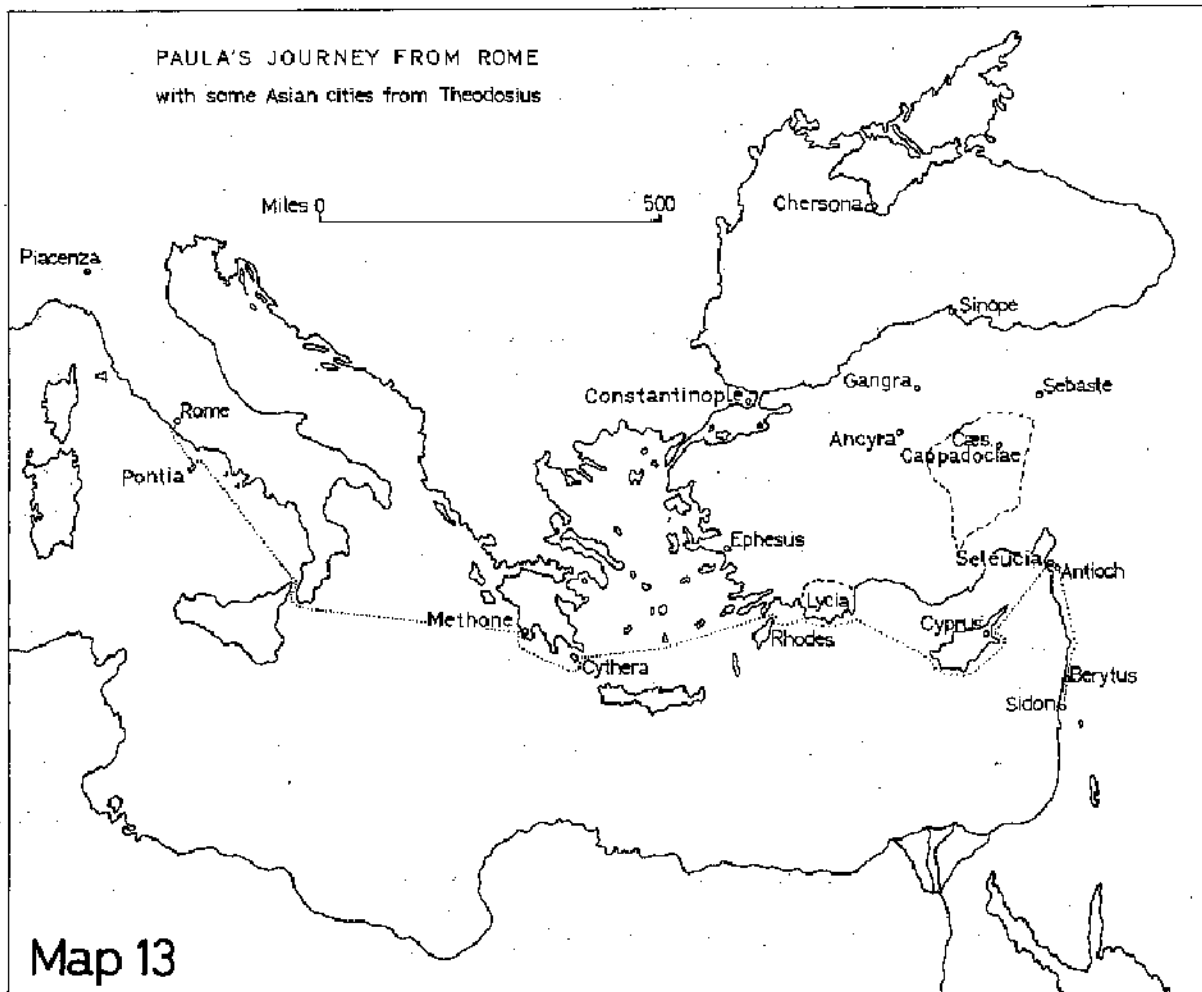
168. Notice the language used by Komitas on the last page. Almsgiving is also mentioned, for instance, at 10.1 — p. 49 below.

169. Theodoret on Marana and Cyra, *AA.SS.* 3rd Aug. (I) 226.

170. *Letter 16* — 174/5.

171. *Dem.* 310 — 135.

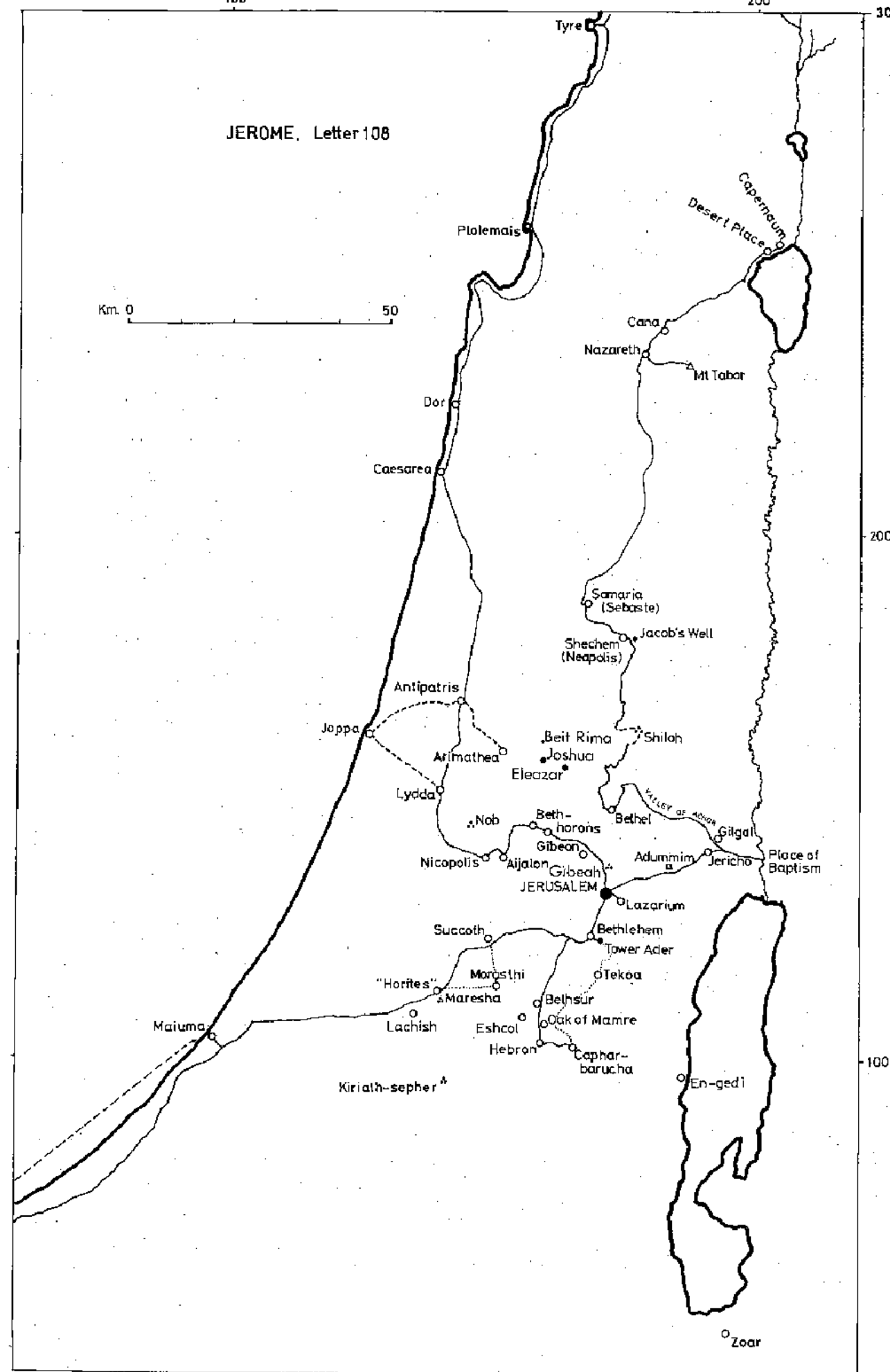
THE TRANSLATIONS



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JEROME, Letter 108

Km. 0 50



Map 14

ST. JEROME

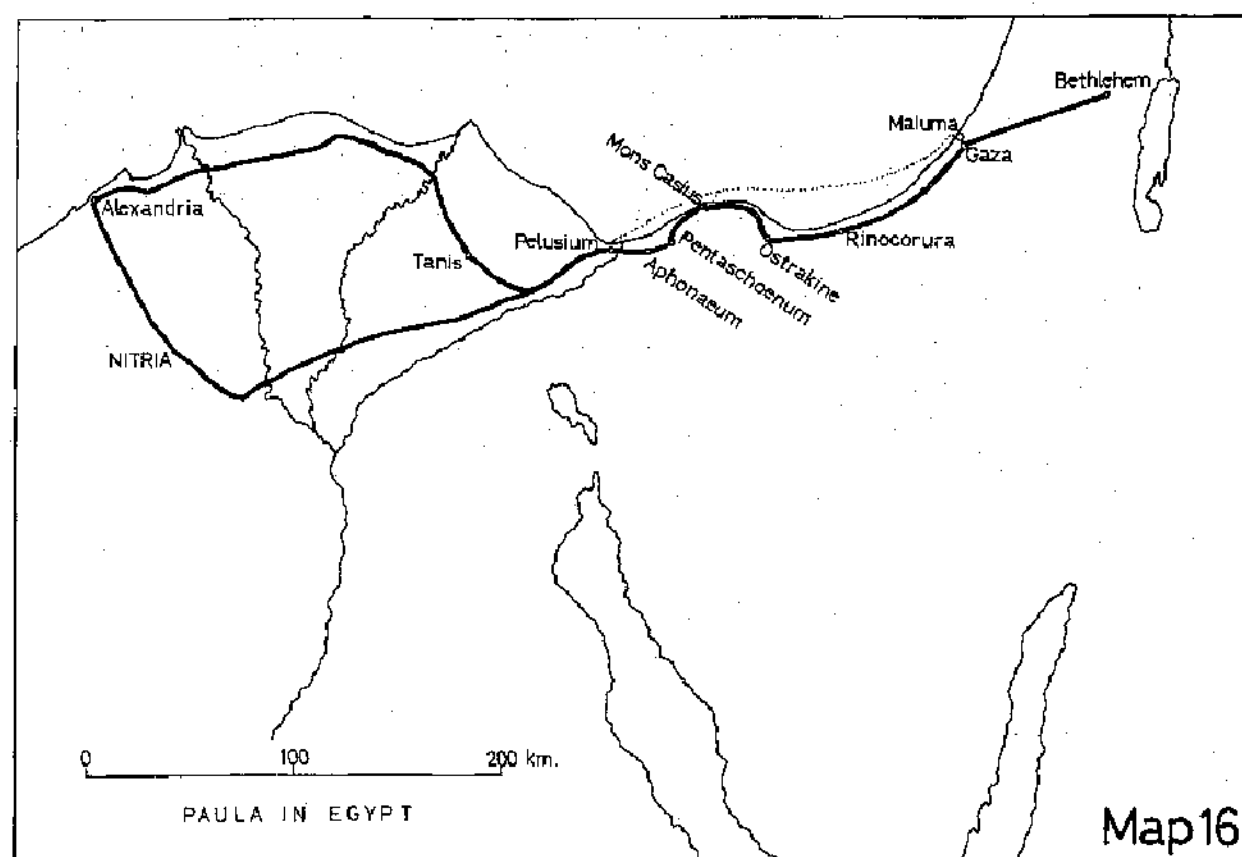
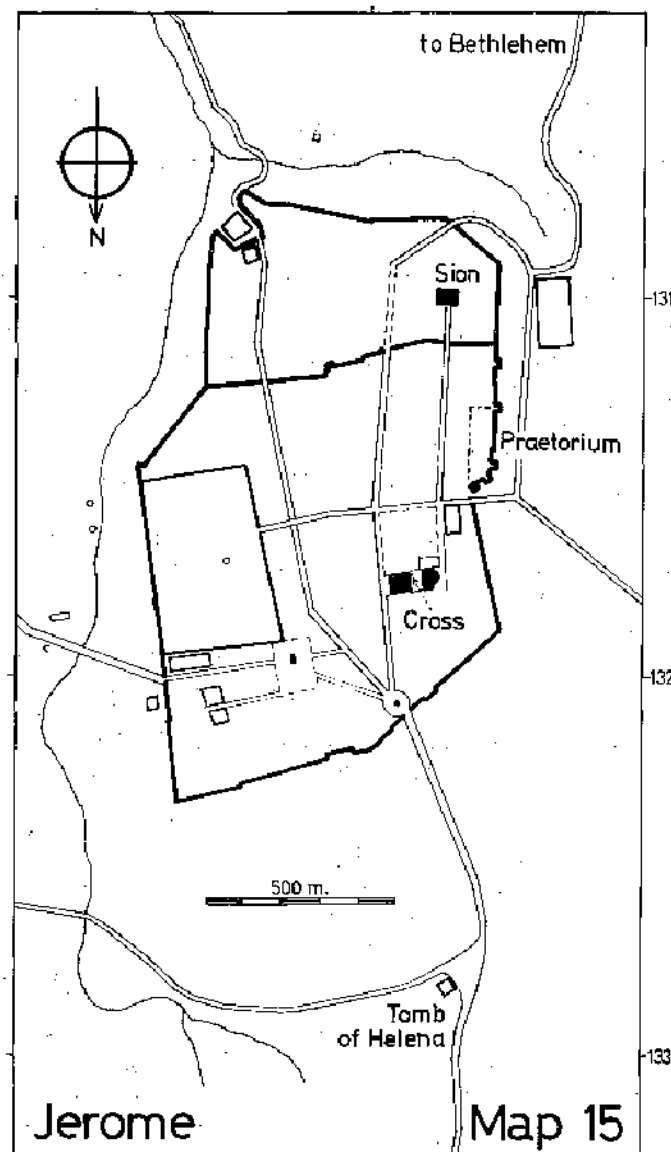
LETTER 108 to EUSTOCHIUM – Extracts

(When Paula left Rome she sailed to the island of Pontia; then "wanting to see Jerusalem and the holy places" she went on through the Cyclades, Rhodes, and Lycia, to Cyprus, where she was received by Epiphanius. From there she went to Seleucia where the holy Confessor Paulinus¹ met her and took her on to Antioch²).

- v313 8.1 I shall not describe her journey through Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. For I have not set out to write a travel book about her, but am going to name only those places which are mentioned in Holy Scripture. Moving on from the Roman Colony of Berytus and the ancient city of Sidon she went onto the shore at Sarepta,³ and worshipped the Lord and Saviour in the turret of Elijah. Then, travelling along the coast of Tyre, where Paul knelt on the sand,⁴ she arrived at Acco, now called Ptolemais.⁵ She went on through the plains of Megiddo,⁶ which witnessed the death of Josiah,⁷ and came into the country of the Philistines.⁸
- 2 She was amazed at Dor,⁹ a city once so powerful, but now in ruins, contrasting it with Strato's Tower, which King Herod of Judaea had named Caesarea in honour of Caesar Augustus: in this city she saw the House of Cornelius¹⁰ which is a Christian church, the Huts of Philip, and the chamber of the four virgins who prophesied.¹¹ Then she came to Antipatris,¹² a small half-ruined town which Herod had named after his father; and to Lydda,¹³ renamed Diospolis, and renowned as the place where Dorcas was brought back to life,¹⁴ and where Aeneas was cured.¹⁵ Not far off she came to Arimathea,¹⁶ the village of the Joseph who buried the Lord, and to Nob, which had once been a city of priests, and was now a graveyard of the slain.¹⁷ And then she came to Joppa, the harbour from which Jonah fled¹⁸ and also (if I may be permitted to mention a story from one of the poets) the place which witnessed Andromeda bound to the rock.¹⁹

Then, turning back along the way she had come, she reached Nicopolis (formerly called Emmaus), where the Lord made himself known to Cleophas in the breaking of bread,²⁰ thus consecrating his House as a church. From this she passed on and climbed to Lower and Upper Beth-horon, cities which were founded by Solomon,²¹ but later destroyed in the disasters of war; seeing on her right Aijalon and Gibeon, where Joshua the son of Nun fought against the five kings, and uttered his command to the sun and moon; and condemned the Gibeonites to become drawers of water and hewers of wood because of the deception by which they tricked him when they asked to become allies.²² At the city of Gibeon,

- Section 6 of this letter describes how Paula had become acquainted with Bishops Epiphanius and Paulinus in Rome.
- Bishop Paulinus set the party, now comprising not only Paula and her daughter Eustochium, but also Jerome, on their way, as we are told by Jerome (402: 3.22 – 495). This means that he travelled with them for a short distance as an act of hospitality, like some of the monks and bishops who acted as host to Egeria (It. 5.12 – 98 and 21.4/5 – 121). Jerome tells us that the guides of the party were some of them Jewish (387/9(c): Prol. – 526 and Praef. in Paral. (LXX), PL. 29.401.)
- 1 Kgs 17.9.
- Acts 21.5.
- Acts 21.7.
- Though Jerome knew that Maximianopolis (the site of the ancient city of Megiddo) was in the Plain of Megiddo, he took it to have been the O.T. city Hadad-Rimmon (406(b): 12.11 – 869). We must therefore assume here either that at the time of his pilgrimage Jerome mistakenly thought that the Plain of Acre, through which he travelled, was the same as the Plain of Megiddo, or else that at the moment of compiling the obituary he felt it suitable to bring in at this point a reference to a place which was somewhere in the general area of Paula's route.
- II Kgs 23.29.
- Or, in other words, from the Roman province of Phoenicia into the province of Palestine. The boundary had been south of Dor in about 150 A.D. (Cl. Ptolemy, Geog. 5.14.3, Müller p. 962), but seems already to have been north of it when Eusebius wrote On. 78.8ff.
- Josh. 11.2.
- Acts 10.1.
- Acts 21.8f.
- Acts 23.31.
- Acts 9.32.
- Dorcas, however, was cured in Joppa according to Acts 9.36.
- Acts 9.33.
- Arimathea (Mark 15.43) (like Nob, and Joppa, which are about to be mentioned) could be visited only by a deviation from the main road from Diospolis to Jerusalem. It is possible that Paula visited all the places here mentioned, but Map A shows that it is unlikely that she would have done so precisely in the order mentioned. More probably Jerome is here mentioning all the places in the region that he can remember.
- I Sam. 22.19.
- Jonah 1.3.
- It seems that the first author to connect the legend of Andromeda with Joppa was Strabo, Geog. 16.2.28, in or soon after A.D. 19. Pliny in H.N. 9.11 says that the bones of the Gorgon were brought from Joppa and placed on exhibition in Rome.
- Luke 24.30f.
- II Chr. 8.5.
- Josh. 9 and 10.



which was razed to the ground,²³ she paused to remember her own sins, and those of the concubine who was cut in pieces,²⁴ and remembered also the six hundred Benjamites who were spared²⁵ on account of the Apostle Paul.²⁶

9.1 But I must not waste time. She passed on her left the Tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, who brought the people corn in time of famine,²⁷ and entered Jerusalem. The city had had three names, v315 Jebus, Salem, and Jerusalem, and later it was named Aelia, when Aelius Hadrian rebuilt it out of its ruins and ashes. The Proconsul of Palestine, who had known her family extremely well, sent his chamberlains 2 on ahead to make the Praetorium ready for her.²⁸ But she chose a humble cell, and started to go round visiting all the places with such burning enthusiasm that there was no taking her away from one unless she was hurrying on to another. She fell down and worshipped before the Cross as if she could see the Lord hanging on it.²⁹ On entering the Tomb of the Resurrection she kissed³⁰ the stone which the angel removed from the sepulchre door;³¹ then like a thirsty man who has waited long, and at last comes 3 to water, she faithfully kissed the very shelf on which the Lord's body had lain. Her tears and lamentations there are known to all Jerusalem — or rather to the Lord himself to whom she was praying.

Passing on, she climbed Sion, a name which means "citadel" or "watchtower."³² In ancient days David both captured and rebuilt it: about its capture Scripture says, "Woe to thee, City Ariel!" ("Ariel" means "Lion of God", for once it was very strong) which David captured;³³ and about the rebuilt city, "Her foundations are upon the holy hills: the Lord loveth the gates of Sion more than all the tents of Jacob"³⁴ — not meaning the gates we see now, which have been reduced to dust and ashes, but those gates against which hell shall not prevail,³⁵ through which the multitude of the faithful go in to Christ.

4 She was shown the pillar of the church which supports the colonnade and is stained with the Lord's blood. He is said to have been tied to it when he was scourged.³⁶ She was shown also the place where the Holy Spirit came down on the souls of more than a hundred and twenty persons,³⁷ to bring the prophecy of Joel³⁸ to fulfilment.

10.1 Giving what little money she could afford to the poor who were fellow-servants with her, and going on towards Bethlehem, she paused where Rachel's Tomb stands on the right of the road, the birthplace of Benjamin — not "Benoni", "son of my sorrow", as his mother named him as she lay dying, but "Benjamin", v316 "son of my right hand", the prophetic name which his father gave him,³⁹ inspired by the Holy Spirit.

2 Then she entered the Cave of the Saviour, and saw the holy Inn of the Virgin, and the Stable, where "the ox knew his master, and the ass his Lord's manger",⁴⁰ to fulfil the words written by the same prophet, "Blessed is he that casts his seed upon the waters, where the ox and the ass tread".⁴¹ Then she solemnly declared in my own hearing that, with the eye of faith, she saw a child wrapped in swaddling clothes, weeping in the Lord's manger, the Magi worshipping, the star shining above, the Virgin Mother, the attentive fosterfather; and the shepherds coming by night to see this word which had come to pass, already, even then, able to speak the words which open John's Gospel, "In the beginning was the Word" and "The Word was made flesh"; and the young children murdered, and Herod in a rage, and Joseph and Mary fleeing to Egypt.

3 Then, her joy mixed with tears, she began to say: "Blessed Bethlehem, 'House of Bread',⁴² birthplace of the Bread that came down from heaven!⁴³ Blessed Ephrata, "Karpophorus"⁴⁴ region most fertile, whose fertility is God! Of thee in old time Micah spoke this prophecy, 'And thou, Bethlehem, v317 house of Ephrata, art thou not least amongst the thousands of Judah? Out of thee shall come to me one who shall be a prince in Israel; and his goings forth are from the beginning, and from the days of eternity.

23. This Gibeath had been a populous town from about 150 B.C., but excavations show that it was hardly occupied after 70 A.D., which would account for the appearance described here: see R.B. 1965, p. 398.

24. Jud. 19 and 20.

25. See Jud. 20.47.

26. Paul was a Benjamite, Rom. 11.1.

27. Josephus describes Helena in Ant. 20.51f (her relief of the famine) and 95 (her tomb with its "three pyramids": compare also CIS 2.156).

28. Paula's family connections included not only L. Aemilius Paulus, who had won Greece for Rome from the Macedonians in 168 B.C., but also the Gracchi and the Scipios: see Stummer, Mon. p. 23.

29. At the two most important points in her itinerary Paula is described as visualising the biblical events commemorated: with this passage compare that describing Bethlehem (10.2 below).

30. Kissing is the symbolic act of contact with the place of the theophany, but, as Jerome says below, Paula was praying "to the Lord himself".

31. Matt. 28.2.

32. Heb. N. 39.25 — 108 gives the meaning "watchtower", but not "citadel". These etymologies seem to be reproduced by Jerome from memory rather than by reference to books.

33. Isa. 29.1, Heb. N. 37.19 — 106.

34. Ps. 87.1f.

35. See Matt. 16.18.

36. Matt. 27.26.

37. Acts 1.15.

38. Acts 2.17/21.

39. Gen. 35.18; Heb. N. 3.23f — 62.

40. Isa. 1.3.

41. Isa. 37.20 LXX.

42. Jerome Q.H. Gen. 35.19 — 55.

43. Jn. 6.33.

44. Heb. N. 48.17 — 119.

- Therefore thou wilt give them up until the time of giving birth. She shall give birth, and the rest of his brethren shall be converted to the children of Israel".⁴⁵ "For in thee was born the prince born before
 v318 7 Lucifer . . . Here will I stay, for my Saviour chose it".
 8 She went down to a place not far from there, the Tower Eder (meaning "of the flock"). Near this Jacob pastured his flocks,⁴⁶ and it is where it was granted to the Shepherds, keeping watch by night, to hear, "Glory to God in the heights, and on earth peace to men of good will": they were keeping sheep, but they found the Lamb of God: whose fleece, white and utterly clean, was soaked with heavenly dew while the whole earth remained dry: and whose blood has taken away the sins of the world, and, marking the doorposts, has put to flight the Egyptian destroyer.⁴⁷
 11.1 Without delay she pressed on along the old road which leads to Gaza (meaning the "strength" or "riches" of God)⁴⁸ and considering within herself how the Ethiopian eunuch had changed his skin,⁴⁹ foreshadowing the peoples of the Gentiles: and how, as he re-read the Old Testament, discovered the spring of the Gospel. From here she went off to her right. From Bethsur she came to Eshcol (meaning "cluster"), the place from which the spies bore away a cluster of marvellous size⁵⁰ both as a proof that the land was extremely fertile, and as a type of him who says, "I have trodden the winepress alone, and of the peoples there was no man with me".⁵¹
 v319 2 Before long she was entering Sarah's Cells,⁵² and saw the Cradle of Isaac, and the remains of Abraham's Oak, under which he saw the day of Christ, and was glad.⁵³ Further on she mounted to Hebron, which is "Kiriath-arba",⁵⁴ the City of the Four Men,⁵⁵ Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with Adam the Great, who was buried there according to the Book of Joshua, son of Nun, as the Hebrews say,⁵⁶ though there are some who think the fourth man is Caleb, whose tomb is to be seen nearby. She had no desire to go to Kiriath-Sepher ("Village" of Letters),⁵⁷ for, despising the letter that kills, she had found the Spirit that gives life.⁵⁸ She preferred to ponder over the upper and lower waters, and how Othniel the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite took them for his southern land and the desert which was his portion,⁵⁹ so that, bringing them into the parched fields of the old covenant he could irrigate them, and in the water of baptism find the remission of former sins.
 3 Next day, when the sun was up, she was standing on the crest of Caphar Barucha ("the Village of Blessing"), the place to which Abraham followed the Lord.⁶¹ From it she was looking down over desert wastes, and what had formerly been the land of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim,⁶² and meditated on the balsam-vines of En-gedi,⁶³ and on Segor, the heifer three years old,⁶⁴ which had once been called Bala,⁶⁵ but had its name changed to the Syrian "Zoara", meaning "small".⁶⁶ Then she remembered the cave of Lot, and, bursting into tears, warned the virgins with her to beware of wine, in which is excess, and which caused the existence of the Moabites and Ammonites.⁶⁷
 12.1 I have been lingering in the South, where the bride found the bridegroom lying,⁶⁸ and where Joseph became drunk with his brothers.⁶⁹ Now I go back towards Jerusalem, and beyond Tekoa (and Amos)⁷⁰ I shall see the Mount of Olives from which the Saviour ascended to the Father, with its Cross sparkling on top. That is the mountain on which each year they once made to the Lord the burnt-offering of a red heifer, making atonement with its ashes for the people of Israel;⁷¹ and to which, according to
 v320 2 Ezekiel, the Cherubim flew across from the Temple,⁷² and founded the Church of the Lord. Then she went into the Tomb of Lazarus, and visited the guest-room of Mary and Martha; and Bethphage too (the

45. Mic. 5.2/3 LXX. We omit the rest of Paula's long meditation on Bethlehem, which is a mosaic of texts from scripture.
 46. Gen. 35.21; Heb. N. 3.7 - 61.
 47. Jo. 1.29, Jud. 6.37f. Exod. 12.7, 22f.
 48. Acts 8.26, Heb. N. 6.27 - 66 etc., gives "strength," but not "riches".
 49. Jer. 13.23.
 50. Num. 13.23, Heb. N. 5.21 - 65.
 51. Isa. 63.3 LXX.
 52. This expression could refer to a convent at Mamre.
 53. Gen. 18, John 8.56.
 54. Josh 14.15.
 55. On. 113.16, cf. Heb. N. 3.5 - 61.
 56. The Vulgate of Josh 14.15 says, "The name of Hebron was formerly called Kiriath-arba: Adam the Greatest is placed there among the Anakim".
 57. Reading *Viculum*: see P. Devos, A.B. 87 (1969) 213.
 58. Josh 15.15: nothing in this section (11.4) suggests that Paula or Jerome knew the precise location of the places on which she meditates.
 59. II Cor. 3.6.
 60. Josh 15.17/19.
 61. Gen. 18.16.
 62. Deut. 29.23: this and the following places in section 10.5 are subjects of meditation, but, like those in 11.4, may not have been exactly located for Paula.
 63. Cant. 1.14.
 64. Isa. 13.5, LXX and Vulg.
 65. Gen. 14.2; Heb. N. 10.25 - 37.
 66. Gen. 19.20/22.
 67. Gen. 19.30/38.
 68. Cant. 1.6 Vulg.
 69. Gen. 43.25, 34 Vulg.
 70. Amos 1.1.
 71. Num. 19.
 72. Ezek. 11.22f.

- "Village of the priests' jawbones"),⁷³ where the wild foal of the Gentiles was harnessed with the bridle of the Lord, was covered with the apostles' garments, and offered its docile back for the Lord to ride.⁷⁴
 v321 3 She went directly down to Jericho, recalling the Gospel account of the man who was wounded. The priests and the levites cruelly passed him by, but the Samaritan ("the Guardian")⁷⁵ in his mercy took the man, at the point of death, and set him on his beast, and carried him away to the inn, the Church.⁷⁶ And she considered the place called Adummim (meaning "of blood")⁷⁷ because robbers make so many attacks there and so much blood is shed: and the sycamore tree of Zacchaeus,⁷⁸ signifying good works after repentance, because by this means he surmounted the bloody sins of his past extortions, and from the height of virtue saw the High Lord: and the place beside the road where the blind men received their sight,⁷⁹ foreshadowing the two peoples who were to believe in the Lord.
 4 Entering Jericho she saw the city which Hiel founded at the cost of Abiram, his first-born, and built its gate over Segub, his youngest son.⁸⁰ She looked at⁸¹ the camp at Gilgal, and the Heap of Foreskins, mystery of the second circumcision,⁸² and at the Twelve Stones carried there from the bed of the River Jordan⁸³ to strengthen the foundation of the Twelve Apostles: and at the Spring of the Law, formerly so bitter and barren, which in his wisdom the true Elisha⁸⁴ made sweet and pure, and a source of abundance.
 5 Night was hardly over when, with burning devotion, she reached the Jordan. As she stood on the river-bank she saw the sun rise, and remembered the Sun of Righteousness,⁸⁵ and how the priests went dry-shod across the river-bed;⁸⁶ and how the waters made way, and stood to right and left at the command of Elijah and Elisha;⁸⁷ and how by his Baptism, the Lord cleansed the waters which had been fouled by the flood, and stained by the extermination of the human race.
 v322 13.1 Time would fail me to tell of the Valley of Achor (or "tumult and disturbance") where theft and avarice were condemned;⁸⁸ and of Bethel ("House of God") where on the naked earth slept Jacob,⁸⁹ himself naked and poor. Yet the stone under his head was the one described by Zechariah as having seven eyes,⁹⁰ and by Isaiah as the corner stone,⁹¹ and he saw reaching to heaven the ladder, and the Lord bending down from above it giving his hand to those climbing up, and casting down the careless from on high. She venerated from a distance Mount Ephraim, which contains the Tombs of Joshua the son of Nun⁹² and of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest:⁹³ one lies buried in Timnath-serah, on the north side of Mount Gaash, and the other in Gibeah-of-Phineas (his son). And she was amazed to find that the person who had distributed the possessions had chosen for himself such a rough, mountainous region.
 3 What shall I say of Shiloh. Its ruined altar can still be seen,⁹⁴ and it is the place where the tribe of Benjamin foreshadowed Romulus and the rape of the Sabine women.⁹⁵ She passed on to Shechem (not, as some wrongly take it, "Sychar"),⁹⁶ now called Neapolis, and near Mount Gerizim she went into the church built round the Well of Jacob. This is where the Lord sat down, hungry and thirsty, and was refreshed by the faith of the woman of Samaria, who had left her five husbands (the books of Moses), and the sixth whom she boasted she had (the error of Dosithus),⁹⁷ and found the true Messiah and Saviour.
 4 Travelling on she saw the Tombs of the Twelve Patriarchs,⁹⁸ and Sebaste (Samaria) which from Herod received this name, which is Greek for "Augusta", in honour of Augustus. In it lie buried Elisha

73. Jerome gives the same meaning in C. Mat. 21.1 - 182, and Heb. N. 60.24/6 - 135: this etymology is drawn from Origen, and may depend on e. Jo. 10.30 - 203f or Hom. 38 in Luc. (GCS 9) p. 217.
 74. Matt. 21.1/11.
 75. Heb. N. 66.3 - 142.
 76. Compare Luke 10.30/37.
 77. Heb. N. 24.6 - 89 and On. 25.10.
 78. Luke 19.2/10, reading *sycamoreum* in Jerome's text.
 79. Matt. 20.34.
 80. I Kgs 16.34. Compare Josh. 6.26.
 81. Normally the visitor to Jericho would see Gilgal after, not before visiting Elisha's Spring. We may therefore guess that Paula is here meditating rather than visiting, thus she is said to have "looked at" the Heap of Foreskins, a place which we have no reason to believe was known in Jerome's time. See On. 46.18/20.
 82. Josh. 5.2/9.
 83. Josh. 4.1/9.
 84. See II Kgs 2.22.
 85. Mat. 4.2.
 86. Josh. 3.16.
 87. II Kgs 2.8.
 88. Josh. 7; Heb. N. 24.5 - 89.
 89. Gen. 28.10/22; Heb. N. 3.18 - 62; On. 7.3.
 90. Zech. 3.9.
 91. Isa. 28.16.
 92. Josh. 24.30.
 93. Josh. 24.33.
 94. Jer. 7.12.
 95. Jud. 21.16/24.
 96. Q. Gen 48.22 - 52 (also Heb. N. 66.20 - 142).
 97. Dosithus belonged to Samaria and claimed, according to Origen Cels. 6.11 - 81, to be the Messiah promised in Deut. 18.18. His sect, though very small, continued to exist until the tenth century.
 98. Here, as in his Letter 57.10 - 521, Jerome refers to the tomb of Jacob's sons at Shechem. A similar tradition is reflected in Acts 7.16, but another tradition was current among the Jews of the first centuries B.C. and A.D., which spoke of their tomb at Hebron. See for instance Jubil. 46.9, and Josephus, Ant. 2.199, and, for a discussion of the problems and further references, J. Jeremias, Hg. 36/8 and 951.

and Obadiah⁹⁹ the prophets, and John Baptist, *greater than all the sons of woman*.¹⁰⁰ Here there were strange sights which startled and frightened her: in front of the Saints' Tombs¹⁰¹ she watched demons crying out in every kind of torment, and men making sounds like beasts, howling, barking, roaring, hissing, or lowing. Some shook their heads from side to side, others leaned back to touch the ground behind them with the crown of their head, and women were hanging up by one foot, but their clothes did not fall down over their faces.¹⁰² On all of them she had compassion. She shed tears over each one, and prayed Christ to show mercy. Then, despite her weakness, she climbed up the mountain to see the two caves where the Prophet Obadiah¹⁰³ kept the hundred prophets alive with bread and water in time of famine and persecution.¹⁰⁴

Then she went quickly on through Nazareth, the nurse of the Lord; through Cana and Capernaum, which witnessed his miracles; by the Lake of Tiberias, which the Lord hallowed by sailing on it; to the desert place where he filled so many thousands of people with so few loaves of bread, and with what was left over after they had eaten filled the twelve baskets of the tribes of Israel.¹⁰⁵ She climbed Mount Tabor, where the Lord was transfigured, and in the distance saw Mounts Hermon and Hermoniim,¹⁰⁶ and the Great Plains of Galilee in which Barak won his victory, and Sisera and all his host were laid low, and the Brook Kishon¹⁰⁷ cutting the plain in half, and the nearby town of Nain where the son of the widow was restored to life.¹⁰⁸ The whole day will be lost in talking if I go on to describe all the places through which, in her unbelievable faith, the revered Paula made her journey.

v324 14.1 So I shall pass on towards Egypt, and pause for a moment at Succoth, and the Spring of Samson, which he made to come forth with the molar tooth of the jawbone,¹⁰⁹ and I will hold my dry mouth to it so that I may be refreshed to see Morasthi,¹¹⁰ once the Tomb of Micah the prophet, now a church. I will go on past the Horites and Gittites, Maresha, Idumaea, and Lachish, treading on the soft sand where travellers' footprints disappear, across the wide wastes of desert to Sior (meaning "muddy"),¹¹¹ the River of Egypt. I will travel through the five cities of Egypt which speak the language of Canaan,¹¹² and the Land of Goshen, and the Plains of Tanis, in which God did his mighty acts,¹¹³ and the city of No (later called Alexandria),¹¹⁴ and the Lord's own town of Nitria, in which the pure nitre of virtue daily washes out the stains of many men's sins. Here, there came to meet her the holy and revered Bishop, Isidore¹¹⁵ the Confessor, with innumerable companies¹¹⁶ of monks, many of whom had been exalted to the order of Priest or Levite. When she saw them she rejoiced at the glory of the Lord, but at the same time confessed herself unworthy of such honour. What can I say about these Macarii, Arsetes, Serapions, and the others, all pillars of Christ. Was there a single monk whose cell she did not enter to fall at his feet? In each holy man she believed she was seeing Christ, and every gift she gave gladly, as if to Christ.

v325 3 With a zeal and courage unbelievable in a woman she forgot her sex and her physical weakness, and longed to make there, amongst those thousands of monks, a dwelling for herself and her daughters. All were welcoming her, and she might have done so, if she had not been summoned away by a still greater longing for the holy places. The heat was excessive, and she therefore took a ship from Pelusium, and arrived at Maiuma as swiftly as a bird. It was not long before she was back in Bethlehem for good, living for three years in a tiny lodging till she had finished building her cells and monasteries, and different places beside the road where pilgrims would be able to stay, at the place where Mary and Joseph had been unable to find hospitality. This, then, is the account of the journey she made in the company of many virgins, and of her daughter.

99. Obadiah the prophet is here confused with the Obadiah who was King Ahab's steward, 1 Kgs 18.3 and Jerome *ca* b d 1 — 352. The same mistake was made by Jerome's Jewish contemporaries; see Jeremias, *Hg.* 31, n. 5.

100. Matt. 11.11.

101 and 102. This description seems to be borrowed from a source also used by Hilary, *c. Const. Imp.* 8, PL. 10, 584f, and by Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* 3.6.4, CSEL 1, 204, 15ff. Compare Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 23.86/94, CSEL 30, 197.

103. See previous page, note 8.

104. 1 Kgs 18.4.

105. The phrase "desert place" from Matt. 14.13 seems to have come to be understood as a place-name. See, for example, Valerius 2b — 176.

106. Psalm 42.6.LXX and Vulg.

107. Jud. 4.

108. Luke 7.11.

109. Jud. 15.14/20.

110. Micah 1.1.

111. *Heb. N.* 30.13 — 60.

112. Mentioned but not enumerated in Isa. 19.18. In his *C. I. & V.* (397(b): 19.18 — 198) Jerome identified two of the cities, Mons Casius and Ostrakine. But no doubt he was guessing. Compare Stummer, *Mon.* 48.

113. Psalm 78.12, 43.

114. Jerome spent a month in Alexandria with Didymus: Rufinus 401: 2.12 — 594, and Jerome 406(c): pref. — 5. No (or No-Amon, Jer. 46.25, Ezek. 30.14) in fact was Thebes, not Alexandria, despite Jerome *c. Naum* 3.8 — 562.

115. Isidore, the Bishop of Hermopolis Parva (Damathur) had been exiled in about 372 A.D. to Sepphoris, where Melania the Elder went to care for him and his companions: Palladius *H. L.* 46 — 134f.

116. Palladius, *o.c.* 13 — 37 says there were five thousand.

EUCHERIUS

LETTER TO FAUSTUS THE ISLAND PRESBYTER

v125 1 I have dealt only briefly with the situation of the city of Jerusalem and of Judaea, as it is known to me either by descriptions or reading, and wish to demonstrate this by the length of the preface, since there is no point in introducing with a lengthy preface an essay which is very short. Fare thee well in Christ, thou, *my pride and my reliance!*¹

2 The name Aelia was given to Jerusalem by Aelius Hadrian, for after its destruction by Titus the city received the name of Aelius its founder at the same time as his works. Its site is on a natural height, and from every direction those who approach it certainly have a climb. The ascent is long but gentle.

3 The site of the city is almost forced into a circular shape,² and is enclosed by a lengthy wall, which now embraces Mount Sion, though this was once just outside. It is on the south, and overlooks the city like a citadel. The greater part of the city lies on the flat top of a hill which is lower than this Mount.

4 Mount Sion is covered on the northern flank with dwellings for clergy and monks, and its summit, which is level, is occupied by monks' cells round the church which is said to have been founded by the apostles in honour of the place of the Lord's resurrection, because it was there that they were filled by the Spirit once promised by the Lord.

5 There are three important gates, those on the west, east, and north.

6 People coming into the city from the north are taken to their first holy place by the layout of the streets, and visit the Martyrium, lately built with great magnificence by Constantine. Beside this and to the west one visits the sites of Golgotha and the Anastasis. The Anastasis is on the site of the resurrection, and Golgotha (which is between the Anastasis and the Martyrium) is the place of the Lord's Passion. One sees there the rock which once bore the Cross to which the Lord was fixed. All this is outside the area of Mount Sion, which is approached by rising ground stretching north.

7 The site of the Temple is in the lower city near the eastern wall, and it was magnificently built. Once the walls were destroyed to the foundations, but by a miracle the pinnacle remained from one of the walls, though the rest of the wall fell down.

v127 8 A few water cisterns can be seen in the part of the city to the north: near the Temple is the *Pool of Bethesda*, distinguished by its twin pools. One is usually filled by winter rains, but the other is filled with dirty red water.³

9 On the steep rocky side of Mount Sion which faces east, inside the walls at the bottom of the hill rises the Spring of Siloam. It has a fluctuating supply of water, and runs away to the south.

Beside the east wall of Jerusalem, which is also the wall of the Temple, is *Gehenna*.⁴ This is called the Valley of Jehoshaphat. It runs from north to south, and the Brook Kidron runs through it whenever there has been rain to provide it with water.

10 Round Jerusalem the country has a rough hilly character,⁵ and on the east the city looks out at the Mount of Olives. On this there are two very famous churches, one sited at the spot where Jesus addressed his disciples, and the other at the spot where it is said that he ascended into heaven.

11 Bethlehem is six miles to the south⁶ of Jerusalem. It has a low wall with no towers, which confines it in a very cramped space. In the city is the Manger of the Lord, covered with ornament, and enshrined in a chamber glistening with gold and silver.

v128 12 Jericho lies eighteen miles east of Jerusalem. Twenty-four miles from Aelia in the same direction is a part of Judaea through which runs the Jordan: first it crosses the Sea of Tiberias, and then, on emerging it flows in a broad and peaceful stream out into⁷ the Dead Sea. This Sea is about twenty miles from Jerusalem.

13 Hebron, which was once a city of giants, is about twenty-two miles south of⁸ Jerusalem, and Joppa is forty miles north-west⁹ of Jerusalem. This is the point at which the Great Sea comes closest to Jerusalem.

14 The land of Judaea stretches north to Dan and south to Beer-sheba. This Dan is a very small village on the northern borders of Judaea, and is four miles away from Paneas on the road to Tyre. From this the

1. An echo of Horace, *Carm.* I. 1.2.

2. An echo of Pomponius Mela, *Chorogr.* II. 27.

3. Jerome, *L. loc.* 59.22/5.

4. Jerome, *L. loc.* 71.3.

5. This sentence echoes both Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 21.1 and Caesar, *Bell. civ.* 3.42.5.

6. This may be based on Jerome, *L. loc.* 43.20.

7. The style shows that this is based on Hegesippus, *Hist.* 3.26 — CSEL 66, 234.

8. Jerome *L. loc.* 7.15/18.

9. Literally "towards the summer west". The same principle is used in Arabic, thus the *Holy Qur'an.* s. 55, speaks of "the Lord of the two Easts", meaning the winter and summer directions of sunrise.

Jordan rises and takes its name ('Jor' is the Hebrew word for 'river').¹⁰ But the Beer-sheba to which we refer is a very large village twenty miles south of Hebron.¹¹

v129 15 In a letter to Dardanus¹² Saint Jerome also describes the length and breadth of Judaea, and from it we have extracted what is relevant to this work: he is speaking against the Jews, and, on the subject of the Promised Land he says:

16 'This land, which has now through Christ's passion and resurrection become our promised land, is believed by Jews — so the Jews may contend — to have belonged to the Jewish people when they took possession after their return from Egypt. And this stretches from Dan to Beer-Sheba, scarcely 160 miles
17 in length. And Scripture testifies that not even their strongest kings, David and Solomon, held more (not counting those with whom after the conquest they had treaties of friendship.) This I will allow, and I will say nothing of the five cities of Palestine, Gaza, Ascalon, Gath, Ekron, and Azotus, or about the Idumaeans less than twenty-five miles south of Jerusalem, or of the Arabs and Hagarenes (now called Saracens) in the neighbourhood of the city of Jerusalem.

18 'Of the breadth of the Promised Land I should rather not speak, lest I seem to give occasion to the Gentiles to blaspheme. From Joppa to our little village of Bethlehem it is forty-six miles, and beyond this remains nothing but empty desert peopled by fierce savages.'

19 Further on he says,¹³ 'But you may make this objection, that the Promised Land is what the Book of Numbers¹⁴ describes, "from the south of the Salt Sea" through Sinai and Kadesh-Barnca "unto the Brook of Egypt" (which flows into the Great Sea by Rinocorura): on the west the sea itself, which stretches along Palestine, Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, and Cilicia: on the north Mount Taurus and Zephyrius
v130 "unto Hamath" (which is called Epiphania Syriae); on the east by Antioch and "the Lake of Kiniereth" (which is now called Tiberias) and "the Jordan which flows into the Salt Sea" (now called the Dead Sea); also beyond the Jordan the inheritance of the two half-tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh. And if you say this I will reply to you that all this was promised you, not handed over.'

20 Further on¹⁵ he says, 'What the Gospel promises me is the Kingdom of heaven; which the Old Testament does not mention at all. But if I fail to do as I am commanded, the blame attaches not at all to the one who promised, but to me, because I was not worthy to receive the promise. Read the Book of Joshua and Judges, and you will realise how small are the boundaries of your inheritance.' These are the words of Jerome, a man most erudite in every branch of biblical study.

v131 21 Josephus, the noble historian of the Jews, also describes the topography of that whole region,¹⁶ and shows what is the boundary of Galilee and Samaria, and the various nations 'bordering on Galilee, Syria, and Phoenicia, but distinct from them'. 'On the west is Ptolemais with the boundaries of its territory, and Mount Carmel, once part of Galilee, but now forming part of the region of Tyre, to which is joined the city of Gibeth, once the cause of a serious defeat for the Jews. On the east Hippene and Gadara remain in their boundaries. The same boundaries had been set in ancient days for the district of Gaulanitis and the Kingdom of Agrippa. On the south Scythopolis and Samaria have their own regions which are beside each other, but they are not permitted to extend beyond the River Jordan. The north is bordered on the right by Tyre and the whole district of the Tyrians, and the area of Galilee ends where it meets that.'

22 'Galilee is divided in two as follows: Lower Galilee, as it is called, stretches lengthways from Tiberias to the city called Zabulon on the coast of Ptolemais. Its breadth without question stretches from the village of Xaloth, in the Great Plain, to Beer-sheba.¹⁷ Upper Galilee then begins, and stretches as far as the boundaries of the village of Bacata, the village which also marks the boundary of Tyrian land. Lengthways it begins at the village of Thalla and ends at Roth. Thalla is beside the Jordan. This gives one a notion of the extent and boundaries of Upper Galilee, which begins at the Jordan, and the present account of their size shows the difference between the two Galilees.

23 v132 'The land is rich and grassy: it is adorned with every kind of crop, and dotted with trees. Indeed it would charm any one, and would attract even a lazy man to think about working on the land. And lastly no part of this land, or at any rate very little, remains uncultivated, and it is densely populated. There are many cities, a great many villages, and an enormous number of people, so that even a small village may have fifteen thousand inhabitants in its district.'

24 25 v133 A little further on he says,¹⁸ 'And the district of Samaria lies between Judaea and Galilee. It begins at the village called Helias, and ends at the district of Acrabittene. In character it is exactly like Judaea without any difference at all. Both are a mixture of hills and plains, giving a landscape of constant variety. Not all of it is plain, not all of it divided up by mountain crags, but it has the attractions of both types of country.'

10. Jerome, *L. loc.* 77.10/13 with the words for "northern borders" echoing Pomponius Mela, *Chorogr.* 2.48.

11. Jerome, *L. loc.* 51.1/2.

12. Jerome, *Letter* 129.4 — 169.

13. Jerome, *Letter* 129.5 — 171.

14. Num. 34.4.

15. Jerome, *Letter* 129.5 — 172.

16. The following quotation is taken not from Josephus' original but from the Latin version: Hegesippus, *Hist.* 5.6 — 194.

17. Beer-sheba here means "Seven Springs" or Heptapegon.

26 'The ground is easy to work with implements, and fairly soft, which makes it good for corn, and second to none in its fertility, I should say. Certainly it is the best as far as ripening is concerned, for they are already harvesting there while in other places they are still sowing. No place produces corn of a more excellent quality or appearance.

27 'The water is sweet, lovely in appearance and sweet to drink. Thus the Jews might have judged the land by its elements which, 'flowing with milk and honey'¹⁹ was promised to their fathers, when God gave them his assurance of resurrection. And Divine Love would have conferred on them both gifts if they had kept the faith. But on both counts their opportunity was taken from them through their disbelief, the first through the yoke of captivity, and the second by the snare of sin.

28 'The region is wooded, and thus rich in cattle, flowing with milk, and there is positively no other place where cows have udders so full of milk. Fruit, whether wild or cultivated, is more abundant in this region than in any other. And when you hear how many people there are, either in Samaria or Judaea, you will conclude that the Jews have chosen this way of interpreting the Scripture which says, "There shall none cast her young, nor be barren here",²⁰ when this law was in fact dealing with being fruitful in merit, and fertile in good works.

v134 29 'On the Arabian frontier Samaria begins with a village called Jordan, and it stretches as far as the village of Borce, which is its northern boundary. The breadth of Judaea is from the river Jordan to Joppa: it begins at the sources of the Jordan and Mount Lebanon, and extends as far as the Lake of Tiberias. Lengthways it stretches from the village of Arfa as far as Julias, which is inhabited by Jews and Tyrians.

30 'The city of Jerusalem is in the middle of Judaea, and is the "navel" of the whole region, as wise men call it. It is rich in inland produce and not cut off from the things which come from the sea since the district stretches as far as Ptolemais, and the whole of that sea fringes its boundary. There are many cities there, and Jerusalem surpasses them all, but in such a way that, like the head to the body, it does not overshadow the other members, but rules them, and provides their oversight and their beauty.'

31 Such is the opinion of Josephus. I decided to introduce him at this point for the sake of this account, so that those who prefer to take pains in seeking the truth may rely on a Jewish account of Jewish geography.

18. Hegesippus, *Hist.* 5.6 — 197.

19. Exod. 13.5.

20. Exod. 23.26.

JOHN RUFUS
THE LIFE OF PETER THE IBERIAN — Extracts

Extract 1 — MOUNT PISGAH¹

r85 On the following day we set off towards Medeba. When we were half way there we reached the holy Mountain of Moses called Abarim or Pisgah, which is where the Lord said to him, "Go up and die".² A venerable and very lofty church is there, built in the name of the Prophet,³ and it is surrounded by a number of monasteries. We rejoiced that we had reached this place . . .

As soon as we had prayed and performed our veneration, the venerable man [sc. Peter the Iberian] brought us into a small cell there, five cubits broad and five cubits long, and badly-lit. "I remember", he told us, "How, when I was a young man, and had newly come from the Royal City, I came to visit this mountain and pray here. I learned that there was one of the great Scetean saints who lived here, and had come to dwell here from Scete, with all the monks who were there, after the Mazici⁴ had destroyed the monasteries there. I asked the Sacristan of the Mountain to let me see him. Well, in this cell, which you see, that blessed man stayed for forty years without ever going outside the door or crossing the threshold. That man was an ascetic and prophet, filled with the divine grace."

r87 Then we learned from the monks who were living on that mountain that the founders of the church were fully convinced that the body of holy Moses had been laid in this place, and that the church had been built, and the altar and sanctuary set up over it, and that beneath the sanctuary was a vessel of oil and ashes.⁵ Although the Divine Book says clearly that "Moses, the servant of God, died in the Land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord, and was buried in this land next to Beth Peor, and no one knows his tomb to this day",⁶ they explained to us⁷ that a shepherd of Nebo, a village located on the southern side of the mountain, was pasturing his flock, and had brought them as far as this place. When he arrived here he had a vision, and saw a very large cavern filled with brilliant light, and giving out a sweet odour. He was astonished, for never before had he seen such a thing here: but encouraged by strength from God he was brave enough to go down into the cavern. There he saw a venerable old man with a shining face, lying as if on a bed which was bright and flashing with glory and grace. He realised that it was holy Moses.

Full of awe and joy he ran as fast as he could to the village to tell those who lived there about his vision, and by the help of the divine wisdom he collected small pebbles, and erected many heaps on the place where he saw the vision "To prevent the place" he thought, "becoming unrecognisable when I go away". This plan in fact succeeded. For when those of the village heard, all of them together ran towards the place of that vision, and were searching for that cave. And the shepherd said, calling God to witness: "That is the place, where those heaps are, where I saw that vision, and went down into the cave and saw the holy prophet. And the very reason I piled up those heaps was that even if, by the commandment of God, the prophet is hidden again, at least these heaps would mark the place". And thus they believed and many other saints as well, that the vision was true.

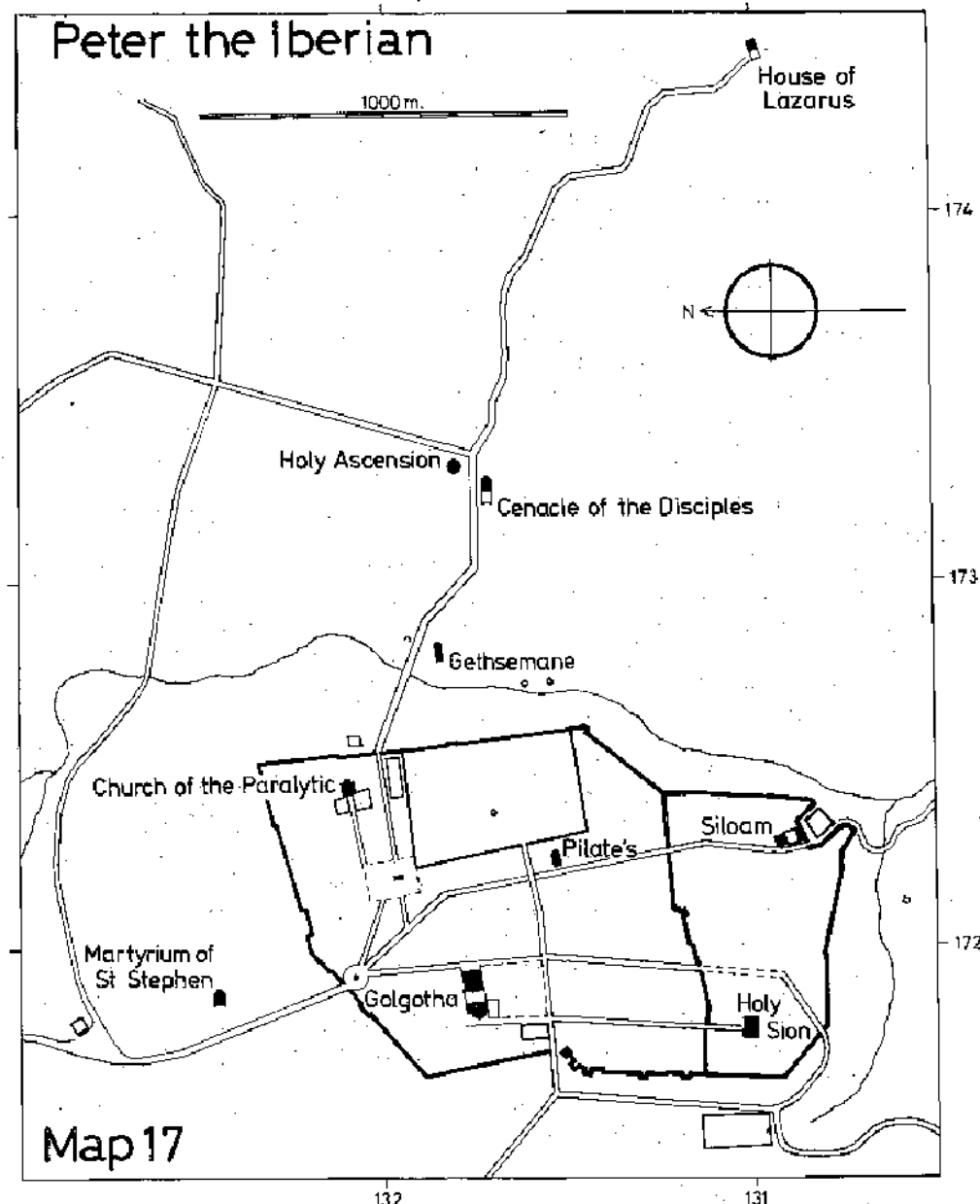
r89 The people living in that region hurried to bring there all the materials for a building, and a church was erected in the name of the great prophet and lawgiver. His goodness and power he declares clearly and beyond doubt to all men by the prodigies, miracles, and healings which are always taking place here. It is a place of universal healing for souls and bodies, and a refuge for people from any parts who are afflicted in soul, or suffering any kind of pain.

When we had prayed in this place, and had been placed under the protection of the prayers of the great Prophet, we went on to the city [sc. of Medeba].

Extract 2 — A PILGRIMAGE IN JERUSALEM

r98 When autumn came the Saint returned to his brethren in the plain.⁸ Just before he arrived there were people murmuring amongst themselves and saying, "How can this blessed man have been staying so long near Jerusalem without ever wanting to go into the holy City? Even if it had to be by night he might have venerated the holy places, specially Golgotha and the lifegiving Tomb!"

1. Translated from the text in R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*, Leipzig 1895: pages are those of the Syriac text, with which this translation has been checked through the kindness of the late Fr. F. L. Lemoine, O.P.
2. Deut. 32.49.
3. A common Syrian title for Moses.
4. A nomad brigand tribe mentioned also by Evagrius *EH*. 1.7 — 2440
5. See Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* 3(2), p. 178, and Badger, *The Nestorians*, 1, p. 103.
6. Deut. 34.6.
7. Note that this passage of Scripture, so awkward for those who lived at Nebo, was explained differently to Egeria: *Tr.* 11.2 — 107.
8. In the monophysite monastery at Maiuma near Gaza.



Then on the day after he set out, one of the brethren, a simple, direct man, told the others, "Last night I had an astounding vision. I seemed to see our father, Bishop Peter, saying to me, 'Brother, please give me your hand!' So on the very night before he was to set off on his journey, he took me alone with him, in this vision, to the holy City.

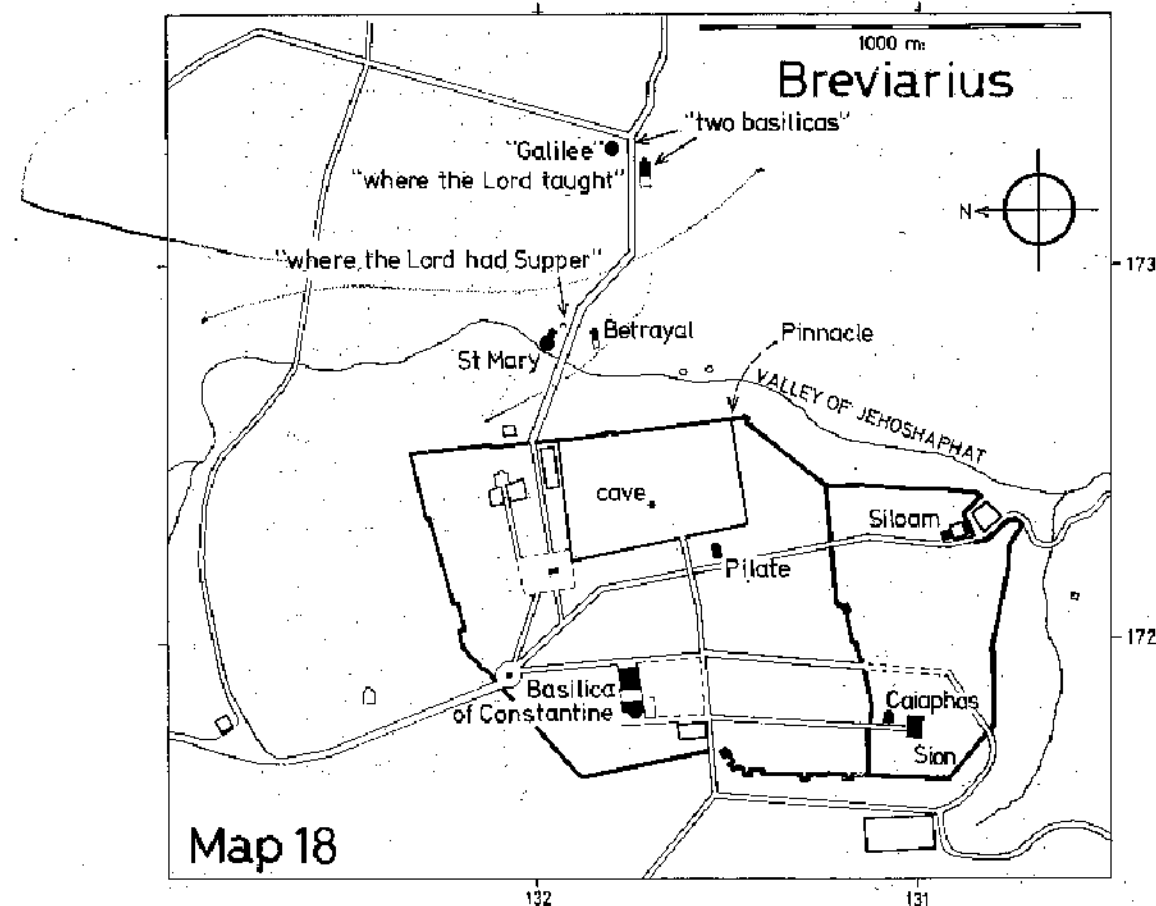
"First he went to the martyrion of St. Stephen, which was the first place he reached, and, going down into the cave, he venerated his reliquary. Leaving there he hurried to holy Golgotha and the holy Tomb, and from there went down to the church called Pilate's. From there he went to the church of the Paralytic, and after that to Gethsemane.

"He also went round the holy places on the outskirts: he climbed to the Cenacle of the Disciples, then to the holy Ascension, and from there to the House of Lazarus. After that he took the road which goes from there till he came to holy Bethlehem. After praying there he went to Rachel's Tomb. After praying there, and in the other churches and sanctuaries along the road, he went down to Siloam, and from there up to Holy Sion, where he finished his holy circuit, since he had worshipped the Saviour in all the places.

"Then he returned to the village of Beit Thapsha, and I was with him all the way. And on the following day, immediately after I had had this vision, Blessed Peter set off on his journey".

r100 This took place to persuade those who had murmured that in all the holy places — every day perhaps, and every hour — the blessed man was spiritually offering adoration to the Lord: for it is written, "The spiritual man judges everything: he himself is not judged by any one".⁹

9. 1 Cor. 2.15.



BREVIARIUS (OR SHORT ACCOUNT) OF JERUSALEM

(Form A) NOTES ON THE WAY JERUSALEM IS BUILT

1. This city is set on a mountain.¹ In the centre of the city is the Basilica of Constantine. As one goes into the basilica itself there is a chamber on the left in which has been placed the Cross of the Lord. From there you go into the Church of St. Constantine. The great apse to the west is the place where the three crosses were found and above it is an altar of silver and pure gold. It is supported by nine columns. Around this apse stand twelve quite marvellous columns of marble, and on these columns are twelve silver bowls where Solomon sealed the demons. And in the centre of the basilica is the Lance with which they struck the Lord.

2. and from this has been made a cross: at night it shines like the sun in full day. And going from there into Golgotha there is a great court where the Lord was crucified. There is a silver screen round this Mount, and a kind of flint has been left on the Mount. It has silver doors

where the Cross of the Lord has been displayed, all adorned with gold and gems and the sky open above. Much gold and silver adorn the screen. And the plate is there on which was carried the head of St. John. There is the horn with which David was anointed, and Solomon. And there too is the Ring with which Solomon sealed the demons. It is made of electrum. There

(Form B) INFORMATION ON WHAT THERE IS IN HOLY JERUSALEM

This Holy City is set on a high mountain. Then in the centre of the city is the Basilica.

There is a chamber in which has been placed the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. After that you go into the Basilica. It is the

place where the three crosses were found buried, and there was an altar of gold and silver there which has nine golden columns to support it.

And in the centre of the Basilica is the Lance with which they struck the Lord Jesus Christ in the side, and from this Lance has been made a cross which at night shines like the sun by day. And then going into Golgotha there is a great court. And Mount Calvary is there, where the Lord was crucified. There is a silver screen round the Mount.

There is an exedra at the place where the man was brought back to life and proved which was the Cross of Christ, and this Cross is adorned with gold and gems, with a golden sky² above. Outside it has a screen. And the charger is there on which was carried the head of John Baptist before King Herod. There too is the horn with which David was anointed.

And there

1. The passages underlined are presumed to form part of the original version of the Breviarius. See further Appendix 2, pp. 182/3 below.

2. This must mean a baldachin or canopy, and may have had the name "sky" because of a decoration of stars inside the roof.

Adam was formed. There
Abraham offered Isaac his son
as a sacrifice in the very
place where the Lord was
crucified.

3. To the west of this place one
enters the Holy Resurrection
which contains the Tomb of
the Lord. In front of it is
the Stone, a kind of flint.
Above it has been placed a
round-shaped church. Over the
actual Tomb is a roof of silver
and gold, and every thing
round it is gold. In front of
this Tomb is the altar where
Holy Zacharias was killed, and
his blood dried there.

Then one goes into the
sacram of the Basilica of
St. Constantine. A chamber is
there which contains the Reed
and the Sponge, and the Cup
which the Lord blessed and gave
his disciples to drink, saying,
"This is my body and my blood".

From there you go to the
basilica³ where Jesus found
people buying and selling
doves and drove them out.

4. You go on from there to the
very large basilica of Holy
Sion, containing the column
at which the Lord Jesus was
struck. There is a mark
where he held onto it, like
an impression on wax.

From that you go to the
sacram. It contains the
Stone with which St. Stephen
was stoned.

In the centre of the basilica
is the crown of thorns which
they gave the Lord.

There too is the Upper Room⁴
where the Lord taught his
disciples when he had had the
supper. There too
is the Rod enclosed in a
silver column.

5. From that you go to the house
of Caiaphas where St. Peter
made his denial. A large
basilica of St. Peter is there.
From there you go to the
house of Pilate, where he
had the Lord scourged and

Adam was formed. There too

our Lord was
crucified, and in that place is a
large altar.

And on the west one
enters the Holy Resurrection
which contains the Tomb of
our Lord Jesus Christ.

You go on from there to another
basilica

where the Lord was
scourged
and he put his hand on a column.

And from that you go to the
sacram. In it is the
Stone with which St. Stephen
was stoned. There too
in the centre of the basilica
is the crown of thorns with
which the Jews crowned the Lord.
There too is the Upper Room⁴
where the Lord taught his
disciples when he had the
supper with them. There too
is the Rod enclosed in a

And from there you come to the
house of Pilate, where
the Lord was

3. The frequent use of the word *basilica* raises questions. Usually it means "church", but it refers also to the space enclosed by the circular colonnade at the Shrine of the Ascension (section 7 below: "two basilicas"). It is possible that the word applies here to an open court ("at the Cross"), as in the Piacenza Pilgrim's description of the enclosure at Hebron, sec. 300 - V178, or perhaps to one of the remaining colonnades there.

4. Latin: *lucerna*.

handed over to the Jews.

handed him over to the Jews.
There is a large basilica
there, and in it the chamber
where they stripped him and
he was scourged. It is called
Holy Wisdom.

6. From there you come to the
Temple built by Solomon, but
there is nothing left there
apart from a single cave. From
there you come to the Pinnacle
on which Satan
set the Lord.

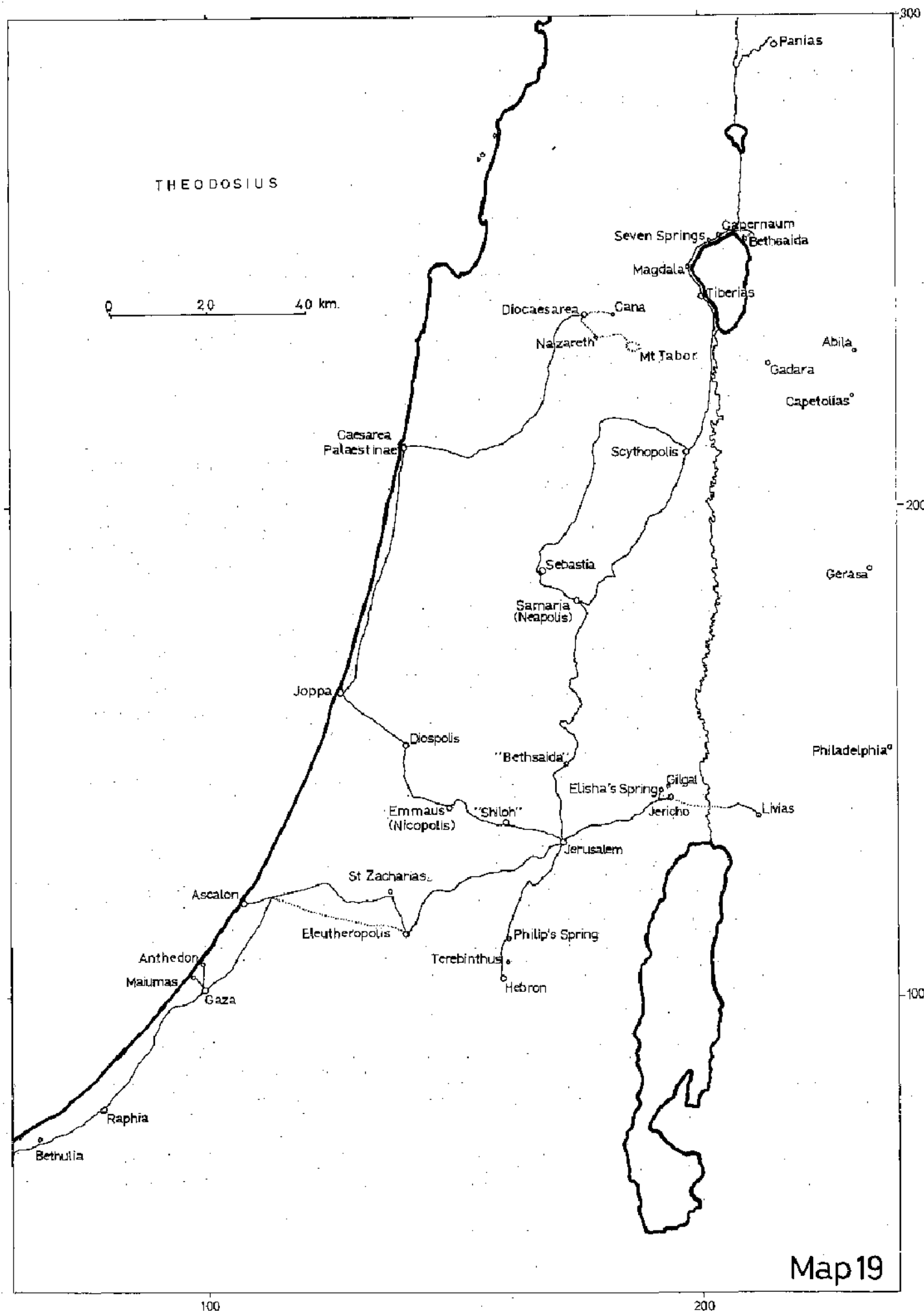
As you go down to Siloam there
is the pit into which they
put St. Jeremiah.

7.

From
there you come to the Pinnacle
of the Temple on which Satan
tempted our Lord Jesus Christ.
A cross-shaped basilica⁵ is there.

A basilica is there where at one
time sick persons used to wash
and be healed. There too is the
basilica of St. Mary and also her
Tomb. There too Judas betrayed
our Lord Jesus Christ. There too
is the place where the Lord had
supper with his disciples and
from which he went up onto the
Mount. To the right of that
is the Valley of Jehoshaphat
where the Lord will judge the
righteous and the sinners. There
too is the little brook which
will belch flame at the end of
the age. Two basilicas are
there where the Lord taught his
disciples. And from there you
come to Galilee, where the
disciples saw the Lord Jesus
after he rose from the dead.

5. Here again it seems uncertain whether the word *basilica* must mean "church". Note that the presentation of the manuscript evidence in Weber's edition, p. 112 shows that the argument of J. T. Milik, *MOJ* 37(1961), pp. 173f needs to be reconsidered.



THEODOSIUS THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND

1. FIRST ITINERARY -- FROM JERUSALEM TO JERICO

137

(Th The city of Jerusalem has six large gates, not counting posterns, namely, the Gate of Benjamin leading out in the direction of Jordan: it is eighteen miles from Jericho. From there it is seven miles to the Jordan. From Jericho it is one mile to Gilgal: (+ the Lord's Field is there, where the Lord Jesus Christ ploughed (Th a furrow (+ with his own hand. (Th The Twelve Stones are there which the children of Israel took up from the Jordan. From Jericho it is two miles to Elisha's Spring. The house is there which belonged to Rahab the Prostitute, who received the spies.

2. SECOND ITINERARY -- FROM JERUSALEM TO PANIAS

138

(Th Moreover (i from Jerusalem it is twelve miles to Bethsaida. (Th This is the Bethsaida in which Jacob dreamed and saw the angels ascending and descending from heaven. (i From Bethsaida it is eighteen miles to Samaria, which is now called Neapolis. (Th The well which Jacob constructed is there. (s The bones of Saint Joseph are there. (i From Samaria to (Th Sebastia it is six miles, where my Lord John was beheaded. From Sebastia to (i Scythopolis it is thirty miles; (Th my Lord Basil was martyred there. (i From Scythopolis it is twenty-four miles to (Th the Sea of (i Tiberias. (Th There my Lord (+ Jesus Christ (Th walked. (i From Tiberias it is two miles to Magdala, (Th where my Lady Mary was born. (i From Magdala it is two miles to Seven Springs, where my Lord Christ baptised the apostles, (Th and where he satisfied the people with five loaves and two fishes. (i From Seven Springs it is two miles to Capernaum. From Capernaum it is six miles to Bethsaida, (Th where the apostles Peter, Andrew, Philip, and the sons of Zebedee were born. From Bethsaida it is (i fifty miles to Panias: (Th that is the place where the Jordan rises from the two places Ior and Dan. They run past Panias on either side, and below the city they join together. Hence the name "Jordan". (i That is the place from which came the woman whom my Lord Christ set free from an issue of blood, (Th and this woman's name was Mariosa. In that place is also the electrum statue of my Lord which was made by this Mariosa. The beginning of Mount Lebanon is there.

First Itinerary: This and the other chapter headings have been inserted into the translation for the convenience of the reader. The signs in the text distinguish the sources discussed in Appendix 3 below (pp. 184/92). They are:

- Th — Theodosius, the compiler, who worked c. 518 A.D.
- i — a group of civil itineraries of the fourth to sixth centuries.
- r — a religious itinerary or itineraries, perhaps of the fourth century.
- j — an account of the Jerusalem circuit, c. 500 A.D.
- s — the source or sources using the title "Saint", of which the latest were written c. 518 A.D.
- +

To avoid confusion the notes to this work are distinguished by catchwords rather than the usual numbering. The Lord's Field is described in section 18 below. The first mention of Jesus sowing near the Jordan occurs before 150 A.D. in *Pap. Egerton* 2. iv, Hennecke I, p. 97.

"The Lord" translates *Dominus* (rare in this text) and "my Lord" the more frequent *dominus*. from Jerusalem. No doubt this road started from "St. Stephen's Gate", otherwise known as the "Gate of Galilee" (see sections 8 and 28 below). But the six gates mentioned at the beginning of sec. 1 are never enumerated. The only other one to be mentioned is *Porta Purgu*. "The Gate of the Tower" at sec. 3 below.

Bethsaida should clearly be "Bethel".

constructed: this is one of Theodosius's favourite words.

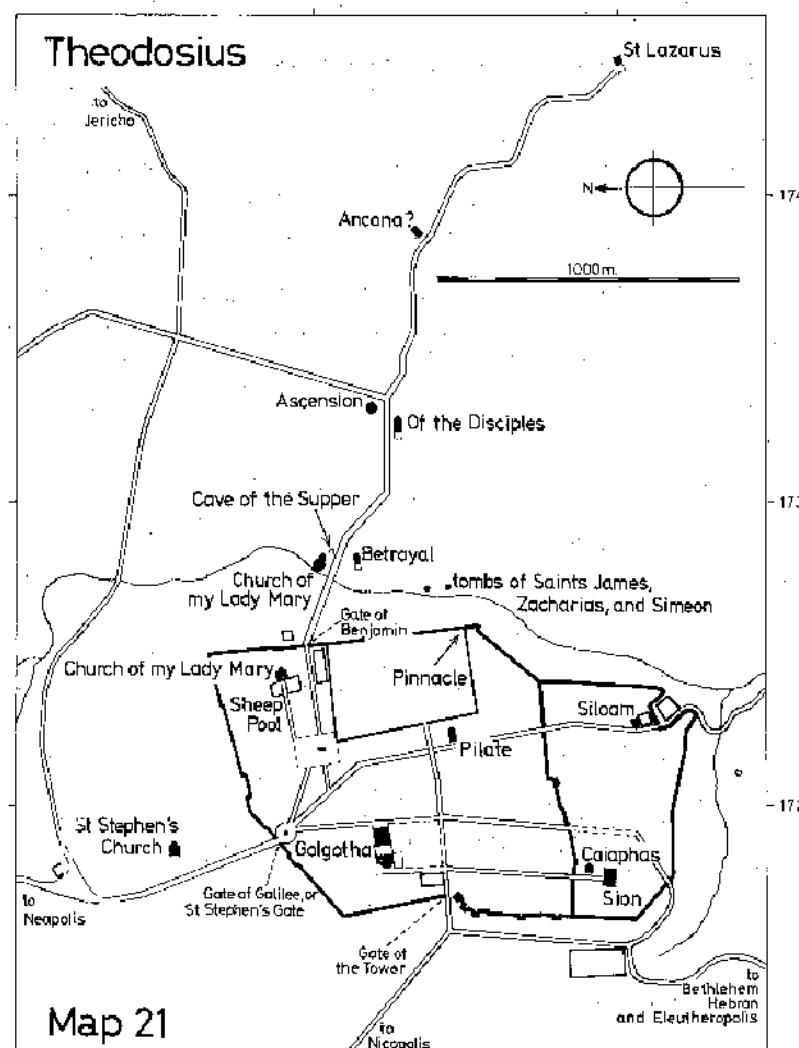
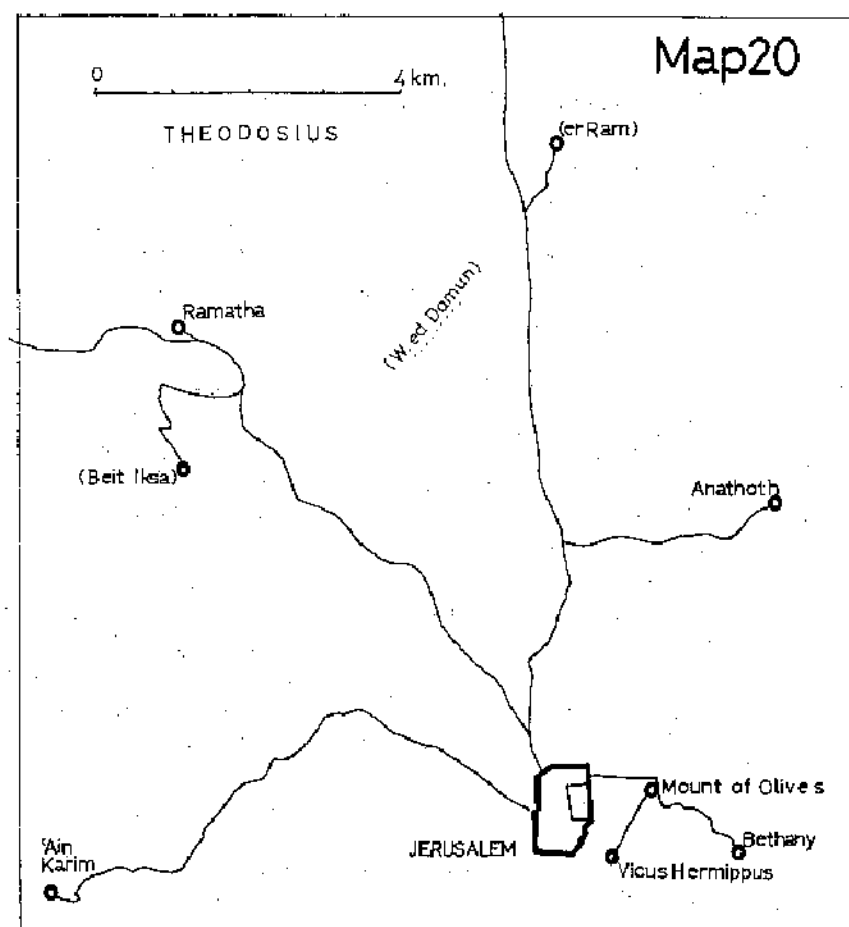
Saint Joseph: Had this been an original phrase of Theodosius it is unlikely that Joseph would have had any title.

Sebastia is not on the Roman Road from Samaria-Neapolis to Scythopolis. There are therefore two possibilities: one that Theodosius (Th here made an interpolation into the civil itinerary (i) which he was copying. This possibility stands as our suggestion in the translation above and the text on p. 186 below. The other possibility is that a Roman road (of which no archaeological remains have been recognized) branched from the one from Neapolis to Scythopolis. This possibility stands as our suggestion on Map 8, where existing modern roads and tracks are shown running through Raba, Kufeir, Sir, and across Marj Samur to Meithalun. The second possibility seems slightly preferable to the first, since the Piacenza pilgrim (p. 81 below) also seems to mention a journey between Sebastia and Scythopolis which does not pass through Neapolis.

Basil is little known: see *Acta Sanctorum*, July II, p. 228.

twenty-four miles is the official distance from Scythopolis to the city of Tiberias. The words "Sea of" and the reference to Christ walking on the sea are thus probably interpolated.

the woman with an issue of blood, is, in Greek, *haemorrhœissa*, of which the "name" *Mariosa* seems to be a corruption: Geyer's note to 138,11.



3. THIRD ITINERARY – FROM JERUSALEM TO BETHULIA

(Th From the Gate of the Tower it is fifteen miles to the place on Mount Buzana (which means "lantern") where David fought Goliath. From Buzana (i it is fifteen miles to Eleutheropolis. From Eleutheropolis to (Th the resting-place of (s Saint Zachariah it is six miles, (Th and from that place to (i Ascalon it is twenty miles. From Ascalon it is twelve miles to Gaza. (Th Between Ascalon and Gaza are two cities: Anthedon and Maiuma. (i From Gaza it is twenty-four miles to Rafia. From Rafia it is twelve miles to Bethulia, (Th? where Holofernes died.

4. FOURTH ITINERARY – FROM JERUSALEM TO SYCE TABURI

139 (i From Jerusalem to (Th Shiloh, where the Ark of the Covenant of my Lord used to be, is eight miles. From Shiloh to (s Emmaus, (Th which is now called (i Nicopolis it is (Th nine (i miles. (Th In this Emmaus (s Saint Cleopas "knew my Lord in the breaking of the bread"; there too he suffered martyrdom. (Th From Emmaus to (i Diospolis it is twelve miles, (s where Saint George (Th was martyred: there too (s is his body, and at it many miracles take place. (i From Diospolis it is twelve miles to Joppa, (a where Saint Peter raised Saint Tabitha; there too the whale cast up Saint Jonah. (i From Joppa it is thirty miles to Caesarea Palaestinae, (Th where my Lord Cornelius was baptized by my Lord Peter and was martyred. (i From Caesarea it is thirty miles to Diocaesarea, from which came Simon Magus. From Diocaesarea it is five miles to Cana of Galilee. From Diocaesarea it is five miles to Nazareth. From Nazareth it is seven miles to Syce Taburi; (Th there my Lord appeared to the apostles after his resurrection.

5. FIFTH ITINERARY – FROM JERUSALEM TO HEBRON

140 (i From Jerusalem (Th it is sixteen miles to the place where my Lord Philip baptized the eunuch. From here (i to the Terebinth (Th which is called the Oak of Mamre, it is two miles. (i From the Terebinth it is four miles to the Double Cave, the patriarchs' resting-place. From the Double Cave it is two miles to Hebron, (s where Saint David lived for seven years when he was fleeing before Saul.

6. DISTANCES TO HOLY PLACES NEAR JERUSALEM

(Th From Jerusalem it is five miles to Ramatha, the resting-place of Samuel. (s From Jerusalem it is five miles to the dwelling-place of Saint Elizabeth, (Th the mother of my Lord John the Baptist. From Jerusalem it is six miles to Anathoth, the birth-place of my Lord Jeremiah the Prophet: it is also his resting-place. (i From Jerusalem it is two miles to Bethany, where my Lord Christ raised Lazarus. (Th From Jerusalem Scripture says it is "seven stades which is a mile", to the Mount of Olives: from this my Lord ascended into the heavens; there they have constructed (i 24 churches. (a From the Mount of Olives it is a mile to the village Hermippus, where Ebed-melech slept under a fig-tree for forty years. (Th This Ebed-melech (s was a disciple of Saint Jeremiah: (Th the prophet Baruch was there.

7(a). CALVARY

141 (Th In the city of Jerusalem (+ by the Sepulchre of the Lord (Th is the Place of a Skull. (Th There Abraham offered his son as a sacrifice, and because (i it is a hill of rock, (Th it was on the hill itself – at its foot, to be exact – that Abraham made the altar. Above the altar rises the hill; (i one climbs to the top of it by steps. (+ There the Lord was crucified.

Saint Zachariah is not on the way from Eleutheropolis to Ascalon if the place in question is the present Kefar Zachariah 144 124: this is probably another insertion into the framework provided by the civil itinerary.

Bethulia where Holofernes died, Judith 7.3, was nowhere near Rafia, but in the north of the country, somewhere between Dothan and Jezreel.

Shiloh here is a mistake for Kirjath-jearim: see 1 Sam. 7.1/2.

Saint George and his cult are discussed by H. Delchaye, *Les Légendes Grecques des Saints Militaires*, Paris 1909, pp. 45/50. The traditional belief that Tabor was the place of the Transfiguration would support the suspicion that these words are an interpolation, explaining the otherwise ambiguous "there my Lord appeared to the apostles".

David lived for seven years in Hebron, 1 Kgs 2.11, but by then Saul was dead, and he was already king.

"seven stades which is a mile" was a reading which, though evidently found in the version of Acts 1.12 used by Theodosius, is known to us only in the Syriac and Sahidic versions: J. Gildemeister, *Theodosius de situ T. S. im ächten Text...*, Bonn 1882, p. 19.

7(b). THE BEGINNING OF THE JERUSALEM CIRCUIT

(^U From the Tomb of the Lord it is 15 paces to the Place of a Skull: (Th It is beneath a roof. (^U From the Place of a Skull it is 15 paces to Golgotha, (Th where my Lord's Cross was discovered. (^U From Golgotha it is 200 paces to Holy Sion (Th which is the Mother of All Churches: this Sion (⁺ our (Th Lord (⁺ Christ (Th founded with the apostles. It (^s was the house of Saint Mark the Evangelist. (^U From Holy Sion to the House of Caiaphas (Th which is now the (^s Church of Saint Peter (Th it is (^U about 50 paces. From the House of Caiaphas to the Praetorium of Pilate it is about 100 paces; (^s the Church of Saint Sophia is there, (Th Beside it (^s Saint Jeremiah was cast into the pit. (^r The column (Th which was (^r in the House of Caiaphas, at which my Lord Christ was scourged, (Th has now by my Lord's command found its way into Holy Sion: and you can see the way he clung to it when he was being scourged as if the marks were in wax. (^r His arms, hands, and fingers clove to it, (Th it shows even today. (^r Also he made on it the impression of his whole face, chin, nose, and eyes as if it had been wax.

8(a). SAINT STEPHEN

142 (^s Saint Stephen was stoned outside the Gate of Galilee, and his church is there, (Th which was constructed by my Lady Eudokia, the wife of Emperor Theodosius.

8(b). THE REST OF THE JERUSALEM CIRCUIT

(Th The Pool of Siloam is 100 paces from the pit where they cast the Prophet Jeremiah: it is inside the wall. (^U From the House of Pilate it is about 100 paces to the Sheep-Pool. (^r There my Lord Christ cured the paralysed man, whose couch is still there. (Th Beside the Sheep-Pool is the Church of my Lady Mary.

9. SAINT JAMES

(^s Saint James, (⁺ whom the Lord ordained bishop with his own hand, (^s after the Ascension of my Lord was thrown down from the Pinnacle of the Temple, (Th and it did him no harm, but he was killed by a fuller with the wedge in which he used to carry things. (^s He is buried on the Mount of Olives. (Th This (^s Saint James, Saint Zacharias, and Saint Simeon are buried in a single tomb, (Th which this (^s Saint James himself (Th constructed. (^s He re-buried in it the bodies of the other two, and gave instructions that he himself should be buried there with them.

10. GETHSEMANE

143 (Th The Valley of Jehoshaphat is there: there Judas betrayed my Lord: there is the Church of my Lady Mary, (⁺ the Mother of the Lord: there also the Lord washed the disciples' feet and held the Supper: (Th four couches are there in the place where my Lord reclined in the midst of the apostles, and each couch holds three men. Several of those who have come there for a religious reason like to eat food there (but not meat), and to light lamps where my Lord himself washed the apostles' feet. Also this place is in a cave, and two hundred monks go down there now.

11. THE ENCLOSED CONVENT

(Th Down below the Pinnacle of the Temple is a monastery of virgins, and whenever one of them passes from this life, she is buried there inside the monastery. All their lives they never go out of the door by which they entered this place. The door is opened only for a nun or a penitent who wishes to join the monastery, but otherwise the virgins are always shut in. Their food is let down to them from the walls, but they have their water there in cisterns.

Saint Sophia i.e. Holy Wisdom.

the village Hermippus. The story of Ebed-melech (or Abimelech) is to be found in *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, 3.10, 15 and 5.25: this original version of the story shows that the proper name of the place is "the estate of Agrippa".

Saint James: J. H. Bernard, *Theodosius* (PPTS), London 1893, p. 5 noted that there were similarities between the wording of this section and Gregory of Tours (585: 1.27 – 727f) and also between sec. 12 and Gregory, *op. cit.* 1.35 – 757. These are best explained by supposing that both Theodosius and Gregory drew on documents in the same tradition, since the wordings are far from identical.

two hundred monks. Egeria, *Tr.* 43.7 – 142 (compare 36.2 – 136) speaks of over two hundred candles being used at this spot, but no firm conclusion can be drawn from the coincidence.

12. CERSONA AND SAINT CLEMENT

(Th The city of Cersona is on the Pontic Sea. My Lord Clement was martyred there, and his tomb has been put with his body in the sea. An anchor was tied to my Lord Clement's neck. At the present time (^s all the people and priests get into boats on his feast-day, and (Th when they arrive at the place the sea dries up for six miles all round, and where the ark itself is (^s they set up over themselves canopies, and put up an altar and hold services for eight days. My Lord does many wonderful things there, and there demons are driven out. (Th If any one of the people who are possessed manages to reach the actual anchor and touch it, he is immediately set free.

13. SINOPE

144 (Th From Cersona to Sinope, where my Lord Andrew released my Lord Matthew the Evangelist from prison . . . Sinope was known in those days as Myrmidona, and all the people who lived there used to eat their fellows. But today they are so kindly that they sit waiting in the streets to welcome travellers. At this point you are already in Armenia.

14. MEMPHIS

(Th In Egypt the city of Memphis is the place where Pharaoh used to live, and where Joseph was cast into prison. (^s There are two monasteries there, (Th one of the Vandal tradition and the other of the Roman. (^s The Vandals belong to Saint Jeremiah and the Romans to Saint Apollonius the hermit.

15. MARTYRS OF ASIA MINOR

(^s? In Caesarea of Cappadocia is Saint Mamas the hermit and martyr, who milked wild beasts and made cheese, and also Saint Mercurius the martyr: (Th it is in the same province. (^s? In the city of Sebastia are the 40 Martyrs: this is in the province of Cappadocia. In the city of Gangra is the martyr Saint Callinicus: this is in the province of Galatia. The city of Euchaita contains the martyr Saint Theodore: it is in the province of Galatia. The city of Ancyra is in the province of Galatia: the martyr Saint Plato is there.

16. THE RIVERS OF PARADISE

145 (Th From the mountains of Armenia flow two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Tigris waters the lands of the Assyrians and the Euphrates the lands of Mesopotamia. Pishon waters the whole land of Ethiopia and flows as far as Egypt, and Gihon waters the land of Havilah and passes near Jerusalem.

Clement was third Bishop of Rome. An account of his exile to the mines near Chersona and subsequent martyrdom appears in *P.G.* 2.628/31, and the miracle of the sea drying up in *P.G.* 2.636/7.

ark is probably a mistake for "anchor".

Andrew and Matthew (a mistake for Matthias). The miracle is first described in "The Deeds of Andrew and Matthias in the City of the Cannibals": see C. Tischendorf, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Leipzig 1851, pp. 132/66, where the city is not named. It is called Myrmidona in Ps.-Abdias (Tischendorf, *op. cit.* pp. 48 f.) and Sinope by Epiphanius the Monk, *Life of Andrew*, (*id. op. cit.*) p. 1, and *P.G.* 120, 217–24.

Saint Jeremiah: the dedication may be explained, as Bernard suggests, *op. cit.* p. 13, by the fact that the LXX render Noph (Jer. 44.1, and compare 43) as Memphis. He notes that Rufinus reports on "innumerable" monks at Memphis: *P.L.* 21. 400.

Saint Apollonius. There was a monk of this name at Thebes: see *B.H.G.* 1513y, 1514. But it seems more probable that we have here a misreading of "Saint Paul" as is clearly the case in section 32(a) below. Paul the First Hermit would have been a very natural patron for a monastery in Egypt.

Mamas was martyred under Aurelian. Gregory Naz. *Orat.* 44.12, *P.G.* 36, 620 alludes to his milking does.

Mercurius was a soldier martyred under Decius and Valerian: see H. Delehaye, *op. cit.*, pp. 91/101.

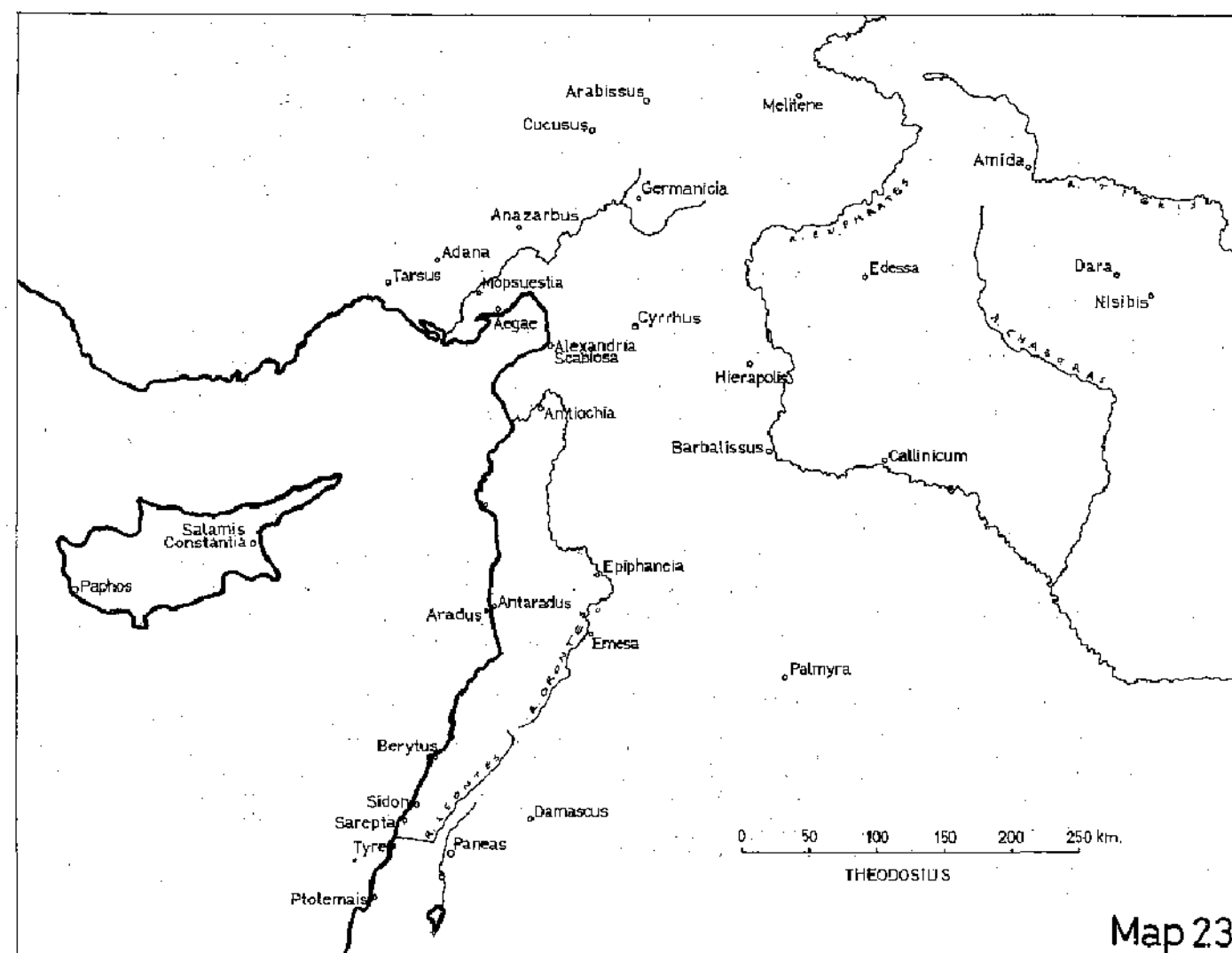
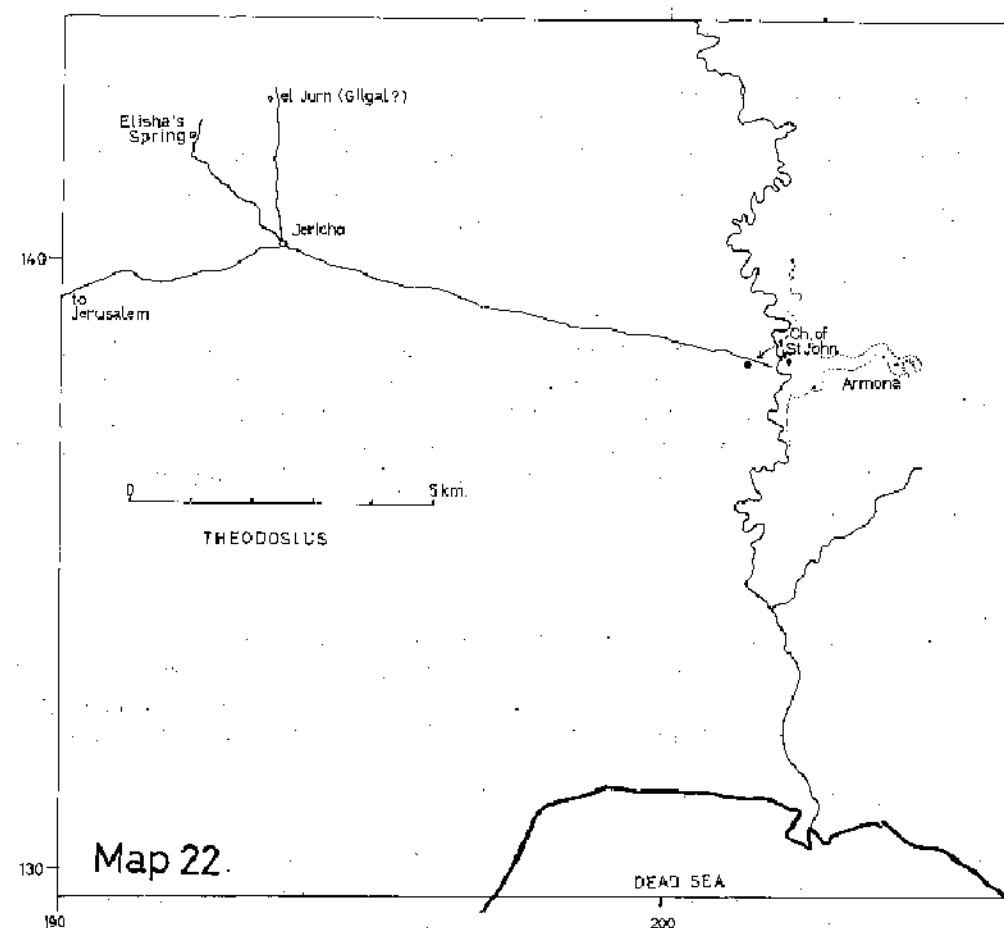
40 Martyrs, martyred under Licinius. Their sufferings are described in the sermon of St. Basil printed in *P.G.* 31.508/25.

Callinicus, burned to death at Gangra at an uncertain date: see *P.G.* 115, 477/88 for a standard account of his martyrdom. Gangra had ceased to be in Galatia after the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine.

Theodore the Conscript, martyred under Maximian: see H. Delehaye, *op. cit.* pp. 11–43. The exact site of Euchaita is uncertain.

Plato was beheaded at Ancyra under Maximian: see *P.G.* 115, 404/25.

Pishon, etc. The second half of section 16 seems to be an addition.



17. THE MOUNT OF OLIVES AND THE MATZI

(Th From the Mount of Olives the Lord ascended into the heavens. Near that place is a cave called the Matzi, which means "of the disciples", where my Lord used to rest when he was preaching in Jerusalem. (+ In it Saint John the Evangelist lay on the Lord's breast.

18. THE LORD'S FIELD

(+ The Lord's Field (Th in Gilgal is watered by Elisha's Spring, and bears about six bushels. Half this field is ploughed in August and is ripe by Easter, and it is used in Communion on the Day of my Lord's Supper and on Easter Day: (Th and when this has been mown the other half is ploughed and ripens for a second crop. The vine also is there which my Lord planted and (s it gives its fruit at Pentecost. This is used for Communion in Constantinople, (Th and the produce both of the field and of the vine are sent there at their respective seasons.

19. LIVIAS

(Th The city of Livias is across the Jordan, twelve miles from Jericho. This Livias is where Moses struck the rock with his staff, and the water flowed, and from that place flows a large stream which waters the whole of Livias. Livias contains the large Nicolaitan date-palm. There too Moses passed away from this world, and there also there are some hot springs in which Moses washed. Lepers are healed in them.

20. THE PLACE OF BAPTISM AND THE DEAD SEA

(Th At the place where my Lord was baptized is a marble column, and on top of it has been set an iron cross. (s There also is the Church of Saint John Baptist, (Th which was constructed by the Emperor Anastasius. It stands on great vaults which are high enough for the times when the Jordan is in flood. The monks who reside at this Church each receive six shillings a year from the Treasury for their livelihood. (s Where my Lord was baptized there is on the far side of the Jordan the "little hill" called Hermon (+ Mount Tabor is in Galilee - (s where Saint Elijah was taken up. The tomb of Saint Elisha is there (Th at the place where he blessed the spring, and a church has been constructed over the tomb. It is five miles from the place where my Lord was baptized to the point where the Jordan enters the Dead Sea. This Dead Sea is the one where Sodom and Gomorrah were engulfed, with the other three which made up the five cities beside the Dead Sea. Lot's Wife is there who became a pillar of salt. When the moon waxes she grows, and when it wanes she shrinks.

21. THE MOUNT OF OLIVES: THE ANCONA AND BETHPHAGE

(Th On the Mount of Olives my Lord leaned his shoulders on a rock, and both shoulders sank into the rock as if it had been soft wax. This place is called the Ancona, and a church has been constructed there. (s Near it is the church where Saint Thecla is, and (Th the place itself is called Bethphage. From there they took the "foal of an ass" on which my Lord sat when he entered by the Gate of Benjamin into Jerusalem.

22. THE "LITTLE HILLS" OF THE JORDAN

(Th You read in Scripture, "What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest, and thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back? Ye mountains that ye skipped like rams, and ye little hills, like young sheep?" Near the Jordan, that is to say, there are many little hills. When my Lord came down for baptism these hills went skipping in front of him, and even today they seem to be skipping.

the Matzi, a name which seems to be a phonetic rendering of the Greek word for "disciples", *mathetai*. The place is thus the Elcona cave "Where the Lord used to teach the disciples"; Peter the Deacon, I - 184, compare *AE* 40 - 268. It therefore seems that the idea that the Lord rested here after preaching elsewhere is a misunderstanding.

The large Nicolaitan date-palm: a famous specialty of this region, as witnessed by Pliny, *HN*. 5.9.

Hermon. The writer obviously takes *Armona*, the spelling in the text, to mean "Hermon", because of the allusion to Ps. 42.6.

Probably it should be understood as a formation from *harma*, "chariot", as in II Kgs 2.11 LXX. Compare *Eleona* (from *elaton*, "of olives"), *Egeria*, *Tr.* 33.1 - 134), *Ancona* (from *ankon*, "elbow", sec. 21 below), and *Phoenicea* (from *phoinikon* "of palm-trees", Cosmas Ind., p. 73 below).

Ancona: compare the word *Armona* ("Hermon") above, sec. 20.

"What aileth thee, . . .": Ps. 114.5/6.

23(a). ZAREPHATH

(Th The "Zarephath of Sidonia" of Scripture is in Phoenice, or Syria Secunda, near Mount Carmel. Zarephath is twelve miles away from Sidon, and was called "Zarephath of Sidonia" because at that time Sidon was the capital city over Zarephath, though today Zarephath itself is a capital. (s Where Saint Elijah was sent to the widow (Th who gave him food, (s and he healed her son, is the Church of Saint Elijah, (Th since no name is mentioned for the woman, apart from her being "the widow".

23(b). LAZARUS'S DEATH AND FEAST-DAY

(Th Every one knows about Lazarus, whom my Lord raised from the dead, that he was raised, but no one knows about the second time he died. This happened two miles from Jerusalem in Bethany, and (s for the Raising of Saint Lazarus all the people gather (Th there (s before Easter and hold services.

24. CITIES OF ARABIA

(Th In Arabia are thirteen cities which were destroyed by Joshua the son of Nun. The Amorites, Girgashites and Perizzites used to live in them. They are Juncta, Volumta, Medaba, Musica, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Genara, Bostra, Damascus, Gadara, Abila, Capitolias, and Astra.

25. THE PROVINCES FROM PALESTINE TO ARMENIA

(Th The region of Jerusalem is called the province of Palestine, the Land of Canaan. Then comes Galilee, then Syria, then Mesopotamia; on the left are Armenia Prima, Armenia Secunda, and Persian Armenia, and all three are under the Emperor.

26. EPHESUS

148 (Th In the province of Asia is the city of Ephesus, which contains the Seven Brothers, the Sleepers, and their puppy Hyrcanus at their feet. Their names are Achillides, Diomedes, Eugenius, Stephen, Probatius, Sabbatius, and Cyriac; and their mother's name is Caritina in Greek, and in Latin Felicitas. (s Saint Timothy is there, (Th the disciple of my Lord Paul.

27. PARAN AND THE SIXTH ITINERARY

(s The city of Paran near Mount Sinai is where Saint Moses fought Amalek. (i It is three staging-posts from Jerusalem to Elusa, and seven from Elusa to Aila, (Th a city constructed by Alexander the Great, the Macedonian. (i It is eight staging-posts from Aila to Mount Sinai, (Th if you choose the short way (i across the desert, but twenty-five if you go through Egypt.

28. URBICIUS

(Th Urbicius had the title of Superintendent of the Empire, acting as Superintendent to seven emperors. He himself crowned the heads of these emperors, removed their crowns, and chastised them. Now there is a stone in a place three miles from the city of Jerusalem which my Lady Mary, (+ the Mother of the Lord, (Th blessed when she dismounted from the ass on her way to Bethlehem and sat down on it. This Superintendent Urbicius cut this stone out, shaped it into an altar, and was about to send it to Constantinople. But when he had brought it as far as Saint Stephen's Gate he could move it no further. A yoke

the people gather; as described by Egeria, Tr. 29.5 - 131.

In Arabia: this had been an accurate statement from the point of view of Roman administration until the reforms of c. 429 A.D., which brought some of these cities into *Palaestina Secunda*, namely (of those whose names are recognisable) Gadara, Abila, and Capitolias.

The Sleepers: whose fame was later recognised by the Muslims: see *Holy Qur'an*, s. 18 "The Cave". Details such as their names vary in different traditions. Gildemeister, *op. cit.*, p. 27, points out that although the names given here correspond with those in a seventh-century Syriac manuscript, there is no mention of their mother in that version, since the seven are not brothers. None of the Christian versions speak of the dog: see for instance P.G. 115, 429.

Felicitas and her seven sons, whose feast-day is on July 10th, were martyred in Rome, and have no connection with the Seven Sleepers.

Urbicius was a eunuch (John Zonaras, *Annales* 14.3, P.G. 134, 1213) and held the office of Chamberlain (*cubicularius*: Theophanes, *Chron. anno* 5972, P.G. 108, 313). On the death of the Emperor Zeno Urbicius was at the height of his power, and arranged for Anastasius to become Emperor (Ephraemius Chronogr., *Caesares*, 1.1049, P.G. 143, 52).

149 of oxen was dragging the stone. So when they found no way to move it any further it was sent back to the Lord's Tomb. There this stone was made into an altar and used for Communion. It is behind my Lord's Tomb. This Superintendent Urbicius died at Constantinople in the reign of the Emperor Anastasius . . . : the earth would not receive Urbicius, but three times his tomb cast him out.

29. DARA

(Th In the province of Mesopotamia Anastasius constructed a city called Dara. It is three miles long because of the Persians, who, when they used to come to plunder the Emperor's province, pitched their tent there, since no other place had any water. Inside the city a river rises, and at the end of the city it disappears, so that the whole of this river is surrounded by the wall.

30. PERSIAN ARMENIA AND PERSIS

(Th The city of Melitene is in Persian Armenia, and a capital. Other cities are Arabissa, Cocusa, and Germanicia. (s The body of Saint Daniel lies in a place called (Th Susa in Persis, which is thirty miles from Babylon. (s The Three Children are also there. (Th But no one lives there because of the snakes and hippocentaurs. The deacon Eudoxius who comes from that province, told about this.

31. THE FEAST OF THE CROSS

(s The Finding of the Holy Cross, the day when it was found by Helena the mother of Constantine, is the fourteenth of September. Services are held in Jerusalem at my Lord's Tomb, and the Cross (Th itself (s is displayed for seven days.

32(a). AEGAE AND TARSUS

150 (Th There is a city called Aegae in the province of Cilicia, where for forty days they work, but no one seeks any profit. If after the forty days any one is found to have been doing business he has to pay taxes. In the province of Cilicia is the city of Tarsus, from which came Apollonius.

32(b). SEVENTH ITINERARY

(i It is thirty miles from Tarsus to Adana. It is thirty miles from Adana to Masista. From Masista to Anasta . . . to Aegae is sixty miles. From Aegae it is sixty miles to Alexandria Scabiosa. From Alexandria Scabiosa it is sixty miles to Antioch. From Antioch it is sixty miles to Cyrrhus, (s? where Saint Cosmas and Damian lie buried, and where they were struck down. (Th From Cyrrhus it is sixty miles to Barbalissa, (s? where Saint Sergius and Bacchus were struck down. (i From Barbalissa to Hierapolis . . . to Callinicum is eighty miles. From Callinicum to Constantina is sixty miles, from Constantina it is eighty miles to Edessa, (Th where King Abgar lived (+ who wrote to the Lord Christ. (i From Edessa to Dara is 120 miles. From Dara it is eighty miles to Amida, which is on the frontier with Persia. From Amida to Ramusa is eighteen miles.

Anastasius . . . : the earth: the space contains the words *et obrierunt*, which have so far defeated Theodosius' editors and commentators.

Apollonius: this must surely be a misunderstanding for "Paul", or perhaps "the Apostle Paul".

Seventh Itinerary. The map shows that the itinerary here is extremely confused. Three itineraries seem to have become involved with each other: (A) Tarsus - Adana - Masista (=Mopsuestia?) - Anasta . . . (=Anazarbus?) - Cyrrhus - Barbalissus - Callinicum - Constantina - Dara - Amida - Ramusa (an unknown name); (B) (Tarsus) - Aegae - Alexandria Scabiosa - Antioch; and (C) Antioch - Eneapolis (=Hierapolis?) - Edessa.

Cosmas and Damian were martyred at Cyrrhus, but some accounts suggest that they suffered under Diocletian at Aegae: see for instance *Acta Sanctorum* Sept. VII, pp. 469 f; and others that they suffered under Carinus, probably in Rome.

Sergius and Bacchus were courtiers who were martyred under Maximian at Rusafa, according to the first Greek *Passion* (A.B. 14 (1895), p. 395).

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES
CHRISTIAN TOPOGRAPHY — Extract

Book 5¹

196 . . . and the Israelites crossed over. But when all the Egyptians in their chariots had pursued the Israelites as far as the middle of the sea, God in his anger caused the waters to rise against them, and they were drowned and slain. This happened at what is called Clysmā, on your right as you go to the Mountain. And the tracks of their chariots can still be seen, preserved to the present day. They reach down to the sea from quite a distance away, and serve as a sign for the unfaithful — but not for the faithful.

197 When the Israelites had passed over to the other side, to the place called Phoeniconā, they began their journey across the desert of Sur. Spreading over them a cloud by day, to prevent them fainting in the heat of the sun, the Lord led them forward; and by night he appeared to them in a pillar of fire, and led them through all that desert: as it is written, "He spread over them a cloud to cover them, and fire to give them light by night".² All this we may draw as follows.

[a drawing]

199 Then, going on from Marah, they came to Elim, which we now call Raithu. The twelve springs which used to be there remain to this day, but at one time there were many more palm-trees there.

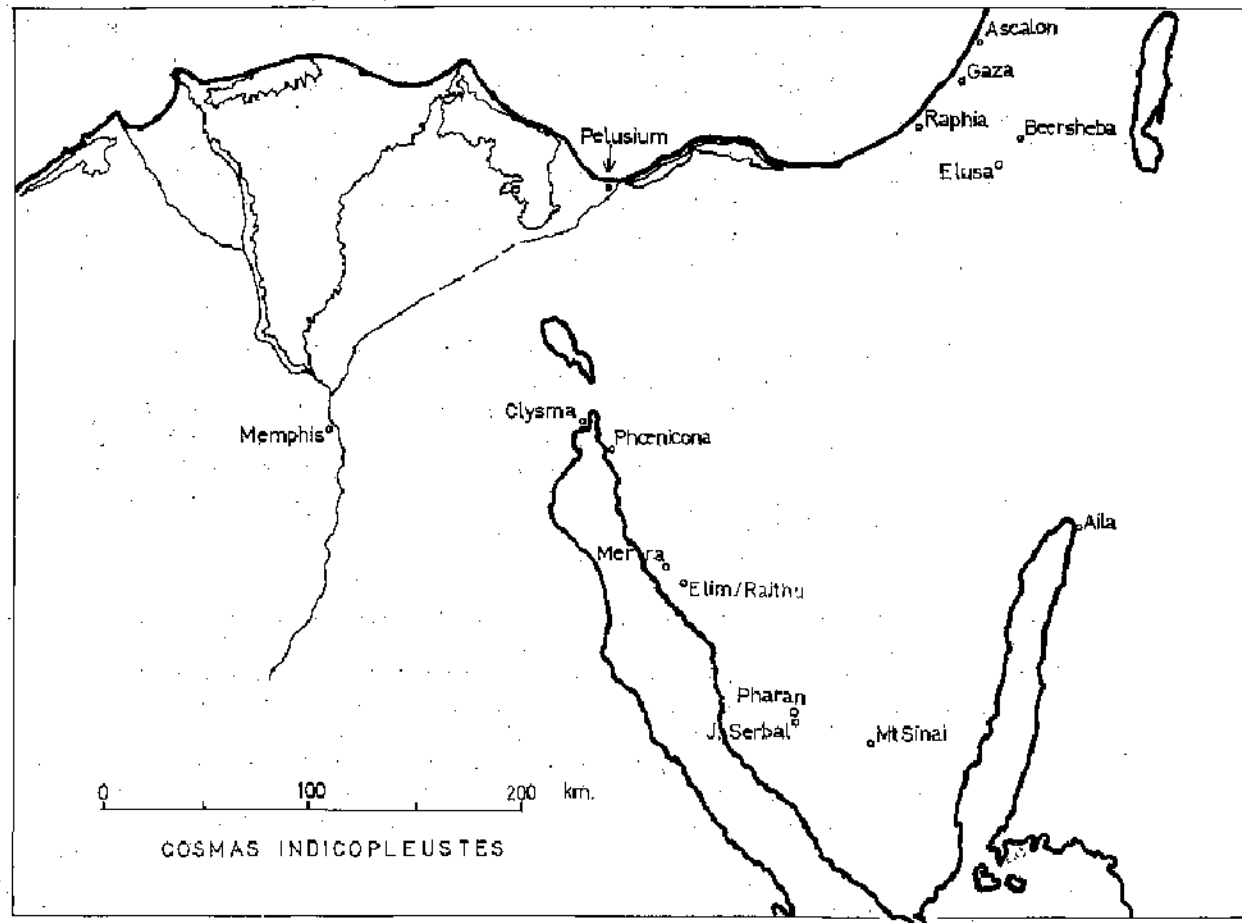
Up to this point they had had the sea on their right the whole time and the desert on their left. But from now on they went up through the mountains, leaving the sea behind them, and journeying forwards into desert. And when they came to the half-way point between Elim and the Sinaian Mount, the manna came down on them. In that place they also kept the first Sabbath, according to the commands which God had given Moses by word of mouth at Marah.⁴ We can draw this as follows.

[a drawing]

In that desert, as they passed from Marah to Elim, and on from Elim towards Mount Sinai, quails came down upon them in the evening, and manna in the morning. And there, as I have said, they first began keeping the sabbath, and the manna stayed fresh from the Friday to the Sabbath, though on the other days it did not, but decayed and was spoiled. In this way they learned how to keep the sabbath, for when some of them wanted to collect manna also on the sabbath, they found none, as Scripture tells us.

Next they camped in Rephidim, the place now called Pharan. And when they suffered from thirst, Moses took his staff in his hand, and went with the elders to Mount Horeb, which is near Sinai, about six miles from Pharan. There he struck the rock.⁵ Much water flowed out and the people drank. . . . (lacuna).

1. Translated from P.G. 88, 197/9.
2. Psalm 105.39.
3. Cosmas' text was illustrated, but the illustrations belonging to the section here translated have not survived in an intelligible form.
4. Numbers 16.
5. Numbers 20.11.



Map 24

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
BUILDINGS – Extracts

BUILDINGS, Book V¹

- 342 VI.1 In Jerusalem the Emperor Justinian dedicated to the Mother of God a sanctuary which is incomparable.
2 The people who live there call it "The New Church", and I shall be describing it. But before I do so I
3 must explain that this city is built mostly on hills: they are not clothed with soil, but stand up straight
4 and stark, with connecting streets running down from the top to the valley like ladders. The buildings
5 which were already there were sited either completely on hill-tops or on level ground in the valleys, but
6 this sanctuary is the one exception. The Emperor Justinian had given orders to build it on a prominent
7 hill and amongst other things had specified its breadth and length. But there was not enough space on the
8 hill for the building the Emperor wanted, and a quarter of the site area was missing on the south, and also
9 on the east at the very place where it is the custom for the priests to celebrate. Those in charge of the
10 work therefore contrived this plan: they laid their foundations right out to the edge of the high ground,
11 and then added to the hill an artificial platform of the same height as the rock. After they had built this
12 up to the level of the hill-top they set vaults on the walls, and joined this construction on to the rest of
13 the sanctuary buildings. Thus this church has its foundations partly on solid rock and partly on air, on
14 account of the extension which the mighty Emperor added to the area of the hill. The stones used for
15 this building were unusually large. Those directing the works had to overcome the natural disadvantages
16 of the site, and to achieve a construction the height of the rock. All the ordinary methods proved useless,
17 and they had to resort to unconventional, indeed, unprecedented measures. First they quarried enormous
18 blocks from the large mountains which stand in front of the city; then they dressed them neatly, and this
19 is how they transported them to the site. They made special waggons the size of the stones, put a stone
20 in each waggon and had it drawn up by forty oxen which the Emperor had specially selected for their
21 strength. The roads into the city were not wide enough to take the waggons, so they cut away large
22 sections of the mountains to give access to the waggons coming in, and that is how they succeeded in
23 building the church to the dimensions specified by the Emperor.
- 344 Even though they had made it the correct width they found themselves quite unable to roof the
346 church. So they went round inspecting all the groves and woods, and anywhere they were told there were
348 specially tall trees, and discovered a thick forest containing some cedars of unusual height. Using these to
350 construct the roof of the Church they succeeded in making its height proportionate to its length and
352 breadth.
- 354 So much the Emperor Justinian accomplished by human strength and skill. But he was also assist-
356 ed by his pious faith, which both brought him honour and made the work on which he had laboured still
358 more remarkable. The columns which were to surround the church had to be as beautiful as the rest of
360 the building, and large enough to support the weight which was to rest on them. But the site was far in-
362 land, away from the sea, and sealed off by the steep hills I have described, which made it impossible for
364 the engineers to import columns from abroad. But as the Emperor was beginning to despair at the
366 difficulties of the task, God revealed in the mountains close by a type of stone exactly suited to this
368 purpose. Perhaps it had long been there unnoticed. Perhaps it was created by God there and then. But in
370 either case we must ascribe its provision to God. Judging by human standards we regard a great many
372 things as impossible, but with the God of all nothing can be impossible or difficult.
- 374 The church was throughout supported on great flame-coloured columns from this source, a vast
376 quantity of them. Some were inside, some above, and some in the colonnades which ran all round the
378 sanctuary except on the side facing east. But the two which stood in front of the church doors were so
380 enormous that they may be the largest in the whole world. Next to this place is another colonnaded area
382 called "By the Narthex" because it is narrow. And beyond this there is a court surrounded by columns of
384 the same type on all four sides. Leading out of the court are magnificent doors which give people passing
386 by outside some indication of the kind of things they will see if they go in; the gateway attached to them
388 is also remarkable, and there is an arch (apse) rising from two columns to a great height. Further on, on
390 one side of the way which leads into the church, are two semicircular recesses facing each other, and
392 facing each other on the other side of the street are two hospices built by the Emperor Justinian. One is
394 intended for foreign visitors and the other to be an infirmary for the poor. The Emperor Justinian also
396 endowed this Church of the Mother of God with a substantial income. This, then, was what the Emperor
398 Justinian achieved in Jerusalem.

1. Translated from the text in H. B. Dewing and G. Downey, *Procopius of Caesarea (Loeb Classical Library)*, Vol. 7, London 1961, pp. 342–60.

VII. 1 There is a city in Palestine called Neapolis, and above it a huge mountain called Gerizim. The Samaritans, who originally owned the mountain, missed no opportunity of climbing to the summit for prayer. This was not because they had ever built a temple there, but because they venerated the summit itself as the most sacred place in the world. When Jesus, the Son of God, was incarnate, and preached to the people of this place, he had conversation with one of the women of the district. When she asked him about the mountain he replied that a time would come when the Samaritans would no longer worship on this mountain, but that true worshippers (meaning Christians) would worship there. And with the passing of time the prophecy was fulfilled, for it is utterly impossible that the Living God should utter a lie.

5 This is what happened. During the reign of the Emperor Zeno a mob of Samaritans suddenly came down and attacked the Christians of Neapolis while they were in church, celebrating the feast called Pentecost. The then bishop, Terebinthius, they attacked with knives while he was standing performing the mysteries at the holy Table, and they slashed at him and cut off his fingers. And whereas we ought to attend the mysteries in silence, they shouted abuse at them, as you would expect from Samaritans.

6 This priest immediately came to Byzantium and appeared before the then Emperor. He explained what had happened to his people and pointed out all the circumstances, recalling the prophecy of Christ. And he requested him to avenge what had been done. The Emperor, Zeno, was disturbed to hear what had happened, and had no compunction in inflicting a fitting punishment on the people who had committed this fearful crime. He drove the Samaritans away from Mount Gerizim, and forthwith handed it over to the Christians, and founded on the summit a church which he dedicated to the Mother of God. But although his plans included a wall to surround the church it proved to be little more than ornamental. He also stationed a garrison there with a good number down in the city, but only ten on the wall and at the church.

9 All this annoyed the Samaritans. But although they greatly resented it and viewed the arrangement with furious disapproval they concealed their anger by silence. Some time went by and then, during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius,² something happened. Accepting a suggestion made by a woman, a group of Samaritans climbed the mountain by the cliff face: this was completely unexpected, but the ascent from the city to the summit was closely guarded, and it was useless to make the ascent that way. They suddenly appeared in the church and killed the guards there. Then they uttered a great shout to call the Samaritans in the city to join them. But these were afraid of the soldiers, and had no wish to join the insurgents. It was not long before the governor of the district (Procopius of Edessa, an excellent man) had rounded up the criminals and executed them, but even so the Emperor paid no attention to the kind of fortifications which were needed. But the present Emperor Justinian converted most of the Samaritans to a better faith and made them Christians. He left the old fortification of the Church on Gerizim in its old form which I have described; but by building another wall outside it he rendered the place impregnable. He also rebuilt five Christian churches which had been burned by the Samaritans. That is what happened.

VIII. 1 In what was once called Arabia (now³ Palaestina Tertia) is a tract of desert devoid of crops, water, and anything useful. And very close to the so-called Red Sea is a steep and dreadfully rugged mountain called Sinai . . . On this Mount Sinai live monks whose life one might describe as "a careful rehearsal of death",⁴ for they love their desert life and enjoy it without being afraid. They covet nothing, they have mastered all human desires, and have no anxieties about possessions, the care of their bodies, or any comforts whatsoever. For them the Emperor Justinian built a church which he dedicated to the Mother of God, in order that they could pass their lives there in continual prayer and worship.

6 He built this church not on the mountain-top, but far below. Indeed it is impossible for any one to spend the night on the summit since a man would be paralysed and stunned by the continual crashes of thunder and other noises manifesting God's power which are heard there each night. People say this was the place where Moses received the Law from God and brought it down to the people. At the foot of this mountain the Emperor also built an extremely strong fortress, and garrisoned it with rigorously-selected men to prevent the local Saracen barbarians of that region (which, as I have said, was desert) from being able to make secret raids into the area of Palestine. So much for the execution of this programme.

10 I shall now summarise his programme for the monasteries of that region and of the rest of the Orient.

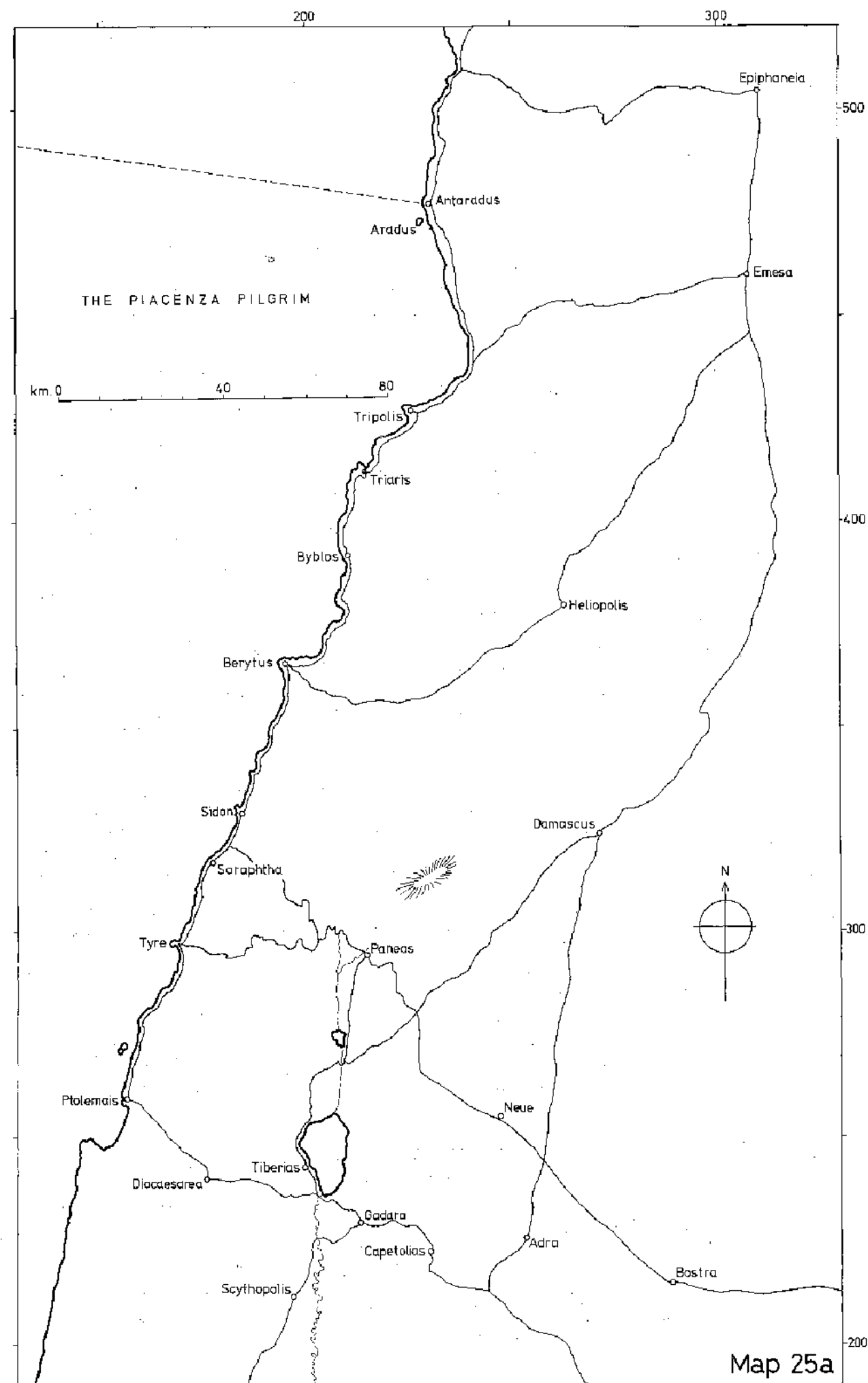
IX. 1 In Jerusalem he restored
The monastery of St. Thaleleus;
2 The monastery of St. Gregory;
3 The monastery of St. Panteleimon in the desert of Jordan;
4 a hospice in Jericho;
358 5 a church of the Mother of God in Jericho;
6 the monastery of the Iberians in Jerusalem;

2. 491-518 A.D.

3. i.e. since c. 429 A.D.

4. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 81.

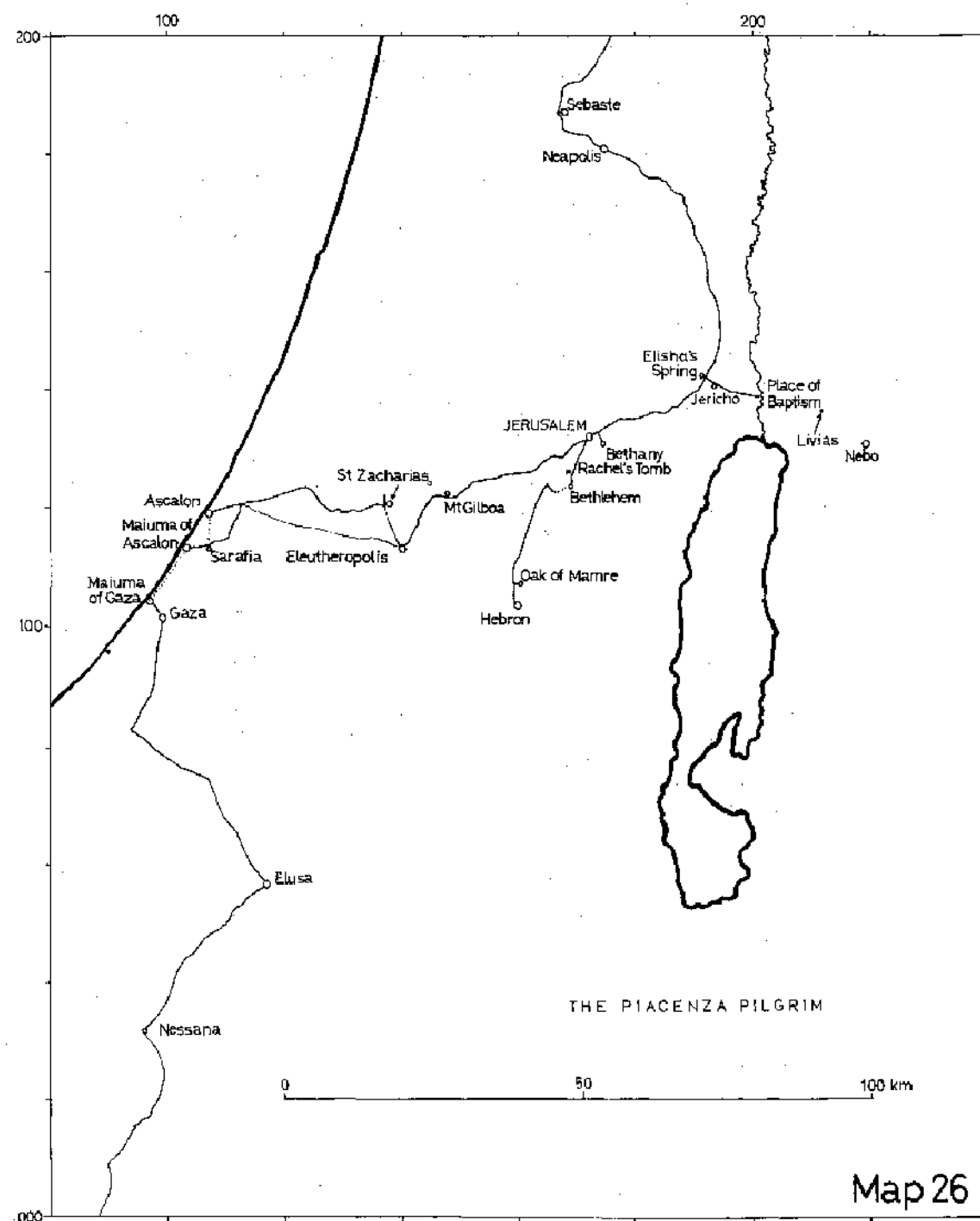
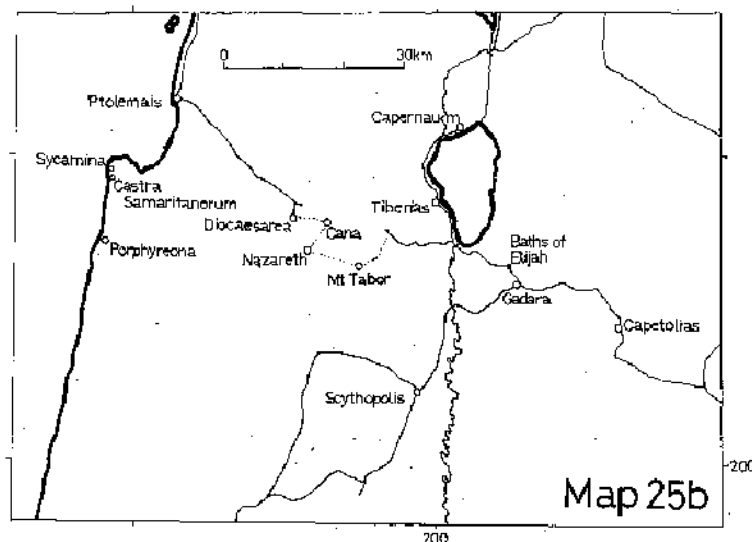
7 the monastery of the Lazi in the Desert of Jerusalem;
8 the monastery of St. Mary on the Mount of Olives;
9 the monastery of the Spring of St. Elisha in Jerusalem;
10 the monastery of Silotheus;
11 the monastery of Abba Romanus;
12 he rebuilt the wall at Bethlehem;
13 the monastery of Abba John in Bethlehem;
14 He constructed the following wells or cisterns:
15 in the monastery of holy Samuel a well and a walk;
16 in the monastery of holy Zacharias a well;
17 in the monastery of Susanna a well;
18 in the monastery of Aphelios a well;
19 in the monastery of Holy John on the Jordan a well;
20 in the monastery of holy Sergius on the mountain called Kisseron a well;
21 the wall of Tiberias;
22 the poor-house in Bostra.
23 And in Phoenicia:
24 the church of the Mother of God in Porphyreon;
25 the monastery of holy Phocas on the mountain;
26 the church of holy Sergius in Ptolemais;
27 the House of holy Leontius in Damascus;
28 he restored the poor-house of holy Romanus near Apamea;
29 the wall of Blessed Maron;
30 he restored the church of Daphne near Theopolis;
31 he restored the church of holy John at Laodicea.
And in Mesopotamia



THE PIACENZA PILGRIM TRAVELS FROM PIACENZA

- v159 1. Blessed Antoninus¹ the Martyr was ahead of me² from the time that I set out from Piacenza in all the places where I travelled, I mean, the holy places.
- Leaving Constantinople we came to the island of Cyprus and the city of Constantia, the resting-place of Saint Epiphanius. It is a beautiful and pleasant city with lovely date-palms. We came to the land of Syria at the island of Antardus,³ and came from there to Tripoli in Syria, the resting-place of Saint Leontius.⁴ This and the other cities were destroyed in the reign of the Emperor Justinian by an earthquake.⁵ We travelled from there to Byblus, another of the cities destroyed with its population, and then to Triaris⁶ also destroyed in the same way. Then we arrived at the most renowned city of Berytus, in which, until recently, there had been a School of Letters, but it too was destroyed. According to the bishop of the city, they could identify the names of, at the very least,⁷ thirty thousand of the local people who died there, not counting visitors. This city is situated beneath the mountains of Lebanon.
2. From Berytus we travelled to Sidon, which is partly in ruins, and this too is next to Lebanon. Its people are very bad. Into it runs the River Asclepius, and from the spring where it rises is . . . From Sidon we came to Sarepta, a small city full of Christians. The chamber which was made for Elijah is there, and in it is the very bed on which he lay, and the marble vessel which was filled by the widow woman. Many offerings are made there, and many miracles take place.
- Leaving Sarepta we came to the city of Tyre, and altogether it is seven miles between Sidon, Tyre, and Sarepta. The people of Tyre are violent, and live lives of a luxury too disgraceful to describe, for they have public brothels hung with pure silk and every kind of material. We travelled from there to Ptolemais, a beautiful city with good monasteries.
3. It is half a mile⁸ straight across the sea from Ptolemais to the Jewish city of Sycamina, but six along the coast. The Camp of the Samaritans is one mile from Sycamina below Mount Carmel, and half a mile above this Camp is the monastery of Saint Elisha, where the woman met him and he healed her son. On Mount Carmel people find a small round rock which rattles when you shake it, though it is solid. It has the virtue that any woman or animal to whom it is attached will never miscarry. Six or seven miles away is the city of Porphyriana.
- v161 4. At Ptolemais we left the coast and travelled into the Galilee region to a city called Diocæsarea, in which we venerated what they said was the flagon and the bread-basket of Saint Mary. The chair also was there on which she was sitting when the angel came to her. Three miles further on we came to Cana,⁹ where the Lord attended the wedding, and we actually reclined on the couch. On it (undeserving though I am) I wrote the names of my parents . . . Of the water-pots two are still there, and I filled one of them up with wine and lifted it up full onto my shoulders. I offered it at the altar, and we washed in the spring to gain a blessing.
5. We travelled on to the city of Nazareth, where many miracles take place. In the synagogue there is kept the book in which the Lord wrote his ABC,¹⁰ and in this synagogue there is the bench on which he sat with the other children. Christians can lift the bench and move it about, but the Jews are completely unable to move it, and cannot drag it outside. The house of Saint Mary is now a basilica, and her clothes are the cause of frequent miracles.
- v162 The Jewesses of that city are better-looking than any other Jewesses in the whole country. They
1. Antoninus the Martyr is not mentioned in any source before this: later accounts of him (such as those which appear in Molinier-Köhler II.1, pp. 33 f) seem to be based on this one, though new details are introduced in the fifteenth century A.D.: *B.H.L.* 581.
 2. "was ahead of me" (praecedente) is to be taken in a spiritual sense, as proposed by H. Grisar, *Z.K.T.* 1902, p. 760/2. The reading *procedente* ("setting out") gave rise to the idea that Antoninus both went on the pilgrimage and indeed wrote this account of it.
 3. Antardus was in fact the city opposite the island, which was called Aradus.
 4. Saint Leontius, with Hypatius, Theodulus and others, was martyred in Phoenicia under Vespasian: *BHG* 986 ff.
 5. This is likely to be the earthquake of 554 A.D. in which we know that Beirut suffered damage: Agathias, *Hist.* 2.15.2 - (Keydel) 59.23 and compare G. Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* P.G. 121.733. There were also earthquakes in this period in 551, 580, and 583 A.D.
 6. Triaris (Heri) beside the bay east of Ras Shakka should surely have been mentioned before Byblus (Jebell) which is a day's journey further south.
 7. Accepting Gildemeister's emendation.
 8. Section 3, like some of the other parts of this work states geographical facts rather than describing a journey. Did the traveller here depend on the remarks of a guide or companion, or was he using a guide-book?
 9. A stone, "from Cana of Galilee" according to its seventh-century inscription, was discovered at Elatea. The name of Antoninus and the mention of his mother (but not her name) also appear on it in a different style of lettering. Speculations linking this discovery with the present text have long been abandoned: see *DACL* 2. 1817.
 10. The late second-century *Infancy Story of Thomas* (see 14. *NTA* 1, 397) is the first example of a story being told about the Lord learning his alphabet (another is to be found in *op. cit.*, p. 500).

Map 25a



declare that this is Saint Mary's gift to them, for they also say that she was a relation of theirs. Though there is no love lost between Jews and Christians these women are full of kindness. The region is a paradise, with corn and fruit like Egypt. The region is small, but in its wine, oil, and apples it is superior to Egypt. The millet is abnormally tall, and the stalks are bigger than the height of a man.

6. From Nazareth we went to Mount Tabor, a mountain rising out of a plain. It is formed of good soil, and it is six miles round the foot of it, and three miles to climb. When you arrive at the top there is a level place a mile in length, with three basilicas, in the place where one of the disciples said "Let us make three tabernacles".¹¹ Around it are various biblical cities with names from the Books of Kings. From Tabor we went to the Sea of Tiberias, and¹² the city which was once called Samaria, but its name is now Neapolis. In it is the well where the Lord asked the Samaritan woman for water, and a basilica of Saint John has been built there. This well is in front of the altar-screen, and they have a bucket there which, is it said, is the very one from which the Lord drank. Many diseases are cured there.

v163

7. From that we went to¹³ the city of Tiberias, where there are hot baths filling naturally with salt water, though the water of the sea itself is fresh. It is sixty miles round the sea.¹⁴ Also we came to Capernaum, and went into the house of Blessed Peter, which is now a basilica. Going on from there through various camps, villages, and cities, we came to two streams called Ior and Dan,¹⁵ which join together to form the single stream called Jordan, but this is really very small. It flows into the sea, passes right through and goes out at the far shore. On our way back we arrived the place where the Jordan leaves the sea, and that is where we crossed it. We went to a city called Gadara, which is Gibeon, and there,¹⁶ three miles from the city, there are hot springs called the Baths of Elijah. Lepers are cleansed there, and have their meals from the inn there at public expense. The baths fill in the evening. In front of the basin is a large tank. When it is full, all the gates are closed, and they are sent in through a small door with lights and incense, and sit in the tank all night. They fall asleep, and the person who is going to be cured sees a vision.¹⁷ When he has told it the springs do not flow for a week. In one week he is cleansed.

v164

John of Piacenza died there, Thecla's husband. This hot spring called Gadara flows down like a torrent into the Jordan, and increases its flow so that it becomes wider.

8. As we were going down through Galilee along the Jordan we passed through many cities mentioned in the Bible, and arrived at the capital city of Galilee. It is called Scythopolis, and stands on a hill, and it is where Saint John performs many miracles. From there we went up past a number of places¹⁸ belonging to Samaria and Judaea to the city of Sebaste, the resting-place of the Prophet Elisha. There were several Samaritan cities and villages on our way down through the plains, and wherever we passed along the streets they burned away¹⁹ our footprints with straw, whether we were Christians or Jews, they have such a horror of both. This is what they tell Christians, 'Don't touch what you want to buy till you have paid the money. If you do touch anything without buying it there will soon be trouble'. Outside each village there is a guard to give this warning. You must put your money into water, since they will not take it from your hand. When you arrive they curse you. Nor must you spit. If you do, you start trouble, and later they have to purify themselves with water before entering their village or city.

v165

9. ²⁰ Then we came to the place where the Lord fed the five thousand people with the five loaves. It is a wide plain with olive and palm groves,²¹ and from there we arrived at the place where the Lord was baptized. This is the place where the children of Israel made their crossing, and also where the sons of the prophets lost their axe-head, and where Elijah was taken up. In that place is the 'little hill of Hermon' mentioned in the psalm.²² At the foot of the mountain at seven o'clock in the morning, a cloud forms over the river, and it arrives over Jerusalem at sunrise, above the basilica on Sion and the basilica at Christ's Tomb, the basilica of Saint Mary and Saint Sophia (once the Praetorium where Christ's case was heard). Above these places the dew comes down like showers, and sick people collect it. In the hospices all the dishes are cooked in it, and in the places where this dew falls many diseases are cured. For this is the dew of which the psalmist sings, 'Like as the dew of Hermon, which fell upon the hill of Sion'.²³ In that part of the Jordan is the spring where Saint John used to baptize, and which is two miles from the Jordan, and Elijah was in that valley when the raven brought him bread and meat. The whole valley is full of hermits.

11. Matthew 17.4.

12-13. The passage is clearly misplaced, and belongs somewhere after Scythopolis in sec. 8 below, possibly at (18), but perhaps simply replacing 20-21 at the beginning of sec. 9.

14. This seems the correct place for the passage 20-21 at the beginning of sec. 9 below.

15. The most likely explanation of the mention of Ior and Dan is that the pilgrim went to Pnias, but it is surprising that he does not mention it by name.

16. Omitting Geyer's conjectural insertion.

17. The incubation and waiting for a dream were common practice in healing sanctuaries throughout the Greek world: see A. Duprez, *Jésus et les Dieux Guérisseurs*, Paris 1970, p. 65.

18. See sec. 6 above.

19. In a plea to Hadrian the Samaritans were said to be "accustomed to kindle a fire wherever a stranger has passed". See *Chronicon Samaritanum: Liber Josuae*, ed. T. Juyaboll, London 1848, end of ch. 47.

20-21. This passage probably belongs above at (12) at the end of section 6.

22. From this point to the end of section 10 we seem to be reading guide-book material rather than an account of the pilgrim's journey.

23. Psalm 133.3.

10. Nearby is a city called Livias, where the two half-tribes of Israel remained before crossing the Jordan, and in that place are natural hot springs which are called the Baths of Moses. In these also lepers are cleansed. A spring there has very sweet water which they drink as a cathartic, and it heals many diseases. This is not far from the Salt Sea, into which the Jordan flows, below Sodom and Gomorria. Sulphur and pitch are collected on that shore. Lepers lie in the sea there all through the day in July, August, and the early part of September. In the evening they wash in these Baths of Moses. From time to time by the will of God one of them is cleansed, but for most of them it brings some relief. Nothing living is to be found in this sea. Not even straw and wood will float on it, and human beings cannot swim, but anything thrown into it sinks to the bottom. From the Jordan it is eight miles to the place where Moses departed from this life, and a little further on is Segor.²⁴ There are many hermits in the neighbourhood, and we saw too the tomb of Absalom.

11. I kept Epiphany at the Jordan, and on that night special miracles take place at the spot where the Lord was baptized. There is an obelisk there surrounded by a screen, and in the water, where the river turned back in its bed, stands a wooden cross. On both banks there are marble steps leading down to the water. The eve of Epiphany is a solemn vigil with an enormous congregation. They begin mattins at the fourth or fifth cock-crow, and at dawn, when mattins is over, the ministers come outside, and, accompanied by deacons, the priest goes down into the river. The moment he starts blessing the water the Jordan turns back on itself with a roar and the water stays still till the baptism is finished. All the ship-owners of Alexandria have men there that day with great jars of spices and balsam, and as soon as the river has been blessed, before the baptism starts, they pour them out into the water, and draw out holy water. This water they use for sprinkling their ships when they are about to set sail.²⁵ After the baptism every one goes down into the river to gain a blessing. Some wear linen, and some other materials which will serve as their shrouds for burial. And after the baptism the water returns to its place. From the point where the Jordan comes out of the Sea of Tiberias to where it ends at the Salt Sea is about 130 miles.

12. On the bank of the Jordan there is a cave in which are cells for seven virgins. They are placed there as small girls, and when one of them dies, she is buried in her cell, and another cell is hewn from the rock, so that another girl can be placed there to make up the number. They have people outside to look after them. We went in with great reverence to pray there, but we did not see the face of a single one of them. It is said that the cloth is there which the Lord wore on his face. By the Jordan, not far from where the Lord was baptized is the very large Monastery of Saint John, which has two guest-houses. On both banks of the Jordan below the mountains there are serpents from which people make antidotes against poisoning.

13. It is a six-mile journey from the Jordan to Jericho, and when you see Jericho it is a paradise. Its walls are down, but the area of the city is full of remarkable things. The House of Rahab is there, which is now a guest-house, and the bedroom where she hid the spies is a Chapel of Saint Mary. The stones which the children of Israel brought up from the Jordan are in a basilica not far from Jericho. They have been placed behind the altar, and they are huge. In front of the basilica is a plain, The Lord's Field, in which the Lord sowed with his own hand. Its yield is three pecks, and it is reaped twice in the year, but it grows naturally, and is never sown. They reap it in February, and then use the harvest for Communion at Easter. After this harvest they plough, and the next reaping is at the time of the other harvesting, after which it is ploughed and left fallow.

14. The spring which Elisha made sweet supplies the water for the whole of Jericho. Grapes grow there for the wine they give to soothe fevers,²⁶ and also dates which weigh a pound. I brought some back home with me, and gave one to our nobleman, Lord Paterius. A forty-pound citron is a native of the place, and the fruit has a stalk two feet long and two fingersbreadth thick. There is also a vine from which baskets-full of grapes are on sale at the time of our Lord's Ascension: and at Pentecost there is wine from it, of which they are selling great jars.

15. On the way from the city towards Jerusalem, not far from the city of Jericho, is the tree which Zacchaeus climbed in order to see the Lord. This tree has been surrounded by a chapel, and grew up through its roof, but it has now dried up. Leaving the gate of Jericho, going from east to west, you would enter the ashes of Sodom and Gomorria, which are on your left. Over this region there is always a dark cloud. It smells of sulphur. People make a mistake about Lot's Wife thinking she becomes smaller through animals licking her, but that is not correct, for she stays the same as she was.²⁷

24. We here begin once more to have the pilgrim's experiences described.

25. Only the blessing of the water has survived from the full Baptism rite here described. The Piacenza pilgrim's Western contemporary, Gregory of Tours, witnesses to a similar practice by which individuals took away water after the exorcism and infusion of chrism and before the Baptism (*Mir.* I. 24 - 725, cp. *Ord. Rom.* I. 42 - P.L. 78.956). This water was kept for sprinkling their fields and vineyards. A comparable practice is mentioned in the east near the end of the fourth century by John Chrysostom, *PG*: 49,366, and evidently continued, since in the seventh century it had to be forbidden (Jacob of Edessa, in A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, Xb, Rome 1838, p. 14.) It seems impossible to find any convincing parallels between this blessing of the Jordan and the prayers for the blessings of the Nile which were said at Thebes and Memphis, for which see *DACL* 4.2561. On the blessing of water see further Dom P. de Puniet in *DACL* 2.696/702.

26. Accepting Geyer's suggestion: see his *Kritische und sprachliche Erläuterungen zu Antonini Piacentini Itinerarium*, *St. Anna in Augsburg für des Schulfahr 1891/2* Augsburg 1892, p. 36.

27. The pilgrim seems here to be passing on information he had been given about the view to the left and on Lot's Wife. There is no indication that he himself had seen Lot's Wife, nor does he say where she is to be seen.

16. Not far from Jerusalem, on the way up the hill-country that leads there, we arrived at Bahurim, and from there we went left to the towns on the Mount of Olives, and at Bethany to Lazarus' Tomb. From what we could see in the valleys, and from our visits to many of the monasteries (places full of remarkable things), we observed a vast number of men and women in cloisters. On the summit of the mountain we saw many remarkable things, including the cell where Saint Pelagia²⁸ lived the enclosed life, and lies buried. Many saints lie buried on this mountain, including James, Zebedec, and Cleophas.

17. Coming down the Mount of Olives we arrived at the valley of Gethsemane and the place where the Lord was betrayed. In it are three couches on which he reclined and where we also reclined to gain their blessing. There is also a basilica of Saint Mary in the valley, which people say was her house, and the place at which she was taken up from this life. This valley of Gethsemane is also at this place called Jehoshaphat. We climbed by many steps up from Gethsemane to the gate of Jerusalem. There is an olive-grove on the right of the gate: in it is the fig-tree from which Judas hanged himself. Its trunk still stands there, protected by stones. This gate of the city is next to the Gate Beautiful which was part of the Temple, and its threshold and entablature are still in position there.

18. After we had prostrated ourselves and kissed the ground, we entered the Holy City and venerated the Lord's Tomb. The Tomb is hewn out of living rock, or rather²⁹ in the rock itself... and in the place where the Lord's body was laid, at the head, has been placed a bronze lamp. It burns there day and night, and we took a blessing from it, and then put it back. Earth is brought to the tomb and put inside, and those who go in take some as a blessing. The stone which closed the Tomb is in front of the tomb door, and is made of the same coloured rock as the rock hewn from Golgotha. This stone is decorated with gold and precious stones, but the rock of the tomb is like a millstone. There are ornaments in vast numbers, which hang from iron rods: armlets, bracclets, necklaces, rings, tiaras, plaited girdles, belts, emperors' crowns of gold and precious stones,³⁰ and the insignia of an empress. The Tomb is roofed with a cone which is silver, with added beams of gold. In front of the Tomb stands an altar.

19. From the Tomb it is eighty paces to Golgotha; you go up on one side of it by the very steps up which our Lord went to be crucified. You can see the place where he was crucified, and on the actual rock there is a bloodstain. Beside this is the altar of Abraham, which is where he intended to offer Isaac, and where Melchizedech offered sacrifice. Next to the altar is a crack, and if you put your ear to it you hear streams of water. If you throw an apple into it, or anything else that will float, and then go to Siloam, you can pick it up there. I suppose it is a mile between Siloam and Golgotha. In fact Jerusalem has no water of its own except the spring at Siloam.

20. From Golgotha it is fifty paces to the place where the Cross was discovered, which is in the Basilica of Constantine, which adjoins the Tomb and Golgotha. In the courtyard of the basilica is a small room where they keep the Wood of the Cross. We venerated it with a kiss. The title is also there which they placed over the Lord's head, on which they wrote 'This is the King of the Jews'. This I have seen, and had it in my hand and kissed it. The Wood of the Cross comes from the nut-tree.³¹ At the moment when the Cross is brought out of this small room for veneration, and arrives in the court to be venerated, a star appears in the sky, and comes over the place where they lay the Cross. It stays overhead whilst they are venerating the Cross, and they offer oil to be blessed in little flasks. When the mouth of one of the little flasks touches the Wood of the Cross, the oil instantly bubbles over, and unless it is closed very quickly it all spills out. When the Cross is taken back into its place, the star also vanishes, and appears no more once the Cross has been put away. In that place are also the sponge and reed mentioned in the Gospel (from this sponge we drank water) and also the onyx cup which he blessed at the Supper, and many other marvelous things beside: a portrait of Blessed Mary on a raised place,³² her girdle, and the band which she used to have on her head. In that place there are also seven marble seats for the elders.

21. We climbed the Tower of David, the place where he recited the Psalms, and it is enormous. It has cells in each of the banquet-rooms, and the tower itself is a hollow square building without a roof. Christians climb this tower to spend the night in prayer. If they rise at about midnight, they hear a sound of murmuring down in the valley of Jehoshaphat in the direction of the Jordan, Sodom, and Gomorria. The usual name for this valley is "The Valley of Jehoshaphat", but it is also Gethsemane.

22. From there we went to the basilica of Holy Sion, which contains many remarkable things, including the corner stone which the Bible tells us was 'rejected by the builders'. The Lord Jesus entered this church,

28. Saint Pelagia was a woman who lived a hermit's life, disguised as a man in "a tiny cell enclosed on all sides with a very small window" *Lives of the Fathers (Pelagia)* 14 - 670.

29. Here conjecturing *vel potius* to replace the *et potius* in the text.

30. In about 550 A.D. Elisbaan, King of Ethiopia sent a delegation to Jerusalem bringing a crown to be hung "in front of the door of the life-giving tomb", according to the account in A.A.SS. 24th October (X) 758, written before 597 A.D. This gesture of offering crowns may be connected with Rev. 4.10 and is still practised at the Jewish Tomb of David on Mount Sion.

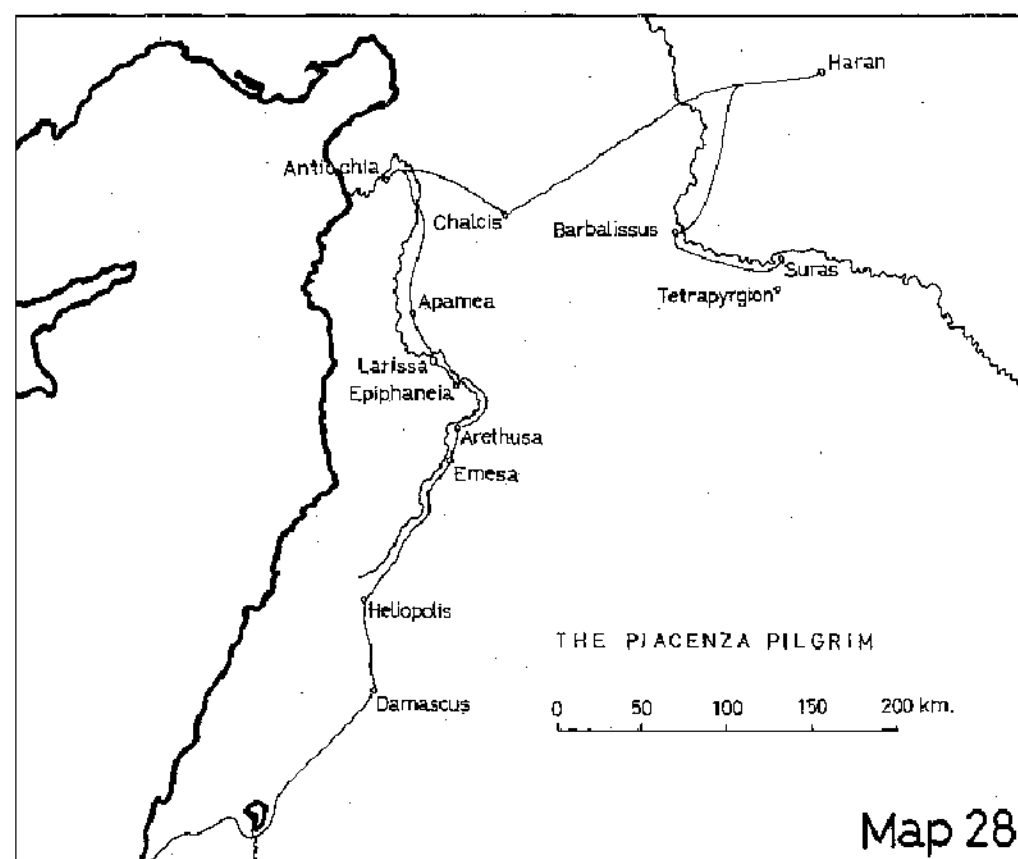
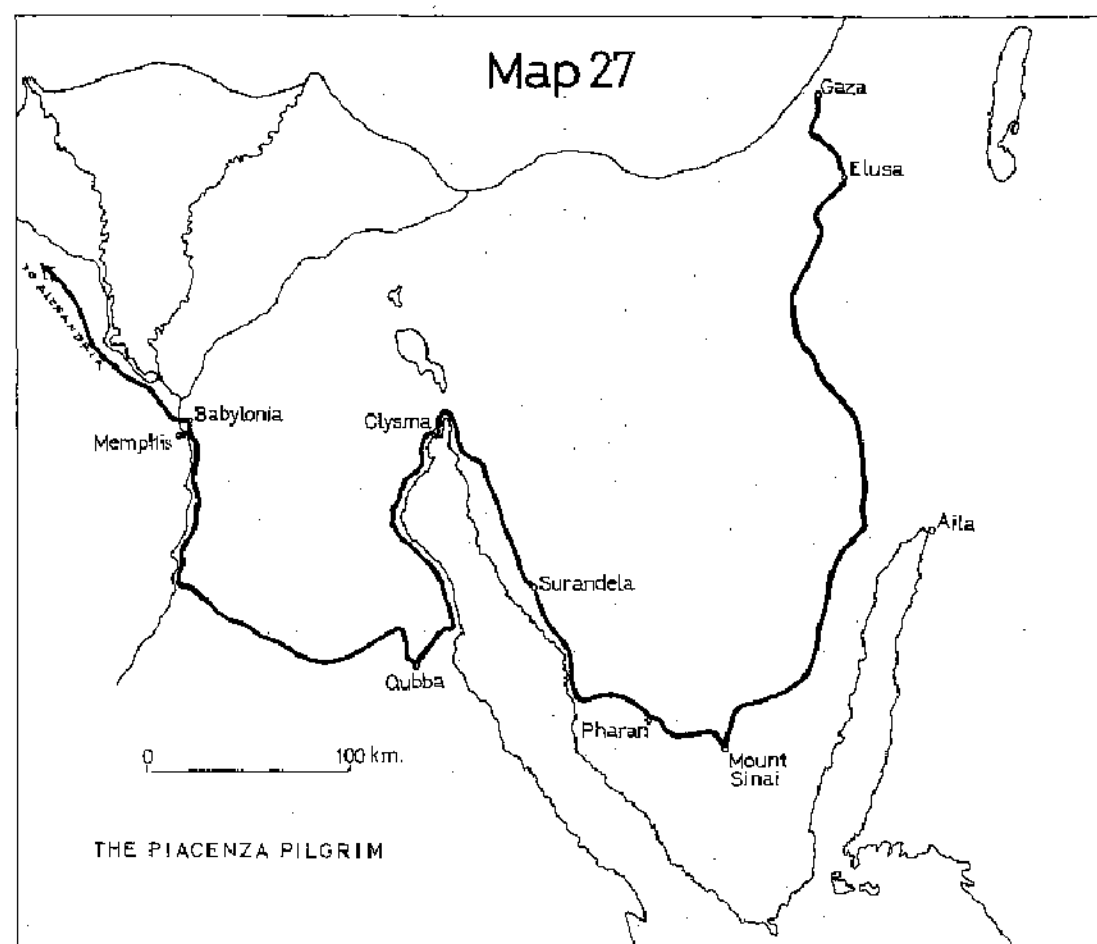
31. Kopp, p. 386, n. 56 connects this statement with Cyril, *Ca.* 14.5 - 829, who applies Cant. 6.10, "I went down into the garden of nuts" to the garden in which Christ appeared risen. Certainly the Cross is unlikely to have been made of a nut-tree, since the nearest available are near the north of Syria.

32. This icon was the instrument of the conversion of St. Mary the Egyptian, on whom see *PE* 73,682. It was eventually taken away by Leo VI (Emperor 886 - 911 A.D.) to Constantinople.

which used to be the House of Saint James, and found this ugly stone lying about somewhere, so he took it and placed it in the corner. You can hold it in your hands and lift it. Then put your ear in the corner, and the sound is like the murmuring of a crowd. In this church is the column at which the Lord was scourged, and it has on it a miraculous mark. When he clasped it, his chest clove to the stone, and you can see the marks of both his hands, his fingers, and his palms. They are so clear that you can use them to take 'measures'³³ for any kind of disease, and people can wear them round their neck and be cured. On this column is the horn from which kings were anointed (including David), and the church also contains the crown of thorns with which they crowned the Lord, and the lance with which they struck him in the side. There are also many of the stones with which they stoned Stephen, and the small column in which they set the cross on which Blessed Peter was crucified at Rome. The Cup of the Apostles is there, with which they celebrated mass after the Lord had risen again, and many other remarkable things which I cannot remember. A monastery for women is there. I saw a human head enclosed in a reliquary of gold adorned with gems, which they say is that of Saint Theodota³⁴ the martyr. Many drink out of it to gain a blessing, and so did I.

- v175 23. From Sion we went to the basilica of Saint Mary, with its great congregation of monks, and its guest houses for men and women. In catering for travellers they have a vast number of tables, and more than three thousand beds for the sick. We also prayed in the Praetorium, where the Lord's case was heard: what is there now is the basilica of Saint Sophia, which is in front of the Temple of Solomon, below the street which runs down to the spring of Siloam outside Solomon's porch. In this basilica is the seat where Pilate sat to hear the Lord's case, and there is also the oblong stone which used to be in the centre of the Praetorium. The accused person whose case was being heard was made to mount this stone so that every one could hear and see him. The Lord mounted it when he was heard by Pilate, and his footprints are still on it. He had a well-shaped foot, small and delicate, but he was of an ordinary height, with a handsome face, curly hair, and a beautiful hand with long fingers, as you can see from a picture which is there in the Praetorium, and was painted while he was alive. From this stone where he stood come many blessings. People take 'measures' from the footprints, and wear them for their various diseases, and they are cured. The stone itself is decorated with gold and silver.
- v176 24. We went on from there to an arch on the site of an ancient city gate. The stagnant waters are there into which they put Jeremiah. From that arch you descend by many steps to Siloam, and above Siloam is a hanging basilica beneath which the water of Siloam rises. Siloam has two basins constructed of marble, which are separated from each other by a screen. Men wash in one and women in the other, to gain a blessing. In these waters many miracles take place, and lepers are cleansed. In front of the court is a large man-made pool and people are continually washing there; for at regular intervals the spring sends a great deal of water into the basins, which goes on down the valley of Gethsemane (which they also call Jehoshaphat) as far as the River Jordan, it enters the Jordan at the place where the Jordan drains into the Salt Sea below Sodom and Gomorrah.
- v177 25. Nowadays Siloam is included within the city, since the Empress Eudoxia herself added walls to the city. She also built the basilica and tomb of Saint Stephen, and her own tomb is next to Saint Stephen's, with twenty paces between the two. Saint Stephen's resting-place is outside the gate, and a bowshot from the road which leads westwards down to Joppa, Caesarea Palaestinae, and Diospolis (which in ancient times was called Azotus), the resting-place of Saint George the martyr. On this highway, not very far from the city, stands a marble column in the middle of the road. In former times the Lord was being taken towards it to be scourged, it was lifted up by a cloud and escaped, and was set down in this place. You can see this is true, since it has no base to stand on, but rests directly in the earth, and can be moved to and fro. On top of it stands a cross made of iron. You can climb it by steps, and people take lights and incense up it. People possessed by demons are cured there, for in that district Blessed George displays many miracles.³⁵
26. Leaving Siloam we came to the field which was bought with the price paid for the Lord, and is called Aceldama, 'the field of blood in which they bury strangers'. Among the tombs are the cells of servants of God,³⁶ many of them workers of miracles. The whole area covered by the tombs is full of apple-trees and vines.
27. Returning inside the city we came to a pool which has five porticoes, and to one of them is attached the basilica of Saint Mary, in which many miracles take place. The pool itself has become muddy, and all the city's laundry is done there. In a dark corner of that place we saw an iron chain with which the unhappy Judas hanged himself. Then, going out to the great gate, we arrived at St. Hesychius,³⁷ where his body lies buried, and where Helena provided for the distribution of bread to people who are poor or strangers.
33. Gregory of Tours, writing in 585 A.D. (1.7 - 712) says that many people "go to the column (of scourging), make ribbons of cloth and put them round it . . . They take them away as 'blessings' to help them in sicknesses".
34. This Theodota is more likely to be the one who was martyred at the age of thirteen in Alexandria under Diocletian (Sophrionius, *Mir. Cyr. J.* 18, P.G. 87(3). 3400) than the one martyred in Ancyra (BHG 1780).
35. Despite the suggestion made (e.g. in R.B. 1902, p. 320) that this was the column which stood inside the present Damascus Gate, this final sentence shows that we should rather seek it in the district of the city of Diospolis.
36. That is, of monks.
37. This Saint is not identified.

- v178 28. On the way to Bethlehem, at the third milestone from Jerusalem, lies the body of Rachel, on the edge of the area called Ramah. There I saw standing water which came from a rock, of which you can take as much as you like up to seven pints. Every one has his fill, and the water does not become less or more. It is indescribably sweet to drink, and people say that Saint Mary became thirsty on the flight into Egypt, and that when she stopped here this water immediately flowed.³⁸ Nowadays there is also a church building there.
29. From there it is three miles to Bethlehem, which is a most renowned place. There are many servants of God there, there is the cave where the Lord was born, and, inside it, there is the manger decorated with gold and silver, at which lights are burning day and night. As you go in, the mouth of the cave is very narrow. The presbyter Jerome hewed out the rock at the very mouth of the cave, and made himself a tomb, where indeed he was buried. Half a mile from Bethlehem, in the suburb, David's body lies buried with that of his son Solomon, and they have separate tombs. The basilica is called At Saint David. The children slaughtered by Herod also have their tomb there, and they all lie buried together. When their tomb is opened you can look at their bones. Before you reach Bethlehem there is a monastery enclosed by a wall, and it contains a large number of monks.
- v179 30. From Bethlehem it is twenty-four miles to the Oak of Mamre, the resting-place of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Sarah and also of Joseph's bones. The basilica has four porticoes and no roof over the central court. Down the middle runs a screen. Christians come in on one side and Jews on the other, and they use much incense. On the day following Christ's Birthday³⁹ the people of this area celebrate the Deposition of Jacob and David with much devotion, and Jews from all over the country congregate for this, too great a crowd to count. They offer much incense and lights, and give presents to those who minister there.
31. After returning to Jerusalem we went down by the road that leads to Gaza and Ascalon, and when we had travelled straight down for twenty miles we came to Mount Gilboa, where David killed Goliath. There also Saul died and Jonathan. Goliath's resting-place is there in the middle of the road, and there is a pile of wood at his head. There is also a heap of stones — such a mountain of them that there is not a pebble left for a distance of 20 miles, since anyone going that way makes a gesture of contempt by taking three stones and throwing them at his grave. In those hills it never rains,⁴⁰ and a miracle happens in the night. People see unclean spirits moving about, and to judge by what they have seen, they are like fleeces of wool, or, rather, like the waves of the sea.
- v180 32. From there we struck off on a side road and came to the city called Eleutheropolis, which is where Samson killed a thousand men with the jawbone of an ass, from which a spring came forth which to this day provides water for the whole area, for we also visited the place where it rises. We also went to the place where Zachariah was killed and lies buried. There is a lovely basilica there, very well decorated, and many servants of God. Then we came to the place where Isaiah was sawn asunder, and the saw has been put at Saint Zachariah's as a memorial. From there we went to the place where Habakkuk took food to the harvesters, and the spring rises there at which Philip baptized the eunuch. This is the area where the wells were dug by Abraham and Jacob, the Well of the Oath and the Well of Calumny.
33. Entering Ascalon we came, on the main cross-street, to the Well of Peace. It is built like a theatre, in which one goes down by steps to the water. It is the resting-place of the three brothers who were Egyptian martyrs. Each of them had a name of his own, but they are usually called 'The Egyptians'.⁴¹ A mile away is the city of Sarafia, and nearby is the city of Maiuma in the neighbourhood of Ascalon. From it we went to the city of Maiuma of Gaza, the resting-place of the martyr Saint Victor.⁴² Gaza is a lovely and renowned city, with noble people distinguished by every kind of liberal accomplishment. They are welcoming to strangers. Two miles from Gaza is the resting-place of our holy father Hilarion.⁴³
- v181 34. From there we went to the city of Elusa, which is the beginning of the desert which stretches to Sinai. In that city, according to what the bishop told us, was a noble girl called Mary, and when she was married, her husband died on the very night of the wedding. She bore it with courage, and within a week she had set all his slaves free, and given away all his property to the poor and to monasteries. Till she had observed the seventh day she stayed at home, but that night her husband's coat was gone, and she was nowhere to be found. It is said that she is in the desert across the Jordan, and moves about in the region of Segor by the Salt Sea among the reedy places and the palm groves.
- We discovered a monastery of women in those parts, more than sixteen or seventeen of them who were in a desert place, and given food by the Christians. They had one small ass to do their heavy work
38. Compare *Holy Qur'an* s. 19: "A voice from heaven cried out to Mary, 'Do not despair! Your Lord has provided a brook that runs at your feet.'" See also Genesis 21.19.
39. This feast had, two centuries before, been on 25 December: see AL 71 - 275 and note.
40. The second version of the present work added the useful clarification that it never rained "after David cursed" the hills: see 2 Sam. 1.21.
41. Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* 10.1, L.-Q. pp. 376f. speaks of a number of Egyptians who were arrested and killed in Ascalon in A.D. 309. Or these he names only three: Ares, Promus and Elijah.
42. St. Victor's church is marked on the Madaba Map (117), which indicates its importance. This Victor may have been one who was martyred with Corona under Antoninus in Egypt (BHL 8559), or Victor, son of Romanus, who was martyred in Antioch under Diocletian (BHO 1242).
43. St. Hilarion, the first monastic founder in Palestine, was buried in the monastery at Maiuma: Jerome, *Life of Hilarion* 46 - 52.



for them, and they used to give food to a lion, tame from the time it was a cub, but huge and terrifying to look at. Indeed when we drew near the cells its roared, and all our animals pissed, while some of them even fell to the ground. They also told us that the lion went with the little ass to pasture. I made this visit with a real Christian whom I helped in making the nuns an offer of a hundred shillings for the two animals, but they would not accept. He sent to Jerusalem, and brought them thirty cassocks, vegetables for their stores and oil for their lamps, and they spoke of the miracles of Mary who was travelling in the desert. The man with me kept visiting them with his request for two days, but he would never tell us whether or not he was successful. He took them coats, dates, and baskets of roast chickpeas which he carried there, and lupine, and never brought any of them back. We were quite unable to soothe his disappointment and grief. All he could say was, 'Devil take it, what's the use of being a Christian!'

35. Leaving the city of Elusa we entered the desert. Twenty miles on is a fort, the guest-house of Saint George which provides something of a refuge for passers-by and gives food for hermits. Leaving that we went into the heart of the desert to the place of which the Bible says '*A land transformed into a salty waste because of the wickedness of its inhabitants*'.⁴⁴ We saw there a few men on camels (indeed we also saw some of them in Jerusalem) but they fled from us. They came from Ethiopia, and had their nostrils split, their ears cut, boots on their feet, and rings on their toes. We asked them why, and they said 'This is our mark. It was granted us by the Emperor Trajan'.⁴⁵

v183 36. For five or six days we travelled on through the desert. Our camels carried our water, and each person was given a pint in the morning and a pint in the evening. When the water in the skins had turned bitter like gall we put sand in it, and this made it sweet. Some of the servants and wives of the Saracens came from the desert and sat weeping by the road. They spread a mantle out in front of them and asked the passers-by for bread, and their husbands came too. They brought skins of cool water from the remotest parts of the desert and gave us some. They accepted bread, and gave us garlic and radishes, whose sweet taste was better than the finest spices, and would take nothing for them. They were prevented from doing so since they were celebrating a season of festival. The people which travelled through that utter desert numbered twelve thousand six hundred.

37. Going on through the desert we arrived on the eighth day at the place where Moses brought water out of the rock. A day's journey from there we came to Horeb, the mount of God, and as we were moving on in order to climb Sinai, we were suddenly met by a crowd of monks and hermits, singing and carrying a cross. They greeted us with great respect, falling on their faces to the ground, and we did the same, and wept. Then they took us with them into the valley between Horeb and Sinai. At the foot of this mountain is the spring where Moses saw the miracle of the burning bush and at which he was watering the sheep.

v184 This spring is within the monastery walls, and the walls round the monastery are strong. It has three abbots who are learned in languages — Latin, Greek, Syriac, Egyptian, and Bessan — and there are many in that place who can translate from one foreign language. In that place are the monks' graves. Climbing straight up the mountain for three miles we came to a place with a cave in which Elijah hid himself when he was fleeing before Jezebel. In front of the cave rises a spring which provides water for the mountain. And from there we went another three miles to the topmost peak of the mountain. Up there there is a small chapel, about six foot wide and six foot long. No one presumes to spend the night there, but the monks go up to perform God's service as soon as day breaks. At that place it is a pious act for every one to cut his hair and beard and throw it on the ground, and I too laid hands on my beard there.

38. Mount Sinai is rocky, with very little soil, and all around are cells for the servants of God, as on Horeb. But they say Horeb is good soil. On this mountain there is a place where the Saracens have set up an idol for themselves which is of marble, as white as snow. Their priest also lives there, and he wears a dalmatic and linen cloak. When the new moon comes, and it is time for their festival⁴⁶ this marble begins to change colour, before the moon rises on the feast day. As soon as the moon appears and their worship begins, the marble turns black as pitch. And when the time of the festival is over, it changes back to its original colour. This seemed very marvellous to us.

v185 39. Between Sinai and Horeb is a valley where from time to time there comes from the sky the dew which they call manna. It solidifies, and becomes like a lump of gum, and they pick it up, and have casks full of it in the monastery. From these they fill little flasks which they give as "blessings", and they gave us five pints. They also drink this as a liqueur, and gave us some, which we drank. Lions, leopards, wild asses, gazelles (which are a kind of goat), and mules have to find their food in these mountains. But they all feed together, and none of them is harmed by the lion, because the desert is so barren.

But now a herald went forth, since the time of the Saracen festival was over, and because we could not bear the thought of returning through the desert by which we had come, some decided to return to the Holy City through Egypt, and others by way of Arabia.

44. Psalm 107.34.

45. Trajan's officials may well have negotiated with members of this tribe when they were making the new frontier in the Negeb in A.D. 106.

46. In his notes on A. Stewart's translation, PPTS 1887, p. 30, n. 2, Sir Charles Wilson said "The Beduin still sacrifice sheep on Jebel Monciyah between Jebel ed Deir and Jebel Musa; and the great annual festival at the tomb of Nebi Salih is probably the modern representative of the festival mentioned here".

40. From Mount Sinai it is eight staging-posts to Arabia, and the city called Aila.⁴⁷ Shipping from India comes into port at Aila, bringing a variety of spices. But we preferred to return through Egypt, and went to the city of Paran, where Moses did battle with Amalek. In that place is a chapel with its altar built over the stones with which they supported Moses while he prayed. A city is there, fortified on all sides with walls, but the place is completely barren, apart from some water and palm trees. There is a bishop in the city. The women with their children came to meet us, carrying palms in their hands, and flasks of radish oil, and they fell at our feet, anointed our soles and our heads, and sang this anthem in the Egyptian language, 'Blessed be ye of the Lord, and blessed be your coming. Hosanna in the highest'. That is the land of Midian, and this city's inhabitants are said to be the descendants of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses.

There are eight hundred guards in state service there, who have wives with them, and get their supplies and uniform from the treasury of Egypt. They cannot work on the land, since there is nowhere suitable, and everything is just sand. But each day they go out on patrol with their Saracen horses, which are sent straw for stabling and barley from the treasury, in order to guard the monasteries and hermits against Saracen raids. But they⁴⁸ are not specially worried or afraid about them. Whenever they leave the city they lock the doors from the outside and take the keys with them. The people inside do the same, in case the Saracens attack, since there is nowhere for them to take refuge, apart from the sand and sky.

v187 41. From there we came⁴⁹ to Succoth and thence to Migdol, and also⁵⁰ to the place with seventy-two palm trees and twelve springs, and camped there for two days. After all our efforts and the barrenness of the desert it was a comfortable place. At that spot is the small hamlet called Surandela, but there is nothing there apart from the church with its priest and two inns for travellers. I saw there a pepper-tree and picked some fruit from it. From there we went on to the place where the children of Israel pitched camp after crossing the sea, and there too is a hamlet containing an inn. Leaving that, we went on to the point on the shore where the children of Israel made their crossing. At the place where they came out of the sea is the Chapel of Elijah, and, travelling on, we came to the place where they entered the sea, and the Chapel of Moses. A small city is there called Clyisma, and to this too come the ships from India. From the part of the sea where they crossed a gulf leads out of the sea proper. It is tidal, and stretches many miles inland. As the sea goes out you can see the shape of Pharaoh's armour and the tracks of his chariot-wheels, but all the armour has turned to marble. There we were given bright green nuts which come from India, and people think they are from paradise. These are specially good, because you have only to taste them to feel satisfied.

v188 42. Eleven miles out to sea is an island of natural rock, and on it hang soft fingers, like human fingers or dates. They drip with an oil, called rock oil, you can take away as a special blessing. But if you decide to fill a vessel with the oil, and then to take it back for more, the vessel will no longer take the oil or hold it. Every single sick person who manages to reach this place is cured, and specially those possessed by demons. We took some as a blessing, but we were not allowed to take it beyond Clyisma as it was, for they mixed it with oil. Indeed I suppose that if it had not been diluted the miracle would always have been performed. The liquid from that oil stretches out two miles over the surface of the sea. It smells of sulphur. And whatever storm may affect the sea, the part under that liquid stays as calm as a millpond. Inside the city of Clyisma we saw in the basilica more than eighteen coffins of wood, which were those of our holy fathers the hermits.

43. From there we travelled⁵¹ through the desert to the cave of Paul, called Qubba⁵² in Syriac, and to this day there is a stream there giving water. We travelled on again through the desert, and came to the cataracts of the Nile. The water rises against an indicator, an invention with twelve degrees. Next to the cataracts on either side of the Nile are two cities, which are said to have been built by the daughters of Lot: one is called Babylonia. Travelling through the plains of Tanis, we came to the city of Memphis and Antinou, in which Pharaoh had his residence, and from which the children of Israel set out. In that part are the twelve granaries of Joseph, and they are still full.

v189 44. In Memphis was the temple (now a church) which had a door which shut in the Lord's face when he visited it with Blessed Mary, and until this day it cannot be opened. We saw there a piece of linen on which is a portrait of the Saviour. People say he once wiped his face with it, and that the outline remained. It is venerated at various times and we also venerated it, but it was too bright for us to concentrate on it since, as you went on concentrating, it changed before your eyes.

45. Going down through Egypt we reached the city of Athlef, and went on as far as Saint Menas,⁵³ who

47. Reading Aila for the Abila of the text.

48. The word "Saracens" seems to be pointless. It was probably a gloss to an original text which was making the point that the monasteries and hermits did not fear the Saracen raids.

49-50. Since Egeria seems to have been shown Succoth and Migdol north of Clyisma (see *Tr.* 7.4/5 - 101) it is possible that these words are misplaced and should be transferred to (51), at the beginning of sec. 43. But it seems more likely that they were biblical names with no very obvious location, and that different guides pointed them out in different places.

51. See the beginning of sec. 41.

52. Accepting Geyer's emendation.

53. St. Menas' biography is confused (see H. Leclercq, *DACL* XL.1, 326, but the size of his basilica at Abou Mena and of the surrounding healing sanctuary testify to his importance: on these discoveries see the preliminary reports in

performs many miracles there. At that point we transferred to boats, and crossed the lake to Alexandria. We saw a vast number of crocodiles in the lake. Alexandria is a renowned city, but its people are worthless, though they welcome travellers. It is full of sects. Saint Athanasius lies buried there, and also Saint Faustus, Saint Epimachus, Saint Antoninus, Saint Mark, and many other saints.⁵⁴

v190 46. When we returned to Jerusalem I had to stay behind there a long time because I was ill. But with my own eyes I clearly saw a vision of Blessed Euphemia and Blessed Antony,⁵⁵ and when they came to me they cured me. Leaving Jerusalem I went down to Joppa, the resting-place of Saint Tabitha who was also called Dorcas. From there I travelled to Caesarea Philippi, which also has the names Strato's Tower, and Caesarea Palaestinae, the resting-place of Saint Pamphilus, Saint Procopius, and Saint Cornelius,⁵⁶ from whose tomb we took a blessing. We travelled on through Galilee and came to Damascus. Two miles from there is a monastery at the place where Saint Paul was converted, and the Street which is called Straight, where many miracles take place. From there we went to Heliopolis, and then on to Emesa, where they have the head of Saint John Baptist, which has been put in a glass vase. We looked at it through the glass with our own eyes, and venerated it. From there we travelled through the cities of Larissa, Aristosa and Epiphania, and came to the most renowned city of Apamea, where all the nobility of Syria resides.

v191 Leaving Apamea we came to Antioch the Great, the resting-place of Saint Babylas, the Three Children, Saint Justina, Saint Julian and the Maccabean martyrs, nine tombs in all, over each of which hangs the instrument of his martyrdom.⁵⁷ From there we went on into Mesopotamia, to the city of Chalcis, and thence to Haran, where Abraham was born. Going on from there we arrived at the city of Barbalissus, the resting-place of Saint Bacchus, the brother of Saint Sergius. From there we went to the city of Suras. Through the middle of it runs the River Euphrates, which is crossed at this point by a bridge. In this city St. Sergius and St. Bacchus suffered martyrdom. Twelve miles further on in the desert, in Saracen country, is the resting-place of Saint Sergius in the city of Tetrapyrgion.⁵⁸

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 19 (1964) pp. 114ff, 20 (1965) 122 ff, 126 ff, 21 (1966) 171 ff, 22 (1967) 206 ff (and general plan p. 207), 26 (1971) pp. 53 ff, and *Archäologische Anzeiger* 1967, pp. 457 ff.

54. St. Athanasius and St. Mark call for no comment here, and St. Epimachus appears to be the Epimachus martyred in Alexandria, PG 115, 1320/5. A church of St. Faustus near the Pharos, is mentioned by John Moschus c. 615:106-2965, but this Faustus and Antoninus are otherwise unknown.

55. The pilgrim may well have visited the church of Euphemia in Jerusalem (see Jerusalem 3.c.iv). There was also the famous shrine of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon (where she was martyred under Diocletian) when he passed through Constantinople: see *BHG* 619 ff. and compare *Eg. Tr.* 23.7 - 122. Though he does not say he visited St. Antony in Egypt he must surely have been told about him by the guides there.

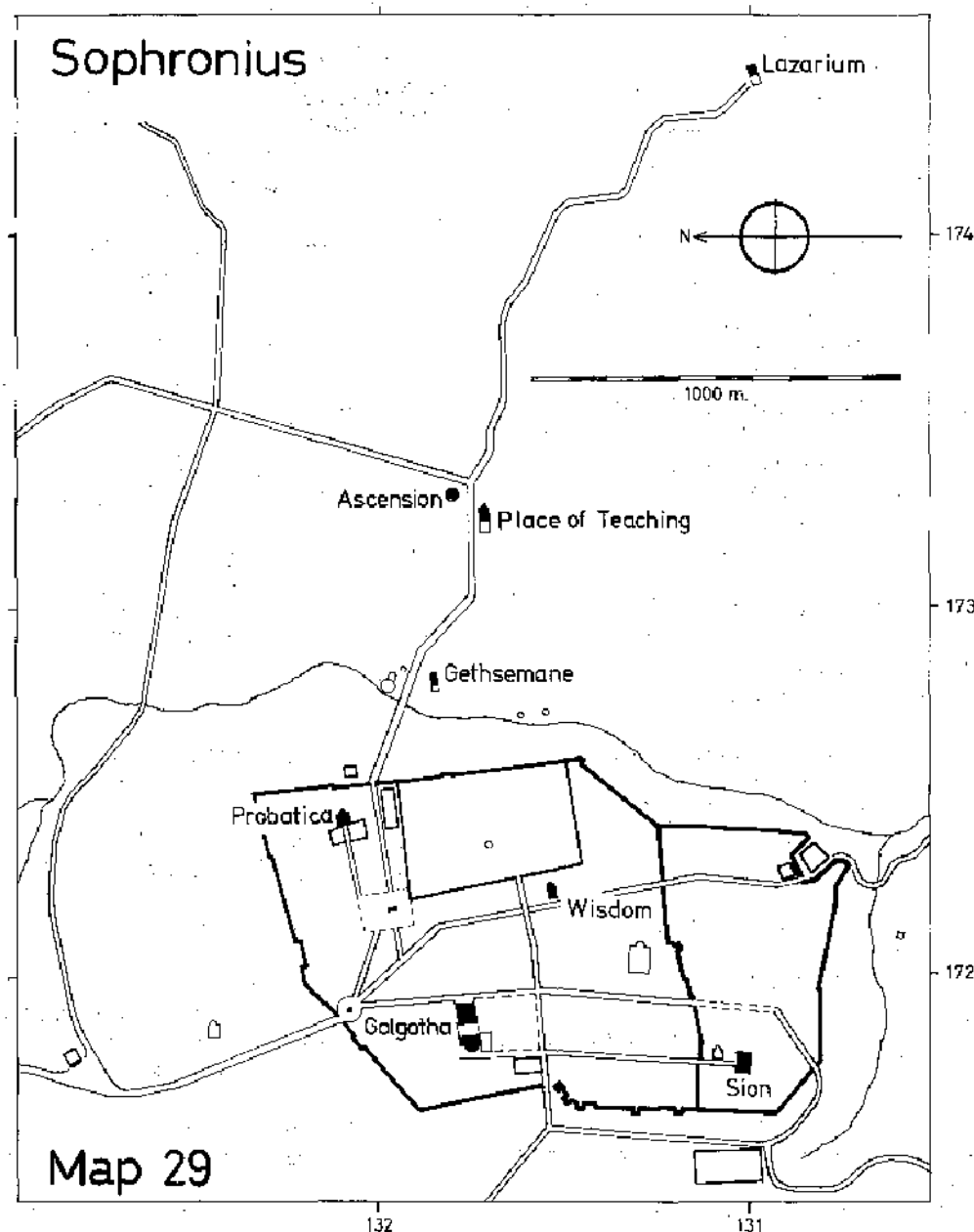
56. St. Pamphilus, "master" of Eusebius of Caesarea, was martyred at Caesarea in 310 A.D. (Eusebius, *Mart. Pat.* 11.14, L.-O. p. 387) St. Procopius, who suffered under Diocletian in 303/4 A.D. was the first of the martyrs of Palestine (Eusebius, *op. cit.* 1.1/2 - 331/3). Cornelius is the centurion of Acts 10 and 11.

57. St. Babylas was the bishop of Antioch martyred under Numerian (*BHG* 205 ff); on the Three Children see John Chrysostom, PG 55, 619/30 and 56, 593/600. Saint Justina with Cyprian, a magician of Antioch, were martyred under Diocletian (*BHG* 452), as was Julian of Anazarbus (*BHG* 965 ff). The Maccabean Martyrs are the Eleazar and the seven brothers and their mother who were put to death under Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. 6.18/7.42 and Jeremiah, *Hg.* pp. 18/23).

58. Suras is due north of Rusafa (Tetrapyrgion), which sounds in this passage as if it was not easily accessible.

SOPHRONIUS OF JERUSALEM
ANACREONTICA 19 and 20 — Extracts

ANACREONTICON 20



- G 123 1 Holy City of God,
M 3817 Jerusalem, how I long to stand
even now at your gates,
and go in, rejoicing!
- 5 A divine longing for holy Solyma¹
presses upon me insistently.
- 7 Let me walk thy pavements
and go inside the Anastasis,
where the King of All rose again,
trampling down the power of death.
- 11 I will venerate the sweet floor,
and gaze on the holy Cube,²
and the great four³
..... like the heavens.
- 15 Through the divine sanctuary
I will penetrate the divine Tomb,
and with deep reverence
will venerate that Rock.
- G 124 19 And as I venerate that worthy Tomb,
surrounded by its conches
and columns surmounted by golden lilies,
I shall be overcome with joy.
- 23 Let me pass on to the Tristoon,⁴
all covered with pearls and gold,
and go on into the lovely building
of the Place of a Skull.
- M 3820 27 Ocean of life ever living and of the true oblivion —
Tomb that gives light!
- 29 And prostrate I will venerate
the Navel-point of the earth, that divine Rock
in which was fixed the wood
which undid the curse of the tree.
- 33 How great thy glory, noble Rock, in which was fixed
the Cross, the Redemption of mankind!
- 35 Exultant let me go on to the place
where all of us
who belong to the people of God
venerate the glorious Wood of the Cross.
- G 125 39 Let me run to bend the knee
before the artist's picture
representing the Rulers,
to render homage.
- 43 And let me go rejoicing
to the splendid sanctuary, the place
where the noble Empress Helena
found the divine Wood;
- 47 and go up,
my heart overcome with awe,
and see the Upper Room,
the Reed, the Sponge, and the Lance.
- M 3821 51 Then may I gaze down
upon the fresh beauty of the Basilica
where choirs of monks
sing nightly songs of worship.
- 55 And, speeding on,
may I pass to Sion
where, in the likeness of fiery tongues,
the Grace of God descended;
- G 126 59 where, when he had completed
the mystic supper, the King of All
teaching in humility
washed his disciples' feet.
- 63 Blessings of salvation, like rivers
pour from that Rock where Mary
handmaid of God, childbearing for all men,
was laid out in death.
- 67 Hail, Sion, radiant Sun of the universe!
Night and day I long and yearn for thee.
- 69 There, after shattering hell,
and liberating the dead,
the King of All, the Shatterer
appeared there, the Friend.
- 73 Then let me leave Sion's summit
and, embracing the stone
where for me my Creator was smitten
go down to the House and the Stone;

1. The name Jerusalem, transliterated into Greek from its Hebrew form, is equivalent to *Ierousalem*. But there was a Hellenised form as well, equivalent to Hierosolyma. This was provided with an edifying but fictitious derivation from *Hiero-* (Temple), *solyma* (of Peace), for instance by Josephus, *Ant.* 7.67. Thus the word Solyma, metrically convenient to Sophronius, is here used as a synonym of Jerusalem.

2. "Cube" might mean either something shaped like a *kubos* (the Greek for "cube") and be, perhaps, the small cubic Stone of the Angel in the porch of the Holy Sepulchre; or it might mean something shaped like a *qubba* (Arabic for "dome") and be perhaps the dome of the Anastasis as a whole, perhaps some part of the roof of the Sepulchre. Perhaps the lost letters represented "Four" (= columned porch).

3. "The place with the three colonnades", which corresponds with Eusebius' description of the court between the

77 And let me fall to the ground and venerate —
I am oppressed by tears! — the spot
where the foremost of those who love Wisdom
heard his own sentence.

G 127 81 Let me enter the holy Probatika,
where the all-renowned Anna bore Mary.

M 3824 83 And enter the church,
church of the all-pure Mother of God,
there in veneration to embrace
those walls, so dear to me.

87 Far be it from me, passing through the forum,
to neglect the place
where the Virgin Queen was born
in noble palace!

91 May I behold that floor
where the paralytic went
at the behest of the Healing Word
to lift his bed from the ground.

95 Spiritual bliss will fill me
when I hymn the glorious sanctuary
of Gethsemane, which has received the body
the body of Mary,
who gave birth to God.
There they have built the tomb for the Mother of God.

101 How surpassing sweet thou art, lofty Mountain,
from which Christ the Lord looked into heaven!

ANACREONTICON 19

G 118 1 And from that famous valley
M 3812 I will mount those steps,
and venerate the Mount of Olives
from which he ascended into heaven.

5 Highly will I praise
the endless depth of the divine Wisdom,
by which he saved me,
swiftly will I pass thence to the place,

9 Where, to his venerable companions,
he taught the divine mysteries
shedding light into secret depths,
there, under that roof, may I be!

13 Then let me go out
through the Great Door onto the steps,
and regard the beauty of the Holy City
lying over to the west.

17 How sweet it is to see thy fair beauty,
City of God, from the Mount of Olives!

19 And going on to the Tomb of Lazarus,
the man dead for four days,
we give glory to the King
who raised him to life.

G 119 23 And soon may I come, consumed
with the heat of a holy desire,
to the townlet of Bethlehem,
birthplace of the King of All.

27 And entering in
to the sacred *Tetrastoon*, the lovely *Triconch*,⁵
that holy building,
I shall rejoice.

M 3813 31 May Christ, who was revealed there, grant me
to see all the beauties of Holy Bethlehem.

33 And when I see all the glistening gold
the well-fashioned columns and fine workmanship,
let me be freed
from the gloom of sorrows.

37 I will also look up at the design above,
at the coffer studded with stars,
for they are a masterpiece,
brilliant with heavenly beauty.

41 Let me go down also to the cave
where the Virgin Queen of All
bore a Saviour for mankind,
true God and true Man.

45 The shining slab which received the infant God,
I will touch,
with my eyes, my mouth, my forehead,⁶
to gain its blessing.

G 120 49 Let me come and venerate
the glorious Manger
by which I, the mindless
have been nourished by God's Word.

53 Let me reach the cave
of the infants who together
were slain by the envious rage of Herod
when the Word came to human birth.

ADOMNAN THE HOLY PLACES

In the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

v221 I Begin with a Description of the Book on the Holy Places.

Arculf was a holy bishop, a Gaul by race. He had experience of various faraway places, and his report about them was true and in every way satisfactory. He stayed for nine months in the city of Jerusalem, and used to go round all the holy places on daily visits. All the experiences described below he carefully rehearsed to me, Adomnan, and I first took down his trustworthy and reliable account on tablets. This I have now written out on parchment in the form of a short essay.

Chapters

- 1 The Situation of Jerusalem
- 2 The round-shaped church built over the Lord's Sepulchre, the appearance of the Sepulchre and its roof
- 3 The stone which was rolled to the door of his Tomb, and which the Angel of the Lord came down from heaven and rolled away.
- v222 4 The Church of Saint Mary, which adjoins the round church.
- 5 The church built on the site of Calvary.
- 6 The basilica which Constantine built near the last church, on the very spot where the Lord's Cross, lost under ruins, was discovered long afterwards, when the soil was dug up again.
- 7 Another chapel between the Church of Calvary and Constantine's Basilica, in which are kept the Lord's Cup, and the Sponge from which he sucked vinegar, when he hung on the Tree.
- 8 The Lance of the soldier who pierced the Lord's side.
- 9 The Cloth with which the Lord's head was covered when he was buried.
- 10 The linen cloth which is said to have been woven by Saint Mary.
- 11 A tall column to be found in the place where the dead young man came back to life when the Lord's Cross was laid on him.
- 12 The Church of Saint Mary, built in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which contains her tomb.
- 13 The Tower of Jehoshaphat, built in the same valley.
- 14 The Tombs of Simeon and Joseph.
- 15 A cave facing the Valley of Jehoshaphat in a cliff on the Mount of Olives, which contains four tables and two wells.
- v223 16 The Gate of David
- 17 The place where Judas Iscariot hanged himself.
- 18 The Great Basilica built on Mount Sion, its shape, and the situation of the Mount.
- 19 The small plot which in Hebrew is called Acceldama.
- 20 The rough stony tract of open country as far as the City of Samuel, and continuing westwards as far as Caesarea Palaestinae.
- 21 The Mount of Olives
- 22 The depth and nature of the soil.
- 23 The site of the Lord's Ascension.
- 24 The Church built on it.
- 25 Lazarus' Tomb and the church which surmounts it.
- 26 The adjoining monastery.
- 27 Another church which has been built on the right of Bethany.
- 28* The vines and corn on the Mount of Olives.
- 29* The sites on top.

Anastasis and the Martyrium in *Life of Constantine* 3.35 -- 168.

5. This line is a precise description of Justinian's nave (*tetrastoon* meaning "with four rows of columns") and east end (*triconch* meaning "with three apses"). See the plan, fig. 2, p. 152 below.

6. This was the normal gesture of reverence to some object with particularly holy associations, and is mentioned twice in the fourth century: see Cyril, *Myst.* 22 and Egeria, *Tr.* 37.3 (*Fig. Tr.* pp. 172 and 137).

* There are no sections corresponding to these headings. But on the content of sec. 28 see sec. 21, and for 29 see 23/4 and 27 (The main sites).

v224

THE FIRST BOOK ON THE HOLY PLACES

1.1 ON THE SITUATION OF JERUSALEM

On the *situation*¹ of Jerusalem I shall now set down a certain amount of what holy Arculf recited to me. But I shall leave out the things which may be gathered about the disposition of the city from other authors.

In the *great wall which surrounds*² the city Arculf counted eighty-four towers and six gates. Going round the city they are in this order: first is the Gate of David on the west side of Mount Sion, second is the Gate of the Fuller's Field, third is Saint Stephen's Gate, fourth is the Gate of Benjamin, fifth is the Portula, or 'Little Gate', from which one descends a stairway to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and sixth is the Gate of Tekoa. Thus this is the order when one follows along the wall connecting these gates and towers from this Gate of David northwards and then to the east. There are six gates in the wall, but only three are reckoned to be *important* as main *thoroughfares*,³ the first on the west, the second on the north, and the third on the east. Thus we gather that one section of the wall with its towers has no gates. This the stretch along the northern edge of Mount Sion (which *overlooks the city from the south*),⁴ from the Gate of David as far as the *eastern side of the Mount, where there is a cliff*.⁵

Here we must not fail to mention something else Holy Arculf told us, when he spoke of the city's special privilege in Christ. He spoke as follows: "Each year on the twelfth of September a huge crowd always comes to Jerusalem. They come from almost every country and many nationalities to hold a fair, and buy, sell, and exchange. Thus these crowds from various countries have to spend some days in the inns of the city, and they have a great many draught animals, camels and horses, asses and oxen, who throng the city streets and everywhere cover them with their revolting dung. Not only does the smell of this clogging filth cause a considerable nuisance to the citizens, but it also makes it difficult to walk about. Then a remarkable thing happens. When this day, with its crowd of assorted animals, has gone by, on the following night there descends on the city from the clouds a tremendous shower. It washes all the revolting dirt off the streets and makes them free of filth. For God created the terrain of Jerusalem as a slope going gradually down from the northern ridge of Mount Sion towards the lower ground by the walls on the north and east. Thus it is impossible for the heavy rain to stand in pools in the streets, but it cascades downhill from the higher ground. The flood of water from the heavens pours out through the eastern gates and down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Brook Kidron, taking with it all that revolting dung. And as soon as Jerusalem has had this 'baptism' the downpour stops."

"At this point we must not fail to remark⁶ what outstanding worth this elect and renowned city must have in the eyes of the Eternal Father, who will not permit it long to remain filthy, but speedily cleanses it in honour of his Only Son, since the holy places of his Holy Cross and Resurrection are contained within the circuit of its walls."

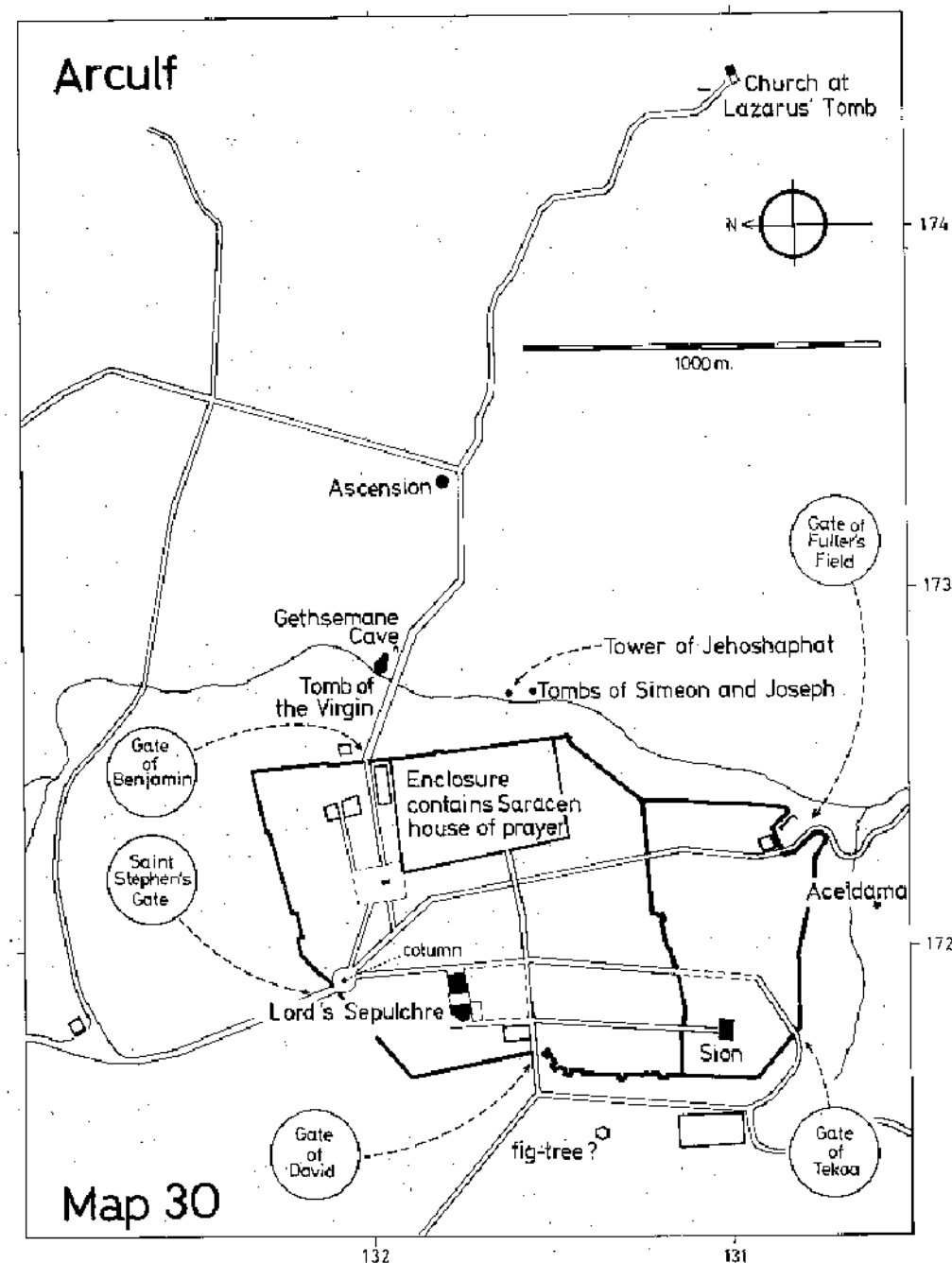
Moreover *near the wall on the east*, in that famous place where *once there stood the magnificent Temple*,⁷ the Saracens have now built an oblong house of prayer, which they pieced together with upright planks and large beams over some ruined remains. This they attend, and it is said that this building can hold three thousand people.

2.1 THE ROUND-SHAPED CHURCH BUILT OVER THE LORD'S SEPULCHRE

When I asked Arculf about the houses in this city, he replied, 'I remember how often I used to see and visit the many buildings in the city, and look at numerous large stone houses filling the space enclosed by the city wall. They are wonderfully well built. But for the present let us say nothing of any of them, except the amazing buildings in the holy places of the Cross and Resurrection.' About these I carefully questioned holy Arculf, and specially about the Lord's Sepulchre and the church built over it, and Arculf drew its shape for me on a wax tablet.⁸

This is a very large church, entirely made of stone, and built on a remarkable round plan. Three walls rise from the foundations, and the distance between one wall and the next is about the width of a street. There are three altars arranged in three special emplacements in the middle wall.

In this lofty round church one of these altars is on the south, another on the north, and a third on



1. Comparisons will be made below with Eucherius' *Letter to Faustus*, from whom many words and phrases italicised in this translation were borrowed. For this purpose we use the abbreviation Euch: in this case Euch. 1 – 125.

2. Euch. 3 – 125.

3. Euch. 5 – 126.

4. Euch. 3 – 125.

5. Euch. 9 – 127.

6. This phrase, characteristic of Adomnan, may form part of his re-writing of the story, which would then include the moral drawn in this section. But it is possible that Adomnan is presenting the moral himself.

7. Euch. 7 – 126.

8. See Appendix 4, pp. 193–7.

v228 5 the west. The church rests on twelve columns of remarkable size. It has eight doors, or entries, in the three walls divided by the width of a street. Four of them are on the north facing east, also called the Caccias wind, and the other four are on the south facing east.⁹

6 In the centre of the round space enclosed by this church there is a small building¹⁰ hewn from a single rock. Nine men can stand praying inside it, and a man of fair height has one and a half feet between his head and its roof. The entrance of this small building faces east. Its whole exterior is covered with choice marble, and the roof is decorated on the outside with gold, and supports a large gold cross.

8 This small building contains the Lord's Sepulchre, which has been cut into the rock on the north side. The floor of this small building is in a lower position than the Sepulchre, and the distance between the floor and the edge of the Sepulchre on the side is about three palms. This information was given me by Arculf, who had been many times into the Lord's Sepulchre, and measured it accurately.

v229 9 At this point it is worth drawing attention to the meaning, or rather the two different meanings of the words 'tomb' and 'sepulchre'. The small round building we have mentioned above is called by the evangelists the 'tomb':¹¹ it was at the mouth of this that they tell us the stone was rolled and then rolled back when the Lord rose again. But 'sepulchre' is the correct word for the place inside the small building, the one on the north side of the 'tomb', in which the Lord's body was placed, and where he lay wrapped in linen cloths. Arculf measured it with his hand, and found it to be seven feet long.

11 People wrongly say that this sepulchre is divided in two by a ridge of living rock dividing the shins and thighs and keeping them apart, but the whole thing is a single shelf stretching from head to foot without division, which would take one person lying on his back. It is like a cave with its opening facing the south part of the tomb, and is made with a low roof¹² over it. Day and night twelve lamps burn there in the sepulchre and give light. They are the number of the twelve apostles. Four of them are lower down at the foot of the tomb-shelf, and the other eight higher up above the edge on the right hand side. They are oil lamps, and give a bright light.

v230 13 It should also be mentioned that this same small building, the Saviour's tomb-chamber, can correctly be described as a cavern or cave. Indeed a prophet said words about it which prophesied the Lord Jesus Christ's burial there. He said, "He dwelt in a lofty cave of the strongest rock",¹³ and a little further on added this about the joy of the apostles at the Lord's resurrection, "You shall see the King in his beauty".

14 The accompanying picture shows the shape of this round church, and, set in its centre, the small round building which contains on its north side the Lord's sepulchre, and there are pictures of three more churches about which an explanation will be given below. The plans of these four churches we drew copying the original sketch which, as mentioned above, holy Arculf plotted out on a small wax notebook. There is no hope of giving a proper picture of the churches, but from this rough little sketch of Christ's Tomb you may at least be able to see the way it is set in the centre of the round church, and make out which churches are closer to this one, and which are further away.*

v231 3.1 THE STONE WHICH WAS ROLLED AGAINST THE DOOR OF THIS TOMB

v232 This is the place to say something about the Stone, already mentioned, which, after the Lord's crucifixion and burial, with several men pushing it, was rolled against the door of his burial-place. Arculf reports that it was split, and divided into two pieces. The smaller piece has been shaped and squared up into an altar, which is to be seen set up in the round church we have mentioned in front of the door of the Lord's Tomb, the small building already described. The larger part of this stone has also been cut to shape, and forms a second square altar which stands, covered with linen, in a position at the east of this church.

2 Masons had chiselled out the interior of this small building from rock, and the Lord's Sepulchre on its north side was also cut in the rock. I asked Arculf about its colouring, and he replied, 'To this day there is not a trace of ornament inside this small building forming the Lord's Tomb, and over its whole surface where it has been hollowed out you can see marks of the tools which the masons and stone-workers used when they made it. But the rock of the Tomb and Sepulchre is not plain, but a mixture of red and white, with both colours appearing in the same rock'. So much for this.

9. The reference to the Caccias wind echoes Pliny *HN* 2.120, and the direction of the doors should literally be translated: "Four of which look towards the *ultimus* (i.e. the south-east-by-a-third-south-wind) which is also called the Caccias wind (i.e. the north-east-by-east wind), but the other four are facing towards the *eurus* (i.e. the south-east-by-east wind)." We here assume that Adomnan was not aware of this meaning of *ultimus*, and translate accordingly.

10. The word translated "small building" is *tugurium*, which Adomnan uses in this sense in his *Life of Columba* 3.30, *PL* 88.742. Similarly *tugurium*, *op. cit.* 2.14 – 749 and 3.19 – 766 means the small building in which St. Columba sat to write out the Psalter or, in other words, his cell.

11. The Latin for "tomb" in the Vulgate Passion-narratives is *monumentum*: see Mark 15.46, etc.

12. Such accoselium-type tombs are commonly found from the second century B.C. in and round Jerusalem.

13. Jerome, *c. Mat.* 27.64 ff – 279 citing Isa. 33.16 and 17.

4. A CHURCH OF THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY WHICH ADJOINS THE ROUND CHURCH

v233 A little more remains to be said about the buildings in the holy places. Next to the round church we have been describing, and on its right (it is called 'Anastasis',¹⁴ meaning 'Resurrection', and was built at the place of the Lord's resurrection) is a rectangular church of Saint Mary the Lord's Mother.

5.1 THE CHURCH WHICH HAS BEEN BUILT ON THE SITE OF CALVARY

Further to the east has been built another huge church, on the site which in Hebrew is called Golgotha. From the roof hangs a large bronze wheel for lamps, and below it stands a great silver cross,¹⁵ fixed in the same socket as the wooden cross on which the Saviour of mankind once suffered. There is a cave in this Church, cut into the rock below the place of the Lord's Cross, where there is an altar on which the Sacrifice is offered for the souls of certain privileged men. Their bodies are laid in the court in front of the door of this Church of Golgotha until the Holy Mysteries for the Dead are completed.

6.1 THE BASILICA, NEAR THE LAST CHURCH, WHICH CONSTANTINE BUILT ON THE VERY SPOT WHERE THE LORD'S CROSS, WHICH HAD BEEN LOST UNDER RUINS, WAS DISCOVERED LONG AFTERWARDS, WHEN THE EARTH WAS DUG UP AGAIN.

v234 This rectangular stone construction, the Church on the site of Calvary, has adjoining it on the east the Basilica built with great magnificence by King Constantine. It is also called the "Martyrium",¹⁶ and people say it is built on the site where, by the grace of the Lord (after two hundred and thirty-three years¹⁷ had gone by) the Lord's Cross was discovered, hidden underground, together with the crosses of the two robbers. And between these two churches comes that renowned place where the patriarch Abraham set up an altar, and arranged a pile of wood on it, and took up his drawn sword to sacrifice Isaac his son. Today there stands there the large wooden table on which the alms for the poor are offered by the people.

3 I questioned Arculf further, and he added, 'There is an open court between the Anastasis¹⁸ (the round church we have described above) and the Basilica of Constantine. It stretches as far as the Church of Golgotha, and lamps are burning in it continuously, day and night'.

7.1 ANOTHER CHAPEL, IN WHICH ARE PRESERVED THE LORD'S CUP, AND THE SPONGE FROM WHICH HE SUCKED VINEGAR, WHEN HE HUNG ON THE TREE.

v235 There is a chapel set between the church of Golgotha and the Martyrium, and it contains the Lord's Cup¹⁹ which he blessed, and gave with his own hands during the supper which he had with the apostles on the day before he suffered.²⁰ This is a silver cup, it holds a French quart, and it is designed with a pair of handles one on each side. Inside the Cup is the very Sponge they 'filled with vinegar and put upon hyssop', when they crucified the Lord 'and brought it to his mouth'.²¹

3 It is said that it was from this cup that the Lord drank when he ate with the disciples after the resurrection. Holy Arculf saw it, and venerated it by touching it with his hand through a hole in the pierced door of the reliquary where it is kept. The whole population of the city makes pilgrimage to this Cup with the greatest reverence.

8. THE LANCE WITH WHICH THE SOLDIER PIERCED THE LORD'S SIDE.

Moreover Arculf saw the Lance with which the Soldier struck the Lord's side as he was hanging on the Cross. This Lance is kept in the Basilica of Constantine, in the portico; its shaft has been divided in two, and it has been set in a wooden cross. The whole city of Jerusalem makes pilgrimage also to this, in order to kiss and venerate it.

14. Euch. 6 – 126.

15. According to Theophanes' *Chronicle* for the year 420 A.D. (col. 233), Theodosius II gave a golden Cross to be set up on Calvary. It could hardly have escaped looting by the Persians in 614 A.D. and this silver Cross was probably a replacement.

16. Euch. 6 – 126.

17. It is hard to see how 233 years could possibly be correct. But it is possible that we should read 298 instead, assuming the following mistake:

CCXXXIII (= 233)
CCXCVIII (= 298)

Since Adomnan probably shared the belief of the previous generation that Jesus lived for thirty years (see, for instance, Venantius Fortunatus, *PL* 88.88 or *English Hymnal*, London 1906, No. 96, line 1) we would therefore be being informed that the Cross was discovered in the year 328 A.D.

18. The phrasing of this question suggests that Adomnan asked Arculf to elucidate Euch. 6 – 126.

19. The Lord's Cup is evidently the Holy Grail of later legend. But the legend seems to have originated outside a Christian context, and does not assume a Christian form till the twelfth century. "Quart" translates *sextarius*, one-sixth of a congius or gallon.

20. An echo of liturgical language.

21. John 19.29.

9.1 THE CLOTH WHICH WAS PLACED OVER THE LORD'S HEAD WHEN HE LAY BURIED.

We know from holy Arculf's report about a sacred cloth of the Lord's, which was placed over his head in the tomb. Arculf saw it with his own eyes. And the story we now set down is affirmed to be true by the whole population of Jerusalem. Holy Arculf learned it in this version from what was told him by Christian residents of Jerusalem. He listened to them with care, and several times they told it to him in the following manner.

"About three years ago every one came to hear about the sacred linen cloth which, by the grace of the Lord, was rediscovered after many years. Immediately after the Lord's resurrection a certain Jew who was a true believer stole it away from the Sepulchre, and hid it for many days in his home. This blessed and Christian thief came to the time when he was about to die, and he called his two sons to him so that he could tell them the truth about this Cloth of the Lord's which he had originally stolen. 'My young sons', said he, 'make a wish! Each of you has to say what he himself would prefer, and I want to be sure what each one of you, by his own choice, should have from me. Shall it be all the possessions I have to dispose of, or shall it be simply the holy Cloth of the Lord?' When they had heard what their father had to say, the one who chose to get all his father's wealth took it, and his father kept his promise, and made it over to him in his Will. And from that very day a remarkable thing began to happen. All this wealth, the inheritance he had chosen instead of the Lord's Cloth, began to grow less, and through various misfortunes everything he had was lost and reduced to nothing. But the other son, as blessed as the blessed thief, his father, who had chosen to have the Lord's Cloth rather than all the inheritance of his father, by God's grace did better and better, from the very day when he received the Cloth from the hand of his dying parent. He abounded in the riches of this world, and did not forfeit the riches of heaven.

"From this *thrice blessed ancestor*²² the Cloth of the Lord was handed on from father to son, and from one Christian to another it passed on by inheritance until the fifth generation. But many years had gone by, and after the fifth generation there were no more Christian heirs in that family. So the holy Cloth was handed on to some Jews who were not Christians. Unworthy though they were to receive such a gift, they nevertheless treated it with respect, and by the divine generosity were much blessed with riches of many kinds. But when the believing Jews heard among their people the true story about the Lord's Cloth, they began a violent dispute over it with the non-Christian Jews, seeking with all their might to get it into their hands. This contention, once it had started, divided the people of Jerusalem into two factions, one the Christian believers, and the other the non-Christian infidels. Both parties appealed to Mu'awiya,²³ King of the Saracens, and he adjudicated between them. In the presence of the Christian Jews he addressed the unbelieving Jews (who were still determinedly keeping the Lord's Cloth in their possession) in these words, 'Put your holy Cloth in my hand!' They obeyed the King, took it out of its box, and laid it on their ruler's lap. With great reverence the King took it, and commanded that a bonfire be made in the courtyard in the presence of all the people. When it was fully alight he rose, approached the fire, and said to the two parties to the quarrel, 'May Christ, the Saviour of the world, who suffered for mankind: Whose head, when he was entombed, was covered by this Cloth which I hold to my breast: Now judge by fire between you, since you are disputing about the Cloth. Thus let us know which of these contentious mobs is the one to which he desires to entrust this great gift!' With these words he threw the holy Cloth of the Lord into the flames.

"The fire could in no way touch it. It rose undamaged and unharmed above the fire, and began flying like a bird in the air with wings outstretched, looking down from a great height over those who were disputing about it, who had marshalled themselves against each other in two groups as if a battle was about to start. For a moment or two it fluttered about in the air. Then, guided by God, it began its descent. Already the Christian faction had been praying for the judgement of Christ, and it came in their direction and landed amongst them. In thanksgiving to God they raise their hands to heaven, and fall on their knees with great rejoicing. Then, with deep respect, they take the Lord's Cloth, a venerable gift from heaven, they return hymns of praise to Christ its giver, and place it in a church casket, wrapped in another cloth."

One day our brother Arculf saw it. He was one of the crowd present when it was lifted out of its box, and with the rest he also venerated it. It measures about eight feet in length. So much for this subject.

v239 10.1 ANOTHER CLOTH, SAID TO HAVE BEEN WOVEN BY SAINT MARY VIRGIN, THE MOTHER OF THE LORD.

Arculf saw in the city of Jerusalem another linen cloth, a larger one, which is said to have been woven by Saint Mary, and is for this reason preserved in a church, and venerated by the whole population.

Pictures of the twelve apostles are woven into it, and there is also a portrait of the Lord. Part of this cloth is red in colour, and part, on the other side, is green as grass.

22. Vergil, *Aen.* 1.94 is echoed in these words.

23. Mu'awiya I, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, became Caliph of Syria in 658 A.D., sole Caliph in 660, and died in 680.

11.1 A VERY TALL COLUMN SET UP OVER THE PLACE WHERE THE CROSS OF THE LORD WAS LAID ON THE DEAD YOUNG MAN WHO CAME BACK TO LIFE.

Something must be said of a very tall column which stands in the middle of the city, to the north of the holy places, where it is seen by every passer-by.²⁴ This column was set up at the place where the Lord's Cross was placed on a dead young man, and he came to life.²⁵

At the summer solstice when it is noon an amazing thing happens. When the sun reaches mid-heaven it casts no shadow, but as soon as the solstice, i.e. 24th June, is past, and after three days the day begins to get shorter, it begins at first to cast a short shadow, and then, as the days go by, a longer one. Thus during the summer solstice at noon the light of the sun in mid heaven passes directly above this column, and shines down on all sides, which demonstrates that Jerusalem is placed at the centre of the earth. This explains why the psalmist used these words to sing his prophecy of the holy places of the Passion and Resurrection which are in this Aelia, "Yet God, our King, of old worked salvation in the midst of the earth".²⁶ This means "in Jerusalem", which is called the "Mediterranean", and "Navel of the Earth".²⁷

12.1 THE CHURCH OF SAINT MARY EVER VIRGIN WHICH HAS BEEN BUILT IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT, AND HER TOMB, WHICH IT CONTAINS.

Holy Arculf was tireless in making pilgrimage to holy places, and amongst them used to visit the Church of Saint Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. It is a church built at two levels, and the lower part, which is beneath a stone vault, has a remarkable round shape. At the east end there is an altar, on the right of which is the empty rock tomb in which for a time Mary remained entombed. How or when, or by whom, her holy body was carried from this tomb, or where it awaits resurrection, no one, says Arculf, can be sure. Entering the lower round Church of Saint Mary one sees on the right, let into the wall, a rock.²⁸ On it the Lord knelt to pray in the field of Gethsemane just before he was betrayed, on the night when he was "given up into the hands of wicked men"²⁹ and to Judas. The marks of his knees are visible, printed deeply in this rock, as if it had been soft wax. This is the way our holy brother Arculf described it, and when he visited the holy places he saw with his own eyes what we are describing. The upper Church of Saint Mary is also round, and one can see four altars there.

13. THE TOWER OF JEHOSEPHAT, WHICH HAS BEEN BUILT IN THE SAME VALLEY.

In the valley we have mentioned, not far from the Church of Saint Mary, people point out the Tower of Jehoshaphat, in which one sees his tomb.

14. THE TOMBS OF SIMEON AND JOSEPH.

On the right of this small tower is a stone house cut from the rock, and separated from the Mount of Olives. Inside it there are two tombs, which are without decoration, and have been hollowed out with chisels. One is the tomb of Simeon the Righteous Man, who clasped the Lord Jesus as a baby in his arms, and uttered a prophecy about him, and the other is that of Joseph (also a righteous man), the spouse of Saint Mary and the one who brought up the Lord Jesus.

15.1 A CAVE SITUATED ON A CLIFF ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, WHICH FACES THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT, AND CONTAINS FOUR TABLES AND TWO WELLS.

Not far above the Church of Saint Mary on the Mount of Olives there is a Cave which faces the Valley of Jehoshaphat. In it are two very deep wells: one goes down to an untold depth below the mountain, and the other is in the floor of the cave: it has a huge shaft sunk deep, which goes down straight. Over these wells there is a permanent covering. This Cave also contains four rock tables. One of them, which is just inside the entrance, is that of the Lord Jesus, and some times his seat was certainly beside this small table, on the frequent occasions when he used to recline there and have a meal, and the twelve Apostles reclined there with him at the other tables. The sealed mouth of the well which we described beneath the floor of the cave is to be seen closer to the tables of the Apostles. According to what holy Arculf says, this Cave has a small entrance which is closed by a wooden door, and he paid it many visits.

24. This is no doubt the column shown inside the north gate of the city (the present Damascus Gate) by the Madaba Map. Of the many variants of the miracle which distinguished Christ's Cross from those of the two thieves that in Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sac.* 2.34 - 38 is most like these words.

26. Adomnan here quotes the words of Psalm 74.12 in their Gallican version.

27. Jerome also uses the phrase "navel of the earth" of Jerusalem in *c. Ezek.* 5.5/6 - 56.

28. Adomnan's notes seem to have confused him. It is unlikely that Arculf told him that the Rock of Betrayal was inside this church, though it was certainly nearby.

29. These words from Mark 14.41 appear also in the Solemn Prayers of Good Friday, and were translated into English as part of the first collect for Good Friday in the Book of Common Prayer.

16. DAVID'S GATE.

When one goes westwards out of the city one passes through David's Gate which is on a gentle slope of Mount Sion. Then, as one keeps Mount Sion on the left there is a stone bridge supported by arches which runs due south through the valley.

17. THE PLACE WHERE JUDAS ISCARIOT HANGED HIMSELF.

Just to the west of the middle of this bridge is the place where, in despair, Judas Iscariot hanged himself and perished. A great fig-tree is to be seen there even today, and it is said that the body of Judas swung from the top of it when he was hanged. Thus a poet, the priest Juvencus,³⁰ has written:
"From fig-tree's top he plucked a monstrous death".

18.1 THE FORM OF THE GREAT CHURCH BUILT ON MOUNT SION, AND THE SITUATION OF THIS MOUNT.

Not far back we referred to Mount Sion. Now a few brief notes are needed on the very large Church which has been built on it. This is a sketch to show what it is like: * This is where one can see the rock on which Stephen was stoned and fell asleep outside the city.³¹ And outside this great church, which contains places of such note, there is another rock³² further west, on which the Lord is said to have been scourged. This apostolic Church is constructed of stone, and stands, as has been said above, on a flat site on the summit of Mount Sion.

19. A SMALL PLOT WITH THE HEBREW NAME ACELDAMA.

Our friend Arculf often made a pilgrimage to this small plot on the southern side of Mount Sion. It has a stone wall. A large number of strangers have been buried there with some care, but there are some others who have been carelessly left unburied, merely having been covered with clothes or skins. They lie rotting on the surface of the soil.

20.1 THE ROUGH STONY TRACT OF OPEN COUNTRY SURROUNDING JERUSALEM AS FAR AS THE CITY OF SAMUEL, AND CONTINUING WESTWARDS AS FAR AS CAESAREA PALAESTINAE.

Northwards from Aelia as far as the city of Samuel, called Armathem, there are tracts of rough³³ stony country, and the valleys are full of thistles till one reaches the district of Thamna. But it is a different type of country as one goes west from Aelia and Mount Sion to Caesarea Palaestinae. Certainly there are some small patches of rough country, but mostly it is wide gentle plains dotted with flourishing olive groves.

21. THE MOUNT OF OLIVES, ITS HEIGHT AND THE QUALITY OF ITS SOIL.³⁴

Holy Arculf says that it is rarely that one finds any trees on the Mount of Olives, apart from vines and olives. But there are extremely flourishing crops of corn and barley there, and the soil can be seen to bear grass and flowers, not scrub.

The Mount of Olives is the same height as Mount Sion, though as a surveyor would measure it, by length and breadth, Mount Sion is relatively short and narrow. Between these two mountains lies the Valley of Jehoshaphat, described above, which runs from north to south.³⁵

23.1 THE PLACE OF THE LORD'S ASCENSION, AND THE CHURCH BUILT THERE.

Nowhere on the whole Mount of Olives does one find a higher place than the one from which it is said that the Lord ascended into the heavens. A great round church stands there, which has round it three porticoes with vaulted roofs. But there is no vault or roof over the central part; it is out of doors and open to the sky. At the east of it has been built an altar with a small roof over it.

The reason why there is no roof over the inner part of this building is so as not to hinder those who pray there from seeing the way from the last place where the Lord's feet were standing, when he was taken

30. Juvencus, *Evangelium*, 4.631 - 331.

31. Adomnan seems here to have misunderstood Arculf here: no doubt he spoke of the "stone with which" Stephen was stoned (compare Piacenza pilgrim 22 - v173), rather than the "rock on which".

32. Here the mistake seems to be "rock on which" for "column at which", compare Bord. 392.4 - 16.

33. This word echoes *Euch.* 10 - 127.

34. The wording of this heading implies that it should be followed by chapter 22 first, and then Chapter 21.

35. *Euch.* 9 - 127.

up to heaven in a cloud, to the heavenly height. At the time when they were building this church we have been describing, it was impossible, as you will find written in other documents, to extend the paved part over the place of the Lord's footprints. Indeed the earth was unused to bear anything human, and cast back the flagstones in the face of those who were laying them. Moreover the dust on which God stood provides a testimony which is permanent, since his footprints are to be seen in it, and even though people flock there, and in their zeal take away the soil where the Lord stood, it never becomes less, and to this day there are marks like footprints on the earth.³⁶

Holy Arculf was a constant pilgrim at this place, and reports that it is situated, as we have explained, inside a large circular bronze railing, which is about the height of a man's neck, according to the measurements. In the centre there is a sizable opening through which one looks down and sees the Lord's footprints plainly and clearly impressed in the dust. On the west of the circular railing is a kind of door, which is always open, and enables people to go in and approach the place of the holy dust, reach their hands down through a hole in the railing, and take grains of the holy dust.

Thus our friend Arculf's account of the place of the Lord's footprints agrees exactly with what others³⁷ have written, namely, that it cannot be covered either with a roof, nor with any other sort of covering, high up or low down, in order that it shall always remain visible to pilgrims, and that the prints of the Lord's feet can clearly be pointed out there. A great lamp hangs above the circular railing from a pulley, and lights the footprints of the Lord, burning day and night.

On the west of the round building described above are eight upper windows paned with glass. Inside the windows, and in corresponding positions, are eight lamps, positioned so that each one of them seems to hang neither above nor below its window, but just inside it. These lamps shine out from their windows on the summit of the Mount of Olives with such brilliance, that they light up not only the part of the Mount to the west, near this round stone church, but also the steps leading all the way up from the Valley of Jehoshaphat to the city of Jerusalem, which are lighted, however dark the night. Most of the nearer part of the city is lighted as well. The remarkable brilliance of these eight lamps shining out by night from the holy Mount and the place of the Lord's Ascension brings to believing hearts a readiness for the love of God, and brings awe to their mind and deep reverence to their soul.

We must also pass on the reply which Arculf gave about this round church when we were discussing it, and I questioned him in more detail.

Every year, on the anniversary of the Lord's Ascension, when it is noon, and the holy ceremonies of the Mass in this church are over, a violent storm of wind bursts in, so violent that no one can either stand or sit in the church or anywhere near it. People remain lying on their faces until this terrifying storm has passed over. The Lord's footprints are clearly to be seen in the opening in the middle of the circular railing we have described, and this remains open to the sky. But this terrible gale accounts for the fact that there can be no roof over this part of the building. Any one who tried to construct a roof over it would find that the beams were destroyed by the force of this wind which God sends.

Telling us about this fearsome storm, holy Arculf said to us that he himself was there in this church on the Mount of Olives on the Day of the Lord's Ascension at the time when this gale burst upon it. The shape of this round church is represented below, admittedly in rather a poor sketch, and also the circular railing in its centre.*

We also learned from what holy Arculf told us that, on the night of the feast of the Lord's Ascension, they add innumerable other lamps there, besides the eight which burn in this round church every night. Their solemn and marvellous brilliance pours out through the window panes not only to illuminate the Mount of Olives, but also, as it seems, to set it on fire and to light up the whole area of the city below and its surroundings.

24. THE TOMB OF LAZARUS, THE CHURCH BUILT OVER IT, AND THE ADJOINING MONASTERY.

Besides his pilgrimages to the holy places already described, Arculf also went to visit Bethany, a small clearing with a vast olive grove all around. In it is a great monastery, and a great church, which is built over the cave from which the Lord raised Lazarus when he had been dead for four days.

25.1 ANOTHER CHURCH BUILT ON THE RIGHT OF BETHANY.

We have decided to give a brief description of another famous church which is south of Bethany, and built on the spot where it is said the Lord addressed his disciples on the Mount of Olives.³⁸ But this means we must take care to ask what address this was, when it took place, and to which particular

36. This passage is based on Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sac.* 2.33.6/8 - 148.

37. "Others" for Adomnan may have included Jerome, who wrote on this subject to Paulinus of Nola (*Ep.* 58 - 531) or Paulinus in his subsequent letter to Severus (*Ep.* 31.4 - 271).

38. *Euch.* 10 - 127 is the basis of this passage, and it seems that Adomnan expounded it after Arculf's departure. It seems likely that Arculf himself did not mention this church (the Eleona), because it had been destroyed before his visit, by the Persians in 614 A.D.

- 3 disciples the Lord was speaking. If we take the trouble to consult the Gospels of the three writers, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, we shall see the answers to all three questions.
- v252 4 On the subject of the address they are in agreement. No one could be in any doubt about the place or the main theme ³⁹ of the address if he reads the place in Matthew's Gospel where the evangelist says that the Lord "sat upon the Mount of Olives, and his disciples came to him and asked secretly, 'Tell us when these things will be, and what will be the sign of your coming and the end of the age' ". ⁴⁰ Which were the disciples who asked this question? Matthew tells us nothing, but Mark says this: "Peter, James, John and Andrew questioned him in a place apart". ⁴¹ And according to the three evangelists I have mentioned Jesus' reply was in this vein: "See that no man leads you astray. For many come in my name saying 'I am he', " ⁴² and so on, about the last times and the end of the age. Matthew has a long passage in which he pursues this subject, until he reaches a point where he clearly indicates by the Lord's words the occasion of this lengthy address, for he writes, "And it came to pass that, when Jesus had finished all these words, he said to his disciples, 'Know that after two days it will be the Passover, and the Son of Man shall be delivered up to be crucified', " ⁴³ and so on. He thus shows clearly that the Lord spoke this long address in reply to these four disciples on the Wednesday, when there were two days still to go before the first day of Unleavened Bread, called the Passover.
- v253 8 In the place where this address was held, a church has been built in memory of the event, and it is held in great reverence.
- 9 Let this suffice for our description of the holy city Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives, and the Valley of Jehoshaphat which lies between them. We have followed a reliable account, that of holy Arculf who made pilgrimage to these places.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK

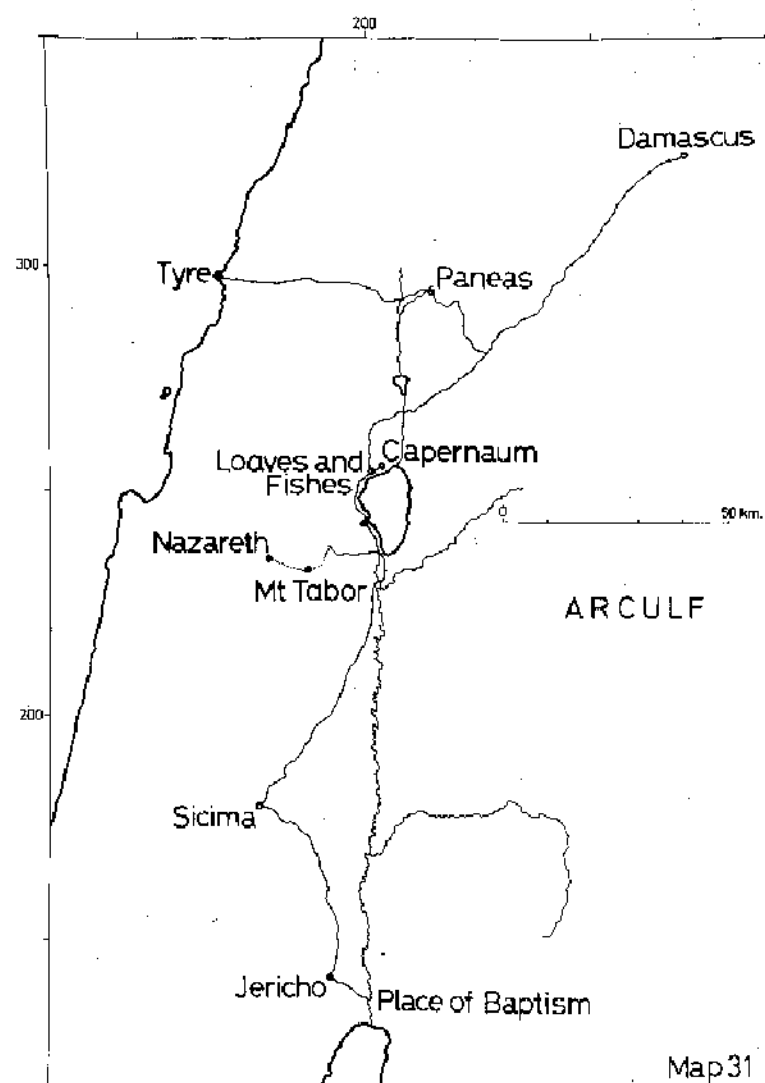
39. "Main theme" translates *styma*, taking this to be *στυμμα*, a Greek word meaning the chief ingredient in an ointment: see P. Grosjean, *Latomus* 23 (1956), pp. 133 ff.

40. Matt. 24.3.

41. Mark 13.3.

42. Mark 13.5,6.

43. Matt. 26.1,2.



CHAPTERS OF THE SECOND BOOK

- 1 The situation of the City of Bethlehem.
- 2 The Place of the Lord's Birth.
- 3 A Rock outside the Wall, onto which water was poured when he was first washed after his Birth.
- 4 Another Church in which one sees David's Tomb.
- 5 Another Church containing Saint Jerome's Tomb.
- 6 The Tombs of the Three Shepherds who were surrounded by a heavenly light when the Lord was born.
- v254 7 Rachel's Tomb.
- 8 Hebron
- 9 The Valley of Mamre.
- 10 The Tombs of the Four Patriarchs.
- 11 The Mount and Oak of Mamre.
- 12 A pine wood from which firewood is carried on camels to be used in Jerusalem.
- 13 Jericho.
- 14 Gilgal
- 15 The Twelve Stones which the children of Israel took from the bed of the Jordan, when it had dried up and they had crossed over.
- 16 The place where the Lord was baptized by John.
- 17 The colour of the Jordan.
- 18 The Dead Sea.
- 19 The Sources of the Jordan
- 20 The Sea of Galilee
- 21 The Well of Samaria
- 22 A Spring in the Desert.
- 23 Locusts and Wild Honey
- 24 The place where the Lord blessed the five loaves and two fishes.
- 25 Capernaum
- 26 Nazareth and its Churches
- 27 Mount Tabor
- 28 Damascus
- 29 Tyre
- 30 Alexandria, and the Nile with its crocodiles.

THE SECOND BOOK

1.1 THE SITUATION OF BETHLEHEM

At the opening of our second book we must describe something of the situation of Bethlehem, the city where our Saviour saw fit to be born of the Holy Virgin.

- 2 Arculf, who went there on pilgrimage, reports that it is remarkable not so much for the extent of its site as for the extent to which its fame has spread to churches throughout every nation. It lies on a narrow
3 ridge completely surrounded by valleys. This ridge of land measures about a mile in length from west to
4 east, and round the very edge of the flat top of this small hill runs a low wall without towers,¹ rising above the surrounding valleys, and enclosing a longish space within which the houses of the inhabitants are distributed.

v256 2.1 THE PLACE OF THE LORD'S BIRTH

- In the corner of this city on the extreme east is a natural half-cave. The innermost part of it is called
2 the Lord's Manger, in which the Mother laid her Son when he was born. But what is said to have been the
3 actual place of the Lord's Birth is near the Manger, but closer to the entrance. Thus this Bethlehem Cave of the Lord's Manger has been adorned all over its inner surface with precious marble, in honour of the
4 Saviour. Above the stone room, belonging to this half-cave, and the particular place where the Lord is said to have been born, has been built a Church of Saint Mary of generous size.

3.1 A ROCK OUTSIDE THE WALL, AND THE WATER OF HIS FIRST WASHING, WHICH WAS POURED ONTO IT.

I must mention briefly a Rock outside the wall. Onto it was emptied from over the top of the wall the vessel which contained the water in which the little body of the Lord was first washed.

- 2 When the water from this holy washing was poured over the wall, it found its way onto a rock below, and into a sort of natural channel. Thus this was filled with water on the day when the Lord was born, and from that day to this, through a period of many centuries, it has remained full of very pure
3 liquid, never less nor more ever since our Lord performed this miracle on the day of his birth. A prophet wrote a verse about this: 'Who brought forth water from the rock',² and Paul the Apostle too, 'But that rock was Christ',³ who against nature brought forth from the hardest rock the water to console his thirsty
4 people in the desert. It was the same 'power of God and wisdom of God'⁴ which brought forth water from this rock in Bethlehem, and keeps its pool always full of liquid. Our friend Arculf looked at it with his own eyes, and washed his face in it.

4.1 ANOTHER CHURCH IN WHICH ONE SEES DAVID'S TOMB.

- 2 When I asked Arculf about the Tomb of King David, this was his reply: 'I took care to search for
3 the Tomb where King David was laid in the earth, and used to make pilgrimage to it. It is in the middle of the floor of a church, and is unadorned, except for a low stone rail⁵ which protects it, and a light which
4 always shines brightly above it. This church was built outside the city wall in the valley which adjoins the hill of Bethlehem on the north.

5.1 ANOTHER CHURCH WHICH CONTAINS THE TOMB OF SAINT JEROME.

- We were equally interested in asking about the Tomb of Saint Jerome. Arculf replied, "I myself have
2 seen the Tomb of St. Jerome about which you are enquiring. It is in another church outside the little city in the valley which adjoins this small hill of Bethlehem to the south. Saint Jerome's Tomb is constructed
3 in the same way as David's, and is unadorned."

1. Eucherius, *Letter to Faustus* 11 – 127.

2. Psalm 78.16.

3. I Cor. 10.4.

4. I Cor. 1.24.

5. See Meehan, p. 77, n. 1, justifying this translation of *pyramis*.

6.1 THE TOMBS OF THE SHEPHERDS, ROUND WHOM THE HEAVENLY LIGHT SHONE WHEN THE LORD WAS BORN.

- Arculf described to us the Tombs of the Shepherds round whom the heavenly light shone on the night of the Lord's Birth. It was a short account: "I have", said he, "made pilgrimage to a church containing the three Tombs of these three Shepherds. They were buried near the Tower *Eder*, which is about a mile to the east of Bethlehem. When the Lord was born, the light of the Angels surrounded them on the very spot (near the Tower 'of the Flock')⁶ where the church was built containing the Shepherds' Tombs."

7.1 RACHEL'S TOMB

- The Book of Genesis speaks of Rachel being buried at Ephrata, which means, in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, and the *Liber Locorum* says she is buried in that neighbourhood, "near the road". I further questioned Arculf about this road, and he replied, "There is a highway which leads south from Aelia to Hebron. Bethlehem is not far to the east of this road, six miles⁷ from Jerusalem. Rachel's Tomb is at the end of this road and on the west of it, that is, on your right as you go towards Hebron. It is of poor workmanship, unadorned, and protected by a stone rail. Today they point out an inscription giving her name, which Jacob her husband erected over it."

8.1 HEBRON

- Hebron, also called Mamre, was once the capital of the Philistines, and inhabited by giants.⁸ David reigned there seven years. Now, according to what holy Arculf tells us, it has no walls round it, and only some ruins remain to be seen, amongst the relics of the city's destruction. It has some hamlets, poorly built, and farms, on the plain, some of them inside and some outside the remains of the ruined walls, and in these hamlets and farms is living a large number of people.

9.1 THE VALLEY OF MAMRE AND (10) THE TOMBS OF THE FOUR PATRIARCHS

- On the east of Hebron is a field, facing the Double Cave of Mamre, which Abraham bought from Ephron to possess it. (10) In the valley containing this plot holy Arculf made a pilgrimage to the place of the Tombs of the 'Arba' (the Four Patriarchs), Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam the First Man.⁹ They are buried with their feet to the south (not east, as is usual in other parts of the world) and their heads to the north. Round the place where they are buried runs a low wall in a rectangle.

- Adam, the First of Creation, was told by God the Creator, as soon as he had sinned, 'Dust thou art, and to dust thou shalt go'.¹⁰ He is buried not far to the north of the other three, at one end of the rectangular stone enclosure. His is not an honourable burial in a rock-cut stone tomb like the rest of his offspring, but he is buried in the earth, covered with earth, dust himself, and turned to dust, and awaits the resurrection with all his offspring. And such a burial fulfils the sentence which God uttered on him.

- 6 The Three Patriarchs follow the example of their first parent, and rest beneath humble dust. All the Four have tombs surmounted by small monuments constructed of dressed stones laid in such a way as to form a shape like a church, corresponding with the length and breadth of each tomb. The three tombs belonging to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are grouped together. They are protected by three monuments of the shape we have described, and made, as has been said, of hard white stones. Adam's tomb also has a superstructure, but it is of darker-coloured stone, and is less well-made. Arculf also saw in this place the tombs for their three wives, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. They are buried in the ground, and their monuments are humbler and smaller.

- 9 One finds this small field containing these Tombs of the Patriarchs one stade to the east of the wall of ancient Hebron, a city which is said to have been founded earlier not only than the cities of Palestine, but even earlier than any of those in Egypt.¹¹ Even so it is in a sad state of ruin today. So much for our description of the Tombs of the Patriarchs.

11.1 THE HILL AND OAK OF MAMRE

- Now about the Hill of Mamre. It lies a mile to the north of the tombs we have just described, and is covered in grass and flowers. It looks south to Hebron. This small hill called Mamre is flat on top, and on the northern part of it has been built a large stone church. On the right hand side, between the two walls

6. Jerome, *L. loc.* 43.22f.

7. Jerome, *L. loc.* 43.20.

8. Jerome, *L. loc.* 7.15.

9. Jerome, *Q. II. Gen.* 23.2 – 1.35.26.

10. Gen. 3.19.

11. See Num. 13.22. The passage is however based on Hegesippus, *Hist.* 4.23 – 277.3/7.

v262 3 of this church, is an unexpected sight. There stands the Oak of Mamre, rooted in the earth, which is also
 4 called *Abraham's Oak* because under it he once received angels as his guests.¹² Saint Jerome has a pass-
 5 age where he says it existed from the creation of the world up to the reign of King Constantine,¹³ but
 6 he may have avoided saying that it had completely vanished, because at that time, though it was not as
 7 large or complete as it had formerly been, still some part of it remained in place. Arculf saw it with his
 8 own eyes, and said that a lopped tree remained there with its roots in the ground. It was protected by the
 9 roof of the church, and was about twice the height of a man. This trunk is scarred and hacked about with
 10 axes, because small splinters of it are taken to many parts of the world as venerable mementoes of this Oak,
 11 under which Abraham was permitted to have that renowned and famous meeting with the angels. Around
 12 this church, which was built in honour of the place, one sees a few dwellings for nuns. But enough of this
 13 subject! Let us move on to something else.

12. A PINE WOOD FROM WHICH FIREWOOD IS CARRIED ON CAMELS TO JERUSALEM

v263 1 Three miles to the north of Hebron in the open country is a small hill covered with pines. It is not
 2 far from the roadside on the left hand side. From this pine wood come pine-branches which serve as fuel
 3 for Jerusalem. They are transported on camels, since, as Arculf says, there are very few waggons or even
 4 carts to be found in Judaea.

13.1 JERICHO

1 Holy Arculf, our friend, saw the site of the city of Jericho, which Joshua destroyed, killing its king,
 2 after he had crossed the Jordan. In its place Oza of Bethel of the tribe of Ephraim built a second city,
 3 which our Saviour chose to visit in person; and that, because of the treachery of its inhabitants, was taken
 4 and destroyed at the same time as the Romans attacked and besieged Jerusalem. A third city was founded
 5 to replace it, and this, after a long period of time, was overthrown. According to Arculf some remains¹⁴
 6 of its buildings can be seen today.

7 Surprisingly it is only the House of Rahab the Harlot which remains after those three cities have
 8 been destroyed on the same site. She hid the two spies who had been sent across by Joshua Ben Nun, in
 9 the loft of this house in a bale of flax.¹⁵ Its walls are still standing, but it has no roof.

v264 10 The site of this whole city is uninhabited, and contains no house where any one lives: it is planted
 11 with corn and vineyards. But between the site of this ruined city¹⁶ and the River Jordan are large groves
 12 of palms, interspersed with small open spaces containing vast numbers of houses of fellows of Canaanite
 13 stock.

14.1 GILGAL, AND (15) THE TWELVE STONES WHICH THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL TOOK FROM THE BED OF THE JORDAN WHEN IT HAD DRIED-UP AND THEY HAD CROSSED OVER.

1 This Arculf saw a great church built at the place where the children of Israel pitched their first camp
 2 after crossing the Jordan, and made their first stay in the land of Canaan. (15) Inside this church holy
 3 Arculf looked at the Twelve Stones of which the Lord was speaking after the crossing of the Jordan, when
 4 he said to Joshua, 'Choose thyself twelve men, one from each tribe, and command them to take twelve of
 5 the hardest rocks from the bed of the Jordan, where the priests' feet stood, and put them in the place
 6 where you set up the tents of your camp tonight.'¹⁷ These, as I say, Arculf saw. Six lie on the floor on
 7 the right of the church, and six on the north. All of them appear in their natural state, and have not been
 8 polished, and Arculf says that it would be hard for two of our strong young men today to lift one of
 9 them from the ground. One of them (quite how, no one knows) has been broken in half, and the two
 10 pieces have been joined together with ironwork.

v265 11 Gilgal, the place where this church has been built, is east of ancient Jericho, between it and the
 12 Jordan.¹⁸ It is in the lot of the tribe of Judah, five miles from Jericho.¹⁹ The ark was placed there for
 13 a long time, and on the same spot, so it is said, was built this church, famous for the twelve stones it con-
 14 tains, which are held in immense esteem and venerated by the people of the district.²⁰

12. Jerome, *L. loc.* 7.18, 21.

13. Cited from Jerome, *L. loc.* 77.2; there, as here, "Constantine" should be "Constantius".

14. Jerome, *L. loc.* 105.20 ff.

15. Josh. 2.1/6.

16. The main reason for the city's destruction was probably the earthquake which also destroyed St. Euthymius' monastery in 659 A.D. According to D. J. Chitty, *PEQ* 1928, p. 137 this earthquake is recorded in "a Syriac document".

17. Josh. 4.2/3 Vulg.

18. Jerome, *L. loc.* 65.25f.

19. Jerome, *L. loc.* 67.4 f.

20. Jerome, *L. loc.* 67.5.

16.1 A PLACE ON THE JORDAN WHERE THE LORD WAS BAPTIZED BY JOHN.

1 The holy, venerable spot at which the Lord was baptized by John is permanently covered by the
 2 water of the River Jordan, and Arculf, who reached the place, and has swum across the river both ways,
 3 says that a tall wooden cross has been set up on that holy place. The water level reaches the neck of a
 4 very tall man if he were to stand there, but there are times of extreme drought when the water goes down,
 5 and would only reach his chest, and times of serious flooding when the extra water would submerge the
 6 whole cross.

7 The position of this cross where, as we have said, the Lord was baptized, is on the near side of the
 8 river bed. A strong man using a sling can throw a stone from there to the far bank on the Arabian side.

v266 1 From this cross a stone causeway supported on arches stretches to the bank, and people approaching the
 2 cross go down a ramp and return up it to reach the bank.

3 Right at the river's edge stands a small rectangular church which was built, so it is said, at the place
 4 where the Lord's clothes were placed when he was baptized. The fact that it is supported on four stone
 5 vaults, makes it usable, since the water, which comes in from all sides, is underneath it. It has a tiled roof.
 6 This remarkable church is supported, as we have said, by arches and vaults, and stands in the lower part
 7 of the valley through which the Jordan flows. But in the upper part there is a great monastery for monks,
 8 which has been built on the brow of a small hill nearby, overlooking the church. There is also a church
 9 built there in honour of Saint John Baptist which, together with the monastery, is enclosed in a single
 10 masonry wall.

17.1 THE COLOUR OF THE JORDAN, AND (18) THE DEAD SEA.

1 Arculf informed us that the surface of the River Jordan looks whitish, like milk, and that it makes
 2 a long track of this colour when it enters the Salt Sea by its channel, quite distinct from the colour of the
 3 Dead Sea.

v267 4 [18] When the waves of the Dead Sea are licked up by big storms, a great deal of salt is brought to
 5 the shores around. This is most useful when the sun's heat has made it sufficiently dry, both to the people
 6 who live in the neighbourhood, and also to countries a long way off. This salt is different from some
 7 which is found on a mountain in Sicily, for if you take some of the rock from that hill and taste it, it is
 8 the saltiest salt. This has its own name, 'The Salt of the Earth'. Thus there are different names for 'Salt of
 9 the Sea' and 'Salt of the Earth', and hence the Lord said to the apostles in the parable the words 'Ye are
 10 the Salt of the Earth'.²¹ Holy Arculf informed us about this 'Salt of the Earth' which comes from the
 11 mountain in Sicily. He spent several days there, and found that it really was the saltiest salt, having tested
 12 it by sight, touch, and taste. He informed us also about the salt of the Dead Sea, and said that he had
 13 tested it in the same three ways. He went to visit the shore of this lake: its length (to Zoar of Arabia) is
 14 580 stades, and its width 150 stades (to the region of Sodom).²²

v268 19.1 THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN

1 Our friend Arculf went as far as that part of the district of *Phoenicia* where one can see the Jordan
 2 issuing from the foot of Libanus from two neighbouring springs. One is called *Jor* and the other *Dan*, and,
 3 when they join, they get the composite name 'Jordan'.²³ But one should realise that the actual source of
 4 the Jordan is not at Panias, but in the region of Trachonitis, at a distance of 120 stades from Caesarea
 5 Philippi. Panias is a district which takes its name from Mount Panius. This spring in Trachonitis is called
 6 Phiala. It is always full of water, and feeds the Jordan through underground channels,²⁴ which come to
 7 the surface at Panias as two separate springs which, as we have said, are commonly called Jor and Dan.
 8 Flowing down from there, they join to form a single stream, which has no tributary for the 120 stades
 9 between that point and the city called Julias. Then it passes through the middle of the lake called
 10 Gennesar, and from that region it meanders through numberless deserts, and runs out into the Asphalt
 11 Lake, where it is lost. Thus it succeeds in passing through two lakes, but stops in the third.²⁵

v269 20.1 THE SEA OF GALILEE

1 Our holy friend Arculf travelled round most of the shore of the Sea of Galilee, which is also called
 2 the Lake of Kinnereth and the Sea of Tiberias. Large woods come down to its shores. This is a huge lake,
 3 like some bay of the sea in circumference, and covers an area 140 stades long and 40 wide. It has fresh

21. Matt. 5.13.

22. Hegesippus, *Hist.* 4.18 - 271.8/10.

23. Jerome, *c. Mat.* 16.13 - 139.

24. Phiala is Birket Ram 222 294. This passage is based on Hegesippus, *Hist.* 3.26 - 234.10/12.

25. Hegesippus 3.26 - 235.1/6. Though Adomnan cites words implying the existence of three lakes, he does not re-
 produce for us the words (*loc. cit.* p. 234, 1.25) which mention Lake Semchonitis, or Huleh.

drinkable water, and is completely surrounded by sandy shores, so that it contains no discoloration or muddiness from swamps or marshes, and is very clean to drink and very soft to use. One cannot find better-looking or better-tasting fish in any lake in the world.²⁶

- 5 These notes on the source of the Jordan and the Lake of Kinnereth are taken partly from Book III of the *Captivity of the Jews* and partly from what was seen by holy Arculf. He is quite sure that it took him not less than eight days to travel from the place where the Jordan runs out of the Sea of Galilee to the place where it runs into the Dead Sea. Holy Arculf also tells how he often looked out over the Salt Sea from a vantage-point on the Mount of Olives.

v270 21.1 THE WELL OF SAMARIA

The holy priest Arculf travelled through Samaria, and arrived at a city of that district whose Hebrew name is Shechem, though in Greek and Latin it is normally called Sicima. It is commonly (though *incorrectly*)²⁷ called Sychar. Close to this city and outside its wall he saw a church with four bays stretching out to the four points of the world, like a cross. There is a sketch of it below.*

* See Pl. I

- 3 Inside this church, and in the centre of it, is the Spring of Jacob, often called the "Well". It is midway between these four bays. Here, one day at noon, the Saviour sat down, tired by the effort of his journey. At this noon time the Samaritan woman also came to the well to draw water. Amongst other things which the woman said to the Lord was this reply, "Lord, thou hast nothing with which to draw water, and the well is deep".²⁸ Arculf, who drank water from this well, had this to say about its depth, "The well I saw was forty orias deep" (this means forty cubits, since an oria or a cubit is the width of both hands stretched out side by side).

- 6 *Shechem*, also called Sicima, was once accounted a city of priests and a city of refuge in the tribe of Manasseh. It is in Mount Ephraim, and Joseph's bones²⁹ were buried there.

v272 22.1 A SMALL SPRING IN THE DESERT, AND (23) LOCUSTS AND WILD HONEY.

- This Arculf saw a small clear spring in the desert, from which people say that Saint John Baptist used to drink. Its stone roof is covered with lime plaster. [23] The Evangelists write that John Baptist's "food was locusts and wild honey",³⁰ and in the desert where John used to live, our friend Arculf saw locusts of an extremely small type. They had little bodies, as thin and short as a man's finger, and they are easy to catch in the grass, since their flight is very short, like the jump of a small frog. Cooked in oil they provide a poor sustenance.³¹ On "wood honey" we learned this from what Arculf had observed: he said 'I have seen some trees in that desert which had broad round leaves with the colour of milk and the taste of honey. These leaves are exceedingly brittle, and people who want to eat them first rub them to powder in their hand'. So this is "wood honey" found in the woods.

v273 24.1 THE PLACE WHERE THE SAVIOUR BLESSED THE FIVE LOAVES AND TWO FISHES.

- Our friend Arculf travelled as far as this place. It is a flat grassy field, and has never been ploughed up since the day when the Saviour fed the five thousand with the five loaves and two fishes. There are no signs of buildings there, apart from a few stone columns lying at the edge of the small spring from which, it is said, the people drank on the day when they were hungry, and the Lord refreshed them with that wonderful banquet. This place is on the near side of the Sea of Galilee, and looks across to the city of Tiberias, which is on the shore to the south of it.

25.1 CAPERNAUM

- To travel from Jerusalem to Capernaum, Arculf says one must go straight through Tiberias, along beside the Lake of Kinnereth (the Sea of Tiberias or Sea of Galilee), through the place of the blessing just mentioned, and then, not much further along the shore of this lake one arrives at the sea-town of Capernaum, on the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali.³² Arculf looked down on it from the mountain nearby, and he says that it has no wall, and is hemmed into a narrow space between the mountain and the sea, running from east to west, with the mountain on its north and the lake to the south.

26. Hegesippus, *Hist.* 3.26 — 233.9/11, 13/15, 19/20, 23 f.
27. Jerome, *Q. H. Gen.* 48.22 — 52.
28. John 4.11.
29. Jerome, *L. loc.* 159.1f.
30. Matt. 3.4.
31. Juvenius *Evangel.* 1.325 — 20 is echoed.
32. Jerome, *L. loc.* 121.2f.

26.1 NAZARETH AND ITS CHURCHES

- Like Capernaum, the city of Nazareth has no walls, as we are told by Arculf, who was entertained there. It is 'set on a hill',³³ and has large stone buildings, including two very large churches. One, which is in the centre of the city, and stands on two vaults, is on the site where once the house stood in which our Lord and Saviour was brought up. This church, supported, as we have said, on two vaults with arches between them, contains between the vaults a very clear spring. All the population goes there to draw water, and from this spring the water is drawn up into the church above by a winch. The other church has been built on the site of the house in which the archangel Gabriel came to Blessed Mary, and spoke to her there, finding her alone. This observation about Nazareth we have learned from holy Arculf, who was a guest in the city for two days and nights, but could not stay longer, because he was urged to move on by a solitary called Peter. Peter was an expert on the places, and an experienced soldier of Christ. He was born in Burgundy, and returned, after this tour, to the lonely place where he had been living before.

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27.1 MOUNT TABOR

- Mount Tabor is in Galilee, three miles from the Lake of Kinnereth, and seen from any direction its shape is *unusually rounded*.³⁴ It looks north to this lake, and is covered with thick grass and flowers. The top is beautiful, a large level place surrounded by a huge wood, in the middle of which is a great monastery of monks, and many smaller cells. This mountain does not in fact have a summit in the form of a sharp peak, but is flat on top, and extends to a width of twenty-three stades. It is thirty stades high. On the level summit there are large and renowned church buildings, three in number, like the tabernacles of which Peter spoke on this very mountain. He was rejoicing at the heavenly vision, and in intense awe said to the Lord, 'It is good for us to be here. Let us make three tabernacles, one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah'.³⁵ All these buildings, the monastery, the three churches, and the little cells of the monks, are enclosed in a stone wall.

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- 5 Holy Arculf spent one night as a guest on top of this holy mountain, because Peter of Burgundy, the Christian man who guided his journeys in these lands, never allowed him to spend more time in any one place than would suffice for a rapid inspection.

- 6 On this subject I should note also that in Greek one should spell the name of this celebrated mountain with a θ and a long ω, θάβωρ, and in Latin with an h, Thabor, and the O pronounced long. This is the spelling found in books about Greek.³⁶

28.1 DAMASCUS

- Damascus is a large royal city, according to Arculf, who stayed there several days. It stands in a broad plain, and is surrounded by a wide circuit of wall, which is fortified with closely-spaced towers. Around the outside of the walls it has many olive-groves, and the four large pleasant rivers which run by make it wonderfully fertile. A Saracen king³⁷ seized power there and reigns. A great church has been built there in honour of St. John Baptist, and in this same city a kind of church has also been built for the infidel Saracens, which they attend.

29.1 TYRE

- One of the many districts which our friend Arculf visited was Tyre, the capital of the province of Phoenice, which in Hebrew and Syriac is called Soar. Accounts by Greeks and barbarians tell us that once there was no way into it from the mainland, but some of them state that at a later time there were causeways built by Nebuchadnezzar, King of the Chaldeans, that the place was prepared to resist a siege with javelins and battering rams, and that later the flat surface of the ground became an island. It is impressive and beautiful, and in Latin is aptly called 'The Narrow',³⁸ for this is exactly the shape of this narrow island city. It was from this city, situated in the land of Canaan, that the Canaanite or Tyro-Phoenician woman came who is mentioned in the Gospel.

- 4 Holy Arculf's account of Tyre, I should add, wholly agreed with the information given above, which we extracted from the commentaries of Saint Jerome. And similarly our earlier description of the situation and shape of Mount Tabor, which followed holy Arculf, in no way disagrees with Saint Jerome's description of its situation and unusual round shape. It took Arculf seven days to travel from Mount Tabor to Damascus.

33. Matt. 5.14.
34. Jerome, *L. loc.* 99.22.
35. Luke 9.33.
36. These books do not appear to be by St. Jerome, since the most likely sources (*Heb. n.* 31.2, 49.6) mention the θ but not the ω.
37. El Mu'awiya.
38. Jerome, *c. Ezech.* 26: 1/6 — 347 and 15/18 — 353.

v278 30.1 THE SITUATION OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE RIVER NILE

This great city, which had once been the capital of Egypt, used in Hebrew to be called No.³⁹ It has a huge population; it was given the name Alexandria by its founder, the famous Alexander,⁴⁰ King of Macedon, known to every nation, and the city owes both its size and its name to his rebuilding. What Arculf related to us about its situation in no way disagreed with what we had previously learned from our reading. He went down from Jerusalem, boarded a ship at Joppa, and it took him forty days to reach Alexandria.

This city the prophet Nahum briefly describes when he says 'She has the waters round about her; whose riches were the sea, and her walls were of the sea,'⁴¹ for on the south its limit is the mouth of the River Nile, and on the north Lake Mareotis.⁴² From what has so far been said it is plain that the city, being situated on the Nile and on the sea, is surrounded by water on both sides: from the outside it is hard to reach, and unwelcoming, lying like a barrier between Egypt and the Great Sea.⁴³ Its harbour is more awkward than others. It is shaped like a human body: its head, the anchorage, is quite large, but its throat is narrow, and the movements of the sea and the ships provide the harbour with what we might call its breathing. As one passes out of the narrows at the mouth of the harbour, the sea opens out into a long wide tract like the rest of the body. On the right of the harbour is a small island, on which stands a huge tower, which in both Greek and Latin is called Pharos, to denote its use, for sailors can see it from a long way out to sea, and as they approach the harbour it helps them be aware of land ahead, and, specially at night when they recognise the fire, it prevents them from running onto rocks or mistaking the passage. In the tower is a gang which feeds the fire with logs and other pieces of wood to keep it going, to mark the land and the harbour mouth, to give warning of the narrowness of the entry, the inlets of the sea and the bends in the passage, and to prevent fragile hulls from running on reefs or going aground in the entry on rocks hidden by waves. For if one is to avoid the risk of the ship fouling invisible rocks one cannot keep long on a straight course. The entry which stretches along on the right of the harbour is narrower, but the one on the left is wide. Round the island have been sunk huge artificial moles, to prevent the foundations of the island from giving way under the continual pressure of the lashing sea, and falling apart because of long-standing weaknesses. And this must surely be the reason why, when there is a contrary wind, that middle channel between jumbled rocks, crags, and moles, is always rough, and a dangerously hard passage for those trying to sail in.

The harbour is thirty stades wide, and though there may be a violent storm, the inside of the harbour is still completely safe. It gains by the narrows I have described, and the island forms an obstacle which keeps out the sea waves. This is because the very narrows which make entry to the harbour so difficult, also keep it out of reach of storms, and make it calm in gales. Indeed this is a harbour which must necessarily be as large and secure as this, if it is to form the collecting-point for goods for the use of the whole world. For a great number of neighbouring countries go to it to seek business with the rest of the world. Thus this fertile district, so rich in the wealth and business of other parts of the world, feeds the whole world with corn, and supplies it with essential goods.⁴⁴ It is true that the district is short of rain. But irrigation from the Nile supplies rainwater: there is a generous sky and a fertile soil; cultivation controls it and the soil makes it rich, to the advantage of both sailors and farmers. It is true that they have to sail and sow. But the sailors are simply carried along in their craft, and the farmers sow without ploughing, and journey without a waggon. You can clearly distinguish the area of the river by what I might call terraces of shipping from every land which rise from each bank of the River Nile. The river is navigable as far as the so-called 'City of Elephants', but beyond this they cannot proceed (or rather be drawn along) because they are prevented by the cataracts, that is, the river water, not because of any lack of water, but because the whole river rushes straight down in falls.⁴⁵

Holy Arculf's report on the situation of Alexandria and the Nile agrees completely, we find, with what we know through reading books written by others, from which we have included short extracts in the present description: this includes the fact that the city is unwelcoming, that it has an awkward harbour, that there is the island with the tower on it, that Alexandria is situated between the mouth of the Nile and the sea, and so on. This explains, no doubt, why the site of the city, cramped and compressed from two sides, stretches such a long way from East to West. Arculf's account shows the same thing. It was at nine o'clock one October morning when he first set foot in the city, and was very nearly evening by the time he had managed to walk the length of the city and reach the far end. The city is enclosed by a long circuit of walls, fortified with many towers, and stretches along the river bank and the shore of the bay.

Coming in from the Egyptian side one enters the city of Alexandria and reaches on the north a church of great size. The Evangelist Mark lies buried in it, and one sees his tomb there. It stands in front of the altar at the east end of this rectangular church, and has above it a monument made of marble slabs.

39. Compare Jerome, *c. Naum* 3.8/12 – 562.40. Hegesippus, *Hist.* 4.27 – 283.

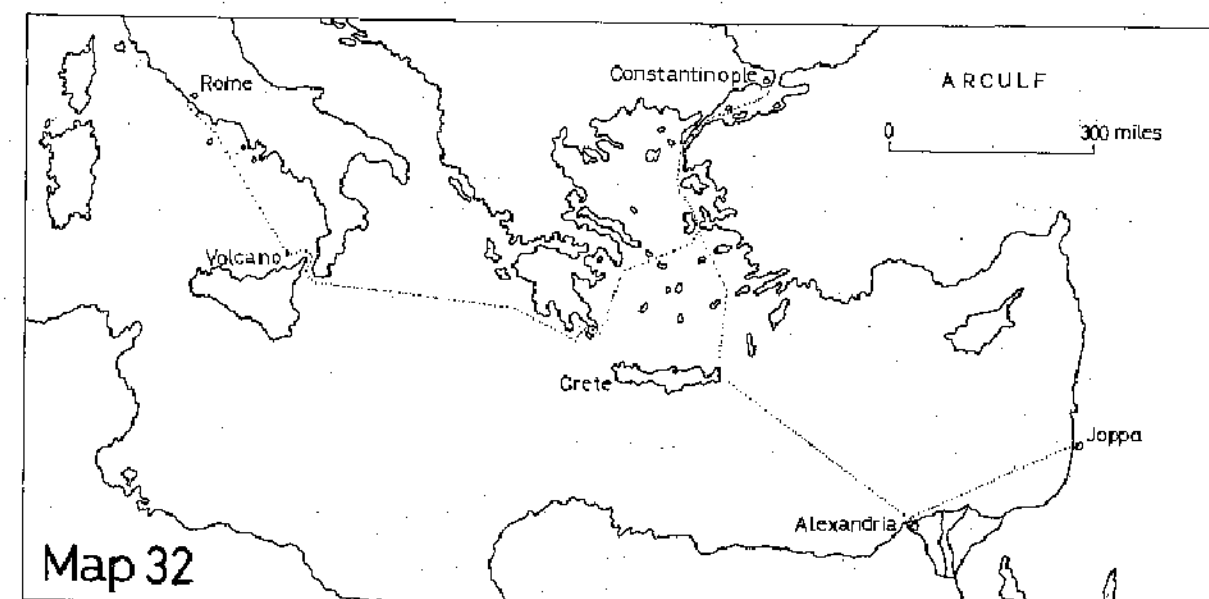
41. Nahum 3.8.

42. Jerome, *c. Naum* 3.8/12 – 563.43. Hegesippus, *Hist.* 4.27 – 283.44. Hegesippus, *Hist.* 4.27 – 284/6.45. Hegesippus, *Hist.* 4.27 – 284.

26 This city of Alexandria, called No before Alexander the Great increased it to its present vast size, which has beside it the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic Mouth, forms the boundary between Asia (including Egypt) and Libya.⁴⁶

v283 27 The Egyptians have constructed high banks along the edge of the Nile, on account of the floods it causes. Indeed if they were to neglect this precaution, and allowed the banks to be overflowed, the effect would be that the low-lying fields would not be watered, but rather that they, and anything living on them, would be blotted out. Holy Arculf often crossed the river by boat when travelling about Egypt, and he says that because of this risk many of those who inhabit the plains of Egypt live in houses supported by scaffolds above the water.

29 The River Nile, Arculf tells us, is infested by crocodiles, which are four-legged water-animals, not very large, but so greedy and strong that even a single crocodile finding a horse, ass, or ox eating grass by the river will leap out and attack it. Even though it catches only one of the animal's feet in its mouth, it drags it under water, and completely devours the whole beast.

46. Compare Hegesippus, *Hist.* 4.27 – 283.

CHAPTERS OF THE THIRD BOOK

- 1 The City of Constantinople
- 2 The Founding of this city
- 3 The Church containing the Lord's Cross
- 4 The Confessor George
- 5 The Portrait of Saint Mary
- 6 Mount Vulcanus

THE THIRD BOOK

1.1 THE CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE

v284 On his way back from Alexandria this Arculf spent several days staying on the island of Crete, and sailed on from there for Constantinople, where he spent several months.

- 2 This, without any doubt, is the capital of the Roman Empire. The sea surrounds it on all sides, except the north. This sea issues from the Great Sea and stretches for sixty miles to reach the city wall;
- 3 and from the wall of Constantinople it extends a further forty miles to the mouth of the Danube. The
- 4 imperial city is enclosed by a wall with a circuit of twelve miles. This wall, like those of Alexandria and Carthage, has outworks along the sea-shore and like that of Tyre, is protected by closely-spaced towers. Inside the walls are a great many buildings, many of them stone, which rise as high as those of Rome.

2.1 THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

This is the tradition which the citizens have received from their forefathers about the founding of their city: they say, "When the Emperor Constantine began to build the City which shares his name, he gathered together an immense crowd of people, and collected money from all the other cities in such vast sums as almost to reduce them to nothing. He began to build on the Asian shore (that is, in Cilicia),¹ on the far side of the sea which there forms the boundary between Asia and Europe.

- v285 2 "One night, in the immense encampment, while the innumerable gangs of workmen were asleep in
- 3 their tents, every single tool they used for their different types of work suddenly and inexplicably vanished. A crowd of aggrieved workmen came and complained to the Emperor Constantine himself about this sudden and puzzling disappearance, and the King at once asked them, 'Did you hear of anything else which disappeared from the camp?' 'Nothing', they replied, 'Only all the tools for our work'. Then the
- 4 King gave them these orders: 'Set off at once, and explore all the shore area beside the sea! On both sides! and if any one happens to find your tools in some out-of-the-way place, you are to stay there on the spot and look after them, not take them away. In the mean while send someone back to me so I can hear exactly how the tools have come to be found.' The workmen at once carried out the King's orders. They
- 5 set out, as they had been instructed, and scoured the whole shore area on both sides of the sea. And on the far side of the sea, the Europe side, they actually found the tools, all heaped up in one place between two inlets.

- 6 "As soon as the discovery was made, some people were sent off back to the King, and told him
- 7 exactly where the tools had been found. When he grasped the message, the King at once ordered trumpets to sound throughout the encampment for his army to strike their tents. 'Let us leave this place,' he said, 'so we can build the city on the site which God has pointed out to us.' The moment his ships were ready with the army, he crossed over to the place where the tools had been found, the special place which God
- v286 8 had indicated by the miraculous removal of the tools. And as soon as he was there, he founded this city Constantinople, whose name is made up of his own name and the Greek word for 'city', with the founder's name first." So much for the position and founding of this royal city.

3.1 THE CHURCH CONTAINING THE LORD'S CROSS

We must not omit to mention the most famous church in this city. It is round, of an amazing size, and is made of stone, and, according to holy Arculf, who made pilgrimage to it over a considerable period of time, the building has three walls rising from the foundations, and above them a triply elevated, completely round, and extremely lovely single roof to crown it. The roof is supported by great arches, and extends over a broad space enclosed by the three walls which is suitable and well-adapted for the Lord, either as a habitation or as a temple. To the north of the interior of this building one finds a very large and beautiful chest, in which is kept a wooden box with a lid of wood. In it is kept the saving Wood of the Cross on which our Saviour hung and suffered for the salvation of mankind. This box, renowned for the holy treasure it contains, is exposed on a golden altar for three successive days at the year's end, according

- v287 5 to holy Arculf. Moreover this altar in the round church is two cubits long and one broad. Only, as I say, on three successive days in the year do they expose the Cross on the altar in this way: on the day of the Lord's Supper, and on this day the Emperor and soldiers of the army come to the church and go up to the altar, then the holy box is opened and they kiss the saving Cross. The Emperor of the World is the first to bow his head and kiss it; then, one by one, according to rank or age, they come up and kiss the revered
- 8 gibbet. On the following day, the Friday before Easter, the Queens, matrons, and the wives of all the inhabitants come, in order as on the day before, and kiss it with great reverence. On the third day, the
- 9

1. An odd mistake.

Saturday of Easter,² the bishop and all the clergy come in order, and kiss the Wood of Victory, placed in its box, with awe and trembling, and every mark of reverence. When this holy and joyful veneration of the Cross is finished, the lid is put back on the box, and it is taken back to the chest together with its wonderful and venerable treasure.

One should also take note that there are not two pieces of the Cross, but three, that is, a crossbeam, and an upright cut into two equal pieces. And when the box which contains these three revered pieces of wood is opened, there rises from them a *wonderfully sweet odour, as if the box contained all the flowers on earth*,³ which satisfies and gives pleasure to all who have come to stand in the space in front of it, which is enclosed by the three inner walls. For a certain scented liquid like oil comes from the knots in the three pieces of wood, and this is what causes the sweet odour which is smelt by all those of their various races who come in. And if even the smallest drop of this liquid is applied to people afflicted with a sickness or disease, they return from their sickness to complete health. So much for our description of this.

4.1 THE CONFESSOR GEORGE

The holy man Arculf told us all this about the Lord's Cross, which he both saw with his own eyes and venerated, but he passed on to us a further account of the Confessor called George. This he learned from some men of experience in Constantinople, who used to tell him the story in this way: 'In the city of Diospolis is the portrait bust of a certain Confessor George. It stands in a house on a marble column to which people shackled him during a time of persecution when they were going to scourge him. In fact he lived many years after being scourged and released from prison.'

'Into this house one day rode a hard-hearted infidel fellow on a horse, and he asked the people inside, "Whose is this portrait carved in the marble of the column?" "The portrait of the Confessor George", they replied, "who was shackled to this column and scourged". When he heard this, this witless fellow burst into a rage and, moved by the devil, struck the insensible object, the portrait of the holy Confessor, with his lance. But the lance of this aggressive man surprised every one by piercing the surface of the stone column, and passing through it as easily as if it had been a snowball. The metal point remained so tightly fixed inside that there was no way to pull it out, and the outside part of the shaft, which struck against the small marble portrait of the holy Confessor, was broken. At the same moment the horse on which the wretched fellow was sitting fell dead beneath him onto the floor. The hapless rider clutched at the marble column as he was falling to the ground, but his fingers too penetrated the column and stuck in it, as if it had been dust or mud.'

'Realising his plight, but unable to extricate his ten fingers, now trapped inside the marble statue of the holy Confessor, he called in penitence on the name of God and of the holy Confessor, and with tears implored to be set free from the trap. The merciful God, "who desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn and live",⁴ accepted his tearful confession, and mercifully helped him. The man was saved by his faith, and delivered not only from the marble trap, present and visible, but also from the invisible bonds of sin. Hence it clearly appears in what high honour God holds George, who confessed him even under torture, for he caused the bust, naturally impenetrable, to be pierced, the lance of the aggressor, naturally unable to pierce it, to go in, and the weak fingers of the fellow, also naturally unable to pierce it, to go in. When at first they were trapped in the marble, and his heart was hard, he could not pull them out. But at that moment he was deeply afraid, then softened to penitence, and it was then that, by God's mercy, he pulled them out. The wonder is that to this day one can see the marks where his ten fingers went in up to the knuckles. Holy Arculf put his own ten fingers where they had been, and his too went in up to the knuckles. Moreover the fellow's horse, when it fell dead to the floor, had its hip broken in two, and its blood cannot be washed or cleaned off, but to this day remains indelibly marked on the floor of the building.'

Holy Arculf passed on to us another thoroughly reliable account of this Confessor George, which he learned from some expert story-tellers in the city of Constantinople. They used to tell this story about the holy Confessor: 'A layman entered the city of Diospolis on horseback, at a time when thousands of people from all parts were mustering for an expedition. On reaching the city he went into the house which contained the marble column we have mentioned with the portrait of the holy Confessor George, and began to speak to the portrait as if it were George present in person: "I commend to thee, Confessor George, myself and my horse, that by the power of thy prayers we may be delivered from all dangers by war, disease, or water, and that we may return safely, and come back here when the expedition is over. And if God in his mercy grants us a safe return, according to the desire of this thy humble servant, I will make thee a gift of this horse of mine, which I dearly love, and will make an offering of it before thy portrait." The fellow soon finished his little speech, left the house, and with some comrades joined the crowd of soldiers. Then he went away with the members of the expedition.'

'It was a war full of danger, and there were many thousands of men who perished miserably. But he,

2. 'Sabbath of the Passover'.
3. Compare Gregory the Great, *Dial.* 4.47, PL 77.408 B.
4. Ezek. 18.23.

riding his beloved horse, was preserved from all misadventure by his commendation to the Christ-loving George, and by the grace of God came safely back to Diospolis. He went cheerfully into the church containing the holy Confessor's portrait, bringing with him the price of the horse in gold, and spoke to Saint George as though he were present in person: "Holy Confessor", he said, "I give thanks to eternal God, who, through the virtue of Thy Highness' prayers, has brought me back safe. Wherefore I bring thee these twenty gold shillings, the price of my horse which I dedicated to thee at the start, and which thou hast preserved to me unto this day." With these words he laid this sum of gold before the feet of the portrait of the holy Confessor, for the horse meant more to him than the gold. His prayer over, he went outside, mounted his beast, and spurred it to go. But there was no way to move it.

'When he realised what was happening, the fellow dismounted, went home, and brought another ten shillings, saying, "Holy Confessor! When I was in the cavalry, facing the risks of the expedition, you looked after me. That was gentle. But you are hard and tight-fisted when it comes to horse-trading!" As he said this he added the ten shillings to the twenty, and told the holy Confessor "I am giving you this money as well so you will be kind enough to free my horse and let it walk". Then he went out, mounted the horse again, and urged it forward. But it remained where it was, rooted to the spot, and could not lift so much as a hoof. To cut a long story short, he mounted and dismounted, went home to fetch another ten shillings, and returned four separate times, only to find the horse could not move. He kept hurrying one way, then the other, and all the time nothing would persuade his horse to budge.

By now the heap of money amounted to sixty shillings. Then at last, having returned as we have said four separate times to say his speech about the holy Confessor being so gentle and kind when he protected him on the expedition, but having such apparently hard, tight-fisted business habits, he returned for the last time, and addressed Saint George as follows, "Now, Holy Confessor, I see what you really want, and here it is. I dedicate as my gift to you the whole sum of this gold, sixty shillings, and with it I also give my horse, which I promised to give you before the expedition. Just now it is being kept prisoner by something I cannot see, but I believe that it will very soon be set free through God's esteem for you." So saying, he left the house, and at that very instant he found the horse set free. He led it into the house, dedicated it to the holy Confessor in the presence of his portrait, and went away joyfully, giving glory to Christ.

And the conclusion we clearly draw from all this is that "No devoted thing, whether of man or beast",⁵ according to the book Leviticus, can be sold or changed, for if any man "change it at all, both it and that for which it is changed shall be holy to the Lord; it shall not be redeemed".⁶

5.1 THE PORTRAIT OF SAINT MARY

This Arculf also recounted to us a reliable report about a portrait of Saint Mary the Lord's Mother, which he learned from well-informed witnesses in Constantinople: 'On the wall of a certain house in the metropolis hung a small panel of wood on which was a portrait of Blessed Mary. A boorish hard-hearted fellow enquired whom the portrait represented, and in reply was told that it was a picture of the face of Saint Mary Ever-Virgin. Hearing this, the unbelieving Jew, urged on by the devil, flew into a rage, and seized the picture. He ran off with it to a neighbouring building in which people sat at holes in long benches and excreted. And there, to insult Christ, born of Mary, he threw the portrait of his Mother down through one of the holes into the human excrement below. Then he himself sat down and relieved himself at this hole onto the portrait of Blessed Mary he had just thrown down, and after this senseless and disgraceful purging of his belly, this wretch went away. It is not known what happened to him afterwards, how he lived or how he died. But when this wicked man had gone, a good man from the Christian community who was jealous in the things of the Lord learned that this had happened. He looked for the portrait of Saint Mary, found where it was hidden in the human excrement, and retrieved it. He carefully wiped it, washed it with purest water, and kept it in his house in a place of honour. And an amazing thing happens. Drops of pure oil constantly form on this panel with its portrait of Blessed Mary, as Arculf told us who saw with his own eyes. This miraculous oil bears witness to the glory of Mary, Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the Father said, "With my holy oil have I anointed him",⁷ and the psalmist says to the very Son of God, "God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows".⁸

Everything we have said about the situation and founding of Constantinople, and the round church containing the saving wood, and the rest, we learned by listening to what was told us by Arculf. He stayed from the feast of Easter to Christmas in this principal city of the Roman Empire, and, after that, sailed away for Rome.

5. Lev 27.28.
6. Lev 27.33.
7. Ps 89.21.
8. Ps 45.8.

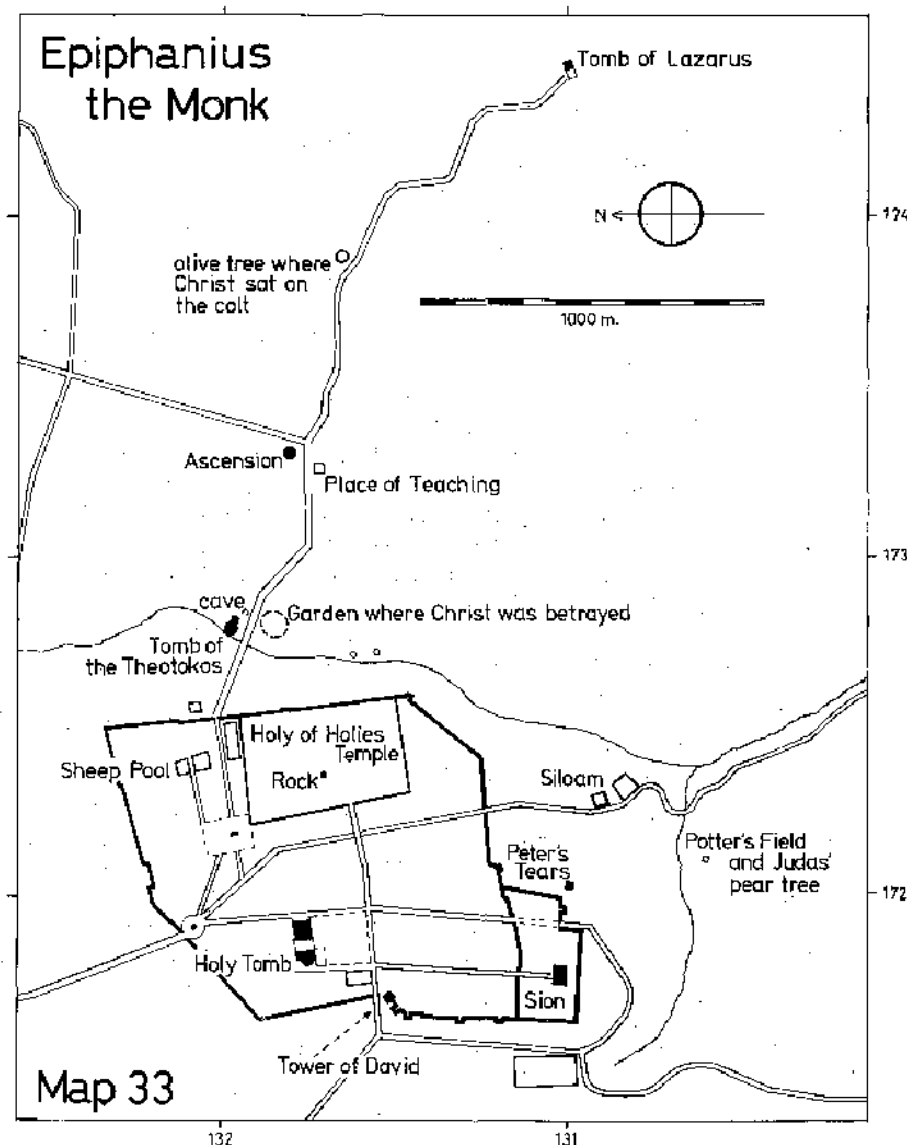
6.1 MOUNT VULGANUS, WHICH IS ALWAYS RUMBLING

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THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK



EPIPHANIUS THE MONK THE HOLY CITY AND THE HOLY PLACES

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1.5 (A) First after crossing to Cyprus make for Tyre. And from Tyre travel south for eight days: there is the Holy City.

10 (B) And in the middle of the Holy City is the holy Tomb of the Lord, and near the Tomb the place of the Skull. There Christ was crucified. Its height is thirty-two steps. And beneath the Crucifixion there is a church, the Tomb of Adam.

15 Between these buildings there is the garden of Joseph, and to the north of the garden is the guardroom where Christ was imprisoned and Barabbas. And between the guardroom and the Crucifixion is the door of Saint Constantine, in which the three Crosses were found. And above the door is the sanctuary in which is kept the cup from which Christ drank the vinegar and gall. It is like a chalice of emerald plainly set.¹
20 And in the same place is kept the basin in which Christ washed the feet of his disciples. It is made of marble. There are kept the Lance and the Sponge and the Reed; and the clean linen cloth like the linen cloth which the Apostle Peter saw in the sky: which contained every known animal, the ones to be eaten on one side, and on the other side the ones not to be eaten — everything clean and unclean — which they say was displayed by the archangel Gabriel.

5 Near it is the Patriarchium. Below the Patriarchium is a church without a throne, which was to have been given a throne by the synod at the time of the Saracen invasion. And on the left side of Saint Constantine is the icon of the very holy Theotokos, who forbade Saint Mary² to enter the church on the day of the Exaltation. There also she made her promise. And on the left side is the house of Joseph. And below the house there is a structure with four columns in which Saint Helena met the funeral procession of the maiden. The maiden was placed against the three crosses, and spoke when it was the Cross of the Lord.

10 (C) To the east of these buildings is the Sheep pool which has five chancels (the so-called porches). And near it is the Holy of Holies, where the blood of Zacharias was congealed, and the Hanging Rock, and the Temple of Solomon with its own special wall.³

20 (D) And at the west gate of the Holy City is the Tower of David, in which he sat in the dust and wrote the Psalter. On the right of the Tower is the Pavement, a small church where Judas betrayed the Lord. (E) And to the right of the Pavement is Holy Sion, the House of God. And at the great door on the left is the place where the holy Apostles carried the body of the most holy Mother of God after her departure.⁴ And at the right part of the same door is the vent-hole of the Gehenna of Fire, and near it is set up the stone at which they scourged Christ our God. And at the holy doors of the sanctuary are the footprints of Christ. There he stood when he was judged by Pilate. To the right side of the altar is the Upper Room, where Christ had the Supper with his Disciples. And in the same place tradition has it that the Pharisee boasted and the publican humbled himself.

15 And in the apse of Holy Sion (or rather of the Praetorium) there is a small structure with four columns containing the coal-brazier. In this place Saint Peter was asked the question by the little maid. And he denied Christ three times, and straightway the cock crowed. And in the same place is the palace of Pilate, and also of Annas and Caiaphas (F) and of Caesar.

20 Outside the city on the right, near the wall, is a church to which Peter went out and wept bitterly. (G) And to the right of the church, about three bow-shots from it, is the pool of Siloam, where the blind man washed and saw again. And on the right of it is the Potter's Field, in which the silver pieces were paid which were the price of Christ. Corpses are buried there to this day. And on the right of it are the pear-trees⁵ on which Judas hanged himself.

IV.1 (H) To the south of the Holy City, two miles along the road, is the Tomb of Rachel. And six miles away in that direction is Holy Bethlehem where Christ was born. The church, "The Most Holy Mother of God", is exceedingly large, and below the altar is the Cave (the double one). In the eastern part Christ was born, and on the west is the holy Manger: the two caves are together, and they are decorated with gold and with paintings of what happened. And to the north of the cave is the well which was not dug. And in the water of the well is the Star that journeyed with the Magi. To the left of the same Church is the family home of David.

And to the east of Bethlehem is the monastery called the Sheepfold. There the angel appeared to the Shepherds and said to them, "Stop staying here in the fields. Break into song!" And to the south of

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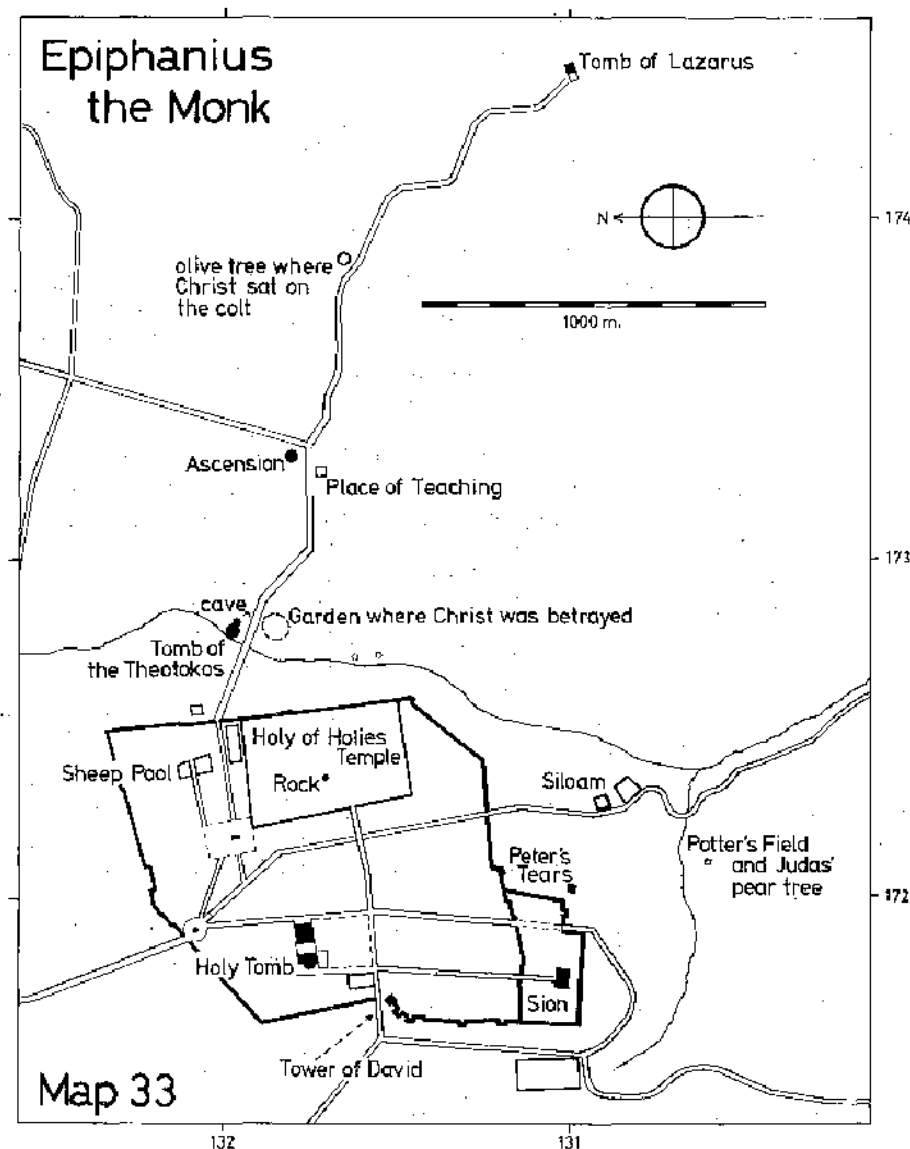
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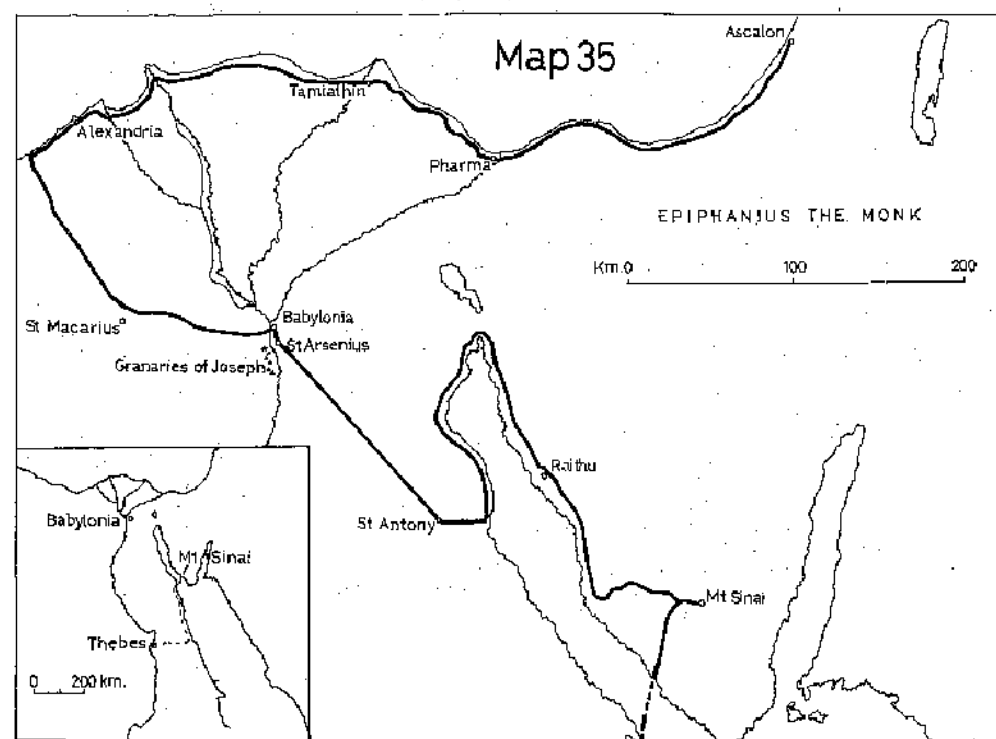
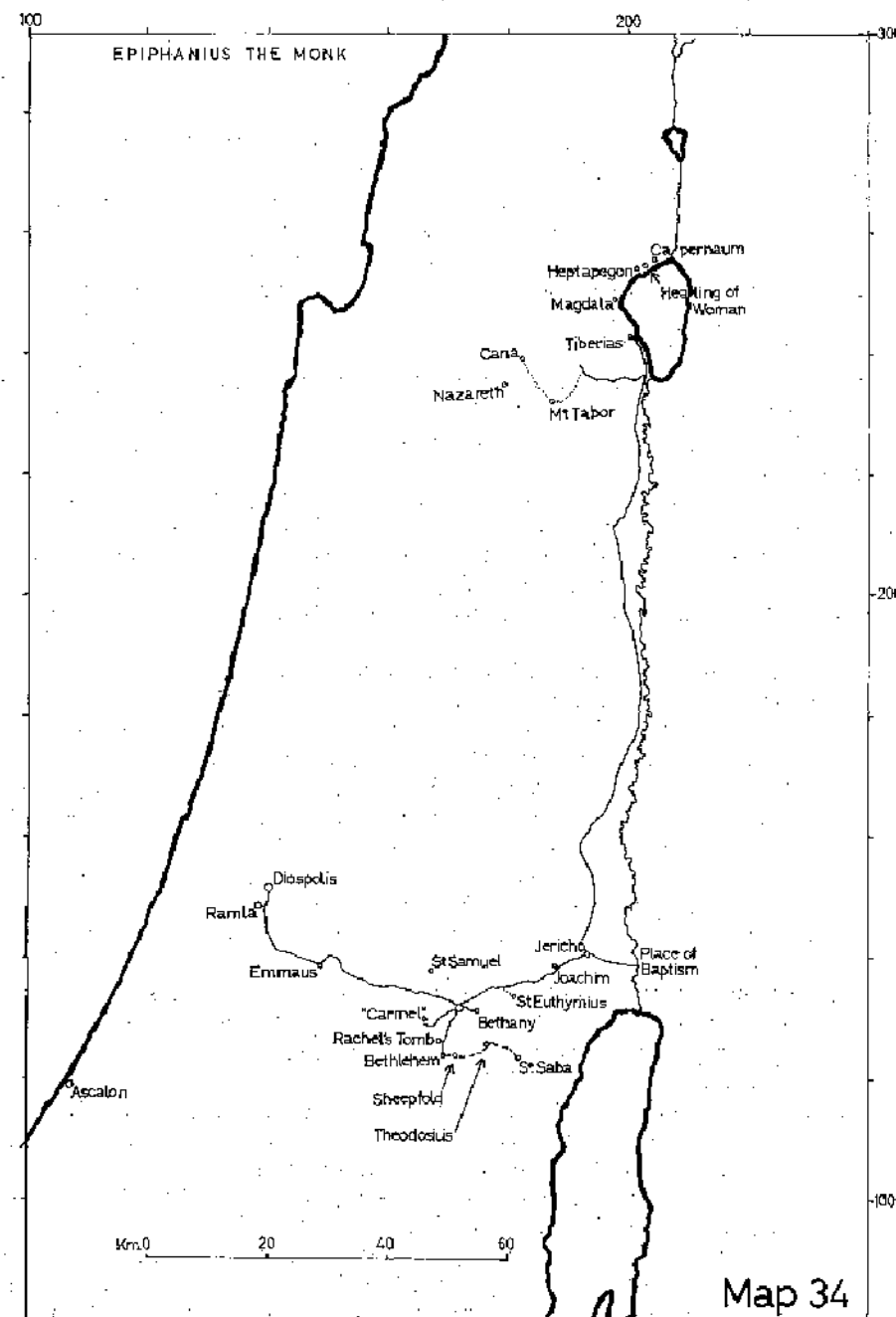
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15 Bethlehem are the two monasteries of holy Saba and holy Chariton. (JH2) Two miles further south from these monasteries live another two holy fathers, Dionysius and Theodosius.⁶

20 (I13) And to the west of the Holy City, close beside it, are two caves containing the remains of the holy Infants murdered by Herod.⁷ Also to the west of it and six miles away is Mount Carmel, the family home of the Forerunner. Eighteen miles to the west of Mount Carmel is Emmaus: there Cleopas journeyed with Christ. (J1) And he did not know that it was Christ. And again from that place eight miles away is Ramla,⁸ and near Ramla the place Diospolis. The . . . is Saint George. There rest the remains of the Great Martyr Saint George. The church is very large, and in its chancel lies the torturer's wheel. And on the right side of the nave stands a column to which the wheel is tied. On the day of his memory blood flows for three hours. In the same column there is a crack in the marble which gives signs; if you tell the truth you can go through without hindrance, and without difficulty, but if you do not tell the truth you cannot go through.

10 To the west of Saint George, about four miles away, is the Water of Proof, and the stones that assist birth, about which the prophets say, "When we are silent these stones will cry out!". And about a day's journey west of them is the fortress of Ascalon. The two "Silverless Saints" lie buried there, Cosmas and Damian.⁹ That is the place where Joseph met his father, and worshipped on the top of his staff. And he gave the greeting. And in the very same place the most Holy Theotokos had a meal with Joseph and her Son.

20 At the fortress given the name of Pharma is the beginning of Egypt. And about two days' journey to the west is Tamiathin, a great fortress which was the place of Christ's exile. Four days' journey to the west of it is the city of Alexandria. There lies buried Saint Mark the Apostle and Evangelist, Athanasius the Great, Saint Troilus, and Saint John the Eleemon; and Saint Peter, the last of the Martyrs, Apollinarius the Orthodox, Holy Vitalios and the five Virgins who proved to be like the five Wise Virgins.¹⁰ And at the harbour of Alexandria stands the tower called Pharos, the first wonder: it is jointed with lead and glass and is 300 rods high (= 1800 ft.). And to the west of Alexandria, about nine miles away, lies buried holy Menas. Another nine miles further on lies Saint Theodora who changed her name to Theodore,¹¹ who was also condemned. And to the south of Alexandria, six days' journey, lies buried Saint Macarius the Great, who came near to Paradise: that monastery contains a thousand fathers and a thousand cells, and it is a solitary fort.

15 About four days on from Saint Macarius are the Granaries of Joseph, thirty-six of them. And from the things there you cross the River Phison on a bridge supported by eighty boats. From there one enters Babylon the Great and the Palace of Pharaoh. And to the east of Babylon, about six miles away, lies buried Saint Arsenius the Great.

20 Four days to the east of him lies Saint Antony, and about two days away from Saint Antony is the Red Sea, and the stone on which Moses stood and scaled the sea, so that it was split into twelve passages, one for each tribe. He crossed with his people, and the crossing was eighteen miles. Mineral oil flows near this very stone where Moses stood. And leaving there he went on to Raithu. There the seven hundred fathers were slaughtered by the barbarians. In that place is the cliff of rock which Moses struck, and water flowed forth. And about five days from that place is Mount Sinai, where God spoke to Moses and he saw his hinder parts. Near that is the monastery of the Holy Bush, and the stone where Moses stood and watched the bush burning and not being consumed. And near the monastery is the furnace where they melted the gold and silver and there came out the calf, and they believed in it as if it were God. And in the same place are the graves of the Hebrews, the 680,000. Near the monastery a flight of steps comes down which has seven platforms. There also is the cave where Elijah the prophet fasted for forty days when he fled from the face of Jezebel. And in the same monastery lies buried our Father among the Saints and teacher Climacus.¹² Near the monastery is the wonder that came to pass in that place by God's command: coming in from another altar by Mount Sinai, about two miles away, he covered Moses and Aaron and the Ark, at the time when he was leading the Hebrews on their journey.

6. Section H2 is an addition made in the second edition.

7. Just before Epiphanius and just afterwards the cave of the Innocents is shown in Bethlehem (*Gl.* 6 ~ 1.9 and Bernard, *Itin.* 17 ~ p. 144). This statement probably refers to caves near Jerusalem containing the remains of children who died at the time of the Persian invasion in A.D. 614, and not of the Holy Innocents. Possibly they were shown in Mamilla.

8. Ramla was founded in 715-17 A.D. and therefore gives a date after which the journey described in section II must have taken place. Though this section is not quoted in the short pilgrimage described in the Armenian Account, nor in the *Life of Constantine* (because Helena never went to Egypt) there is no reason to doubt that it formed part of the second edition.

9. The popularity of Cosmas and Damian meant that their relics were venerated in many different places. This is the only time we are told they were in Ascalon.

10. Besides the well-known Saints, Mark and Athanasius, and those of whom we have no record, Troilus and the Five Virgins, the visitor was told of Saint John the Almoner, the Patriarch of Alexandria who helped Abbot Modestus to rebuild the Holy Places after the Persian invasion of 614 (*B.H.G.* 836); of Peter, a predecessor who, before his martyrdom in 311 A.D. was granted a vision in which he was told "The first of the Apostles was Peter, and Peter was the last of the Bishops of Alexandria to be martyred" (*P.L.* 129, 699); of Apollinarius, a Patriarch of Alexandria who died in 576 A.D. (*P.G.* 87, 3072/6.)

11. Theodora lived in the fifth century. See *P.G.* 115, 665/89.

12. John was a monk and later Abbot of Sinai. He received the name Climacus ("of the Ladder") on account of his famous book "The Ladder of Paradise". He died in A.D. 649.

VIII.1 From Mount Sinai you journey eight days and come to Thebes, where Abbot Poimen lies buried and his brother, and many other blessed and holy Fathers. And from Thebes you travel sixteen days, and return once more to the Holy City.¹³

5 (J) Outside the gate to the east of the Holy City stands a structure with four columns, in which Jephonias snatched at the bier of the most Holy Theotokos, and when he did not believe it belonged to the Lord's Mother his hands were cut off. And when he believed again, his hands were healed. (L) And near that to the east is holy Gethsemane, the Tomb of the most Holy Theotokos. It is an extremely beautiful church. (M) And near her there is the holy cave where the Lord took refuge with his disciples: and in the cave is the Throne of the Son of God and of his twelve apostles, where he is going to sit to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. And at the head of the Lord's throne, is a little hole, so deep you cannot see the bottom, and from it there comes a murmur, or rather a loud crying, and they start to tell you that this is the spirits. And in the same place are a hundred enclosed women belonging to the "Spice-bearers", and there is also a Stylite who feeds them through a window. And near them on the right is the millstone where holy James, the Brother of God, was struck dead. All these are in the bed of the Valley of Weeping.

IX.1 (SM) In the same place there is the Brook Kidron and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the garden where Christ was betrayed.¹⁴

5 (SN) There too is the Mount of Olives where he was taken up. Columns stand in a circle, and in the middle is an altar, with, on the outside, a peristyle of marble with columns. And to the east of the columns, not far away, is an apse, and there an altar stands where the Patriarch performs the service on the day of the Feast of the Ascension. (SO) About a mile further on from there is the place where Christ sat on the colt. In that place is an olive tree from which each year they cut one branch, and pay the price for it,¹⁵ and enter the city of Jerusalem in procession on the day of the Palm-bearing. (SP) From this olive tree you go on a mile down the road and find Bethany, the Tomb of Lazarus.

15 (SS) And by the little track which goes down from the Holy City to the River Jordan it is twenty-four miles, all down hill. The spring of Meras is there, and, about three miles beyond the Jordan a cave in which lived the Forerunner. There too is the bed on which he slept, a natural shelf in the rock of the cave, and a small chamber. Inside the cave is a sound of water, and in the room is a spring in which holy John the Forerunner used to baptise.¹⁶

X. 1

(nU) Going on from there one comes to the place Capernaum, in which lived our Christ and God. There too is the house of the Theologian, and there also the miracle of the Centurion took place, and they also let down the paralytic from the roof on a stretcher. About a mile further on stands a stone marked with the sign of the cross. That is where he healed the woman with the issue of blood. And again about a mile further on you find a village containing a large church, the so-called Heptapegon at which he performed the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes. And again about two miles away is a church containing the house of the Magdalene at the place called Magdala. There the Lord healed her. And from there one goes to the city of Tiberias, and passes through the middle of the fortress. Then you continue walking for sixteen miles and you find gushing water at which nine of the disciples were left behind. That is also the place at which Melchisedek blessed Abraham. And you climb for two miles and find Nazareth. About an arrow-shot away is the fig-tree which the Lord cursed. There Nathanael spoke to Philip the words, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?"¹⁷

20 (jN) And further on to the east there are 2,340 steps going up to the Place of Teaching in which Christ taught the apostles saying, "I am about to be taken up. And as for you, go and teach the things I have taught you". Not far to the north of the Place of Teaching is a church, in the middle of which is the stone where Christ stood when he was taken up, and it is called the Holy Stone. At the top of the Mount of Olives to the north, (jO) at a distance of sixteen miles, lies Saint Samuel the Great,¹⁸ (P) and about a mile to the east of the mountain is Bethany. There Christ raised Lazarus. (Q) Further on to the east of Bethany lies buried Saint Euthymius the Great. (jR) About twelve miles east is a church in which Adam

XI. 1

5

13. With section J the original text of Epiphanius' work resumes. The words "the Holy City" look like an editorial link with the next section, since the length of this journey indicates that it ended at Babylon or Memphis.
14. Sections with the prefix (s) and sidelined occur only in the first edition, which seems to have ended with sections (P) and (Q) below and the final paragraph.
15. It seems that this ceremony may well belong to a time when the olive tree had passed into the hands of a Muslim owner.
16. The next section (nU), since it does not occur either in the first or second editions as we know them, seems to be the latest addition to the work. Note that this section closely resembles the corresponding passage in the *Life of Constantine*: see below, Appendix 7, p. 203.
17. The remainder of the text (except sections P and Q) formed part of the second edition, but not of the first.
18. Section (jO) breaks the journey eastward over the Mount of Olives, and seems to indicate clumsy editing.

10 stayed and wept at losing Paradise.¹⁹ And near this church is the House of Joachim, a monastery. And to the east of the monastery, about four miles away is Jericho. And about six miles north of Jericho is Edessa: there lie buried Cyrus and John.²⁰ And to the east of Jericho, about three miles away in a fortress, Saint Gerasimus lies buried. Two miles away is the monastery of Saint Zosima the Great. Near him also lies buried Saint Anthimos.

15 (jS) And to the east of Jericho about eight miles away is the Jordan, and a small fort is there containing a large church, the Holy Trinity. On the river bank is a church of the Forerunner, and in the apse of the church stands a stone on which the Forerunner was when he baptised Christ. (jT) And across the Jordan, about a mile away, is the cave of the Forerunner. And to the south of the cave, about two miles away, stands the Wife of Lot, a pillar of salt, who is looking back. To her east there is a hole emitting smoke, and from the hole comes a voice saying, "Woe to Sodom". Rumour has it that this is the chimney of Hades, where the prisoners are.

20 (jU) From the Baptism of Christ it is a four-day journey to the city of Tiberias, on the shore of the Lake from which the Jordan issues. That too is where the apostles went fishing. From Tiberias to Mount Tabor is a single day's journey. The steps going up the mountain number 4,340:²¹ a Laura is there with twelve fathers. And from Tabor it is one day's journey to the great city which is Cana of Galilee, where the marriage was held at which Christ made the water into wine. A monastery is there in which the miracle took place.

20 (jV) One goes half a day's journey to the west of Galilee to the spring where the people were summoned, and Christ gave the five loaves, and the spring is half-way along the Lake of Gennesaret or Sea of Tiberias. And to the west of this spring there is a monastery. In that place Christ spoke to the Samaritan woman. And on the shore of this sea there is a church where Christ stood:²² there also were the coats and the fish. And at the same place Peter came to Christ walking in the sea. About one day's journey to the west of this is Nazareth. And from Cana of Galilee one goes down to the Holy City, to Alexandria, and entering a boat by the help of God, one goes away to Romania with faith and much encouragement.

10 (V) If you chance upon this writing of mine, Epiphanius the Monk, least of all,²³ Pray for me through the Lord. I have written all the truth, since I went round and saw things with my own eyes. The man who says otherwise deceives himself, not knowing the truth.

Grace be to God, who enables his servants to make such a journey, and to see such things.

19. According to the *Life of Adam and Eve* (in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, London 1913, vol. 2), Adam fasted for forty days standing in the river Jordan while Eve carried out a similar discipline at the Tigris: see 6.2, 7.2 — 135 and 17.2/3 — 137. In this Jewish version the story probably goes back to the second or even the first century A.D.
20. On Cyrus and John see P. G. 87, 3424.
21. With this number compare the 2,340 mentioned in section (jN) above.
22. Some "stone steps where the Lord stood" are also mentioned by *Eg. Tr. (PD)* V3 — 196. The reference is to John 21.4.
23. Since the title "Least of all" is commonly used in their signatures by Greek-speaking bishops it is probable that Epiphanius was at least an Abbot.

**JACINTHUS THE PRESBYTER
PILGRIMAGE (Fragment)**

323 [1

In the name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and Unity.

I, Jacinthus, consecrated in God's name, call God to witness how greatly I longed to see the most holy places where our Lord Jesus Christ was born, and where he bore his sufferings for the whole world. It is to the city of Bethlehem and to Holy Jerusalem first that we will now hasten, and then I will do my best to describe them.

The city of Bethlehem is destroyed, even though there are still a few houses there. All around the city the land bears olive trees and vines. When I, presbyter Jacinthus, went into the court which is round the Church I counted thirty columns there. When I had gone into the Church I began to gaze around me at its decoration and its beauty. It glistened very brightly with its polished stones, and is unequalled for the splendid brightness of the rest of its stonework. A glorious building indeed, which has no better! None like it has been seen, nor will there be one after it. At the head of the holy church are three tribunes — wonderfully decorated they are with gold and jewels! There is one altar in the choir of the Church, and under this altar is the Lord's manger.

As we went down from the choir, on the left of the stairs by which we went down is one wall of a well (and the other is joined to the choir-screen): over this well the star stood which led the Magi from the east. From the well to the place where our Lord was born is one-and-a-half paces. Then from this place, where it pleased our Lord to be born, to the Manger is three paces. And there are twelve steps by which we went down to the Manger. Two bronze doors are there. The house where the Manger stands (and where it pleased the Lord to be born) is three paces in length and two-and-a-half in breadth. The Church is built in the shape of a cross; and in it there is an altar over the place where it pleased the Lord to be born. It has four columns. There in the Church are forty-four columns which hold up the aisles of the Church, but there are also another four in the tribunes, and another six standing in the choir of the Church.¹ Also the ceiling of the Church is painted and carved. The roofing of the Church is made of lead. But of the flooring what can I say! No palace in the world has a floor to equal it for beauty.

I went into the left side of the Church and found a marble table on which the Lord ate with his disciples, and near there, in the church is the place where he was bathed. When I had done all this and measured everything I was happier than ever before. We commended ourselves to God and Saint Mary, then started our journey to Jerusalem.

At the half-way point in the journey, which is next to Christian property² is the tomb of Rachel, and it is the same distance on — two miles — from Rachel's Tomb to the Holy City Jerusalem. We went straight into the Church and prayed at the most holy Tomb. About this Tomb I will now speak as best I can.

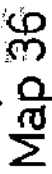
The length of the Tomb is four arms and two thumbs, and its height four palms. Its breadth it the same. Above the Tomb are two angels carved in stone, one at the head and the other at the feet. On the stone of the Tomb are three golden crosses. This stone of the Tomb is beautiful, but it is not all white.

The door of the Tomb: it is two cubits high and one-and-a-half wide. In front of the door of the tomb-chamber is the stone with which the tomb-chamber was closed, which now resembles an altar. At this altar Mass is celebrated once a year, at the Resurrection. At the entry to the Tomb are three wooden gates: round the Tomb are ten columns, and between them eight lamps. Above the Tomb we counted six candlesticks, each of which had three branches. Near this are two screens, the roof of the Tomb: they are held up by six columns over which is a gold roof. There are three windows round the wall of the Tomb at which masses are celebrated.

The Church which surrounds the Tomb was made by Emperor Constantine, the Son of the Empress, Lady Helena. We will speak of the Church. Inside this Church are arranged twelve columns, each of which has at its head and foot a band of gilded bronze, and above they are overlaid with gold. And between them are another six which are square and very large, overlaid with slabs of marble, and in front of each one hangs a chain attached to

1. This enumeration of the columns is exact.

2. Or "cemetery"? for *titulum*.



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91.1 When summer was on its way, his father and bachelor brother set out on the journey they had
4 planned and chosen. Accompanied by many of their friends and neighbours they reached their desti-
9 nation, a place originally called Hamblomouth,² near the market called Hamwich,³ and very soon the ship
10 was ready to sail. . . . With a favourable wind the ship sailed well, and they came safely in sight of dry land.
15 They were glad to go ashore there, and, choosing a place where they could camp, pitched their tents on
the bank of what is called the River Seine near the city called Rouen.⁴ A market was there. After they
had rested there for several days they set out again, and went to pray in a great many saints' chapels which
were within reach. Thus, by easy stages they travelled on until they next reached Tortona,⁵ As far as the
city called Lucca Willibald and Wynnebald were accompanied on this journey by their father. But on
reaching it he was overtaken by a sudden illness, and before long was at death's door. Already, as the on-
set of the disease became more severe, . . . his limbs were beginning to waste away. So he breathed his
20 last. . . . Then his own sons buried the body of their father . . . and his body rests there at St. Frigidian's,⁶
25 in the city of Lucca. They went straight on across Italy . . . and climbed the steep crags of the Alps⁷ . . .
92.1 When they had passed over the summit . . . they all arrived safely . . . They climbed the Scala Scolastica⁸
. . . and sought out the famous basilica of St. Peter.

92.2 These two brothers then stayed there, from the feast of St. Martin until the next Easter but one.⁹
5 During this time they . . . led an untroubled life under the monastic rule . . . But then, as time went by, and the summer grew hotter . . . they were smitten with a sudden and serious illness . . .

17,23 Then Willibald asked his friends and companions to help him by their prayers to . . . reach the
25 walls of the City of Jerusalem in safety.

26 After celebrating the Lord's Passover ¹⁰ he and his two companions ¹¹ set off on their journey.
93.1 On their way they came to a city to the east of Terracina, and stayed there two days. Moving on they
came to the city of Gaeta by the sea coast, and there they embarked and sailed across to Neapolis. There
they left the ship in which they had been sailing and stayed a fortnight: these are cities which belong to
Rome. They are in the territory of Beneventum, but even so are subject to Rome. There they found
5 a ship from Egypt . . . which they boarded, and sailed to the land of Calabria and the city called Reggio.
After staying two days there they set off again, and went to the island of Sicily, and to the city of Catania,
10 where the holy Virgin Agatha lies buried. Mount Etna is there, and whenever this mountain starts spread-
ing its fire over the region, the inhabitants immediately take the body of St. Agatha, and hold it out to-
wards the fire. That stops it. They stayed there for three weeks and then sailed on to Syracuse, a city in
the same district.

1. Hugeburch's was the first *Life of Willibald*. There are also three other *Lives* written in the 9th-10th, the 11th, and the thirteenth century. The extracts given here are an attempt to provide the substance of what Willibald dictated to Hugeburch, and wherever possible interpolations and florid phrases have been omitted.
2. *Hamleca-mutha*, now Hamblehaven near Southampton. Egger 91.49.
3. A place which no longer exists. Egger 91.50.
4. "*Rottum*" for *Rotumacum*, Egger 91.53.
5. "*Gorthonibum*" for *Bertonum*, Egger 91.57; see also the alternative *Cottianicum* discussed by Bauch p. 90 n. 37.
6. Ms. "*ad Sanctum Pricianum*" for *ad sanctum Frigidianum*, the church from which Willibald's father's relics were translated to Elchstatt in the twelfth century: Bauch p. 90 n.38.
7. Hugeburch repeats this mistake about the position of the Alps in *V. Wyn* 108.5.
8. Probably a mistake for *Scala Sancta*: see Bauch p. 81, no. 41.
9. The form of this date, giving feast-days, is a characteristic of Willibald's dictation. But Hugeburch seems to have misunderstood this one: see Heidingsfelder p. 2 and Bauch p. 91, n. 42.
10. Easter Day, March 28, 723.
11. His brother Wynnebald stayed in Rome, and returned to England in A.D. 727: *V. Wyn* 108.30-1. One of these two companions seems to have been Tidbercht, see 102.19 below.

CHAPTER 11 – A.D. 723-4

They sailed on and crossed the Adriatic Sea, reaching the city of Monembasia in the country of Slavania. They sailed on to the island of Cheos, left Corinth to port and from there went to Samos. Then they sailed to Asia, to the city of Ephesus, which is a mile from the sea. From this they walked to the place where the Seven Sleepers lie buried, and then on to St. John the Evangelist at a beautiful spot outside Ephesus. From there they walked to a large village called Phygela, two miles from the sea. They stayed a day there, begged some bread, and went to a spring in the middle of the village. There they had their meal, sitting at the edge of the spring and dipping their bread in the water. They went walking on, and came to the city of Strobolis¹² on a high mountain beside the sea, and from that they reached a place called Patara, in which they stayed until . . . winter was over. After that, sailing on, they came to a city called Miletus, which had once almost been submerged by water. There were two solitaires there, living on pillars. It was strongly protected with a very high big stone wall to prevent the water doing any damage. From there they crossed to Mount Gallianorum,¹³ but every single inhabitant had gone away. They went hungry there . . . and were afraid their time had come to die. But the Almighty . . . provided food for his poor.

Sailing on from there they came to the island of Cyprus, which lies between the lands of the Greeks and the Saracens. They arrived at the city of Paphos, where they stayed for three weeks of Easter-tide (a year had now gone by).¹⁴ From there they went to the city of Constantia, where St. Epiphanius lies buried, and stayed there until after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.¹⁵

CHAPTER 12 – A.D. 724

They sailed away and reached the land of the Saracens at a city beside the sea called Antaradus.¹⁶ From there they walked more than nine or twelve miles to the village called Arca. The bishop there was a Greek, and the people there celebrated the liturgy after their own custom. Walking on from there they came to the city called Emesa, twelve miles. There is a big church there in honour of St. John the Baptist, built by St. Helena and for a long time they had his head there, I mean in Syria.

At that point there were seven other people making the journey with Willibald. The heathen Saracens, who had discovered that some strange travellers had arrived, suddenly arrested them and took them prisoner. Not knowing what country they had come from, they took them to be spies. They took their prisoners along to a rich old gentleman so that he could have a look at them and see where they had come from. So the old gentleman asked them from where they came and what kind of business they had been sent to do. They replied by telling him the exact reason for their whole journey from the time it started. Then the old gentleman answered as follows: "Many times I have seen people coming here, fellow-tribesmen of theirs, from those parts of the world. They mean no harm. All they want to do is to fulfil their law." Then they went on from there to the palace to ask for a permit to go to Jerusalem, but the moment they arrived there the governor said they had been spying, and ordered them to be kept prisoner till he discovered from the king what he should do about them. When they reached the prison, by God's providence there was a business-man there who wanted to pay their ransom, and to secure their release from prison as a work of mercy, and for the redemption of his soul, so that they would be able to go free and do what they wanted. He proved unsuccessful, but instead sent them lunch and supper every day, and also, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, sent his son to the prison to take them out to have a bath, and bring them back inside. And on Sunday he took them to church through the market, so they could see what goods they liked. These he then bought for them at his own expense, whatever it might be that caught their fancy. And the people of that city were interested in them, and liked coming to look at them there. They were young men, well turned out, and with good clothes.

While they were still in the prison, a Spaniard¹⁷ came to the prison and had a talk to them. He enquired carefully who they were and where they had come from, and they told him every detail of their journey. This Spaniard had a brother in the royal palace who was chamberlain to the Saracen king. So when the governor who had imprisoned them came to the palace, the Spaniard who had had the conversation with them in the prison, and the captain aboard whose ship they had been when they left Cyprus, both came to see the Saracen king, whose name was Mirmunus.¹⁸ And when the subject of the prisoners was being discussed, the Spaniard told his brother everything they had said to him in the prison, and asked him to help them by telling the king all about it. So, later on, when all three appeared before the

12. Strobolis was between Myndos and Halicarnassus: Bauch, p. 92, n. 63.

13. See Bauch p. 93, n. 67.

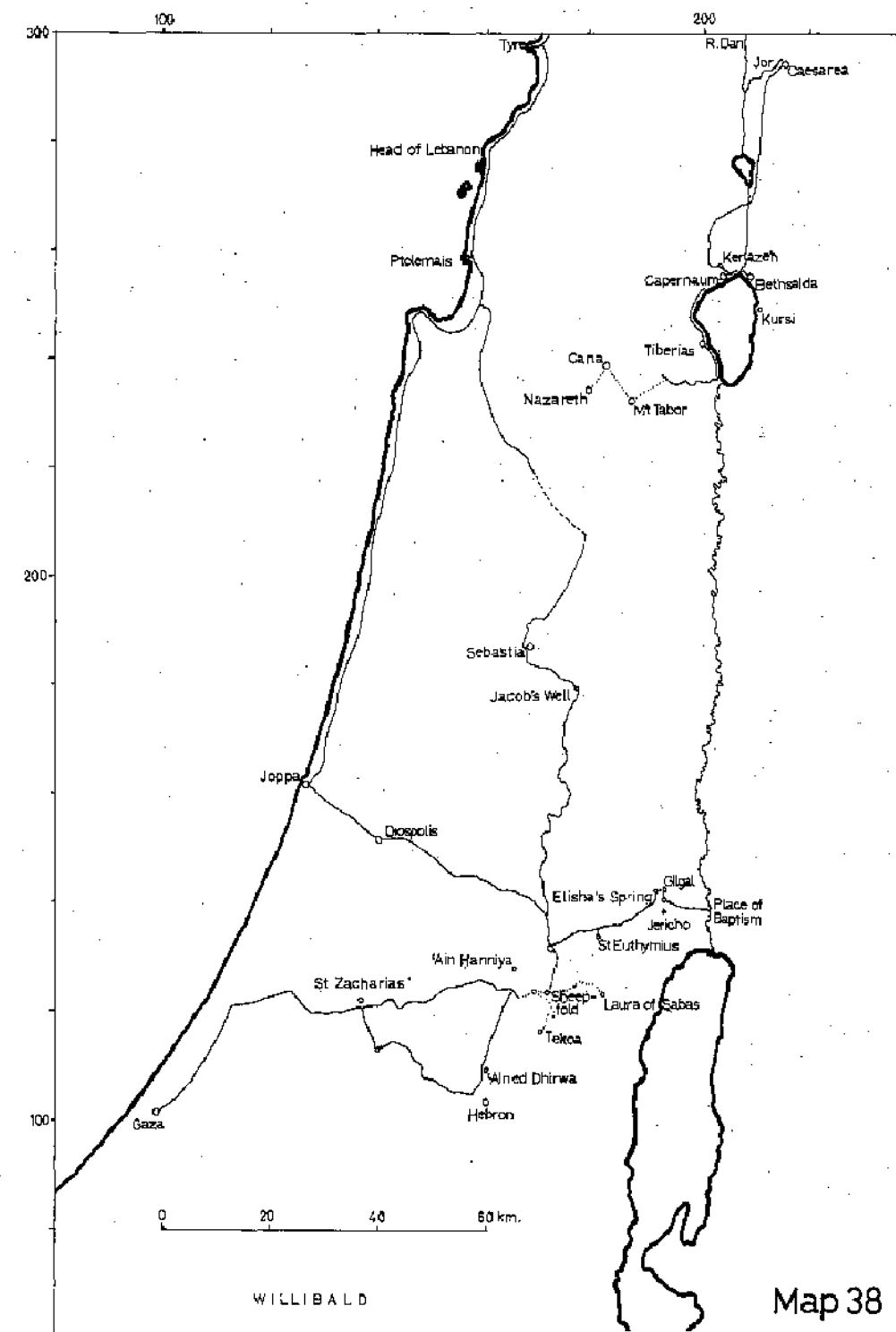
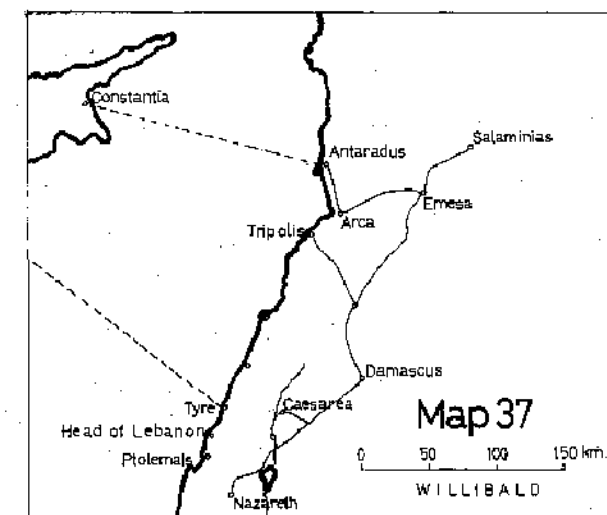
14. Since leaving Rome, Easter Day 724 fell on 16 April.

15. 24 June 724, Willibald now enters the Muslim empire under its new Caliph Hisham, who reigned from 28 January 724 to 6 February 743.

16. "Tharrathas" means the modern Tartus.

17. Spaniards had business with the Muslim court since the conquest of Spain in 711–13 A.D., about a decade before Willibald's visit.

18. Mirmunus represents *Amir al Mu'minin*, "Prince of the Faithful", one of the Caliph's titles.



Map 38

king, and . . . told him all the details, the king asked what country they came from. They replied, "These men have come from some western shore, where the sun goes down. We know of no land beyond theirs, nothing but water." The king answered, "Why should we punish them? They have committed no crime against us. Give them their permit and let them go!" Prisoners on their release usually had to pay a tax of a third of a guinea, but they were exempted. (These Cypriots live between the Greeks and the Saracens, and no harm was done them, because there was absolute peace, and relations between the Saracens and the Greeks were excellent. That is a great and extensive area, and twelve bishops have dioceses there.)

CHAPTER 13 – A.D. 724

Immediately they were allowed to go, and travelled a hundred miles to Damascus.¹⁹ St. Ananias lies buried there, and it is in the land of the Syrians. They stayed a week in the city. Two miles away is a church, and it is the place where Paul was originally converted, and the Lord said to him, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"²⁰ and so on. After praying there they walked into Galilee, to the place where originally Gabriel came to St. Mary, and said "Hail Mary,"²¹ and so on. There is now a church there. And the village where the church is is Nazareth: Christians often used to pay a ransom for the church to the pagan Saracens when they wanted to pull it down. So, commending themselves to the Lord there, they continued their journey, and reached the village of Cana, where the Lord changed the water into wine. There is a large church there, and on the altar of the church is one of the six water-pots which the Lord ordered to be filled with water, and it was turned into wine: they drank some wine from it.²² After staying a day there they went on and came to Mount Tabor, where the Lord was transfigured. There is now a monastery there for monks, and a church dedicated to the Lord, and to Moses and Elijah: people who live there call the place *Age Mons*.²³ They prayed there.

CHAPTER 14 – A.D. 724

From there they went on to the city called Tiberias: it is on the shore of the sea on which the Lord walked dryshod on the water, and in which Peter sank when he was walking across the water towards him. There are a large number of churches and Jewish synagogues there – in fact the Lord is held in great honour. They stayed several days there. It is where the Jordan passes through the middle of the sea. From that place they went along the sea and approached the village of Magdalene. And they arrived at the famous village of Capernaum, where the Lord raised the ruler's daughter. There was a house and a great wall there, and the people told them that it was where Zebedee used to live, and his sons John and James. From there they went to Bethsaida, the city of Peter and Andrew: there is now a church there in the place where originally their house stood. When they had stayed one night there they went on in the morning to Chorazin where the Lord healed the people possessed by demons, and sent the devils into the herd of swine. A Christian Church was there.

CHAPTER 15 – A.D. 724

After their prayers there they went on and came to a place where there flow from the ground two springs, the Jor and the Dan, and then further down from the mountain join to form one stream, the Jordan. There between the two springs they stayed a night, and shepherds gave us²⁴ sour milk to drink. They breed remarkable cattle there, long in the back, short in the leg, and with huge horns. They are all the same colour, purple. In that place there are deep swamps, so when summer comes, and the sun is very hot and scorches the land, these cattle move over to the swamps, and submerge their whole body, with only their head sticking out.²⁵ Moving on from there they came to Caesarea,²⁶ which had a church and a great many Christians.

19. The famous Cathedral of St. John Baptist had by now been demolished by Caliph Walid to make way for the Great Mosque of his capital city: see K. A. C. Creswell, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1958, esp. pp. 65/9.

20. Acts 9.5.

21. Luke 1.28.

22. "Drank" is *communiqué*, which may here mean "received Communion".

23. Greek for "Holy" with the word for "mountain". In Latin. The same title all in Greek, is found in Theodore of Studium, *Letters* 2.15, PG 89.1160, and, all in Latin, in *Commem.* 47 – p. 276 below. It derives from II Pet. 1.18.

24. "Us" suggests that here Hugoburc was copying her notes exactly.

25. S. Anderson, who visited Galilee in 1866, reported that "the people farm on a small scale, and possess herds of black buffalo cattle. These animals, with their large backward-turned horns and very short hair, are usually seen contentedly standing in the swamps of the Huleh, with their heads only out of the water, to escape the torments of the flies and mosquitoes": C. W. Wilson and C. Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*, London 1870, p. 445.

26. Caesarea Philippi.

CHAPTER 16 – A.D. 724

They rested there for a time, and then went on again to the monastery of St. John the Baptist, which had about twenty monks. They stayed one night there, and then went on a mile or more to the Jordan, where the Lord was baptized. There is now a church there which is raised on stone columns, and beneath the church the very place where the Lord was baptized, which is now dry soil. At the place where they now baptize there is a wooden cross in the middle, and a small channel for water. At that place a rope has been stretched across the Jordan, which is fastened at each side. On the feast of the Epiphany cripples and sick people come and using the rope to steady themselves, go down to dip themselves in the water: women who are barren also come there. Our bishop Willibald bathed there in the Jordan, and they were there for one day.

CHAPTER 17 – A.D. 724

Then they went on and came to Gilgal, a place about five miles away where there are twelve stones in the church: but the church itself is made of wood, and not very big. These stones are the twelve which the children of Israel took from the Jordan and carried for a distance of more than five miles to Gilgal, and set them up there as a memorial to their crossing. When they had prayed there they went to Jericho, more than seven miles from the Jordan. The spring, which flows from the side of a mountain there, used to be barren, and was no use to human beings till the time when the Prophet Elisha came and blessed it. After that it flowed, and all this city shared it for their fields and gardens, and anywhere else it was needed. And everything that was watered from that spring grew and did well because of the blessing given by the Prophet Elisha. From there they went on to the monastery of St. Eustochius.²⁷ It is in the country half way between Jericho and Jerusalem.

CHAPTER 18 – A.D. 724

From there he came on to Jerusalem, to the place where the Lord's Holy Cross was found. That place is called "The Place of Calvary" and there is now a church there: in earlier times it was outside Jerusalem, but Helena put the place inside Jerusalem when she found the Cross. Now there are three wooden crosses standing there outside the church, on the east of it near the wall, to commemorate the Holy Cross of the Lord, and those of the others who were crucified with him. Nowadays they are not in doors, inside the church, but stand out of doors under a roof outside the church. And near there is the garden in which was the Saviour's tomb. The tomb had been carved out of rock, and the rock stands up out of the ground: at the bottom it is square, but it is pointed on top. The tomb is now surmounted by a cross, and there is now a remarkable building over it. On the east of the tomb, in the actual rock, a door has been made, through which people enter the tomb for prayer. And inside there is a shelf on which the Lord's body lay. Fifteen golden bowls stand on the shelf. They are filled with oil, and burn day and night. The shelf on which the Lord's body lay is inside the rock of the tomb on the north side, that is, on the right side as one enters the tomb to pray. And there also, in front of the tomb door, lies a large square stone, like the original stone which the angel rolled away from the tomb door.

CHAPTER 19 – A.D. 724-5

Our bishop arrived there on the feast of St. Martin.²⁸ But as soon as he reached the place he fell ill, and lay sick until a week before the Lord's Nativity. Then, when he was feeling rather stronger and better after his illness, he got up, and went off to visit the church called Holy Sion, which stands in the middle of Jerusalem. He prayed there and went on to Solomon's porch. There there is a pool, and sick people lie there waiting for the water to be moved, and for the angel to come and move the water: then the first to get down into it is cured. It is where the Lord said to the paralytic, "Arise, take up thy bed, and walk!"²⁹

CHAPTER 20 – A.D. 724-5

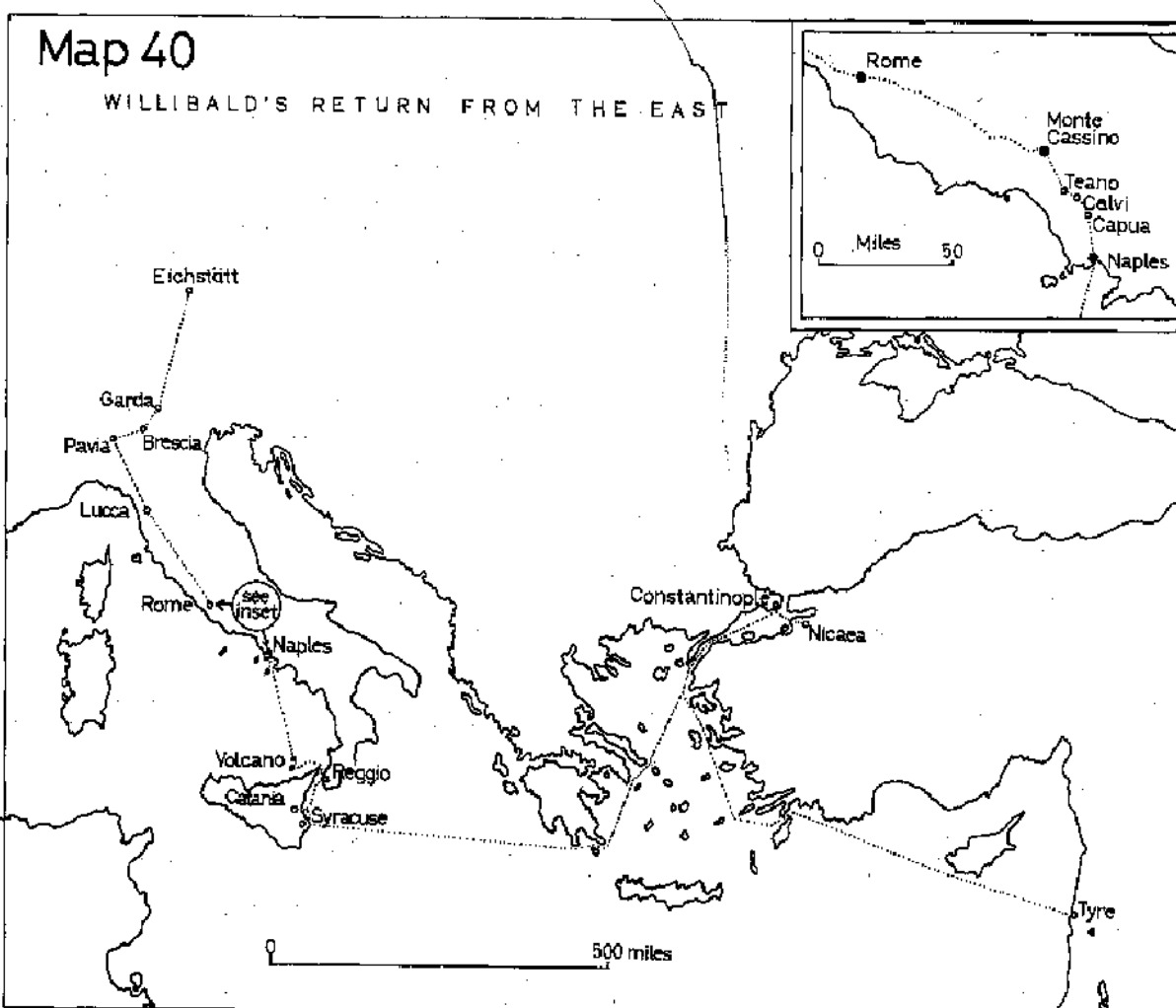
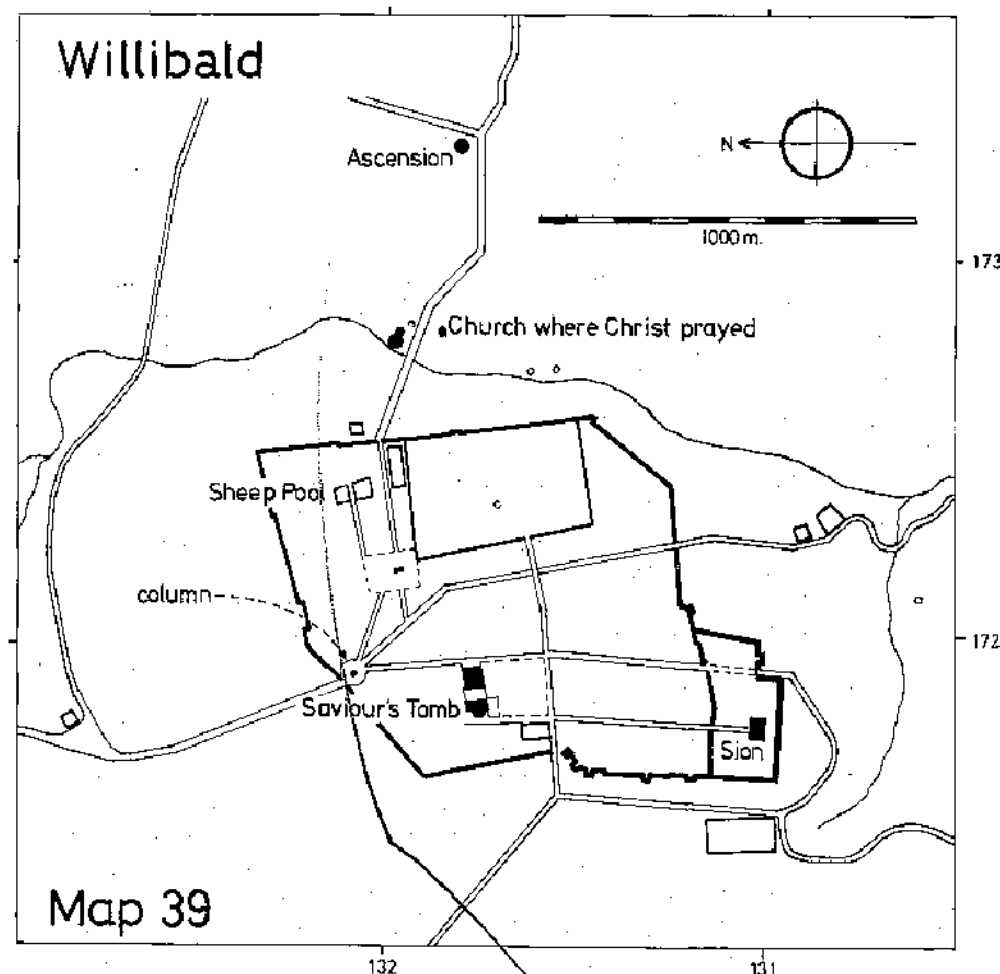
He also said³⁰ that there was a great column standing in front of the city gate, which had on top of it a cross as a sign to remind people of the place where the Jews wanted to take away the body of St. Mary. For as the eleven apostles were carrying the body of St. Mary and taking it down from Jerusalem, the moment they reached the city gate the Jews wanted to take it away. But any one of them who reached out to take hold of the bier found that his arms were trapped, and stuck to the bier as if they had been glued to it. They could not pull them free till, by the grace of God and the prayers of the apostles, they had been

27. This must be a mistake for St. Euthymius.

28. 11 November.

29. Mark 9.11.

30. A reminder that this passage is part of Willibald's Dictation.



5 released. Then they left them alone. St. Mary departed this life right in the middle of Jerusalem at the place called Holy Sion. Then the eleven apostles carried her in the way I have described, and later the angels came and took her from the hands of the apostles and carried her into Paradise.

CHAPTER 21 – A.D. 724-5

10 From there Bishop Willibald went down and came to the Valley of Jehoshaphat. It is situated next to the city of Jerusalem on the east. And in that valley is the Church of St. Mary which contains her tomb, not because her body is buried there, but to commemorate her. After praying there he went up the Mount of Olives, which lies beside the valley on the east. The valley runs between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. There is now a church on the Mount of Olives at the place where, before his Passion, the Lord prayed, and said to his disciples, "Watch and pray, so that you do not enter into temptation".³¹ From 15 that he went to a church on the mountain itself, where the Lord ascended into heaven: in the centre of it is a square brass thing which is beautifully engraved. It is in the centre of the church where the Lord ascended into heaven. And in the middle of the brass thing is a square lantern with a small candle inside: the lantern encloses the candle on all sides. It is enclosed in this way so it will continue to burn, rain or 20 fine. That church has no roof, and is open to the sky. Inside it, against the north and south walls stand two columns, to remind people of the two men who said, "Ye men of Galilee, why gaze ye into the sky?"³² Any one who can creep between the wall and the column is freed from his sins.

CHAPTER 22 – A.D. 724-5

25 From there he came to the place where the angel appeared to the shepherds, and said, "I bring you good tidings of great joy"³³ and so on. And from there he came to Bethlehem, where the Lord was born, six miles from Jerusalem. The place where Christ was born was originally an underground cave, and now it is a square house cut in the rock. All round it the earth has been dug out and removed, and over it a church has now been built. Over the actual place where the Lord was born an altar now stands, and they 30 have also provided a smaller altar, so that when people want to celebrate Mass inside the cave, they can fetch the smaller altar, and carry it in there for the time when the Mass is being celebrated, and then take it away again. The church above the place where the Lord was born is a splendid building constructed in the shape of a cross.

CHAPTER 23 – A.D. 724-5

99.1 After praying there they went on and arrived at a large village called Tekoa, the place where in old days the children had been murdered by Herod. A church is there now, and there is also one of the prophets buried there. Then from there he came to the Valley of Laura. It contains a great monastery, with 5 an abbot who, together with the door-keeper of the church, resides at the monastery. There are also many other monks, both living in the monastery and also settled round the valley on the side of the rocky mountain. They have little cells here and there cut from the mountain: this mountain surrounds the valley in which the monastery is built. St. Saba is buried there.

CHAPTER 24 – A.D. 724-5

10 From there they came to the place where Philip baptized the eunuch. It is a small church in a large valley between Bethlehem and Gaza. And from there they went to Gaza, where there is a holy place. They prayed there, and went to St. Matthias. There the Lord is much glorified. And when the . . . rite of Mass had been celebrated there, our bishop Willibald, standing there at Mass, lost the sight of his eyes and was blind for two months. From there they went to St. Zacharias the Prophet (not the father of John but 15 another one, a prophet), and from there he went to the village of Aframia.³⁴ There the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lie buried, with their wives.

CHAPTER 25 – A.D. 725

From there he returned once again to Jerusalem. As he entered the church where the Holy Cross was discovered, his eyes were opened and he recovered his sight. After a short stay there he set out and

31. Matt. 26.41.

32. Acts 1.11.

33. Luke 2.10.

34. Since we are told that the three Patriarchs are buried at "Aframia", we know that it is Hebron, and guess that Willibald used some name like the "Abramiri" of Peter the Deacon, N2 – 190. Perhaps two journeys have become confused here, since the different places seem to be in no order that makes geographical sense. Perhaps they were Bethlehem – Zachariah – Gaza, and (Bethlehem) – St. Matthias – Bethzur – "Aframia". Another strange feature of this chapter is that after being blinded Willibald appears to continue his journey.

ent to come to the place Diospolis, to St. George; it is ten miles from Jerusalem. Then he came to another village,³⁵ which contains the Church of St. Peter the Apostle, and is where St. Peter raised the widow whose name was Dorcas. After praying there he set out and came to the Adriatic Sea,³⁶ and the cities of Tyre and Sidon, some distance away from Jerusalem. The distance between these two cities is six miles, and they are situated on the sea coast. And from there he came to the city of Tripolis on the sea coast. And from there he set out for Mount Lebanon, and came to Damascus, and from there he came to Caesarea.

CHAPTER 26 — A.D. 725-6 From there he came for the third time to Jerusalem, where he spent the whole winter. And from there he went more than three hundred miles to the city of Emisa in Syria, and from that came to the city of Salaminias,³⁷ at the far end of Syria. He spent the whole of Lent there, since he was sick, and could not go to the sea to travel. The companions who were travelling with him went to the Saracen king called Mirimnus, wanting to ask him for a letter giving them permission to travel. But they could not find the king, since he had fled to the sea abroad from that district to escape the sickness and disasters which prevailed there.³⁸ Failing to find the king, they returned to stay together in Salaminias till the week before Easter. Then they went back to Emisa and asked the governor to give them a letter. So he divided them into pairs, and gave each pair a letter, since they could not all go together, but had to travel in pairs, because in that way it would be less difficult for them to obtain food. Then they came to Damascus.

CHAPTER 27 — A.D. 726

From there they came for the fourth time to Jerusalem. When they had been there for a time they came to the city of Sebastia, which had formerly been called Samaria, but this was later destroyed and the people built a village on the site of what had been Samaria, and named the village Sebastia. John the Baptist, Obadiah, and Elisha the Prophet now lie buried there. And near the village is the well where the Lord asked the Samaritan woman for a drink of water, and over the well there is now a church. And the mountain is there on which the Samaritans worship; the woman said to the Lord, "Our fathers worshiped in this mountain, and you say that in Jerusalem is the place where people should worship."³⁹ Then they played there, and travelled across the district of the Samaritans to a large village at the far end of it. There they stayed one night.

CHAPTER 28 — A.D. 726

From there they travelled across a great plain full of olive trees, and an Ethiopian went with them. He had two camels and a mule, and was taking a woman through the wooded country. And as they were travelling along, a lion met them, which opened its mouth and roared, and wanted to seize their limbs and eat them. To them he seemed a great danger, but the Ethiopian said to them, "Don't be afraid. Go straight on, and immediately they went on and came near it, and immediately it was urged by the God to move off elsewhere, and left their way clear ahead. And not very long after they had passed the place, they said they heard the lion give a great roar, because he wanted to eat the limbs of the numerous people who had gone out picking olives.⁴⁰ Going on from there they came to a city called Ptolemais on the sea coast. And going on from there they came to the Head of Lebanon where the mountain juts into the sea and makes a promontory. The Tower of Lebanon is there. No one arriving there without a permit can pass through the district, since it is a security area, and sealed off. Any traveller without a permit is arrested by the inhabitants and sent straight to the city of Tyre. The mountain is between Tyre and Ptolemais. This was the second time the bishop came to Tyre. Earlier on, when he was in Jerusalem, Bishop Willibald had bought himself some balsam and put it into a flagon. Then he took a cane which was hollow, and put it down inside, filling it with mineral oil. When he had put it inside the flagon, he cut the cane to the same height as the flagon, so that the edges were level with each other. Then he stoppered the flagon. And when they came to Tyre, the citizens arrested them and searched all their baggage in case they were concealing anything, and if they had found anything they would at once have inflicted on them the death penalty. So they held a thorough search of everything, but found nothing apart from this one flagon belonging to Willibald. They opened it, and smelt to find what was inside it. But when they smelt the mineral oil (which was on top, inside the cane) and failed to find the balsam (underneath the mineral oil, in the flagon), they left them alone.

35. Sc. Joppe.
36. This seems to be a confusion imported by Hugelburg.
37. Ms. Salamaitha, now Salamiya.
38. Many deaths are reported there in A.D. 725 by the annalist Theophanes for the year of the world 6225 (see page 100.54).
39. John 4.20.
40. The olive harvest is in late October and November.

CHAPTER 29 — A.D. 726-7

They waited a good many days there for a ship to be made ready. Then they sailed for a whole winter, from the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, until a week before Easter. Then they arrived at the city of Constantinople, where the three saints Andrew, Timothy, and Luke the Evangelist, lie buried in a single altar.⁴¹ John the "Golden Mouth" also lies buried there before the altar, and his tomb is where the priest stands to perform the Mass. Our bishop was there two years, and could see the saints' burial places every day from the cell which he had inside the church. And from there he went to the city of Nicaea, where Constantine Caesar once held a Synod (the synod attended by a total of 318 bishops). The church is like the church on the Mount of Olives where the Lord ascended into heaven, and inside it were portraits of the bishops who attended the synod. Willibald went there from Constantinople to see the way they had built the church, and then went back again to Constantinople.

CHAPTER 30 — A.D. 729 After two years they sailed away, with the messengers of the pope,⁴² and the emperor,⁴³ to the island of Sicily and the city of Syracuse. From there they came to the city of Catania, and from there to Reggio, the city of Calabria. And from there they sailed to the island of Volcano, the place of the "Inferno" of Theodoric,⁴⁴ and when they got there they went ashore, so he could see what the "Inferno" was like. To begin with, Willibald, eager to see what the "Inferno" was like inside, wanted to climb to the summit of the mountain so he could look down into it. But this was impossible, because the ashes . . . lay packed right up to the edge . . . in drifts on the summit of the mountain, and prevented Willibald going up. But he did see the terrible flame belching from the crater and rumbling like thunder, and the smoke being carried very high up into the sky. He also saw pumice (the kind which is used) coming up out of the "Inferno" cast up with the flame, and out into the sea, and then again being cast up by the sea onto the shore, where the people collect it and take it away.

CHAPTER 31 — A.D. 729-30 When they had seen this sight, they sailed on to the church of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, which stands on the sea shore,⁴⁵ and came to the mountains called Didyma.⁴⁶ They prayed there, and spent the night: then they sailed on and came to the city called Neapolis, and stayed there a good many days. It is the see of an Archbishop, and is a very grand place. And nearby is the village where St. Severinus lies buried.⁴⁷ And from there he came to the city of Capua. The Archbishop⁴⁸ sent him to a bishop in another city,⁴⁹ and this bishop sent him to the Bishop of Teano, who sent him to St. Benedict's.⁵⁰ It was autumn when he arrived at St. Benedict's.

CHAPTER 32 — A.D. 729-730 It was now seven years since he had started his travels from Rome, and ten years in all since he had left his own country. And when . . . Willibald and Tidbert (who had been travelling with him the whole time) arrived at St. Benedict's they found there only a few monks, and an abbot called Petronax. This man once began to instruct them, and himself set such a good example of the monastic . . . life that everyone was drawn to love and respect him. During his first year after arrival he was sacristan of the monastery, in the second year he was dean in the monastery, and after that for eight years he was porter for the two monasteries; four years of the one high up on the mountain, and another four of the one below, by the river Rapidas. It is two miles from this monastery to the one on the mountain.

- Thus ten years had gone by. . .
41. 30 November 726.
42. Since Easter Day 727 fell on 13 April this must have been on about April 6.
43. In the Church of the Holy Apostles, of which the site is today occupied by the mosque of Mehmed Fatih. The church was founded by Constantine to contain the relics of the three saints brought there from the Holy Land in 357 A.D. (Jerome, *adv. Vigil.* 5 — 339) and he himself was buried there. The church was rebuilt by Justinian.
44. Chrysostom, here in Latin, dress as *os aureus*.
45. Pope Gregory II (715 — 31 A.D.).
46. Emperor Leo III, the Isaurian (717 — 41 A.D.).
47. So called because in 526 A.D. a monk had had a vision of Theodoric being cast into the crater at the moment of his death: see Gregory the Great, *Dial.* 4.30 — *PL.* 77.368 f.
48. For roughening parchment so that the ink adheres to it.
49. On the island of Lipari: see Bauch p. 116, n. 214.
50. Now Salina.
51. Pizzofalcone.
52. Other sources do not indicate that Capua became an archbishopric until 966: see Bauch p. 117.
53. The only bishopric between Capua and Teano is Calvi.
54. "St. Benedict", that is, to Monte Cassino.

CHAPTER 33 – A.D. 739

102.35 So after this a presbyter from Spain, who was living there at St. Benedict's, asked Abbot Petronax
 103.1 for permission to travel to Rome. In seeking permission he asked for Willibald to go with him and take
 him to St. Peter. Permission was . . . granted at once, and when they had made their journey they reached
 5 Rome, went into the basilica of St. Peter, and . . . commended themselves to his . . . prayers. Then the
 holy Pope . . . Gregory III,⁵⁵ discovered that Willibald was there, and ordered him to come to him. And
 when he came to the . . . pope he fell down on his face before him and greeted him. And at once he . . .
 104.2 began to enquire about the progress of his travels . . . He at once told him . . . all about his journey from
 beginning to end. . . .

CHAPTER 34 – A.D. 739

9 Then . . . the pope . . . told Willibald that St. Boniface⁵⁶ was asking him to arrange that he, Willibald,
 should be sent him from St. Benedict's so that he could at once be given work to do amongst the Franks
 16 . . . Willibald promised immediately to carry out the pope's . . . request, if . . . he could ask his abbot's per-
 21 mission. The . . . pope at once replied that he need have no fears . . . and said "Even if I please to send
 Abbot Petronax off somewhere, he certainly has not the authority or power to refuse me!" Willibald at
 once . . . promised to obey the order.

CHAPTER 35 – A.D. 740

26 Then, at Easter, Willibald left there (he had arrived on the feast of St. Andrew), but Tidbercht went
 on living at St. Benedict's. He reached Lucca, where his father lay buried, and went on to the cities of
 30 Pavia⁵⁷ and Brescia,⁵⁸ and from there to a place called Garda.⁵⁹ At this point he went to Duke Odilo,⁶⁰
 and spent a week there, and then on to Suidger,⁶¹ and spent a week with him. From there Suidger and
 Willibald went on to St. Boniface at Linthard.⁶² St. Boniface sent them to Eichstätt so he could see what
 he wanted to do: Suidger handed the country of Eichstätt over to St. Boniface for the redemption of his
 35 soul, and St. Boniface handed it over to our bishop Willibald. None of it had, up till this time, ever been
 cultivated, and there was not one building there, apart from St. Mary's Church . . . This Church is still
 there, though it was then smaller than the second church which Willibald built later on.

CHAPTER 36 – A.D. 740

After they had both stayed for a short time there at Eichstätt . . . Willibald and Suidger searched for
 a place which would make a pleasant site for a dwelling. Then they returned to St. Boniface at Freising,
 40 and stayed with him there till all three of them sent back together to Eichstätt. And then St. Boniface
 ordained Willibald to the order of priesthood. The day on which our bishop Willibald was ordained to the
 priesthood was 22 July, on the feast of St. Apollinaris and St. Mary Magdalene.

CHAPTER 37 – A.D. 741

105.1 A . . . year later St. Boniface sent for him, telling him to come to him in Thuringia. Willibald . . .
 5 came straight to Thuringia, and stayed as a guest in the house of his brother Wynnebald, who had not seen
 him for eight⁶³ and a half years, ever since he had gone on from Rome . . . It was autumn . . . when
 Willibald arrived in Thuringia, and immediately he got there, St. Boniface (the Archbishop), Burchardt,⁶⁴
 and Wizo⁶⁵ consecrated him . . . bishop. He . . . stayed there a week, after which he returned to the place
 10 where he planned to live. At the time of his consecration as bishop Willibald was forty-one years of age:
 the season was autumn, about three weeks before the feast of St. Martin . . . at the place called
 Sülzenbrücken.

55. Pope from 731 to 741 A.D.

56. Boniface (680 – 754 A.D.) had been in Rome in 737–8: Egger 104.56.

57. Ticline.

58. *Prix* (which means Brixen) is a mistake for Brescia, which was the home town of Abbot Petronax; Bauch, p. 119, n. 242.

59. Cartha.

60. Odilo was Duke of Bavaria from 736 to 748 A.D.

61. Suidger was the duke in the Sualafeld and Nordgau area.

62. Upper and Lower Linthard in Lower Bavaria.

63. E. 105.40 points out that this must be "eighteen and a half".

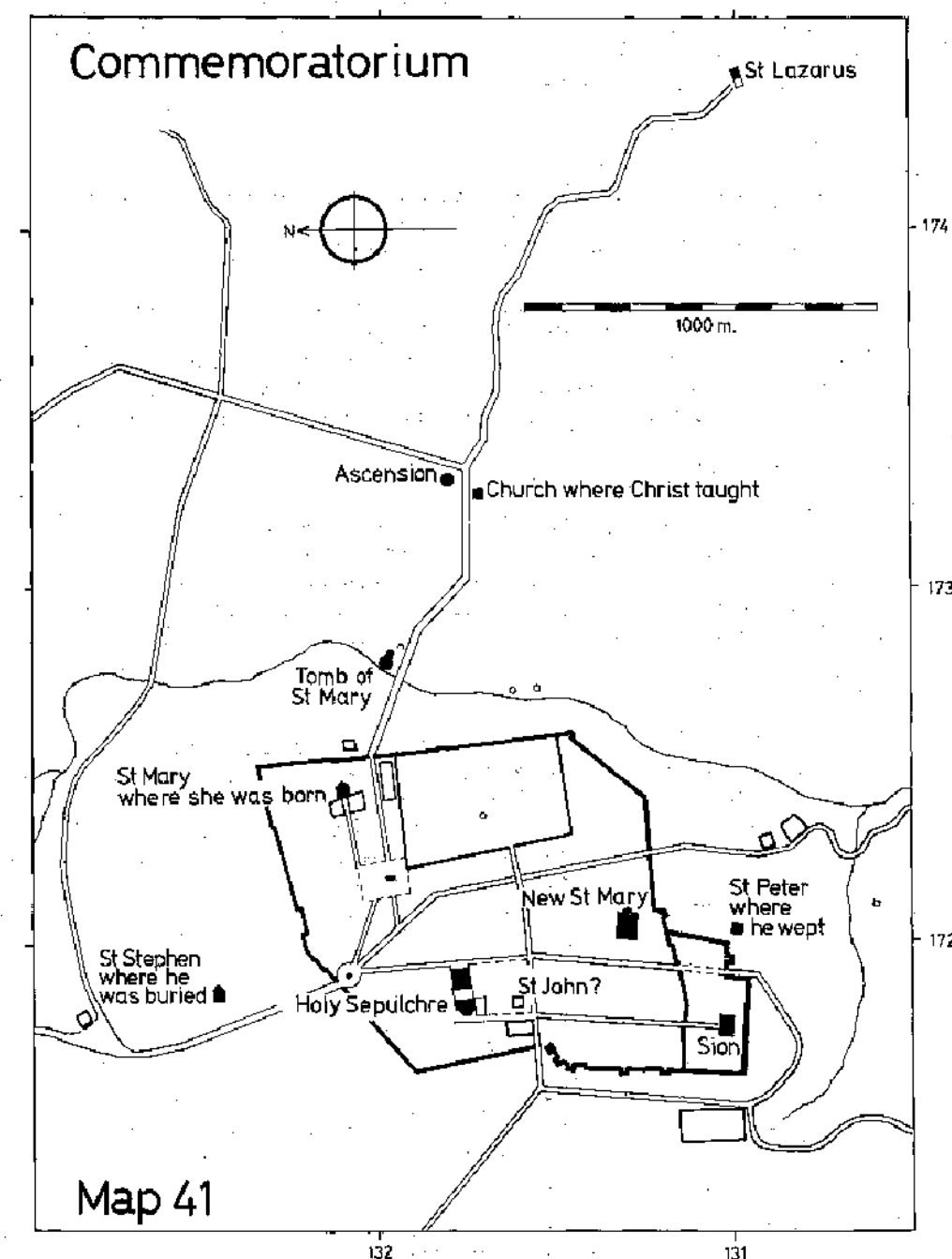
64. Of Würzburg.

65. Of Buraburg.

15

This lengthy account of Willibald's journey is now ended and done. It took him seven years. And we have
 attempted to find out about every detail, to set them all down and pass them on. We heard them from
 none other than him himself, and wrote them down at his dictation in the monastery of Heidenheim. I
 had as my witnesses his deacons and several other clergy of his.⁶⁶ I say this in order that no one ever
 again shall say it is all nonsense.

66. "of his juniors".



COMMEMORATORIUM (OR MEMORANDUM) ON THE CHURCHES IN JERUSALEM

Summary of a Memorandum on the Churches and Monasteries in the Holy City of Jerusalem and its Neighbourhood: also on the bishops, priests, deacons and monks who compose the clergy who minister in these Holy Places or in Monasteries of Women.

1 First at the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord: 9 presbyters, 14 deacons; 6 subdeacons, 23 canonical clergy, 13 wardens (called *fragelites*¹), 41 monks, 12 attendants who carry candles before the Patriarch, 17 servants of the Patriarch, 2 superiors, 2 treasurers, 2 scribes, 2 wardens. Priests who look after the Lord's Sepulchre: one for Holy Calvary, 2 for the Lord's Chalice, 2 for the Holy Cross and Headcloth, one deacon. One secretary who, after the Patriarch, controls everything, 2 cellars, 1 treasurer, 1 warden of the Springs, 9 porters, 150 people in all, not counting three guestmasters.

2 At Holy Sion 17 presbyters and clergy, not counting two who are dedicated to God as hermits.

3 At St. Peter (where the glorious Apostle wept) 5 presbyters and clergy.

4 At the Praetorium five.

5 At New St. Mary, built by the Emperor Justinian, twelve.

6 At St. Thaleleus one.

7 At St. George two.

8 At St. Mary (where she was born at the Probatica) 5 and 25 women dedicated to God as anchoresses.

9 At St. Stephen (where he was buried) 2 clergy, 15 lepers.

10 In the valley of Jehoshaphat, at the village called Gethsemane, where St. Mary was buried and her tomb is venerated, 13 presbyters and clergy, 6 monks, 15 nuns who minister there.

11 At St. Leontius one presbyter.

12 At St. James one.

13 At St. Quaranta three.

14 At St. Christopher one.

15 At St. Aquilina one.

16 At St. Ciricus one.

17 At St. Stephen three.

18 At St. Dometius one.

19 At St. John (where he was born) two.

20 At St. Theodore two.

21 At St. Sergius one.

22 At Saint Cosmas and Damian (where they were born) three; and (where they begged) 1 presbyter.

At the three churches on the holy Mount of Olives:

23 (1) The Ascension of Christ, 3 presbyters and clergy;

24 (2) The Church Where Christ Taught his Disciples, 3 monks, 1 presbyter;

25 (3) The Church dedicated to St. Mary, 2 clergy. Hermits living in cells holding offices in the Greek language 11; in Georgian 4; in Syriac 6; in Armenian 2; in Latin 5; in the Saracen tongue one.

26 Near the steps as you go up the holy Mount 2 hermits (one Greek, the other Syrian); at the top of the steps in Gethsemane 3 hermits, a Greek, a Syrian and a Georgian; in the Valley of Jehoshaphat one hermit and cells for twenty-six women.

27 From the Empire of Lord Charles, ministering at the Lord's Sepulchre, 17 women dedicated to God, one anchoress from Spain.

28 At the Monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul in Byzantium near the Mount of Olives, 35 monks.

29 At St. Lazarus in Bethany 1 presbyter.

30 At St. John (occupied by Armenians) 6 monks.

These are all in Jerusalem or within about a mile of it.

Note on monasteries in the Promised Land further away from Jerusalem.

31 At Holy Bethlehem where our Lord Jesus Christ condescended to be born of the holy Virgin Mary 15 presbyters, clergy and monks, 2 hermits who reside on columns following the example of St. Simeon.

32 At the monastery of St. Theodosius, (founded) by him in that desert, 70 monks. Basil is buried there. Saracen brigands burnt this monastery and slaughtered (many monks) there, and others (fled) because of the pagans. They destroyed two churches dependent on this monastery.

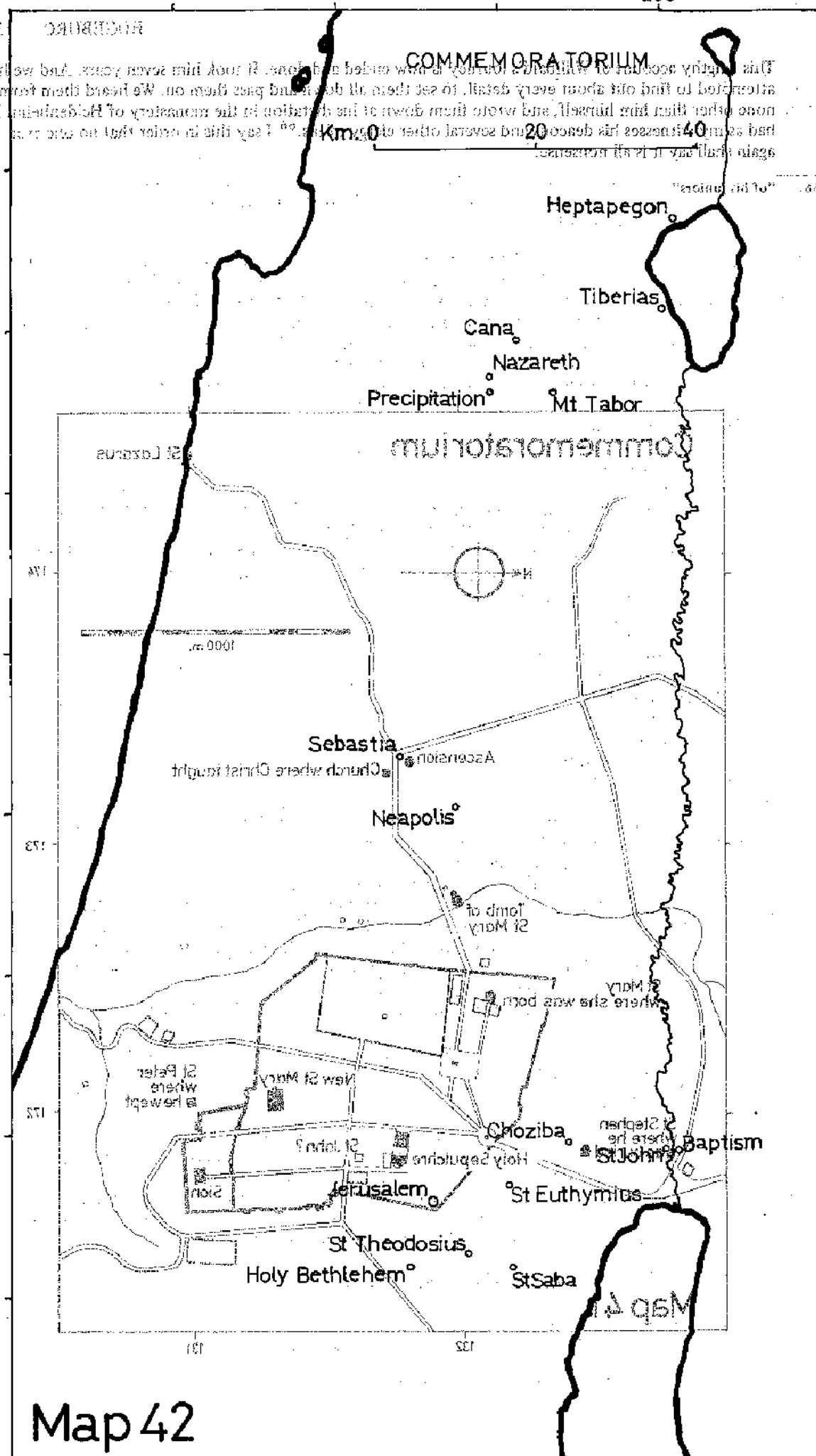
33 At St. Saba 150 monks.

34 At the small monastery built by St. Chariton a mile away from the saint's tomb an abbot called . . . monks.

35 (At St. Euthymius) 30 (monks).

36 At the Monastery of St. Mary in Choziba an abbot (called) Letus, (. . .) monks.

1. Du Cange derives this from Latin (through Greek) *fragellitae*.



Map 42

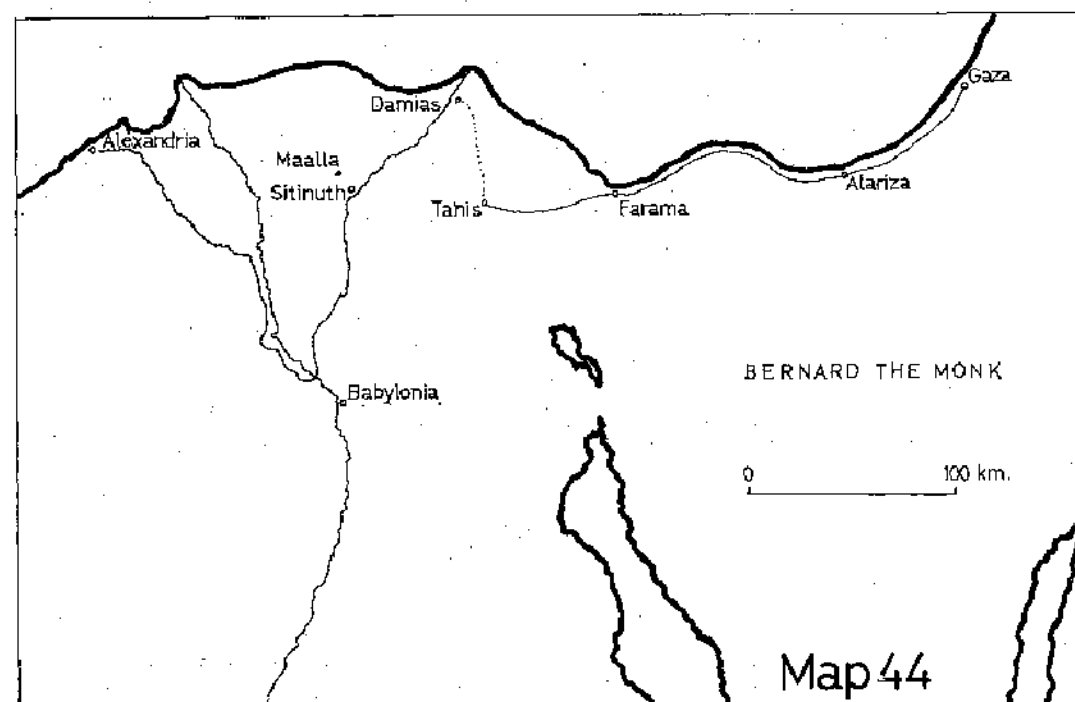
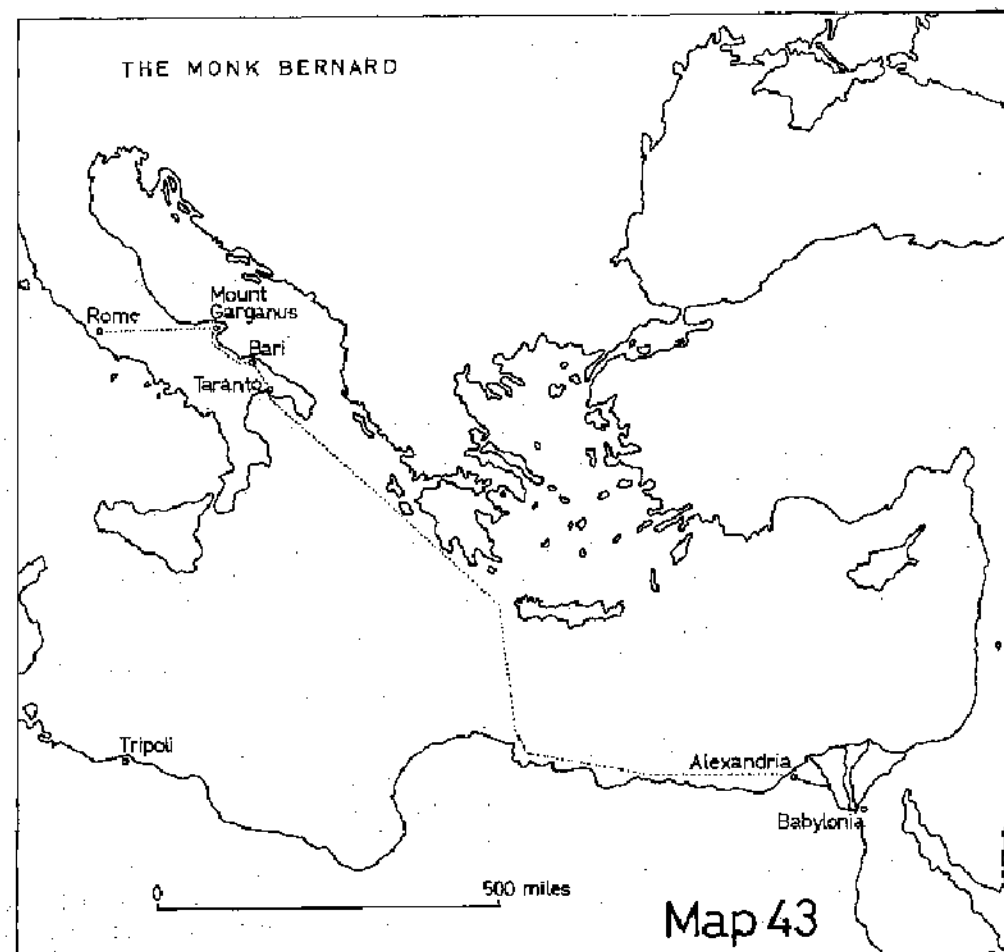
- 37 (At the Monastery where) John (baptized) 10 monks: St. Gerasimus built it, and the saint's own
body lies (buried there. He built the church there) and erected it as a chapel.
- 38 At the Jordan, the Monastery of St. John and another church where pilgrims go down to the river)
35 monks.
- 39 The Monastery of St. Stephen near Jericho was built by E(.....); and (the Monastery of
40) on Mount Paran: we do not know the numbers in these two.
- 41 In Galilee:
In the (holy) city (of Nazareth) 12 (monks).
- 42 One mile from Nazareth, where the Jews wan(ted) to cast the Lord Christ down, (a monastery and
church built in) honour of St. Mary, 8 monks.
- 43 In Cana of Galilee, where the Lord (made) water into wine (.... monks).
- 44 (By the Sea of Tiberias is a Monastery called Heptapegon; where the Lord fed his people, 5,000
souls, (with five loaves and two) fishes; 10 monks are there.
- 45 Also beside the sea is the Church called Of the Twelve (Thrones, and the Lord was there with his
disciples. The table at which he sat with them is also there. There are one priest and two clergy there.
- 46 In the city of Tiberias is (the bishop) Theo(dore), 30 (presbyters), monks and canons, 5 churches
and one monastery for women.
- 47 On the holy Mount Tabor the bishop Theophanes and (four) churches one in honour of the Holy
Saviour, where he spoke with Moses and Elijah, another of Holy Moses, a third of St. Elijah, and a fourth
(.....). There are 18 monks.
- 48 At Sebastia, where the body of St. John lies buried, there used to be a great church, but it has now
fallen to the ground. All that is left is the place of the glorious Baptist's tomb, which has not been entirely
destroyed, and the church where the prison was, and (where) he was beheaded. There is a bishop, Basil,
and 25 presbyters, monks, and clergy.
- 49 At Shechem, called Neapolis, there is a large church where the holy Woman of Samaria lies buried,
and some other churches. A bishop, clergy and a hermit on a column.
- 50 On holy Mount Sinai four churches:
(1) one where the Lord spoke with Moses on the summit of the mountain;
(2) another of St. Elijah;
(3) a third of St. (Elisha?).
(4) the fourth the Monastery of St. Mary: the Abbot Elias, 30 monks; there are 7,700 steps for climb-
ing up and down the mountain.
- 51 Going down from Jerusalem into the Valley of Jehoshaphat at the place of St. Mary's Tomb there
are 195 (st)eps; and 537 going up the Mount of Olives.
- 52 The Church of St. Mary which was (thrown) down by the earthquake and engulfed by the earth has
side walls 39 *dexteri* long and a facade 35 *dexteri* wide: inside it is 32 wide and 50 long.
- 53 The Church at Bethlehem is 38 *dexteri* long, (....) wide across the upper part of the facade, 22
across the crossing, 17 on the other end, and has 69 columns.
- 54 The Church of the Lord's Sepulchre has a perimeter of 107 *dexteri* and the dome (*alcuba*) 54. From
the Holy Sepulchre to Holy Calvary is 28 *dexteri*; from Holy Calvary to where the Holy Cross was discov-
ered is 19 *dexteri*. The whole range of buildings including the Holy Sepulchre, Holy Calvary, and St. Con-
stantine, is altogether 96 *dexteri* long and 30 wide.
- 55 The Church of Holy Sion is 39 *dexteri* long and 26 wide.
- 56 *The Annual Expenses of the Patriarch:*
630 shillings amongst the priests, deacons, monks, clergy, and the whole congregation of the
church;
540 shillings (for the servants);
300 shillings for church fabric;
140 shillings for the churches in the city;
580 shillings paid to the Sarac(ens);
(... shillings) for Saracen servants

DICUIL THE MEASUREMENT OF THE WORLD — Extract

- 23 (1) Never in the books of any author have we read that there was a part of the Nile which flowed
24 into the Red Sea. Nevertheless a brother Fidelis¹ said it was so when he explained to Suibneus (my master,
to whom, after God, I owe any progress I have made) about some Irish clergy and monks who were in
Jerusalem for the purpose of prayer, and who sailed to the Nile.
- (2) Then, after a long voyage on the Nile they saw in the distance the Granaries made by Saint
Joseph. There were seven of them, to match the number of the years of plenty: they looked like moun-
tains, four in one place and three in another. (3) At this point, as they were going across to admire the
three Granaries they found a dead lioness and, behind her, the dead bodies of eight men and women. The
lioness had killed them by her strength and they had killed her with their spears and swords, for both the
places in which the seven Granaries had been built were in the desert. (4) Next we had a careful look at
the three Granaries, and were once more amazed that from their foundation right up to their topmost
point they were made entirely of stone. The lower part of them was rectangular, but the upper part was
round, and the very top was as sharp as a needle.
- 25 (5) This brother we have mentioned measured one side of one of these Granaries, and it was four
hundred paces from corner to corner.
- (6) Then we boarded ships in the River Nile and sailed to the entrance of the Red Sea.² It is not
far along the Red Sea from that port eastwards to the Way of Moses, and the man who measured the side
of the Granary wanted to go on to the port where Moses and his people entered the sea: he did not wish
only to enter the port, but also wanted to look at the chariot-tracks and tyres of Pharaoh's chariot-
wheels. But the sailors did not agree to it. It looked to him as if the breadth of the sea at that point was
six miles.
- (7) Then the wind took them sailing up the western section of the Red Sea in the gulf which
stretches a long way to the north, which is the sea which prevented the people from returning to the Land
of Egypt and caused them to murmur in the desert. (9) Today I have found a passage in the
Cosmography written in the consulship of Julius Caesar and Mark Antony which says that part of the
River Nile flows into the Red Sea beside the city of Clysma and the Camp of Moses.³

1. A Léronne, *Recherches géographiques et critiques sur le livre "De Mensura Orbis Terrae"*, Paris 1814. Léronne
believed that Fidelis was in Egypt between 762 and 765 A.D.: see his introduction, p. 24.
2. This ancient canal, which originated in the days of Pharaoh Necho (609/594 B.C.) was put in order at the time of the
Muslim invasion by 'Amr Ibn el 'As in A.D. 640. The fact that it was finally blocked in 767 A.D. by Abu Ja'afar el
Mansur shows that Fidelis' visit was earlier. See Léronne, *op. cit.* pp. 20, 24.
3. The canal was also taken for an arm of the Nile by Egeria, *Tr.* 7.8 — 102.

BERNARD THE MONK A JOURNEY TO THE HOLY PLACES AND BABYLON



309 This is a journey to the Holy Places and Babylon by three monks, Bernard and his companions.¹

1 In the year 870² after the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ I Bernard joined two others, brethren in religious devotion, who wanted to see the Holy Places. (One of them was Theudemund from the monastery of Blessed Vincentius of Beneventum and the other was a Spaniard called Stephen).³ (France was the place of my birth).⁴ So we set off to Rome to see Pope Nicholas,⁵ and obtained from him what we wanted, permission to make our journey and his blessing.

310 2 Leaving there we went on to Mount Garganus on which stands the Church of St. Michael. Above it is a single stone on which grow oaks bearing acorns, and this church is said actually to have been dedicated by the archangel in person. You enter it on the north side, and it is big enough to hold sixty people; and inside, to the east, there is a representation of this angel. On the south is the altar which is reserved for offering the Sacrifice. No other gift is placed on it, but there is a kind of vessel hanging in front of it into which donations are placed, and this has other altars near it. The abbot of this place, Benignatus by name, was in charge of many brethren.

3 We travelled on a hundred and fifty miles from Mount Garganus to a city called Barris under Saracen control,⁶ though it used to be under the jurisdiction of Beneventum. It is on the coast, and is protected by vast walls on the south, while on the north it forms a promontory into the sea. In this city we went to look for Suldanus, the prince of the city, and requested that he would give us the right of passage, and furnish us with two letters to inform the princes of Alexandria and Babylon who we were and the reason for our journey. These are princes who fall under the authority of Amarmominus,⁷ the Emperor of all the Saracens, who lives in Bagada and Axinari⁸ which lie beyond Jerusalem.

4 It was a ninety-mile journey southwards from Barris to our port at the city of Tarentum. There we found six ships, and in them nine thousand Christian prisoners from Beneventum. Two of these ships set out for Africa with three thousand prisoners, and then another two, taking three thousand more to Tripoli. We boarded the last two, which contained a similar number of prisoners, and were transported to the port of Alexandria. The voyage lasted thirty days, but then when we wanted to go ashore the captain (whose crew numbered over sixty) prevented us. In order that he should grant us permission to disembark we gave him six guineas.⁹

6 So, continuing our journey, we called on the prince of Alexandria, and showed him the letter which had been given us by Suldanus. But it did us no good, even though he told us that he understood what it said. He made each one of us pay a fee of thirty dinars,¹⁰ and then wrote us letters to the prince of Babylonia. What was worse, there is a custom amongst that people that anything which can be weighed is only accepted by weight, which meant that six of our shillings¹¹ and six dinars only made three shillings and three dinars for them.

This city Alexandria is situated beside the sea, and there Saint Mark preached and carried out the

1. The earliest manuscript of the *Journey* has this title. The thirteenth-century manuscript preserved in Lincoln College Oxford, calls the writer "Bernard the Wise".
2. A glance through the footnotes to the text will make it clear that Bernard is speaking of people and events to be dated shortly before 870 A.D., the year which should have appeared in the manuscript. Instead some scribe rendered it as 970 A.D., which is the date we read in all extant manuscripts. A manuscript which rendered the date 870 A.D. was in the Cottonian collection of the British Museum, but was lost by the mid nineteenth century, according to T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, London 1848, p. xvi. Bernard must have set out before Pope Nicholas died in 867 A.D. These words are missing from the Rheims manuscript.
3. These words are included in the Rheims manuscript.
4. Nicholas I was Pope 856/67.
5. Emperor Louis II blockaded Bari in A.D. 869 and captured it from the Saracens in 871. After his death in 875 the city was occupied by troops of the Byzantine empire. See C. Diehl and G. Marçais, *Le Monde Oriental de 395 à 1081* (*Histoire du Moyen Age III*) Paris 1936, p. 440.
6. One of the titles of the Caliph was "Prince of the Faithful", 'Amir al Mu'minin', which no doubt accounts for the name Amarmominus here. The actual names of the Caliphs about the time of Bernard's visit were el Mu'tazz (866/9 A.D.), el Muhtadi (869), and el Mu'tamid (870/92).
7. The Caliphs never occupied Baghdad and Samarra at once. By 836 A.D. Baghdad had become so disorderly that Caliph el Mu'tasim moved away to Samarra: Baghdad was restored as the capital by Caliph Mu'tadid on his accession in A.D. 892.
8. Aurei, or "golden" coins. The reliable value of its gold currency made the Muslim empire a leader in international economics, and almost any European visitor in the time of the Abbasid caliphate would have had an experience similar to this one of Bernard's when he tried to exchange the much-debased currencies he brought with him.
9. Denarii, which were silver.
10. Solidi were gold.

office of pope. This saint has a monastery outside the east gate, and at the church there where he used to be buried there are monks. But the Venetians came by sea, stole his body from its guardians, and took it away to their island. Outside the west gate there is a monastery called At the Forty Saints, and there are also monks residing there. The city has its harbour on the north, and the Gihon (or Nile) flows in through the south, runs right through the city, and empties itself into the sea in this harbour.

We went aboard a Nile boat and after sailing for six days reached the city of Babylonia of Egypt. Pharaoh once reigned there, and during his reign Joseph built seven granaries which remain standing to this day. As soon as we went ashore at Babylonia the city guards led us away to the prince, a Saracen named Adelacham,¹² who ordered us to tell him the exact reason for our journey, and the names of the princes who had given us letters. So we showed him our letters from Suldanus and the prince of Alexandria, but it did us no good. He put us in prison. Then, with the help of God, we each paid a fee of thirteen dinars, and the letters he wrote for us were effective. They prevented all who read them in whatever city or place we visited from daring to extort any more from us, and this was because he was the second in authority after the Amarnominus of whom we have spoken. Even so whenever we entered any of the cities which we shall be describing, we were never allowed to leave until we had been given a paper or a stamp, and these cost us a dinar or two to obtain.

This city also has a patriarch, the Lord Michael,¹³ ruling by the grace of God over all the bishops, monks, and Christian people of Egypt. And this is the poll-tax which pagan law obliges Christians to pay to this prince if they are to have the right to live in freedom and security: the payment demanded is three guineas, or two, or one, or (from poorer persons) thirteen dinars. And any one who cannot pay the thirteen dinars, whether he is a native Christian or a stranger, is imprisoned either till such time as God in his love sends an angel to set him free, or else until some other good Christians pay for his freedom.

So we sailed back down the River Gihon for three days, and arrived at the city of Sitinuth. From Sitinuth we went on to Maalla, and from there we sailed across to Damias which has the sea to its north, and, apart from one spit of land, the River Nile all round. From there we sailed to the city of Tanis, where the Christians are very conscientious, welcoming, and hospitable. Indeed there is nowhere in the district belonging to this city which lacks a church, and they also point out to you the Plain of Tanis where there are what look like three walls: they are the bodies of those who were killed there in the days of Moses.

We went from Tanis to the city of Farama, and there, at the place to which the angel told Joseph to flee with his son and the mother, is a church in honour of Blessed Mary. In this city there are many camels, which the local people hire to foreigners to carry their baggage across the desert, which takes six days to cross. This is the city from which you enter the desert, and "desert" is the right name for it: it bears neither grass nor crops (apart from palm trees) but is completely white, like a landscape in time of snow. Along this route are two inns, one called el Bara and the other el Bachara,¹⁴ and travellers can buy what they need in the Christian and pagan shops there, but nothing grows in the land round them apart from what we have mentioned. After el Bachara the fertile land begins and stretches to Gaza, which was Samson's city, and is full of goods of every kind.

Then we reached el Ariza, and from el Ariza we came to Ramla, near which is the monastery of Blessed George the Martyr in which he lies buried. From Ramla we hurried on to the village of Emmaus, and from Emmaus we reached the holy city of Jerusalem, where we stayed in the hospice of the Most Glorious Emperor Charles. All who come to Jerusalem for reasons of devotion and who speak the Roman language are given hospitality there. Beside it there is a church in honour of Saint Mary, and thanks to this Emperor it has a splendid library, and twelve mansions, with fields, vineyards, and a garden, in the valley of Jehoshaphat. In front of this hospice is the forum, and any one who does his business there pays the person in charge an annual fee of two guineas.

Amongst the churches inside the city there are four of special importance, and their walls adjoin each other. One is on the east, and inside it are Mount Calvary and the place where the Lord's Cross was found; this one is called "The Basilica of Constantine". There is another one on the south and a third on the west: this one has the Lord's Sepulchre in the middle of it. Round the sepulchre are nine columns, and the walls between them are made of excellent stone. Four of the nine columns are in front of the actual tomb, and these (with the walls between them) surround the stone, placed by the tomb, which the angel rolled back, and on which he sat after the Lord had risen. It is unnecessary to write a great deal about this sepulchre because Bede says quite enough about it in his history.¹⁵ But it is worth saying what happens on Holy Saturday, the Vigil of Easter.¹⁶ In the morning the office begins in this church. Then, when it is over they go on singing *Kyrie eleison* till an angel comes and kindles light in the lamps which

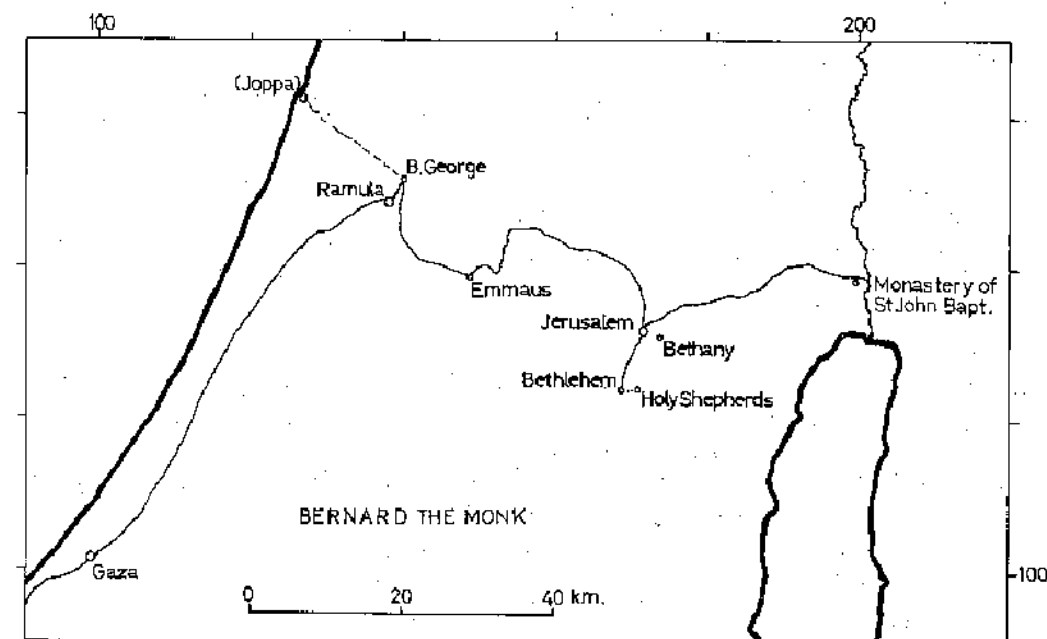
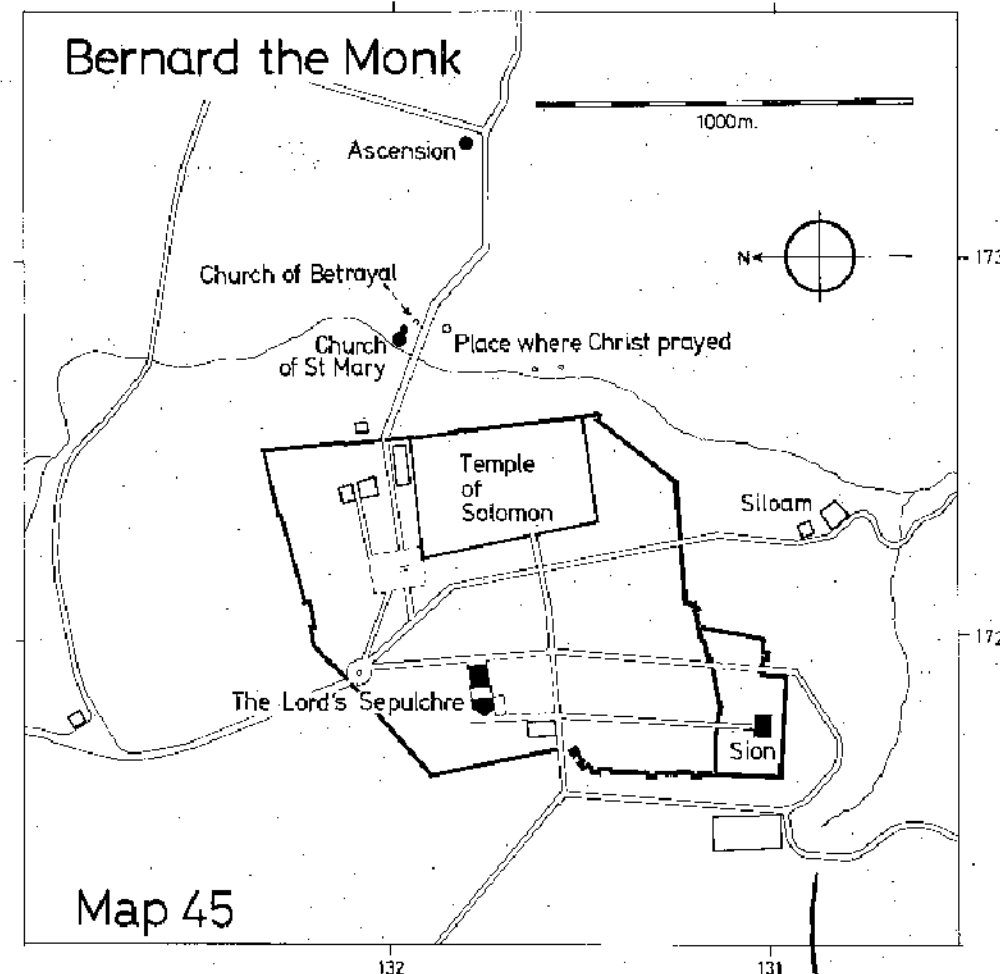
12. *Adelacham* looks like a rendering of 'Abd el Hakim. But the Prince in question was Ahmad Ibn Tuhm, who made himself independent of the Abbasid caliphate in 868 A.D. and extended his rule to Syria. This probably accounts for the effectiveness of his letters in the areas visited by Bernard.

13. Michael was Patriarch from 859 to 871 A.D. Though Bishop of Alexandria he resided in el Fustat, the capital of Egypt from its conquest in 641 to the date of the foundation of Cairo in 969 A.D.

14. The names do not correspond to known points on the modern road. They may mean "the Well" and "the Pulley" or "the Land" and "the Sea". See Tobler's discussion, *DTS* p. 405, and T. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 25, no. 2.

15. Bede in fact reproduces information given by Adomnan I. 2/8, and by Eucherius.

16. This is the first descriptive account of the ceremony of the Holy Fire, but it was already mentioned a century before in the *Life of Theodore the Sabaites*: see J. Phocylides, *Nea Sion* (1911), p. 230. See also *RB* 1911, 421.



hang above the sepulchre. The patriarch passes some of this light to the bishops and the rest of the people, and thus each one has light where he is standing.

This patriarch, Theodosius,¹⁷ was so renowned for the sanctity of his life that the Christian people dragged him out of his monastery, fifteen miles from Jerusalem, and made him patriarch over all the Christians in the Promised Land.

Furthermore these four churches have between them a garden without a roof, with its walls sparkling with gold and a paved floor of the costliest stone. From each of the four churches runs a chain, and the point at which the four chains join¹⁸ in the centre of this garden is said to be the centre of the world.

In this city there is another church to the south, on Mount Sion, called Saint Simeon's, where the Lord washed the feet of his disciples, and the Lord's crown of thorns hangs there. This is the church where we are told Saint Mary died. Nearby on the east is the church in honour of St. Stephen, where he is said to have been stoned. And eastwards again is a church in honour of blessed Peter, where he denied the Lord. To the north is the Temple of Solomon, which contains a Saracen synagogue, and to the south are the iron gates through which the angel of the Lord brought Peter out of prison, but these gates are not opened.

Going outside Jerusalem we went down into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, a mile away from the city, which contains the village of Gethsemane and the place of St. Mary's birth. A vast church has been built there in her honour. In this village there is also a round Church of St. Mary which contains her Tomb, but it has no roof and suffers from the rain. In that place there is also a church where the Lord was betrayed, and it contains four round tables at which he had supper. There is another church in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which is in honour of St. Leontius, and to this the Lord is said to be coming for judgement.

From this we hurried on to the Mount of Olives, on the lower slopes of which we were shown the place where the Lord made his prayer to the Father. Also on the mountain-side is the place to which the Pharisees brought the woman taken in adultery: it contains a church in honour of St. John where they keep some writing on stone which the Lord wrote on the earth.

On the top of this mountain, and a mile away from the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is the place where the Lord ascended to the Father. The church there is round and has no roof, and in the middle of it, at the place of the Lord's ascension, is an open-air altar at which they celebrate the rites of the Mass.

From this we went on southwards to Bethany, descending from the Mount of Olives for a mile. In the monastery church there is the Tomb of Lazarus, and nearby, to the north, is the pool in which the Lord told Lazarus to wash after he had been brought to life again. People say that afterwards he was bishop of Ephesus for forty years. Some way down the west side of the Mount of Olives can be seen a stone from which the Lord mounted the foal of the ass, and nearby to the south, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, is the pool of Siloam.

Moreover when we left Jerusalem and went over to Bethlehem, we arrived at the place of the Lord's Nativity (it is six miles from Jerusalem) and were shown the field where Habakkuk was at work when the angel of the Lord commanded him to take the meal to Daniel in Babylon (which is away to the south. It used to be the royal city of Nebuchadnezzar, but its only inhabitants today are serpents and wild beasts). Bethlehem contains a very large church in honour of St. Mary which has in the middle of it a crypt covered by a single rock. You enter it from the south and leave by the east. In it they show you the Manger of the Lord at the west end of the crypt, and at the east the place where the Lord uttered his (first) cry, at which there is an altar where the Mass is celebrated. Next to this church on the south is the Church of the Blessed Innocents who were martyred. And a mile from Bethlehem is the monastery of the Holy Shepherds to whom the angel appeared at the Birth of the Lord.

Furthermore to the east of Jerusalem, at a distance of thirty miles, is the Jordan, and above it the monastery of St. John Baptist. In that district there are also many other monasteries. And a mile west of the city of Jerusalem is the Church of St. Mamilla, which contains the bodies of many people whom the Saracens martyred and whom she buried.

Leaving Jerusalem, the Holy City, we went down to the sea, and after boarding a ship we sailed for sixty days. It was extremely uncomfortable since we did not have a steady wind. After this long journey we went ashore and arrived at the Mount of Gold, where there is a cave with seven altars, and it has a large wood above it. This is such a dark cave that any one who enters has to take a lighted lantern. The Abbot there was the Lord Valentine.

From the Mount of Gold we went on to Rome. In the eastern part of this city at a place called the Lateran is a well-built church in honour of St. John Baptist, and the Apostolic men have their palace there. It is the place to which every night they bring the keys of the whole city to the Apostolic man. And on the west is the Church of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, in which his body lies buried. There is no church on earth to match it for size, and it contains many different kinds of decoration. Countless bodies of the saints lie buried in this city.

In this city we parted company. Later on I went to St. Michael at the Two Tombs, which is situated on a mountain stretching two leagues out into the sea. There is a church in honour of St. Michael on top

of the mountain, and the high tide makes the sea surround the mountain twice a day, once in the morning and again in the evening, so that no one can approach the mountain till low tide. But on the feast of St. Michael when the sea comes to surround the mountain it stands like walls on the right and on the left. So on that day, but not on other days, a person who comes for prayer can reach the mountain at any hour of the day. The abbot there is Phinimontius the Breton.

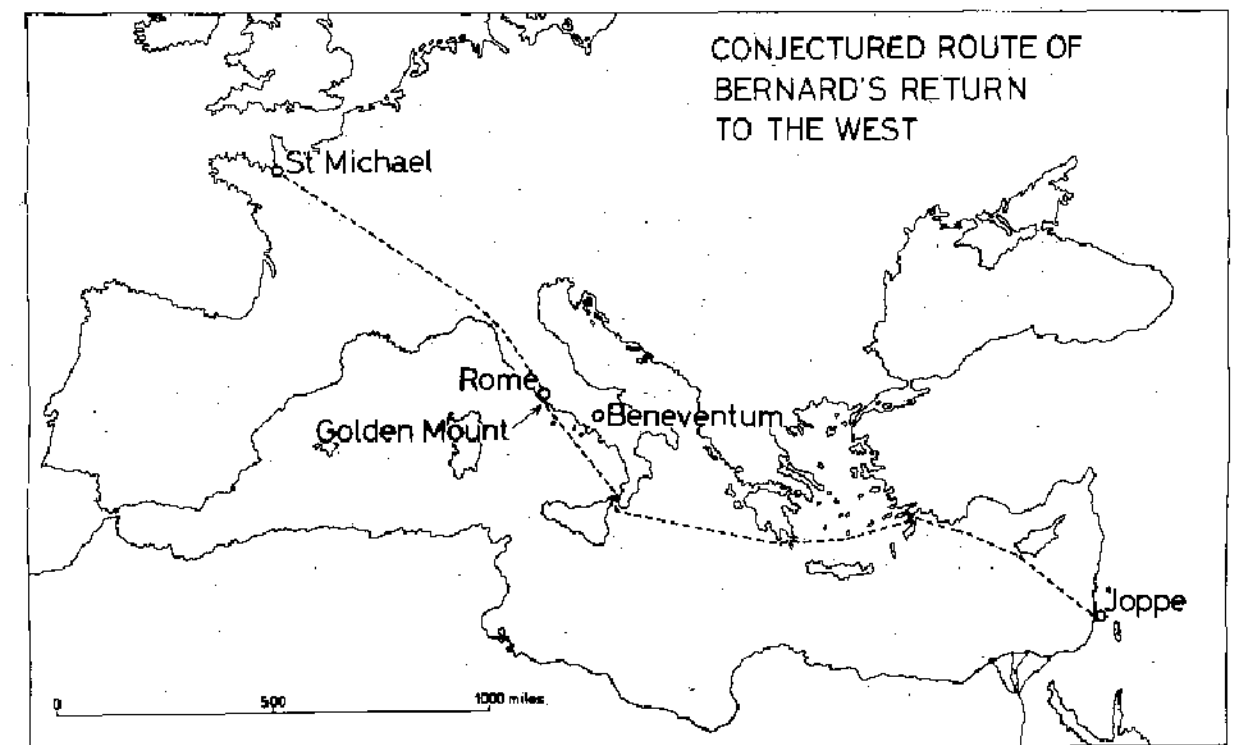
Now I must tell you how Christians in Jerusalem and Egypt can keep God's law. Relations between the Christians and pagans are excellent. Thus, say I were travelling, and the camel or donkey which your humble servant was riding died on the way, and I left all my belongings there without any one to look after them, and went off to the city to fetch another animal. I would find everything unharmed when I came back. Good relations means as much as that. But any traveller who stays in a city, or goes on a journey by sea or any other way is found by night or day without a paper or a stamp issued by one of the kings or princes of that country, is sent to prison there and then until such time as he can explain that he is not a spy.

In presuming to assassinate Sichard, their prince,¹⁹ the people of Beneventum trespassed gravely against Christian law. They were all the time torn by quarrels and disputes until they invited Louis, the brother of Lothair and Charles, to accept authority over them. So many acts of violence take place in Romania,²⁰ and its inhabitants are such unscrupulous thieves and robbers that people are unable to get to St. Peter's unless they travel in armed bands. But during the reign of this Louis there is complete peace in Lombardy, and the Bretons too are at peace with each other. I will tell you about one of their laws. If a person is injured by any one, and there happens to be some third person who saw what took place, he avenges the wrong done as if he were a relative, whoever he may be. And if any one is found guilty of stealing more than four dinars, they execute or hang him.

Lastly we saw in the valley of Gethsemane some masonry so well polished that one could see things reflected in it as clearly as when one looks in a mirror.

19. Sichard was the last powerful Lombard Prince of Beneventum. He came to power in A.D. 832, and was assassinated in 839, when he was replaced by his Treasurer Radelchis. In 866 A.D., just before the time of Bernard's journey Radelchis had accepted Emperor Louis I as his overlord.

20. Romania here seems to mean "the district round Rome." Contrast Epiphanius the Monk, *epitome*.



Map 47

17. Patriarch from 864 A.D. to about 880.

18. Reading *cateras* for mss. *caterarum*.

PHOTIUS
QUESTION 107 TO AMPHILOCHIUS – Extract¹

I.1 The saving Tomb of the Lord of all is one bowshot away from the ancient Jerusalem. Indeed blessed Helena, when she visited Jerusalem and cleared that holy place of the piles of rubbish and filth there, extended the buildings and the city wall. She started at a point on the ancient wall overlooking the saving Tomb, extended the perimeter, and enclosed the lifegiving Tomb within the enlarged circuit.

2 She also laid there the foundations of a holy sanctuary, so arranged that it enclosed the lifegiving Tomb as a separate feature in the middle of the Church. It took the place of an ambo, even though it was not used as one. Those intending to enter it have to pass through the sanctuary, and no one can enter the Tomb of the Resurrection unless he first passes through the gates of the sanctuary.

3 In fact this Tomb, the source of our immortality, though it is natural rock, has been formed into a tomb by masons. The rock has been hollowed out from east to west, forming a narrow chamber. The space thus cut away is high enough to take a man standing upright, wide enough only for one man to pass along, but long enough to take three or four standing there. Inside the rock chamber more rock has been removed to form a rectangular recess long enough to take a man lying at full length, and on this the faithful Joseph is said to have laid the sinless body of the Lord. What one might call the entrance or mouth of the tomb, where the workman began to cut in, has its opening facing east, so that it is on the west of any one who approaches to venerate.

6 The stone which originally rolled across the mouth of the tomb and closed it was long ago, it is said, broken in two. Part of it has been bound with copper, and stands next to the tomb, and the other part is placed on the west part of the gallery. This too receives its due veneration, lying there for all to revere. The stone bound with copper is anointed with holy balsam by the patriarch, which happens once a year. In particular after the Saviour's Passion it serves as a Holy Table. So much for the Tomb itself.

II.1 Now about the additions made for the sake of decoration – or rather, of piety. The tomb has columns the height of a man which are set on bases. On the left and on the right there is an equal number, five on the north matching those on the south, with not the least difference in their shape or size. Between these corresponding rows at the western end there is a column, but at the east there is nothing, so as to leave an opening in front of the mouth of the Tomb. On top of these eleven columns rests a rectangular arrangement of cornices which joins the columns, and to the top of these cornices (those on the east and west as well as those on the north and south) are attached the elements forming the roof of the tomb. But the maker avoided vaulting, and made a circular feature instead of an ordinary roof, joining the beams to form a kind of chimney. It was a tall roof, so that the upper end of the roof elements were more like the apex of a cone than a symmetrical roof. What we are now describing we learned from those who have taken the trouble to reside in that blessed place.

1. Text as numbered by H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem Nouvelle*, pp. 236–7, taken from C. Papadopoulos, *The History of the Church in Jerusalem* (Greek), Jerusalem 1910, pp. 339–40.

RODULF GLABER
HISTORY – Extract

680

At the same time from all over the world an innumerable crowd began to flock to the Sepulchre of the Saviour in Jerusalem – in greater numbers than any one had before thought possible. Not only were there some of the common people and of the middle class, but there were also several very great kings, counts, and noblemen. Finally – and this had never happened before – many noble ladies set out with the poor people. Many desired that they might die rather than return home.

It so happened that a man from the territory of Autun in the Burgundy area was among those who were travelling there. His name was Lethbald. When he had looked at all these most holy places he at length reached the place on the Mount of Olives from which the Lord ascended into heaven in the sight of so many reliable witnesses. This is where it is promised that he will come to judge the living and the dead.)))

There he threw himself down flat on the ground, spread out like a cross, and rejoiced in the Lord with unspeakable joy. Then, standing up there he raised his hands towards heaven, strained to reach it as close as he could, and gave utterance to these words, his heart's desire. "Lord Jesus", he said, "who condescendedst for our sake to come down from the throne of thy majesty to the earth to be the Saviour of mankind; who didst also from this place which mine eyes behold, robed in flesh, return to the heaven from which thou hadst come: I pray the supreme goodness of thine almighty power that if my soul is to depart from my body this year, I may not go away from this place, but that it may happen within sight of the place of thine Ascension. For I believe that as I have followed thee in the body in order to reach this place, so my soul, unscathed and joyful, is going to follow thee into Paradise". After this utterance he went back to the hospice with his companions.

Then came the time for the meal. The others sat around, but he went to bed, looking perfectly healthy, and like a person who was about to have a good sleep for a bit. Then, as he went to sleep he saw something or other, and immediately spoke in his sleep the words "Glory to thee, God! Glory to thee, God!" His companions heard him and told him to get up and have something to eat. But he did not want to, but turned over and said he was not feeling well. He lay there till evening.

Then he summoned his travelling-companions, asked for the life-giving Eucharist, and received the viaticum. He bade them a loving farewell and gave up the ghost.

Many return from the Jerusalem journey wanting simply to be admired, but he was truly free from that vanity. In the name of the Lord Jesus he trustingly asked what also he received. His companions told us these things when they came back here again.

THE GAZETTEER

The places and some of the buildings mentioned in the translations are listed in this gazetteer, and it is intended to bring together the topographical notes which would otherwise be scattered amongst the footnotes to the different texts.

The gazetteer is intended to draw attention to the position of places visited by pilgrims in the Holy Land, and to mention any main developments which took place in them between the end of the fourth century A.D. and the beginning of the twelfth. Earlier or later sources are sometimes cited where they offer useful information. For an exhaustive list of references to sources from the first to the early seventh centuries A.D. see P. Thomsen, *Loca Sancta* (reprint) Hildesheim 1966, and for a considered opinion on the main places mentioned below see F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 3rd ed., vol. 2, Paris 1967, pp. 233/492. The bibliography for the main excavated sites in the Holy Land is most conveniently available in *HUCA* 42 (1971), 1/96.

The more names we can include, and the more languages, the easier it will be for the reader to find his way to the information he wants. But the great difficulty in compiling a list of this kind is that there is such a wide variety of spellings in the sources themselves. We have therefore standardised all biblical names and used the spelling adopted in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, and it is hoped that the result will not cause difficulty. Names in capitals are those found in the translations, and an asterisk indicates a place in Jerusalem.

In the alphabetical arrangement we have ignored the definite article (*el* or *ha*) and the words for ruin (*Horva* or *Khirba*), hill (*Har* or *Jebel*), valley (*nahal* or *wadi*) and artificial mound (*tel* or *tell*).

Map references are not always given in the same form as those in the older sources quoted, since we give the numbers of the lines on the Palestine grid to the west and south of the point to be indicated. Occasionally we give an eight-figure reference, but usually remain content with six.

Where a church is mentioned without a date it belongs to the Byzantine period, and the word "synagogue" means a Jewish place of worship unless it is stated to be Samaritan.

References to Map 7 involve the use of Maps 7a and 7b and of Appendix 1.

ABARIM, the mountain area east of the Jordan containing Mount Nebo, where Moses died, Deut. 32.49. Mt. Nebo is regarded as being near to or identical with the Pisgah of Deut. 34.1. Christians commemorated the death of Moses at Ras Siyagha 218 130, a site at which the remains of a pre-Christian sanctuary have been found: see V. Corbo, *LA* 20 (1970), 277/9. The monastery built there was visited by Egeria, *It.* 12.1 - 106, and Peter the Iberian, *Life* p. 57 above, and continued in use until the Umayyad period, see S. J. Saller, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo*, Jerusalem, 1941, pp. 351/2. The site was occasionally pointed out to pilgrims after the fifth century (see for example p. 82 above and 1106 A.D.: 34 - 39) but we have no further records of any visits.

Abbad, Kh.: see Succoth.

ABDA: See George, Guesithouse of, and Map 1.

Abdallah, ash Sheikh: See Beit Natlif.

ABEL: See Abila.

Abil, Tell: See Abila.

ABILA, a member of the Decapolis in N.T. times, is mentioned by Theodosius, 24 - p. 70 above, as one of "the thirteen cities of Arabia", whilst the Abel which the O.T. places in Gilead, Jud. 11.33, was probably at Tell Abil. 231 231, Abila seems to have been nearby at Quweilba 232 232, a site with Roman and Byzantine remains (*AMJ*). See Map 19.

ABRAMIR: See Hebron.

ABDALOM, Tomb of, in Jordan Valley, p. 182 above; and see below, Jehoshaphat.

Abu Bureik, Kh.: See Kathisma.

Abud 158 158: Four churches, *CBC* 1/4 - 176, one of 6th, the rest of 7/8th c. (Schneider, *Oz. Chr.* 8 (1933) 155/9; see also B. Hagati; *LA* 10 (1959/60) 185/96). See Map 7.

Abu Faraj, Tell: See Kefar Qanayim.

Abu Ghannem, Kh., 1710 1259: 5/6th c. monastery chapel, *CBC* 98 - 105. Perhaps the monastery of Photinus or Marinus, V. Corbo, *TS* 1953, 52/7. See Map 7.

Abu Shushieh, Tell: see Gezer, Tel.

Abu Zenina: See Halfway Point.

ACCO: See Ptolemais.

ACELDAMA * The burial-place of strangers which was purchased, according to Acts 1.19, with Judas' thirty pieces of silver. In Matt. 27.7, 10 it is called the Potter's Field. From the early fourth century (Eusebius, *On* 38.20 and 102.16, corrected by Jerome *L. loc.* 39.27) to the time of the Latin Kingdom the site continues to be pointed out in the same place south of Mount Zion: thus William of Tyre, 1143: 8.2 - 323, says, "Jerusalem has to the south of it a valley called Ancon, which joins (the Valley of) Jehoshaphat, containing Aceldama". The site was near Silwan and not far from the present-day monastery of St. Onuphrius 1722 1303. See also pp. 84 above, *Madaba Map* 71 - 63 and pp. 93, 100, and 117 above. Pseudo-Jerome, writing perhaps in the early eighth century, *L.A. loc.* - 1297 says that some corpses there were covered with earth, while others roted in the open air. But in the following century Christian Druthmar, 870 A.D. 27.7 - 1486 says, "This very place is now called the Hospital of the Franks, since the (Saxen) king of Charles' time had some villas which he gave to Charles as a mark of friendship". The same properties are mentioned by Bernard 10 - p. 142 above, but as he there explains the Hospital or Hospital itself was inside the city, in the Munster immediately south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. See Maps 11, 30, 33.

ACHOR, THE VALLEY OF: where Achan was stoned, Josh. 7.24. Eusebius, *On* 84.20f. and 18.19 places it north of Jericho near Gilgal, which probably indicates the Wadi Nu'eims 185 146, as suggested by F. M. Abel, *OGog.* I. 406f. and our Map 10. Jerome's mention of this place in *Ep.* 108.13 - p. 51 above is the last in our period. See Map 14.

ACRABITTENE, the toparchy dependent on Acrabbi, now Aqaba 182 170. It is first mentioned in I Macc. 5.3 and then by Pliny, *H.N.* 5.70. The area was probably organised as a toparchy in the Ptolemaic period (see *CERP* 272) and in the fourth century A.D. remained a familiar name, since Eusebius in the *On* mentions as places belonging to Acrabittene Acrabbi, (14.8f), Eduma (86.24), Jano (108.20) Shiloh (156.29) and Shunem (160.13f). See p. 54 above.

Acre, Plain of. See p. 47 n. 6 above.

ADANA in Cilicia, which retains its name to the present day. See p. 71 above and Map 23.

Adasa, Kh., 172 137: church, *MP* 179/80 - 181. See Map 7.

ADER, TOWER: See Map 14 and Shepherds.

ADMAH AND ZEDION, p. 50 above: see Sodom and Gomorrah.

ADRA: Map 23, and see Asra.

ADRIATIC SEA, p. 126 above. At p. 132 above "Adriatic" is wrongly used for "Mediterranean".

ADUMMIM, in the fourth century A.D., this place retained a name close to the Hebrew of Josh. 15.7 (*am ale adommim*), if we are to judge from its current place-name "Maledomri", reported by Eusebius *On* 24.9. By his mention of a garrison there Eusebius indicates the castle at Tala'at ed Damm 184 136, but there are several other areas in the region where the soil is red enough to give rise to such a name: see L. A. Mayer, *QDAP* 1 (1931) 96. The place is not mentioned by any one later than Jerome (p. 51 above) except, perhaps, in the *Not. Dig.* 49 - 74. See Maps 9 and 14.

AEGLAE (now Ayas) a city of Cilicia mentioned by Theodosius, 32(a) - p. 71 above. See Map 23.

AELIA (CAPITOLINA): See Jerusalem.

AENON: See Jordan.

Afaq, Tel: See Antipatris.

AFRAMIA, p. 131 above: See Hebron.

AFRICA: See p. 141 above.

AGE MONS, p. 128 above: See Tabor.

AGRIPPA, THE ESTATE OF: This is the original form of the name given to the village where Ebed-melech slept for sixty-six years: see R. Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, London 1889, iii.10, etc., and compare Theodosius 6 - p. 65 above. F. M. Abel's elegant argument that this

place was Deir Sennah 1727 1309 is unlikely to be bettered, (see *RB* 1935, 61/8) but for the correction of one detail see J. T. Milik, *RB* 1960, 18 - 364 f. See Map 20.

AGRIPPIAS: See Anthedon.

Agur: See Ajlun.

AIALON, *Ep.* 108, 8.2 - p. 47 above. Biblical Ajalon, as Jerome suggests in *L. loc.* 19.16 (where he is correcting Eusebius) is to be identified with Yalo 152 138 (Hebr. Yalo), two miles from Emmaus-Nicopolis (see Map 14). Eusebius, however, who is followed by the Madaba Map, had indicated a place on top of the central ridge "three miles from Bethel", which he called Ailon, *On* 18.14 (compare *MM* 45 - 48 which may read Ailon). F. M. Abel, *RB* 1934, 355, suggests that this place may be Kh. 'Almil 176 136. Benjamin of Tudela, *It.* - 34, writing after 1173 A.D., who is the next to mention Ajalon, is certainly pointing to some other site on the central ridge.

AILA, see pp. 70 and 88 above. The site of the ancient city is now covered by the N.W. edge of Aqaba 150 882, see E. Frank, *ZDPV* 1934, p. 244 and plan 27. Aila controlled the intersection of valuable land-sea trade-routes and gained in importance in the late third century A.D. by being made the headquarters of the Tenth Legion. Muqaddasi still speaks of it in A.D. 925 - 206 as "a well-populated important city". See Maps 1, 24, 27.

Ailabon 188 250: a building with columns may have been a synagogue, *Guerin*, *Gallile* I, 359 and *RCS* 3 - 15. See Map 7.

AILOM, AILON: See Ajalon.

Ain Arrub 163 113: church, *CBC* 41 - 52. See Map 7.

Ain Berkit: See Berce.

Ain ed Dhirwa: See Beth-zur, and Map 38.

Ain Duk, or **Duyuk**, ed (Heb. Na'aran, or No'arah) 190 144: Synagogue, *RCS* 4 - 15. See Map 7.

Ain el Fawwar 183 138: chapel, *CBC* 43 - 53, probably belonging to a monastery. See Map 7.

Ain Hanniya 165 127: 5/6th c. church, *CBC* 45 - 55, and a niche over a spring which has been taken to be the one where Philip baptised the Ethiopian eunuch: see also Beth-zur, Maps 7, 38.

Ain el Jadida 1641 1294: late 6th c. monastery church. *CBC* 44 - 54. See Map 7.

Ain Jidi: see En Gedi.

Ain Karim: See En Kerem.

Ain Ma'mudiya 1539 1044: Baptismal chapel of the period of Justinian, *RB* 1946, 565. This site rather than Beit Ahun was the one likely to have been associated with the preaching of John the Baptist in the wilderness of Judaea, Matt. 3.1: see *RB* 1946, 572. See Map 7.

Ain el Qudeirat: See Kadesh-barnea.

Ain Samiya 182 155: Inscription of AD 557 on a limestone column mentioning Archbishop Eusebius (552 - 563 AD) and Emperor Justinian may come from a church building. *RBH* 1928, 37ff and *HM* 1253. See Map 7.

Ain Shems: See Beth Shemesh, Tel, Succoth (1).

Ain el Tabgha: See Seven Springs.

Aizariya, el: See Bethany.

Ajlur (Kh. el Inab; Heb. Agur) 142 121: church of late 4th or early 5th c. *CBC* 6-19. See Map 7.

ALARIZA, a place between Pelusium and Ramla: see Bernard 9 - p. 142 above. Though its position is not made entirely clear it seems likely that this is Rincocura appearing under its Arabic name of el Arish 035 060. Its last mention as Rincocura appears to be on the *Madaba Map* 132 - 75, and in lists of bishoprics. See Map 44.

Alayiq, Tulul el: See Jericho and Map 10.

ALBACHARA and **ALBARA**: two unknown ions and markets between Pelusium and Gaza. Albachara was at the beginning of the fertile land stretching to Gaza (see Bernard 9 - 142 f). Probably Albara was the Arabic name for Mons Casius and Albachara that for Ostrakine, since these would lie at intervals suitable for day's journeys.

Alcliyat, el, 175 141: the cave forming the monastery chapel of St. Firmus, *CBC* 48 - 60. See Map 7.

ALEXANDRIA, Egypt pp 52, 89, 110-11, 113, 119, 121, 141f, above, identified with No (Jer. 46.25 etc.) 52, 110: see also No. Its harbour described (after Hegesippus) 110-11: its ship-owners 82: its saints include St. Mark, 89, 110, 119, 141f; St. Athanasius, 89, 119; Saints Antoninus, Epimachus, and Faustus, 89; St. Apollinarius the Orthodox, The Five Virgins, St. John the Eleemon or "Almoner", and Saints Peter the Last of the Martyrs, St. Troilus and St. Vitalius, 119; and the Forty Saints 142. Dionysius Exiguus - 420 preserves a report from before A.D. 500, that in the time of the Emperor Julian the head of John Baptist was discovered and sent to St. Athanasius in Alexandria. His successor Theophilus built for it a basilica. See Maps 1, 16, 32, 35, 43, 44.

ALEXANDRIA SCABIOSA, in Cilicia, now Iskenderun Turkey, p. 71 above. See Map 23.

Alma 197 273: synagogue (*HM* - 1225) with Aramaic inscription, *RCS* 7 - 16. See Map 7.

Almit, Kh.: See Ajalon.

AMIDA on the Tigris in Sophene, now Diyarbakir, Turkey: p. 71 above.

See Map 23.

Amman, see Philadelphia.

Ammadim, H. (Ar. Kh. 'Umm el Amad) 189 247: Synagogue *RCS* 108 - 69. See Map 7.

Amud, H. (Ar. Kh. Umm el Umdan) 1751 2591: Foundations of chapel with apse and of other buildings, *HM* 1332. Fish-scale pattern in the apse mosaic seen before 1954 suggested a date close to the 5th c. (Survey para. 21, Schedule). See Map 7.

Amwas: See Emmaus.

ANASTA . . . , p. 71 above perhaps represents an original "Anazarbus", the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda. For its approximate position see Map 23.

ANASTASIS: See Tomb of the Lord.

Anata: See next entry.

ANATHOTH, in Jer. 1.1 the native village of the prophet Jeremiah. From

the fourth century identified with Anata (Heb. Anathoth) 174-135, three miles N.E. of Jerusalem; see Eusebius *On* 26.28, Epiphanius, *HM* 66-72, Jerome, *Jer.* 1.1-4, etc. It contained, probably by A.D. 384, a "tower where Jeremiah uttered the Lamentations" (*EgP* 1.2-186, and is regarded as his place of burial by Theodosius 6-65 (contrast *L. Proph.* (Jer.) 2-21). The Prophet's feast was observed in the village on May 1st during the Byzantine period (*AL* 53-172, *GL* 943-2.7), and the setting up of an altar on July 12th (*GL* 1086-2.21, if its reading *Anathoth* is correct rather than the *Aphthonoth* of C.P.G.). Remains of a Byzantine church are known (*CBC* 8-21; see Map 20), but there is no mention of any Christian building or observance in the Latin kingdom, and *De Situ* (A.D. 1130: 428), which constitutes the only reference from the Latin Kingdom, seems to be a literary echo of Jerome *l. loc.* 27.28.

ANAZARBUS: See Anata.

ANCONA: See Olives, Mount of; Bethphage.

ANCYRA, Galatia, now Ankara, Turkey. See pp. 67, 84 n. 33, above, and Map 13.

Anania: See Nob.

Antakya: See Antioch.

ANTARADUS, Phoenicia, now Tartus, Syria, the port used by both the Piacenza Pilgrim and St. Willibrod (pp. 79, 126 above) on arrival in Syria from Cyprus. See Maps 23, 25, 36, 37.

ANTHEDON, a city at the site now called el Blachia 098 107, which appears in lists of cities and bishops under this name (probably borrowed from the Anthedon in Boeotia) rather than as Agrippias, the name given it by Herod the Great (Josephus, *War* 1.86, cf. 416). See p. 65 above. It seems to have been the birthplace of one of Hilarius's monks (Sozomen, *EH* 439-50) and is last mentioned in c. 606 A.D.-51. See Maps 4, 7b, 19.

ANTIMUS, TOMB OF ST., at an unknown site in the region of the Jordan near Jericho: see p. 121 above.

ANTIQUO: See Memphis.

ANTIOCH, Syria, now Antakya, Turkey. See pp. 47, 54, 71 and 89 above; and Maps 13, 23, 28.

ANTIPATRIA, a small town with a place for changing horses (*mutatio*) in A.D. 333: 600.4-1 (63) which was already half ruined in A.D. 385 (Jerome, *Epi.* 108.8.2, p. 47 above). It appears to have occupied the site of Tel Afeq (Ar. Qala'at Ras el Ain) 143 168. It survived under the name Herod gave it rather than as Pansanba, its earlier name (Eusebius, *Chron.* II. 142) but seems to have been unimportant. It is last mentioned in c. 606: 51. See Maps 2, 7b, 14.

ANTINOI, mentioned as near Memphis in Egypt, p. 88 above. No place with any corresponding name is known there. Antinoe or Antinoopolis is 150 miles to the south.

ANTONY, MONASTERY OF ST. in Wadi el Arabah (Deir Antonius 890-818): see p. 119 above. See Maps 1, 35.

ANUATHU BORKAIOIS: See Borce.

APAMEA, the metropolis of Syria Secunda, now Qala'at el Mudiq in Syria, about forty miles east of Lattakia (Laodicea): see p. 77 (the nearby poor-house of St. Romanus) and 89 above. See Map 28.

APHELIUS, MONASTERY OF, mentioned on p. 77 above as in Palestine, probably near Jerusalem, but otherwise unknown.

APHONAEUM: See Map 16 for its possible location.

APOLLONIA SOZOUA: See Map 7b.

Aqaba: see Aila.

Aqaba: See Acrabittene.

Arab, Kh. el, 141 110: Remains of chapel with three apses, *HM* 1226: See Map 7.

Arabah, Wadi el: see Antony, Monastery of St.

ARABIA, the region which adjoined Palestine to the east and south, of which Trajan made Bostra the capital in A.D. 106. In about A.D. 357 the area to the south was re-organized as Palestina Sahariana and in about A.D. 429 as Palaestina Tertia (compare Jerome *QGen* 21.30-35.8 with *Cod. Theod.* 7.4.30, and p. 76 above) see also pp. 55, 70, 87, 88, 107; and Bostra.

ARABISSA, -US, in Armenia II, now Yarpuz, Turkey: mentioned p. 71 above. See Map 23.

ARADUS, Island, in Phoenicia, now Ruad, Syria: see 79, n. 3, and Maps 23, 25.

ARANDARA, see Elini.

Arav (Ar. Arraba) 182 251: small church destroyed by fire in late 5th or early 6th c. *RB* 1969, 409. See Map 7.

Arbel, H. (Ar. Kh. Irbid) 196 247: Synagogue, *RCS* 38-31. See Map 7.

ARCA in Phoenicia I, now Arqa, Lebanon: see p. 126 above, and Map 37.

ARETHUSA: See Antiochia.

ARFA (p. 55 above and Josephus, *War* 3.57) an unidentified village east of Trachonitis.

ARIEL, p. 49 above, a name for Jerusalem in Isa. 29.16, 7.

Arith: see Jericho.

ARIMATHEA, the city of the Joseph who buried Jesus, Mark 15.43: it is identified by Eusebius, *On* 144.28, with Ramphitis, now Rantis 152 159, but Jerome, *L. loc.* 145.29, seems to doubt this, writing "some say" Arimathea is Rantis. For the purpose of describing Paula's pilgrimage he accepts the identification, see p. 47 above. Jerome's hesitation may arise because he preferred Beit Rina 159 160 as Arimathea—or while agreeing with Eusebius that Arimathea was the same as the Arimathea of Judges 9.41, he may have located the latter at Kh. el Urna 180 172 south-east of Shechem; but we have too little evidence to be certain, and when another Arimathea is mentioned by Daniel in 1106 A.D.: 74-58 it is west of Shechem. Theodoret in 1172:36-84 evidently accepted the identification with Rantis q.v. See also Ramathaim Zophim. See Map 14.

Arish, el: See Alariza.

Aristobolija, H.: See Istabul, Kh.

ARISTOSA, perhaps Arethusa (now er Restan) in Syria: see p. 89 above, and Map 28.

ARIZA: See Alariza.

ARMATHEM: p. 100 above: see Ramathaim-Zophim.

ARMENIA: pp. 67, 70 above.

ARMONA: See Jordan, and Maps 10, 22.

Arqa: See Arca.

Ararab: See Arav.

ARSENIOUS, TOMB OF ST., at the site of the ruined monastery at Tura five miles south of Cairo: see p. 119 above, and Maps 1, 35.

Arsof: See Roshaf.

ARUMAH: See Arimathea.

ASCALON (Urb. Ashkelon, Ar. Asqalan) 107 119. An ancient city of the Philistines (see above pp. 54, 65) which retained its importance despite the fact that it was repeatedly destroyed (e.g. in 635 A.D., Baladur 140 and in 797, Stephen of St. Saba 167). Origen (*C. Cel.* 4.44-4. Borro 1.297) is the first of many to mention its marvellous wells, but they appear from what he says about their "unusual character" compared with other wells and from the phrasing of the Piacenza Pilgrim (p. 85 above) to have been remarkable as much for their unusual shape as for the belief that they had been dug by Abraham (see Gen. 26.17/22 and note the "Well of Abraham" at Ascalon mentioned after 1173 A.D. by Benjamin of Tudela 44.) The Madaba Map (see Map 12) shows part of the city plan before the Muslim conquest, but none of the numerous religious buildings inside the walls, which included a Tomb of Saints Cosmas and Damian (p. 119 above) a great church of St. Mary al Khidr which was destroyed when the Muslims captured the city in A.D. 641 (Yahya 140) and a "Guesthouse of the Fathers" (John Moschus 189-3068.) Outside the walls was the Tomb of the Three Egyptian Martyrs (p. 85 above and *MM* 94.70. The remains of three churches are known, *CBC* 9, 10-22 (No. 9 of the 7/8th c.) and there is a mosaic dated 597 A.D., *R.B.* 1968, 414. Elements of synagogues found in the city are listed in *RCS* 11-17. Two otherwise unrecorded biblical associations for the city are mentioned by Epiphanius the Monk, p. 119 above. See Maps 4, 7b, 19, 24, 26, 34, 35.

ASCENSION: See Olives, Mount of.

ASER, now Tayasir 187 194: See Map 8.

ASHDOD, Ashdod Yarm: See Azotus.

ASIA: See above pp. 70, 111, 113, 126.

Ashkelon: See Ascalon.

Askur: See Sychar.

ASPHALT LAKE: See Dead Sea.

Asqalan: See Ascalon. Nahr Asqalan, see Maiurnas (1).

ASTRA, one of the "thirteen cities of Arabia" mentioned by Theodosius, p. 70 above. It may be the same as Adra (the "Safira" of *Eg. Tr.* 12.8-108) and represent biblical Edrei, now Dara's 253 224.

ATHLEF, ATHEMBIS or ATHLIBIS, now Tell Athrib near Benha, Egypt: p. 88 above.

Atuba, Kh. 139 123: a church thought to be one of those built by the Empress Eudokia was visible here in the nineteenth century: *Gülden, Judee* 2, 98. The village was called Bithlucibim (Sozomen, *EH* 9.17-407f) or Kefr Turban (John Rufus, *Assur* 39-90 and *Death Theod.* 7-18) and contained a Church of the prophet Zachariah. For this identification see *RB* 1929, 427. See also Caphar Zacharia, and Map 7.

Athrib, Tell: See Athlef.

AUGUSTA, p. 51 above: see Sebaste.

Aurun, Burgundy, p. 147 above.

Avdat: See George, Guesthouse of.

Avkhat: See Euchaia.

AXINARRI, Now Samarra, Iraq, p. 141 above.

Ayaz: see Agiae.

Ayon Musa: See Uyun Musa.

Aziz, Kefar or Kh., see Uzeiz, Kh.

AZOTUS seems to have had no importance for pilgrims. Inland Azotus Hippinus (Tel. Ashdod, Ar. Isdud, 1173 1292) which is shown as a walled village on the Madaba Map (Ashdod 92-70), appears in lists of bishoprics and the existence of a synagogue is suggested both by Jewish symbols found on the stone slab recorded in *RCS* 12-18 and by the fifth-c. inscriptions *SHG* 8.146 and 20.473. Seaside Azotus Paralus was a city, at H. Ashdod Yarm, Ar. Minat el Qila, 114 132. Part of its city plan appears on the Madaba Map 93-70. No doubt the latter is the site intended in sec. 17, p. 54 above. On p. 84 "Azotus" means Diospolis. See Map 7b.

Bablos: See Heliopolis.

BABYLON or BABYLONIA. Babylon in Iraq is mentioned twice in our texts, at pp. 71 and 144 above. The other mentions of Babylon or Babylonia all refer to Fustat or Old Cairo in Egypt, for its name see *EgP* Y.2-204, n. 5. See also pp. 88, 119, 141 and 142 above, and Maps 1, 27, 35, 43, 44.

BACATA, Josephus *War* 3.39 and p. 119 above, is identified with Beqin, (q.v.).

BACHARA, EL, p. 142 above: an inn on the highway between Pelusium and Raphia, perhaps Ostrakine: see Albachara.

BAETOGRABRI: See Eleutheropolis.

BAGADA, now Baghdad, Iraq: p. 141 above.

Bahan 151 195: 6th c. monastery church with mosaics selectively destroyed, perhaps in 9th c. *CBC* 14-26. See Map 7.

Bahr Maryut: See Maroutis, lake.

BAHURIM, a place to the east of the summit of the Mount of Olives, 2 Sam. 16.1.5: the name means "low grounds". Its location is suggested by the Piacenza Pilgrim, 16, p. 83 above as being to the north of the ancient road junction surviving as the tracks which join at 1745 1327, namely at Ras el Urnim 174 133. See Map 9.

BALA or BELA, equated with Zoar, Gen. 14.2: see p. 50 above.

Balut: see Miletus.

Balata, Tell: See Shechem, Sychar.

Balis: See Barbalissus.

Banaya, Kh.: See Hazor Ashdod.

Banias: See Panias, Jordan.

Bani Na'im: See Caphar Baruch.

BAPTISM, PLACE OF: See Jordan.

BARA, el, between Pelusium and Gaza, perhaps Mons Casius: see Albachara.

Bar'am: see Kaf. Bithim.

BARBALISSUS/SSA in Euphratensis, now Balis in Syria. The main sanctuary of St. Sergius was at Rusafa, while at p. 89 above Barbalissus is treated as the burial-place of St. Baruch: at p. 71 above it is treated as the place where both saints were put to death. Maps 23, 28.

Bar: See Barris.

Bara'ish, Kh. 152 161: Ruins of church, columns, bases, tessellated pavement, carved lintels, *HM* 1231. Probably Byzantine. See Map 7.

BARRIS in Aquila, now Bar: see p. 141 above and Map 43.

Basal, Kh. el 140 114: columns suggest the existence of a Byzantine church. With Jeremiah, *Hg.* p. 86 (and *Hg. Tr.* p. 203, n. 2) compare *Morasthi*, below, and see Map 7.

BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE: see Tomb of Christ.

Bassa, el: See Bezel.

Basat el Khanarr: See Map 9.

Basul, Tell 1949 2125: Early 5th c. monastery chapel deserted in early 7th c. *CBC* 175-178. See Map 7.

Barah, H. (Ar. Kh. Bar as Sih) Remains of church with apses (not dated, but likely to belong to Byzantine period) *HM* 1232. See Map 7.

Battir (Heb. Betar) 163 126: 6/7th c. Christian mosaic may be from a church. See *RB* 1910, 255 and *MP* 13-142. See Map 7.

Banbariya, Kh. el: See Sheikh Shala.

BEER-SHEBA 100.072 is mentioned by Eusebius, *On* 50.1 as a large village with a garrison (see *Nor. Dig.* 49-73), and served as the administrative centre of the Times Palaestinae. Hence it appears as a small town with the plan shown on *MM* 98-71. The map (like Eucherius, 16-p. 53f above) speaks of it as the southern boundary-mark of the Promised Land (see e.g. 2 Sam. 3.10). A "Well of the Oath" (= Beer-sheba, Heb.) dug by Abraham and Jacob between St. Zachariah's and Ascalon, and thus not the boundary-town, is mentioned by the Pilgrim of Piacenza 32-p. 85 above. Two of the church sites there are shown on the map in *R.B.* 1903, 425, one (p. 427) dated 613 A.D. and the other (p. 428) 518 A.D. See Maps 7, 24. For Beer-sheba by the Sea of Galilee see Seven Springs.

Beida, Kh. Tell el, 146 117: Foundations of buildings, carved lintels, column fragment with cross, *MM* 1233: probably site of a Byzantine church. See Map 7.

Beirut, see Berytus.

Beisan: See Scythopolis.

Beit Ailun, Kh. 162 108: church, *CBC* 101-107. See also Ain Ma'mudiya. See Map 7.

Beit Alfa (Heb. Hefzi-bah) 191 214: Synagogue, *RCS* 15-19 with 6th c. mosaic floor *SEG* 8.93. See Map 7.

Beit Amra, Kh. (Kh. Beit Amra) 155 095: Remains of two churches, column shafts, lintels, *HM* 1234: probably Byzantine. See Map 7.

Beit Awna 145 102: Remains of an apse, foundations, columns, font, *HM* 1234: probably Byzantine. See Map 7.

Beit Iksa: See Map 20 and Beit Thapsha.

Beit Imra: See Beit Amra.

Beitir: See Bethel.

Beit Iskabel: See Eschcol.

Beit Jala 168 125: Rock-cut cell with mosaic beneath church of St. Nicholas was probably a tomb-cave: see *RB* 1923, 261 ff. See Map 7.

Beit Jibrin: See Eleutheropolis.

Beit Jinal 147 125: 5/6th c. church probably associated with monastery, *CBC* 16-28. For the arguments against this site being the Caphargamala where the remains of Saint Stephen were found, see *RB* 1919, 246. See also Map 7, and Jacumala.

Beit Kahel: See Eschcol.

Beit Lahm: See Bethlehem, Bet Lahem ha Ceilili.

Beit Leir, Kh. (Heb. H. Beit Loya) 143 108: chapel; Macalister, *PEQ* 1901. See Map 7.

Beit Marjeh, Kh.: See Ozren.

Beit Mirsim, Tell: See Kirithi-sephor.

Beit Natif 148 122: Narthex of 5/6th c. church at Wadi of Sheikh Abdallah, *QDAP* 4 (1935) (= *MP* 369-187). See Map 7.

Beitir Raz: See Cardulias.

Beit Rima: See Almatheba, and Map 14.

Beit Sahur: See Jerusalem 3.8. (10), and Shepherds, Church of the.

Beit Shahr, Kh.: See Beit Shahr.

Beit Sikariya 161 118: Capitals (*HM* 1237), one with a basket-work design, suggest a late Byzantine church. See *SWP* 3.109, and *RB* 1895, 254: also Map 7.

BEIT THAPSHA, an unidentified village five miles north of Jerusalem, with deep springs containing fish: see p. 58 above. See L. Dolokot, "An early Byzantine Fishpool near Jerusalem", *ZDPV* 84 (1968) 85, suggesting that the village might have been in Wadi ed Damun 170 138, Map 20.

Beit Unmar 159 114 is the place where Muslims honour Nebi Marfa, and might therefore be the "Saint Matthias" of p. 131 above (see Jerome, *Hg.* 34-88). But Marfa in this case would be a confusion, since this name is used by Muslims not for Matthias but for Amittai, the father of Jonah.

Beit Ur et Tahta 158 144: chapel at Kh. er Ras, *CBC* 15-27. See Map 7 and Beit Horon.

BELA: See Balis.

Belvoir (Heb. Kokhav ha Yarden, Ar. Kaukab el Ilawa) 199 223: 3/4th c. stones from a synagogue, *RCS* 72-45. See Map 7.

BENEVENTUM, now Benevento, thirty-five miles N.E. of Naples, Italy: see pp. 125, 141f, and 145 above: Map 47.

Benhar: See Athlof.

BENJAMIN, GATE OF: pp. 63, 69, 95 above.

BERATHISATIA: See Morasthi.

Berdan: See Calunmy, Well of.

BERYTUS, a Roman Colony visited by Jerome (p. 47 above) now Beirut, Lebanon: the Piacenza pilgrim, 1-79 above describes conditions there after the earthquakes of 551 and 554 A.D. Maps 2, 13, 23, 25.

Bet Anaya: See Nob.

Betar: See Battir.

Bet Bad, H. (Ar. Kh. Umur er Ras) 152 121: church, *CBC* 120-127, dedicated to St. John, *MP* 326-45 (= *SEG* 8.228). See Map 7.

Bet Behor: See Kathisma.

Bet Dikrin, H.: See Caphar Zacharia.

Bet Govrin: See Eleutheropolis.

BETHABARA (or BETHANY) beyond the Jordan: See Jordan.

BETHANY, now el Aizariya 174 130. The site is two miles from Jerusalem (as required by John 11.18) and remains suggest that the site of the N.T. period included the area bounded on the north by the churches flanking the mosque 1743 1309, and on the south and east by the main road: see S. J. Saller, *Excavations at Bethany 1949-1953 (PSBF 12)* Jerusalem, 1957 pp. 139/58 and 159 ff. Eusebius, *On* 58.15 speaks of Bethany's "Place of Lazarus", which was evidently a rock tomb (*Bord.* 596.1-160) also mentioned c.450 (Basil of Seleucia-29). Egeria (see *Tr.* p. 53) implies the existence of a church there in 381 A.D. and calls it the Lazarium. This name was also used for the village (as by Cyr. Scyth. *VEuth* 16.8) and provides the original form of the present Arabic name. The church was used by all the Jerusalem Christians on the day before Palm Sunday (*Eg. Tr.* 29.5-131 f., *AL* 33-265; p. 70 above; *GL* 571-1.80; Typ. 12). But its familiarity to pilgrims arose from its inclusion in the Jerusalem circuit, and it is thus mentioned frequently during our period: see pp. 50, 58 (where the Syriac translator presumably misunderstood *Lazarium* in the original Greek), 65, 83, 92, 93, 101, 120, 144. This church was rebuilt in the fifth century: see *CBC* 18 a/b-29 f. Saint Jerome says (p. 50 above) that Paula visited the "guest room of Mary and Martha", (which is unlikely to be literally a hospice: compare the phrase "Inn of Mary" at Bethlehem, p. 49 above), attached to the church. A monastery was there in our period (see pp. 101, 137 and 144 above), and a second church was built in the time of the Latin Kingdom, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, who was taken to be the woman mentioned in Matt. 26.7: see *De Situ* 1130 A.D.: 414. There seems still to have been only one church in 939 A.D. since Euthychius of Alexandria then seems to group all the commemorations of Bethany in a single building: *Dem.* 330-141. A cave showing evidence of religious use in our period has been discovered to the west of Lazarus' tomb (*RB* 1951, 205, 249), but its dedication is unknown, and there is nothing to demand that it should be identified with the pool mentioned by Bernard, p. 288 above. See Maps 14, 17, 20, 26, 29, 30, 33, 34, 41, 46.

BETHAR, a village near Bethel, q.v.

BETHEL, now the village of Beitin 172 148, was the place near Bethar (*Bord.* 588.7-155) or "Bethlaim" (Epiphanius, *HM*

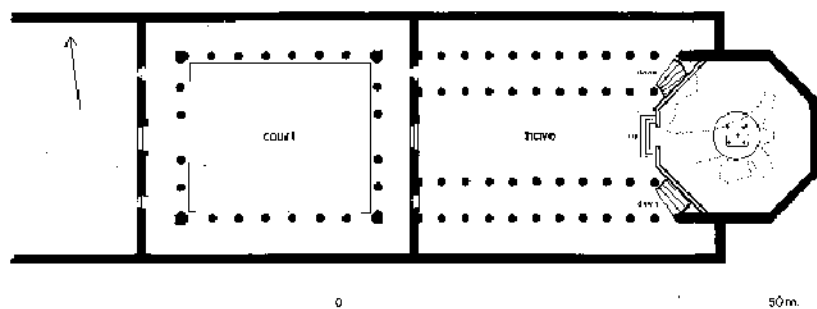


Fig. 1. Bethlehem: a reconstruction of Constantine's Church

sanctuary rail (as noted by B. Bagatti *GH Antichi Edifici*, Jerusalem 1952, pp. 33-41).

Jerome had a habit of referring to the building (or perhaps the cave) by the general title 'the Inn of the Virgin' (p. 49 above; compare *Rp.* 46.11 - 341 and *Rp.* 77.2 - 55). Round the church congregated many monks, for whom see *Ep. Tr.* 25.12 - 128 and pp. 52, 77, and 85 above. John Cassian tells us that he lived in one of the monasteries close to the church (*Int.* 4.31 - 70), and besides monasteries, Paula and Jerome also built guest-houses. All this seems to have made the village seem cramped (p. 53 above), and all the more when (as we may assume from the *Life of Barsanubius* (1914) 121), the Empress Eudokia built herself a palace (here in the mid-fifth century).

In about 531 A.D. some person, possibly the Emperor Justinian, provided Bethlehem with a new church (see *CBC* 22b - 35) which has

In 570 A.D. St. Jerome's tomb was supposed to be near the mouth of the Cave in the church (p. 85), and though in c. 685 it seems to be pointed out elsewhere it is regularly shown in the church during the Latin Kingdom (see, e.g. Theoderic 33 - 78). Jerome tells us that he buried Paula beside the Cave (*Ep.* 108.29.3 - 348), where she and Eustochium continued to be remembered (see 1002 A.D. - 36).

The eighth-century writer Epiphanius the Monk (*Life of the Theodosios* 7 - 193) says that Zacharias and Elisabeth lived in Bethlehem, but no other writer supports him. The latest addition to the local beliefs before the Crusades is recorded in A.D. 951 by Istakhri (-24): 'It is said that... there remains a piece of the palm-tree from which Mary ate'. For this incident see *Holy Qur'an*, surah 19 - Dawood p. 33.

During the Latin Kingdom there appear to have been several new commemorations. A passage of Peter the Deacon (see L.I - 185) which

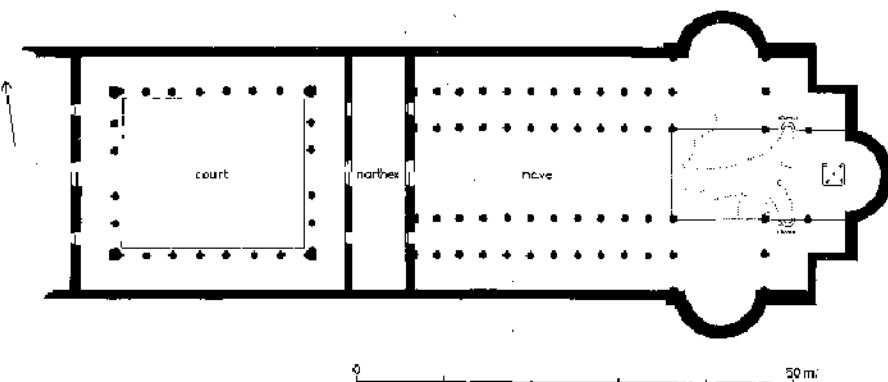


Fig. 2. Bethlehem: the second church (after Harvey)

remained in continuous use until the present day (see fig. 2). Surprisingly it has no place in Procopius' account of Justinian's buildings in the Holy Land (above, pp. 75-77): possibly this is because, if we are to believe Eutychius of Alexandria *PG* 111.1070, the Emperor disapproved of the design.

The existing church corresponds well with the pilgrims' descriptions, whether they are general (pp. 104, 117, 131 and 144: its narthex is mentioned by Cyr. Scyth. *V.J. Hes.* - 214.24) or more detailed (pp. 92, 123 and 138 above). Justinian certainly rebuilt the wall of Bethlehem (p. 77 above) but the result does not seem to have appeared very impressive to the artist of the Madaba Map (78 - 65). In c. 750 A.D. Bethlehem was mostly in ruins (p. 123 above), doubtless after the earthquake of 746 A.D. but the church was well staffed half a century later (31 - p. 137 above). Again in 1102 Saewulf (-32) found it largely destroyed, this time by the Saracens, though the church had been spared.

The new church was dedicated to St. Mary Theotokos, and its internal arrangements gave rise to a new vocabulary. No longer do the pilgrims speak simply of the Cave and the manger, but of a particular place where Christ was born, which was distinguished by marble (see pp. 92.45, 104, 117, 131, 144). The description 'double cave' on pp. 117 above and 201 below may be a deliberate adoption of the name of the cave in Hebron after it had been taken over by Muslims. Lavish decoration is still mentioned (see pp. 85, 117). A point of great interest to pilgrims in the new church was the Well of the Star, of which we hear first in c. 385 A.D. (1.1 - 707). See also pp. 117 above, which suggests its position, 123 above, and for the continued interest during the Latin Kingdom, *Qualiter* - 348 and *De Situ* - 413. The rock seen by Arculf (p. 104 above) which contained the water of the Lord's first washing is said to be outside the wall: this, if the city wall is meant, may have been part of the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools to Jerusalem, which passes below Bethlehem in a tunnel.

The Commemoration of the Holy Innocents no doubt began in Bethlehem in the fourth century or earlier, but is first attested between 417 and 439 A.D. (55 - 272; compare pp. 85 and 92.53 above), and their shrine was to the south of the main church. The Innocents continued to be remembered in Bethlehem (p. 144 above and Saewulf - 36), but 'tombs of the Innocents were also shown elsewhere from time to time (see p. 119 and n. 7, and *De Situ* 1.30 - 425). Indeed wherever a multiple burial of infants was discovered it was likely to be interpreted as belonging to the Innocents.

probably belongs to the twelfth century fits with texts from 1106 A.D. (50 - 41) and 1177 A.D. (27 - 956) in speaking of the pool from which David desired water (2 Sam. 23.15). We also hear of a table at which the Blessed Virgin Mary ate with the Magi in 1102 A.D. (-36) and 1137 (PI - 191), and also of her bath-house (1102 A.D. - 36), a relic whose position is unknown to us.

See Maps 5, 7, 14, 16, 26, 34, 42, 46.

BETHLEHEM (2) OF GALILEE: See Bet Leham.

BETHPEOR, the place opposite which Moses was buried, Deut. 34.6; and therefore pointed out opposite Ras Siyagha 218 130 to Egeria (*Tr.* 12.8 - 108). Eusebius, *On*, 48.3 places it six miles up from Lydda, perhaps meaning at the sixth milestone mentioned by Egeria (*Tr.* 10.8 - 106), which was discovered at el Mahatta, 223 136. The place is not mentioned again in our period.

BETHPHAGE, in Matt. 21.1, is the village where Jesus was when he sent disciples to bring him an ass and her colt: Mark 11.1 makes it clear that only a vague indication is intended, somewhere on the Mount of Olives, and Bethphage was sometimes associated with the village from which the animals were taken and sometimes with the place where they were mounted, as can be seen from Jerome's expressions on p. 50 above (compare *Ep. Pl.* - 185). Jerome's order in the context suggests that Bethphage was a place on the route directly linking Bethany with the road to Jericho, in which case the best position for it would be along the valley running north through map square 174 132. It could however have been further up at the traditional site at 1738 131.6, on the road linking Bethany and et Tur. There was already a church there early in the fifth century (*AL*, 65 - 274; see *RB* 1960 (40) - 564) which a century later (see p. 69) is described as 'the church where St. Thecla is'. The mounting-place is in the eighth century said to be 'one mile from the Ascension' (Epiph. Mon., p. 120 above), and since the place was then used liturgically for the start of the Palm Sunday procession it is very likely to be the same as the mounting-stone shown to Bernard a century later (p. 144 above) 'some way down the west side of the Mount of Olives' (compare also Yaqubi *H.* - 24). This Bethphage continued to be pointed out: thus in 1172 A.D. 20-52, Theoderic tells us that 'halfway between Bethany and the Mount of Olives is a fine chapel containing the large stone from which Christ mounted the ass'. The 'Anconia' church there is described on p. 69 above. It need not be related to 'Enbagon', *GI* 1259 - 2.40, *pace* Milik, *R.A.* 1960, 42 - 563. At the same spot, or perhaps half a mile further on (see *Ep. Tr.*

29.4 - 131) a church - either St. Thecla's or some other - commemorated the meeting of Jesus with Mary and Martha (John 11.20, 29). This commemoration, though not mentioned again either in liturgical books or by pilgrims during our period evidently remained in mind, since it is reported in 1106 A.D. (19 - 22) and 1175 A.D. (Anon VII - 105), when the church there is called 'St. Martha'. See Map 33.

Bethramtha: See Livias.

BETHSAIDA (1) JULIAS was at the north of the Sea of Galilee (see pp. 55, 107, above, which uses the name Julius because it comes from an original by Josephus) and east of Capernaum (p. 63, line 10 and p. 128 above). Its exact position is unknown, either for the N.T. or the Byzantine periods. Its holy place was evidently the House/Church of St. Peter and Andrew, to whom Theodosius adds Philip (as John 1.44) and the sons of Zebedee (an inference from Luke 5.10). See Maps 8, 19, 38.

'BETHSAIDA' (2) on p. 63 above (line 1) seems to mean Bethel.

BETHSHAN, ACTHUSLEAN: See Scythopolis.

BETHSUR: See Beth-zur.

BETHULIA, twelve miles from Rafia (p. 65 above; see n.) is the city at a place on the main road now called esh Sheikh Zuweid 065 072. See A. Ali, 'Bithulion and Bethel', *ZDPV* 49 (1926) 239. See Map 19.

BETHZACHAR (Madaba Map 86 - 68): See Caphar Zacharia.

BETH-ZUR was, as Eusebius says in *On*, 52.1, a village twenty miles from Jerusalem on the road to Hebron on a site between Kh. Tubciqa 159 110 and the road (see *R.B.* 1934, 315). The village moved from Kh. Tubciqa by attraction towards Philip's Spring, Acts 8.36, which was identified with Ain ed Dhitwa 160 110. Pilgrims on their way to Hebron were shown it from Eusebius' time onwards (*loc. cit.*), Bord. 599.1 - 162, *Ep. Pl.* N.1 - 188; pp. 50, 65 above. The church there, *CBC* 42 - 53, is also shown on the Madaba Map 80 - 66. There is no further mention of the village or the spring between the eighth and twelfth centuries: see Maps 5, 14, 19. A spring on another Roman road has also been associated with Philip and the eunuch, Ain Hanniya, q.v., and the Piacenza pilgrim (p. 85 above) tells us he was shown a (third) site somewhere between St. Zachariah and Ascalon: this is probably the site shown also to Willibald (p. 131 above and n. 34).

Bet Lehem haGedili (Ar. Beit Lahm) 166 238: A building oriented to the south is likely to have been a synagogue, *RSC* 16 - 19. See Map 7.

Bet Loya, H: See Beit Lei, Kh.

Bet Mirsham, Tel: See Kirathsepher.

Bet She'an: See Scythopolis.

Bet She'anin: see Giben (1).

Bet Shemesh, Tel. (Ar. Ain Shems, or Kh. Rumella) 149 129: Church, *RB* 1909, 120 and monastery, *RB* 1936, 538/40, which is the Samso mentioned by John Moschos, *Ps.* 170 - 3036. See Map 7.

Bet Shalita (Ar. Shitta) 191 217: 5/6th c. mosaic, *SEC* 20.460 in a monastery (contrast *IEJ* 3, 266) and two chapels, *CBC* 21 - 32. See Map 7.

Bet Yersah, Tel (Ar. Kh. el Karak) 204 236: Synagogue of 4/5th c. *RCS* 67 - 44. Church twice rebuilt between early fifth and late 6th c. with inscription (*SEG* 8.26) of 528/9 A.D. *CBC* 26 after 40/4 and P. Delougar and R. C. Haines, *A Byzantine Church at Kh. el Karak*, Chicago 1960. See Map 7.

Bezet (H. P. Mazzova, Ar. el Bussa) 164 276, 6th c. boundary-inscription of Chapel of St. Zacharias (*SEG* 8.18). There are Byzantine ruins on terraces to the north of Nahal Hanita, *RB* 1968, 413. The Jewish funeral stele found here suggests the existence of a Jewish community and synagogue, *RB* 1960, 385. See Map 7.

Bir, Kh. el: See Biyar, Kh. el.

Bira, Kh. el 147 158: Ruined church, columns, *HM* 1240: probably Byzantine. See Map 7.

Birket el Hamra: See Silwan.

Birket Ram: See Mishla.

Birel Qadimon: See Kathisma.

Birel Quti, 170 125: late 6th c. monastery chapel *CBC* 27 - 43, with Georgian inscription mentioning St. Theodore, see V. Corbo, *TS* 1953, 181/6. See Map 7.

Bires Suweidiya: See Morasthi.

Bir Zeit: See Gash, Mount.

BITHYRRINIUM: See Atraba, Kh.

Biyyar, Kh. el (Kh. el Bir) 168 140: Mosaic fragments in apse suggest a church, *MP* 189 - 26, and *RB* 1894, 450. See Map 7.

Blachiya, el: See Anthedon.

BORCE, wrongly identified on p. 55 above as the village marking the northern (when it should have been 'southern') boundary of Samaria. It is in fact Anuathu Borkalos, now Sawiya 174 165, which retains the old name at the nearby spring Ain Borkil: see Josephus, *War* 3.51.

BOSTRA (Bosra eski Sham) 289 214: succeeded Petra as the capital of Arabia at the time of Trajan's re-organisation in 106 A.D. Theodosius mentions it simply as one of the thirteen cities of Arabia on p. 70 above, and it seems also to be mentioned on p. 77 above under a wrong classification, perhaps because Justinian carried out no other works in Arabia. See Map 25.

Brescia, sixty miles east of Milan, Italy: see p. 134, n. 58, and Map 40.

Brixen: See Frixia.

Budrum: See Halicarnassus.

Buqei'a, el: See Poq'un.

Burgundy: a hermit called Peter from: p. 109 above: Leithald from, 147.

Burj, Kh. el: See Dor.

Burj el Ahmar (el Junelna) 179 130: 6th c. trefoil-shaped chapel, *CBC* 40 - 51: for a discussion of its date see *RB* 1932, 325. See Map 7.

Busra eski Sham: See Bosra.

BUZANA, MOUNT, p. 65 above, may or may not have come into the text of Theodosius, ch. 3 as a name connected with David and Goliath. We can only be sure that the chapter is a conflation from several sources, and that the name appears nowhere else. Possibly it is a variant rendering of the name Zanawa or (Zannous) (Eusebius *On*, 92.131, now Kh. Zano 150 125), a place in the general area (perhaps the 'Mount')

described. It is in any case the same as the 'Mount Gilboa' (sic) of p. 85 above. See Map 4.

BYBLUS, between Tripoli and Tiaris in Phoenicia, is now Jebel, Lebanon: its ruined state in the mid-sixth century is described by the Piacenza pilgrim, p. 79 above. Maps 2, 25.

BYZANTIUM: See Constantinople; Peter and Paul.

CAESAREA (I), capital of Cappadocia, now Kayseri, Turkey. Mentioned on p. 67 above as the resting-place of St. Maras. Map 13.

CAESAREA (II) PALAESTINA, civil capital of Palestine and (from about 429 A.D.) of Palaestina I: now H. Qesari (Ar. Qasariya) 140 212. Until 451 A.D. Caesarea was the chief ecclesiastical city as well as the civil capital, but in that year the Council of Chalcedon granted the primacy to Jerusalem. The chief memory from the New Testament was the baptism of Cornelius and Bord., who is the first to mention it (333 A.D. 585.4 - 153), speaks of his 'bath' meaning the place where he was baptized. Fifty years later St. Paula saw the House/Church of Cornelius and also the huts of Philip and the chamber of the four virgins (*Ac. 21.8f.* p. 47 above). Theodosius (p. 65 above) also introduces the idea that Cornelius was martyred in the city, and on p. 89 his tomb is mentioned, as well as those of the martyrs Pamphilus, and Procopius. A Church of St. Procopius was burned down by the Samaritans in 484 A.D. (*J. Malalas, Chron.* 15 - 568), but 'immediately' restored by Emperor Zeno. Caesarea was destroyed by Mu'awiya after its capture in 640 A.D. but rebuilt to rival Damascus (Baladuri - 160) as a place for leisure and enjoyment. *De Situ* gives a colourful description of the city (-430): its old memories were revived, for Daniel recalls the baptism of Cornelius (1106 A.D. 65 - 53). The city was finally destroyed in 1291 A.D. The site is known to contain a church of 6/7th c. *CBC* 28 - 44 and several inscriptions relating to institutions: esp. *RB* 1895, 76; 1904, 73. Capitals decorated with seven-branched candelsticks evidently come from one of the synagogues in the city, *RCS* 20 - 21. Excavations were in progress as this book was being written. See Maps 2, 7b, 14, 19.

CAESAREA (III) PHILIPPI: See Panias.

CAIAPHAS, * HOUSE OF, where part of Jesus' trial took place and Peter denied him: Matt. 26.57, John 18.24. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Car.* 13.38 - 817) speaks before A.D. 348 of ruins which he took to be those of this house; he is echoed by Prodentius (before 403; 40 - 398). Being part of the building-complex where Peter 'went out and wept bitterly' (of Mark 14.72 and Matt. 26.75) his repentance or 'tears' were remembered there in the stationary liturgy of Holy Thursday from some date between 384 A.D. (when our text of Egeria still makes no mention of it) and 417 - 439 A.D. (*AL*, 41 - 268; compare *GL* 654 - 1.95, *Typ.* - 126). In the early 6th c. the *Breviarius* (p. 60 above) and Theodosius (p. 66 above) both speak of a Church of St. Peter (compare p. 137 above). In 870 Bernard (p. 144 above) tells us that a church, which must surely be this one, lies to the east of Holy Sion (thus explaining the more confusing directions of Epiphanius the Monk, p. 117 above). This may well be a site higher up than the church now called St. Peter in Gallicantu 1720 - 1308. The church and its commemoration were familiar in the Latin Kingdom: see 1106 A.D. (41 - 36), 1165 A.D. (9 - 140) and 1177 A.D. (15 - 945). See Maps 18, 21, 33, 41.

Cairo: See p. 142, n. 13.

Cairo, Old: See Babylon.

Calabria: See Reggio.

CALLINICUM: now Raqqa on the Euphrates in Syria: p. 71 above, and Map 23.

CALUMNY, WELL OF, see Gen. 26.20f: This well (wells) which YXX translates 'Well of Judgement' was placed by the biblical writer in Genar. Eusebius notes that there is a village called Berdan in Genar (*On*, 166.23f), and Jerome assumes that it should be identified with the biblical well (*L. loc.* 167.24f). There is thus too little evidence to elucidate the Piacenza pilgrim, 32 - p. 85 above, and the whole area near Ascalon and in the district of Genar may be intended: see Eusebius, *On*, 168.2f.

CALVARY: See under Tomb of the Lord, 6.

Calvi, See p. 133, n. 53, and Map 40.

CANA (OF GALILEE), where Jesus turned the water into wine (John 2.1/11) might have been either at Kh. Qana 178 247 or at Kefr Kaana 182 239; the respective merits of the sites are discussed by R. Bagatti OFM, in *LA* 16, 1954. Jerome speaks of it as a town (*L. loc.* 117.7) near Nazareth (*Ep.* 46.13 - 113.3, compare p. 52 above), and the Pilgrim of Piacenza visited it on his way from Diocæsarea to Nazareth (p. 79 above, compare p. 65) which strongly suggests that the site visited was Kefr Kaana. Willibald's account (p. 128 above) may be dislocated by Hugoburg; but it agrees with the evidence of Epiphanius the Monk (p. 121) that there was a direct route from their Cana to Mount Tabor. That their Cana was the same as the Piacenza pilgrim's is made probable by the existence of a church there (pp. 79, 128, also a monastery 121, 138 above), and by the way the *Commemoratorium* mentions it (p. 138) which suggests that it was on the road from Nazareth to Tiberias. If the Byzantine site is likely to be Kefr Kaana, so is the site described in 1106 A.D. by Daniel (95 - 72), which was on the way from Nazareth by the highway to Acre. The highway near Kh. Qana was not this one but on an extension to Tiberias. The relics were a couch, a waterpot, and the spring from which it was filled (see pp. 79 and 128 above). Maps 8, 14, 19, 25, 34, 38, 42.

CANAAN: See pp. 70 and 109 above.

Candeloro: See Gallinorum, Mount.

Canikiri: See Gangra.

CANOPIC MOUTH OF THE NILE, Canopus (now Kom Sannadi) is about fifteen miles east of Alexandria; p. 111 above.

CAPERNAUM (Heb. Kefir Nahum, Ar. Tell Huri) 204 254: the headquarters of Jesus' Galilean ministry, Matt. 4.13. In the reign of Constantine it was a Jewish town where Joseph of Tiberias hoped to build a church (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.11 - 347), and when Egeria visited it (*Tr. (P)* V2 - 194) the synagogue she saw was probably the one now restored at the site, *RCS* 105 - 63. She also, like the Piacenza pilgrim (see p. 81 and compare pp. 52, 63) was shown the house of Peter which had been made

into a church, for which see V. Corbo, *LA 18* (1968) 5/54 and *MP 312* - 43. Writers after the Muslim conquest no longer mention the church of St. Peter, (see p. 108 above), but seem to have been shown a house of John the Evangelist, or of Zebedee and his sons (see pp. 120, 128), and the place where the paralysed man was let down through the roof (Mark 2. 1/12; p. 120 and compare 939 A.D.: 319 - 136).

This site seems to have had little or no interest for most visitors in the time of the Latin Kingdom: see for instance Daniel 83 - 64 (and cf. 66, 53 and Benjamin of Tudela - 32. It was probably deserted at that time. Maps 7, 8, 14, 19, 25, 31, 34, 38.

CAPHAR BARUCHA, a village which Epiphanius, *Haer.* 40.1 - 2.81, tells us is three miles from Hebron and according to Jerome (p. 50 above, compare fig. (P) N1) was the place to which Abraham escorted the angels on their way to Sodom. The place commands an impressive view of the desert and the Dead Sea area. Cyril of Scythopolis mentions a monastery and cenobium there (*V. Euth.* - 23.21, *V. Sab.* - 99.17 and - 124.16). Its connection with Abraham was maintained by the Muslims (985 A.D. - 209), and Daniel in 1106 A.D. (55 - 46) regards it as the place of Abraham's prayer (see Gen. 18.22/33). C. W. Wilson wrote in 1887 (*PPS* v. of Jerome, *Letter 108*) that Bani Na'im 165 102 "is still sometimes called Kefr Baraka". Thirty years later the name was still remembered but no longer used: see E. Mader, *Altchristliche Baustellen*, Paderborn 1918, pp. 157/65, Maps 5, 14.

CAPHARGAMALA: See Beit Jimal, Jammala.

CAPHAR ZACHARIA: the village where the body of Zacharias was discovered in 415 A.D. according to Sozomen, *SH 9.17.1* - 407. The tomb subsequently erected at or near the place of discovery, is shown on the Madaba Map next to the village, which is there called Bethzachar (*MM 86/7* - 68). This seems to be identical with Kefar Dikrin (*SGH* 57a) or Kefar Dikriya (*V. Euth.* 69a - 4.8), now H. Bet Dikrin (Ar. Dikrin 137 119), since the site of the tomb was two miles from Kefar Turban (which we take to be Kh. Atraba, see John Rufus, *Isur.* 90 - 39), and visited by the Rascena pilgrim after, not before Eleutheropolis on the way to Ascalon: see p. 85 above, Theodosius 3 - p. 65, and compare 24 - p. 131 above. Modern Kefar Zakhariya (Ar. Tell Zakariya 144 123) can hardly be the site, since it would have been visited before reaching Eleutheropolis, and in any case has very few remains at the site (compare *HM 1336* with 1338). H. Bet Dikrin also agrees better than Kefar Zakhariya with a site (twenty-four miles from Aelia Capitolina) which the Peutinger Map names "Caperaria". Most commentators have taken this to be a mistake for Caper (Zak)aria. See maps 4, 19, 26, 38.

CAPITOLIAS, now Beit er Ras 230 222, in north Jordan. According to Theodosius (p. 70 above) one of the thirteen cities of Arabia. Maps 19, 25.

CAPUA, Italy, in Campania fifteen miles north of Naples: see p. 133 above, and Map 40.

CARMEL MOUNT, in the first century A.D. part of Phoenicia: see pp. 54 above and 70. The "Mount Carmel" six miles west of Jerusalem, "fornity home of the Evernener", Epiphanius *Mon.* IV, 21 - p. 119 above is probably En Kerem 165 130 (q.v.), possibly so called because it was the "second Mt. Carmel" of a "second Elijah": see Matt. 11.14.

CARTHA: See Carthage.

CARTHAGE, Africa: See p. 113 above.

CASUS MOUNT, see Mons Casius.

CASSINO MOUNT, once Casinum seventy-five miles south-east of Rome on the Via Latina: p. 133, n. 54 above, and Map 40.

CASTELLUM, see Mird. Kh. el, and David's Tower of.

CASTRAM SAMARITANORUM: See Samaritan's Camp.

CATANIA, thirty miles north of Syracuse in Sicily: pp. 123, 133 above, and Maps 36, 40.

CENACLE OF THE DISCIPLES: See Mount of Olives.

CENTRE OF THE WORLD, near the Tomb of the Lord: p. 144 above.

CEPERARIA: See Caphar Zacharia.

CERSONA, see Cherson.

CHABORAS RIVER: Map 23.

CHABULON: See Zebulun.

CHALCIS, Now Kinnasrin, Syria: see p. 89 above, and Map 28.

CHARIASATI: See Marathi.

CHARITON MONASTERY OF ST., now the ruins called Kh. Khareitun 172, 117, mentioned above p. 119, and compare G. Synecides, 806/10 A.D.: 107A - 200. Known to Cyril of Scythopolis as "the laura of the old Saka", *V. Euth.* - 29.1, *V. Cyr.* - 226.20. See also p. 137 above, which mentions the Tomb of the Saint (in a church in 1130 A.D. - 425), probably at the Laura (compare Daniel 56 - 48), and the "small monastery" which is a mile away.

CHELIDONTUM: See Gallianorum.

CHIOS, now Kos, an island in the western Aegean, fifteen miles east of C. Sunitum: see p. 126 above, and Map 36.

CHERITH THE BROOK, where Elijah was fed by ravens "east of the Jordan", 1 Kings 17.5. The place shown as the Cherith to Egeria (77. 16.3 - 112) seems to have been Wadi Yabis, 210 200. But John Moschus is evidently indicating another place when he says 6.15 (1 - 2853) it is "to the left of Sapsa", probably indicating the Wadi Kharar 202 138.

CHERMELA: See Map 7b.

CHERSONA, or **CERSONA**, now Sebastopol in the Crimea: see p. 67 above and Map 13.

CHOREMBE: See Choziba.

CHORAZIN, a town condemned for rejecting Christ's ministry; it is associated with the woes pronounced on Bethsaida and Capernaum, Matt. 11.21, and thus presumed to be in their neighbourhood. The site of the N.T. period is usually assumed to be Kh. Kerazeh (Hob. Korazin) 203 257, q.v. which in the days of Eusebius (*On.* 174.28) was deserted. Willibald visits a second site known as Chorazin, (see p. 128 above) but evidently associated with the healing of the man called Legion, Mark 5.1/20, which according to our texts of the Gospel took place at "Gerasa", "Gadara", or "Gergesa". Since Willibald approached it through Capernaum and Bethsaida it was on the east shore of the lake, and is thus the same as Eutychius' "church of Kursi, east of the Sea of

Tiberias, which bears witness that Christ healed the man who was called Legion" (939 A.D.: 321 - 137). In the sixth century Cyril of Scythopolis (*V. Sab.* - 108.12) described how Saint Saba and Agapet went north up the Jordan valley and prayed at "Chorus, at the Seven Springs, and at the other holy places of this region, and as far as Pannias". Chorus is therefore south of the Seven Springs, whereas Kh. Kerazeh is to the north. Willibald's Chorazin, Eutychius' Kursi, and Cyril's Chorsia are thus identical, and they are to be found at Kursi 210 248. The church which may be the predecessor of the one Willibald records has recently been excavated (see *CNT* 22(1971)72/6) and the judgements of Fr. F. M. Abel, *JPOS* 1927, 112/21 to that extent confirmed. The same site was identified as Chorazin in the Latin Kingdom (see 1102 A.D.; - 38 and 1130 A.D. - 422), when it was believed to be the place where Antichrist would be brought up. Here we may have the clue to the choice of Kursi as Chorazin, for the incident of the demoniac called Legion is one of the few occasions in the N.T. where we hear of a specific rejection of Jesus (see Matt. 11.17). Similarities between the names Chorazin and Kursi, and the appropriateness of a woe directed against a place which had explicitly rejected Christ's ministry may have combined to persuade Christians of the Byzantine period to seek the healing of Legion at Kursi, and to expect there in the coming of Antichrist a sequel to the evil by which it had provoked Jesus' reprimand. It is of course possible that the Chorazin of the N.T. should be located at Kursi rather than at Kh. Kerazeh, despite the contrary view of Eusebius. See Maps 8, 38.

CHORSIUS: See Chorazin.

CHOZIBA, a monastery first mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis, c. 557 A.D., *V. Sab.* - 134.17. Its name is still in use for the present Deir el Qilt (or Deir Mar Jirjis) 190 139, which occupies the position described at the end of the 6th c. by Eutychius Scholasticus, *EH 4.7* - 2715, "at the far end of the valley to the north of the public highway that takes travellers from Jerusalem to the city of Jericho". In 615 A.D. John Moschus describes one of the old monks who used to help the travellers with their loads (*Pr.* 24 - 2869: cf. 157 - 3025 where "Chorembe" means Choziba according to J. T. Milik, *RB* 1959, 566f). The monastery was dedicated in the name of our Holy Lady the Theotokos, according to Antony the Chozebite, writing the life of his elder brother George in 625/30 A.D.: 3 - 98 (compare p. 137 above and *GL 153* - 1.29): in this author's work on miracles, 5 - 366 he says, "John, who built this place... first made a very small cell, which has now been turned into a diaconia and is below the chapel called St. Stephen's... They also made a small chapel where their holy remains rest in God, and Saint John built the rest of the coenobium above it": for the 6th c. monastery chapel see *CBC 37* - 50; and for the foundations of 5/8th c. A. M. Schneider, *RQ 39* (1931) 316/32. Epiphanius the Monk (p. 121 above) is the first to mention Joachim, father of the Blessed Virgin Mary in connexion with the monastery. In the tenth century (*C.P.G.* - 132) we learn that the angel announced the birth of Mary to Joachim (cf. *Prot. James* 4.2 - 376) in Choziba, and in the twelfth (1106 A.D.: 27 - 26) that Joachim fasted in Choziba because of his sterility (cf. *Prot. James* 1.4 - 374 and see *RB* 1960, 587). John Phocas in 1177 A.D.: 19 - 49 describes the monastery. See Maps 9, 42.

CILICIA: See above pp. 54, 71, and 113 (sic).

CLYSMA, Egypt, now Kom Qulzum 910 932, was a small but important fortified harbour giving the Roman Empire a trading outlet to India, according to Egeria 77. 7.1 - 100 and *EgrP* Y.6 - 208: cf. p. 88 above. Near it was the traditional place from which Moses and the children of Israel set out to cross the Red Sea (see for example p. 119 above). The name of Clysma may be used in this connection before 331 A.D. by Eusebius, *On.* 44.3. From the time of Egeria for five centuries pilgrims were taken there to see Pharaoh's chariot-tracks "turned to stones" (see pp. 73, 88, 139) and the marvellous island nearby which exuded mineral oil (pp. 88, 119). Besides the Chapel of Moses marking the point where he took the Israelites into the Sea and the burial-place of eighteen hermits (p. 88) there was a church of St. Athanasius which was built by the Emperor Justinian (939 A.D.: 1.202). Maps 1, 24, 27.

COELE-SYRIA, pp. 47, 54 above, was one of the two divisions of Syria created by Septimius Severus in 195 A.D. The other was Syria Phoenice. **COCUSUS**, **COCUSA** or **CUCUSUS**, said on p. 71 above to be in Persian Armenia, was in fact in Armenia II. It is now Gökün, Turkey. Map 23. **CONSTANTIA (I)** or **Salamis** in Cyprus, pp. 79, 126 above, and Maps 23, 37.

Constantia (II) in Palestine I: See Matumas (2).

CONSTANTINA in Osroene, now Viransehir, Turkey, p. 71 above.

CONSTANTINE'S BASILICA: See Tomb of the Lord.

CONSTANTINOPLE (the Royal City, or Byzantium): above pp. 57, 69/71, 76, 79, 113/115, 133. Maps 13, 32, 40.

CORINTH: p. 126 above.

CRETE: p. 113 above, and Map 32.

CROSS: see Tomb of the Lord.

CUCUSUS: See Cocusus.

CYCLADES: p. 47 above.

CYPRUS: above pp. 47, 79, 117, 126. Map 13.

CYRRHUS: p. 71 above. Now Korus, Syria. See Map 23.

CYTHERA: Now Kithira, the island south of the eastern Cape of the Peloponnese. See Map 13.

Dabwyrin 185 233: Fragmentary remains of a church, *CBC 29* - 45. See Map 7.

Dallata 197 269: A shell in an arch may come from a synagogue, *RCS 48* - 37. See Map 7.

Dalton 196 268: Synagogue: see review in *IEJ* 5(1955) 277 and *RCS* 21 - 21. See Map 7.

DAMASCUS, now Dimashq or ash Sham, capital of Syria, once capital of Phoenice Libanensis and later of the Umayyad dynasty: mentioned by Theodosius (p. 70 above) as one of the thirteen cities of Arabia. In c. 569 Procopius of Caesarea tells us of a House of St. Leontius built by Justinian (p. 77 above) and in c. 570 the Piacenza pilgrim notes his visit to "the Street called Straight" (Acts 9.11) and to the monastery of the

Conversion of St. Paul (p. 89, cf. 128 and 1130 A.D.: - 421). Willibald (p. 128, also 132 above) also mentions that St. Ananias is buried there. Arculf (p. 109 above) visited the city while its cathedral of St. John Baptist (formerly a pagan Temple but converted into a church in the time of Theodosius I) was still standing and the mosque was elsewhere, and the same situation is recorded by Pseudo-Jerome, *L.A.A.* - 1300. The cathedral was converted into a mosque by Caliph Walid in 709/15 A.D. (see p. 128 n. 19). A "Hebrew tradition" recorded by Jerome in his *Commentary on Esaiel*, 27.18 - 373, that Cain slew Abel near Damascus continued to be believed and seems to have been accepted alike by Christians (see *De Situ* - 420) and Muslims (see G. Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Muslims*, (reprint) Beirut 1965, p. 259) during and after the time of the Crusades. See Maps 23, 25, 28, 31, 37.

DAMIAS or TAMIATHIS in Egypt, now Damietta: regarded by Epiphanius the Monk as the place of Christ's exile (Matt. 2.146), p. 119 above, but mentioned without religious associations by Bernard, p. 142. See Maps 1, 35, 44.

Damon, W. ed.: See Beit Thapsha.

Damon, H. (Ar. Kh. ed. Damon or Duweimin) 152 237: large church of 5/6th c. containing an inscription with the name "Julian". *CBC 103* - 108. See Map 7.

Damon, Kh. ed.: See Damon, H.

DAN (the village), p. 53 above, mentioned by Eusebius *On. 76.6*, the passage translated above by Jerome, and by Jerome, *C. Amor* 8.12 - 333, but of no further importance in our period or the Latin Kingdom. For Dan (the stream) see Jordan.

DAPHNE, near ancient Antioch, Syria, today near Yakkat, Turkey: church p. 77 above.

DARA in Mesopotamia, now Dara, Turkey, twenty miles N.W. of Nisibis/ Nussabir: see p. 71 above, and Map 23.

DAROMA: See South, The.

DAVID'S TOWER OF, on the same site as the present Citadel (Ar. el Qal'a 1716 1314). According to Josephus, *War* 7.11 (cf. 1130 A.D. - 432) the three towers built by Herod the Great for his palace were spared by Titus when he took Jerusalem in 70 A.D., and the Madaba Map shows two of them to the right of the lowest (i.e. the western) gate of the city. No doubt the higher of these towers was properly the Tower of David, but the phrase used by the Piacenza pilgrim is like the one he uses to describe the sanctuary at Hebron, and he is probably using "Tower of David" to mean the whole fortress of which the Tower proper was part, see above pp. 83 and 30 - 85, and Maps 11, 33.

In the sixth century Cyril of Scythopolis, *V. Th.* 236.10 speaks of monks of the Anastasis living around the Tower of David, and in *V. Sab.* - 116.5 (also *V. Abr.* - 254.2: as 1106 A.D. 141 - 177) he tells how St. Sabas bought their cells and "turned them into a hospice for his Laura". There were a good many other cells in the vicinity: some to the north which he bought as hospices for monks from abroad; a monastery of Bedons (viz. Georgians) in the Tower (inscription in *QDAP* 4(1935)78/80, p. 48.3) which may have been the one founded by Peter the Iberian "on a site above holy Zion in the place called the Tower of David" and restored by the Emperor Justinian (*V. Th.* - 45, and IX.6 - p. 76 above).

Cyril of Scythopolis tells us also of the nearby monastic hospices of the Castellion and of St. Euthymius' monks which they bought from the Laura of the Suka (*V. Sab.* - 116.5, *V. Cyr.* - 226.3). 2,210 persons were killed at the Tower by the Persians in A.D. 614, according to *Capt.* 23.40. The name of the Tower implied for sixth-century Christians that David had composed or recited the psalms there (see pp. 83 and 117 above). It remained a landmark in the Jerusalem of the Latin Kingdom, a time when some, at least, of the inhabitants recognised that only part of it was original (see after 1173 A.D.: - 35 and 1177 A.D.: 14 - 941).

DEAD SEA, SALT SEA, or ASPHALT LAKE: mentioned pp. 53, 54, 84, 85, 107, 108; the sulphur and pitch collected there, p. 82 and see *R.B.* 1910, 106/10: the salt washed up after storms p. 107; nothing will float, p. 82 (but: *Bord.* 397.7 - 161 says that "if a man goes in to swim, the water turns him over"): animals taken there will die, Jerome *C. Prech.* 47.6 - 714: while bulks and camels float in it, fish carried into it die instantly and float on top of the saturated water, *Bede, Holy Places* II.2 - 317. See also Sodom and Gomorrah, Lot's Wife.

DEBIR: See Kiriat-Sepher.

Deir, ed.: See Yarmuk, Kh.

Deir, Jebel ed.: See Horeb.

Deir Abu Tor (116b. Giv'at Hananya) 171 130: 6th c. church, *CBC 69 a/b* - 80. See Map 7.

Deir Alla (1), Kh. (Heb. H. Al 149 159): Foundations of a chapel, *MP 48* - 131. See Map 7.

Deir Alla (2), Tell. See Succoth (3).

Deir Antonius: See Antony, monastery of St.

Deir el Arabi 151 157: monastery chapel, *CBC 30* - 45. See Map 7.

Deir el Asaf 144 097: Church with mosaic floor, *CBC 33* - 47. See Map 7.

Deir Asfar 148 125: Mosaic floor of a chapel, *MP 51* - 151. See Map 7.

Deir el Azar: See Kiriat-Jerim.

Deir Bula: See Qubba.

Deir Daqla 152 162: 4/5th c. church, *CBC 31* - 46. See Map 7.

Deir Dosi: See Deir Ibn Ubeid.

Deir Hajla, 197 136. See Map 10.

Deir Ibn Ubeid (Deir Dosi) 177 125: the 5/6th c. monastery of St. Theodosius with its chapel, *CBC 32* - 46; see Theodore of Petra on St. Theodosius' building activity, *V. Theod. Coven.* 34.7 - 120f and 45 - 127. This biography informs us, 15.2 - 109 that "there is an unwritten legend handed down from former times that... (when the Magi) returned to their own country by another way, they lodged in (the cavern contained in the monastery)". See p. 137 (and p. 119): Maps 7, 34, 42.

Deir Mar Jirjis: See Choziba.

Deir Mar Saba: see Saba.

Deir Mukallik, Magharat, 186 131: 5th c. monastery chapel of St. Theoctistus (see *RB* 1913, 320), *CBC 34* - 47. See Map 7.

Deir Qal'a (Deir Qala) 154 162: Monastery, *HM* - 1248, and 6th c. chapel, *CBC* 35 - 49. See Map 7.

Deir el Qilt: See Choziba.

Deir Qula: See Deir Qal'a.

Deir Sennel: See Agrippa, Village of.

Deir Sha'ar (Kh. Beit Sha'ar) 162 117: Late 6th c. church, *CBC 17* - 28

and small late Byzantine monastery, *RB* 1903, 613. See Map 7.

Deir es Sika: see Saba.

Der, Kh. ed. 147 090: monastery chapel, *CBC 104* - 108. See Map 7.

Dera'a: See Astra.

DERTONA: See Tortona.

"DESERT PLACE": p. 52 and n. 105; and see Seven Springs. Map 14.

Desert, Spring of John Baptist in, p. 108 above (and see Jordan). The

Spring west of Annona, Map 10.

DIDYME, twin mountains on the island of Salina, near Lipari in the Isola Eolie, north of Sicily: p. 133 above.

Dimashq: See Damascus.

DIOCAESAREA or SEPPHORIS, now Zippori (Ar. Salfuriya) 176 239. A historic Jewish city (see *Mishnah, Kid.* 4.5 - 328, *B.M.* 8.8 - 362, *Arak.* 9.6 - 553, and Josephus, *War* 2.510) which, until the foundation of Tiberias in A.D. 23, had been the capital city of Galilee. Jerome says, *L. Is.* 17.14 that it had once been called Safforine, and it received its Roman name from Antoninus Pius (see also *CERP* p. 278). In the reign of Constantine it was still a mainly Jewish city, but was one of the places where Joseph of Tiberias succeeded in building a church (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.12 - 348). Theodosius tells us (p. 65 above) that Simon Magus came from this city (but the tradition recorded by Eusebius from Justin, *Apol.* 26.6: *HH* 3.26.3 - 1.88 says Simon Magus came from Ceth). It may be that, maliciously or otherwise, Christians were confusing this Simon with Rabbi Simeon, son of Judah the Prince. In the 6th c. we find Diocaesarea laying claim to a relic of the Annunciation (p. 79 above). A tradition that she had spent her childhood there was still remembered in the time of the Latin Kingdom, by both those who accepted it (1130 A.D. - 423) and those who disagreed (1165 A.D. - 111).

The traditionally Jewish character of the city was remembered by Muslims through the *hadith* recorded by al-Bakir - 117: "The Prophet said to 'Aqaba ben Abi Mu'ait, 'What are you but a Saffuriya Jew!'" but both Benjamin of Tudela (44) and John Phocas (10 - 933) found the city practically empty in the 1170s. A mosaic found at the site suggests the existence of one of the Jewish synagogues from the Byzantine period, *RCS* 94 - 57, and there was a church associated with a monastery, *CBC* 181 - 182. See Maps 7b, 8, 19, 25.

DIOCLETIANOPOLIS: See Sarafsa, and Map 7b.

DIOSPOLIS, the name given by Septimius Severus in A.D. 199/200 to what had previously been called Lydda (as in Acts 9.32, where St. Peter cured Aeneas: contrast John Malalas *Chron.* 10 - 353; it is now Lod (Ar. Ludd) 140 151. It long remained a centre of Jewish learning (*Mishnah, Kel.* 2.2 - 606 and Jerome, *C. Heb.* 2.15/17 - 610). Although Jerome (p. 47 above) says that the city is "renowned for the raising of Dorcas (sic) and the healing of Aeneas" its continuing importance both to local residents and to pilgrims was due to the fact that St. George was buried there, and that many miracles took place at his tomb; see pp. 65, 84 (sic), 119 (mentioning various relics and holy objects), the set-piece story on pp. 114 f. and p. 132. The Madaba Map 62 - 61 shows its city plan, and names the city "Lud (the Hebrew version of the name), Lydea (presumably a spelling-mistake for Lydda, the Graecised version of Lod) or Diospolis." George of Cyprus, writing at almost the same time that the map was made (*DOR* - 51) speaks of "Diospolis or Georgiopolis". The name Diospolis seems to go out of use between the eighth century (p. 119 above) and the tenth (*C.P.G.* - 374), when Lydda and Ludd became normal. In A.D. 1106 the place was deserted, apart from the church (7 - 10) where the veneration of St. George continued and increased. Muslims (985 A.D. - 190 and 1094 A.D. - 190) received a *hadith* that "Jesus will slay the Antichrist at the gate of Ludd", which may originate in an interpretation of the icon of Saint George slaying the dragon. Near Diospolis in the sixth century was a remarkable column described on p. 84 above.

Though the present Church of St. George is of Crusader date and partly rebuilt it contains a Greek dedication of the Byzantine period and some contemporary architectural fragments, *CBC* 134 - 130. Maps 2, 7b, 14, 19, 34, 38, 46.

DISCIPLES' CENACLE OF THE, See Gethsemane.

- Nisibis, see p. 71 and n. above, and Map 23.
- EDESSA** (2) near Jericho, with the tomb of Sts. Cyrus and John. Site unidentified; see p. 121 above.
- EDRBI**: See Astra.
- EDUMA**: See Acrabollene.
- Efes**: See Ephesus.
- EGYPT**: Cities speaking Coptic language p. 52 above; Brook of Egypt p. 54; see also 70, 88, 119, 125, 139, 141f. and 145.
- El, Ein**: See Al, Ain.
- Eichstätt, Bavaria**: 35 miles N.N.E. of Augsburg; see 125 n. 6 and 134, Map 40.
- EKRON** mentioned p. 54 above.
- ELATEA**, Greece: see p. 79 n. 9.
- Eleazar's Tomb**: See Kh. Siya and Map 14.
- ELEPHANTS, CITY OF, or ELEPHANTINE**, the island beside Aswan at the foot of the first cataract of the Nile; p. 110 above.
- ELCUTHEROPOLIS**, or "Freedom City", the name given by Septimius Severus in 200 A.D. to the village Baetogabdi (*Tab. Penz.* 8 and Josephus, *War* 4.447) when he raised it to the status of city; now Bet Guvrin (Ar. Beit Jibrin) 140 133. In 378/9 A.D. (29/30-103) we hear of a holy virgin there, perhaps indicating the existence of a convent. Jerome, p. 52 above, is presumably referring to its inhabitants by the name "Horites"; "which means free men" according to his *C. Abd.* 1-354. The city is mentioned on p. 65 above: note that the Piacenza pilgrim, 32-p. 85 above must be using the words "the city of Eucutheropolis" (to mean the district belonging to the city, since, as Jerome says on p. 52, the Spring of Samson was at Succoth. *RCS* 14-18 notes architectural elements from a synagogue, and *CBC* 19/20 the remains of two chapels of the 6th c., the first associated with a monastic farm. Eucutheropolis was then a centre of Monophysite influence (Cyr. Scyth. *V. Sab.* 147.14). Fifty of the soldiers taken prisoner at Gaza and killed by Amr Ibn al-As in 638 A.D. were buried in Eucutheropolis in a new church of the Holy Trinity (*Pseudo* soon after 638, 3-303). It is tempting to identify this with the fine church remains at Tell Sandahanna, q.v., but they are probably too early. In the civil war of 797 A.D. Eucutheropolis was one of the cities depopulated, and it has never fully recovered (Stephen of St. Saba - 167). In 891 A.D. its inhabitants were Jewish (Ya'kubi - 22) and in 985 el Moqaddasi, while reporting that it is the central market of the area, says that it has diminished in importance. See Maps 4, 7b, 14, 19, 26.
- Eljah's Bath**, near Gadara: Maps 8, 25.
- Eljah's Cave** (Mount Carmel) 147 248: Graffiti (*RCS* 27-25) and inscriptions of 5/6th c. show that by then the cave was already a holy place for Jews and Christians: *RB* 1968, 417. See Map 7.
- Eljah's Cave**: See Mount Sinai.
- ELIM**, in Exod. 15.27 (the place where the children of Israel camped after leaving Marah: it had twelve springs of water and seventy palm trees, both Egeria and Cosmas Indicopleustes knew it as the stage between Marah and the half-way point between Clysma and Mount Sinai (*Tr. P.* Y12-208 and page 73 above): they and the Piacenza Pilgrim (p. 88 above) all describe its comforts. Egeria calls it Anadara, which is evidently the same name as the Piacenza pilgrim's Surandela, and the modern Wadi el Gharandal 952 835. Cosmas tells us (c. 549 A.D. - p. 73 above) that Elim was also called Raithu; in c. 570 the Piacenza Pilgrim speaks of "the church with its priest and two inns for travellers" at Surandela. In about 615 John Moschus writes of monks from Raithu (*Pr.* 15-2864, 115-2980, 153-3021) and the slaughter of seven hundred of them is mentioned by Epiphanius the Monk, p. 119 above. See Maps 1, 24, 27, 35.
- ELISHA'S SPRING**, now Ain es Sultan 192 142, west of the present (and Byzantine) site of Jericho. It is the principal water-supply of Jericho, (see pp. 69 and 82), and the spring Elisha cleansed, II Kings 2.19 ff. 124 - p. 51 above and p. 129 above. Bord. says (596.4.10 - 160f) that it was a mile and a half from the city (see also cf. p. 63 above), and that "above the spring is the House of Rahab the Harlot (Josh. 2 and 6.22/5, and p. 82 above) and the walls of the ancient city of Jericho. The House of Rahab was in c. 570 a guest-house containing a chapel (p. 82 above), and this may possibly be the church of the Theotokos restored at Jericho by Justinian (IX.5 - p. 76 above; see also Tell Hassan, below p. 159). In the time of Arculf (p. 106 above) its roof was rickshing, and it is not mentioned thereafter (thus it is not to be found on p. 129). Elisha's Spring continues to be pointed out into the period of the Latin Kingdom and till today. The Madaba Map (23-44) shows a church "Of St. Elisha" which Avi-Yonah strangely wished to identify with the "Monastery of Elisha's Spring in Jerusalem", p. 77 above. It should rather be identified with Theodosius' "Tomb of Elisha" (p. 69 above: contrast Sebastia). *Egr* (P) 2 - 191 is the only pilgrim to mention the walls at ancient Jericho. See Maps 9, 19, 22, 26, 38.
- ELISHA'S SPRING*, MONASTERY OF**, in Jerusalem, p. 77 above.
- ELUSA**, a city at the beginning of the desert on the way from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai (p. 70 above), which the Peutinger Map shows to be the present El. Halusa (as in *Beresith Rabba* 45) Ar. el Khalasa 117 056. The city is also shown on the Madaba Map, 103-73. Its annual festival of Venus is mentioned by Jerome in 387/9 A.D. (125-41: a bishop of Elusa attended the Council of Ephesus 431 (-80: as "Nilus", *Narr.* 6-692). The Piacenza pilgrim (pp. 85, 87 above) speaks of his bishop and of a nearby monastery of women, and in c. 615 John Moschus (*Pr.* 164-3032) mentions a leucophant from its laura. Maps 1, 24, 26, 27.
- Eneq Yizre'el**: see Great Plain.
- EMESA**, a city of Phoenice Libanensis, now Homs in Syria. In the early sixth century the head of John Baptist was venerated there (see *P.O.* 2.92, written after 512 A.D.), a relic which according to Marcellinus Comes, *Chron.* (year 453 A.D.) - 928 was stolen from Palestine by a potter from Bimsea (see Sebastia below). The Piacenza pilgrim saw the head (p. 89 above) later in the sixth century, but when Willibald visited the city (pp. 126 and 132 above) he does not mention its existence. See Maps 23, 25, 28, 37.
- EMMAUS**, the place where Christ made himself known to two of the

- disciples (one of them called Cleopas) while breaking bread with them after the resurrection, Luke 24.13/35. In 221 A.D. Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian, headed a delegation to the Emperor Heliogabalus to ask for his town Emmaus the status of city, which was granted. It was henceforth known as Nicopolis (see pp. 47, 65 and Madaba Map 74-64) until the Arab conquest, when its Semitic name returned to use (see pp. 119, 142). This site is the present Kh. Inwas 149 138; see Maps 2, 7b, 14, 19, 34, 46. The city claimed to be the same as the N.T. Emmaus, and most Christians of the Byzantine or early Arab periods seem to have accepted this identity, despite the existence of two readings of the distance mentioned in Luke 24.13 (see I. M. Abel, *Geog.* 2.315), one of which indicated a place considerably closer to Jerusalem. The longer distance evidently caused difficulties to some people, which commentaries occasionally try to remove (c.440 A.D. (a) 57-44 but cf. 1050 A.D.: 117-63). Nicopolis evidently contained a mixed population: there was a rabbinic school there (see *R.E.J.* 60(1910)106) and *SEG* 8.165 records Jewish burial inscriptions of the 5/6th centuries: probably a Samaritan synagogue (see *R.E.* 1894, 254 and 1896, 433): and there is an inscription "Fine is the city of the Christians" (*R.E.* 1913, 160) perhaps of the fourth century. There are extensive remains of two churches, *CBC* 53-63 of the late 5th or early 6th c. and *CBC* 54-64 (to its north) of the 6th c.
- Jerome (p. 47 above) may imply that there was a house-church of Cleopas in the city in 386 A.D., and it is possible that the "place of martyrdom" mentioned by Theodosius (p. 65 above) is the same. In the mid-5th century we hear also of another holy place "just beyond the city, where three roads meet, the spot where Christ... took leave of Cleopas and his companion... At this place is a healing spring where Christ and the disciples bathed their feet, and from that time the water became a cure for disorders" (Sozomen, *HE* 5.21-228f). The Emperor Julian (Theophrastus, *Chron.* (year 354 A.D.) - 160) had ordered that it should be blocked, but it evidently returned to use. It is also mentioned c. 850 A.D.: 4.236-876. The city was visited by St. Sabas, as a result of which a coenobium was founded there (Cyr. Sc. *V. Sab.* 120.25). The importance of the city was ended by the "Plague of Amwas", which began there in 639 A.D. and, according to Ya'kubi, *H.* - 150, killed a quarter of a million Palestinians. Though the church there was rebuilt in the Latin Kingdom the pilgrims are then regularly shown biblical Emmaus at various sites near Jerusalem. Maps 2, 7b, 14, 19, 34, 46.
- ENBIGNON**: See Bethphage.
- ENDOR**: about 3½ km. S.W. of modern En-dor, at Kh. Indar 186 227 or H. Safsaf (Ar. Kh. Safsaf 187 227): See Map 8.
- ENEAPOLIS**: See Hierapolis.
- EN-GEI** (Ar. Ain Jidi) 188 097, already had a synagogue in the third century (*R.E.* 1972, 582) and Eusebius describes it, *On.* 86.17, as a large Jewish village. The synagogue was rebuilt in the 5/6th c., *R.A.* 1957, 225 and 1958, 422. Paula looked out over it without visiting it, see p. 50 above, Map 14.
- EN KEREM** (Ar. Ain Karim) 165 130. The sixth century "house" of St. Elizabeth, mother of John Baptist (p. 65 above, "five miles from Jerusalem") is no doubt the same as the eighth-century "Church of the righteous Elizabeth" (*G.L.* 1184-231) "in the village of Encherim". It is also the same as the "family home" of John Baptist which Epiphanius the Monk (p. 119 above) says is at "Mount Carmel" ("Carmel" like "Kerem", including the sounds equivalent to K-R-M) and as the "Church of the House of Zacharias" (939 A.D.: 312-135). There is a Byzantine church site dating from the 5/6th c. with two chapels (*CBC* 85/6-94f) in the present Church of Saint John, of which the larger, *CBC* 85, contains an inscription, "Hail, God's Martyr!" It is thus unlikely that either chapel is directly connected with John Baptist, though both may have formed part of some larger ecclesiastical complex.
- Another site, now the Church of the Visitation, has Byzantine remains (*CBC* 87-96) which include a rock cave. This seems to have formed the setting for commemorating a legend which formed part of the *Protevangelium of James* (22.3-387). It concerns the time when Herod sends to slay the Innocents, and Elizabeth takes the infant John Baptist and goes into the hill-country (*oratio* as in Luke 1.39), where she prayed, and a mountain was rent asunder and received her. This church and its commemoration (also including the word *Oratio*) are described by Daniel in 1106 A.D.: 59-50, and also in 1177 A.D.: 26-956, but, though they existed earlier were for some unknown reason not mentioned in our documents. The only earlier clue from our documents is Epiphanius' word "Mount" in association with "Carmel". Daniel also speaks of the place where John Baptist was born, and, as he describes it, it may well be at or near the site of the present St. John's church, even though the Byzantine remains there are not enough to fix the location precisely. See Maps 20, 34.
- En Sheva**: See Seven Springs.
- ENTHENANETH**: See Scythopolis.
- EPHA**: See Sycaminum.
- EPHESUS**, capital of the Diocese of Asia, now Efes, Turkey: for the Tomb of the Seven Sleepers see pp. 70 and 126 above; for the Church of St. John Ev. p. 126; and for the episcopate of Lazarus p. 144. Maps 13, 36.
- EPHRAIM, MOUNT**, part of the view seen by St. Paula, p. 51 above. The biblical area of this name is defined by Josh. 16.1-8.
- EPHRAATA, EPHRATH**: See p. 49 above, and Rachel's Tomb.
- EPIPHANEIA**: See Hamath.
- EREMUS**: See Seven Springs.
- Esud**: See Azotus.
- ESHCOL**, the valley from which Joshua and Caleb brought the grapes, Num. 13.23: shown to St. Paula (p. 50 above) between Bethsur and the Oak of Mamre, where the most obvious valley is the W. of Raf 156 109. On its south bank is shown the village Beit Kahel 156 108 which P. Thomson (*LS* 62, against *SWP* 3.303) believed to be called Beit Sakhel, and thus to preserve the name heard by Jerome and Paula. Maps 5, 14.
- ETHIOPIA**, p. 87.
- ETNA, MOUNT**, in Sicily: see p. 125 above.

- EUCHAITA** in Galatia, possibly at Aykut, 22 miles east of Çorum, Turkey and about 100 miles S.S.W. of Sion: p. 67 above.
- EUPHRATES, RIVER**: See pp. 67, 89 above. Map 23.
- EUROPE**, see p. 113.
- EUTHYMIUS, St., MONASTERY OF**, which contains his tomb in a chapel, of the late 5th c.: *CBC* 97-103 at Khan el Ahmar 181 133: see pp. 120, 129 above: this is probably the monastery which was mentioned in the *Comitum*. 35 - p. 137 above. See Maps 9, 34, 38, 42.
- Evron** 159 265: 5th c. church with inscriptions of 415, 441 and 490 A.D. *CBC* 57 a/c - 67. See Map 7.
- Fahma** 167 199: Jewish ornaments on architectural fragments suggest a synagogue, *RCS* 28-25. See Map 7.
- Fara, Ain and Kh.**: See Paran (2).
- FARAMA**: See Pelusium.
- Farwana, Tulai**: See Rehov.
- Feiran**: See Paran (1).
- FIELD, THE LORD'S**: See Gilgal.
- Filastin**: See Palestine, or Ramla.
- FLOCK, TOWER OF THE**: See Shepherds.
- Forokins, Mount of the**: See Gilgal.
- FRANCE**: See p. 141 above.
- FRISING**, see p. 134 above.
- Fukus, Jebel**: See Gilboa, Mount.
- Ful, Tell el**: See Gibeon (3).
- FULLER'S FIELD**: See Siloam.
- Fureidis, Jebel**: See Herodium.
- Fustat, el**: See Babylon.
- GAASIL, MOUNT**, to the north of which Joshua was buried, Josh. 24.30: see p. 51 above. The name probably refers to the mountain area with Bir Zeit 169 153 at its centre.
- GABAT**, see Map 7b, and Gibeon (1).
- GABBATHA***: See Praetorium.
- GADARA**, now Umm Qeis 214 229: a distinguished member of the Decapolis promoted by Antoninus Pius to the status of an independent city of Coele Syria: mentioned on pp. 54 and 70 above. Its well-known baths at Hammam Gader (Ar. el Hammam 212 232) were described in our period by Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.7-339 and also on p. 81 above, and in the last century by C. Schumacher, *ZDPV* 1886, 296ff. For its synagogue see *RCS* 32-27. It is hard to account for the Piacenza pilgrim's statement that Gadara "is Gibeon" (p. 81 above). But it is just possible that he was confused by information about another Gadara (the Gedor of I Chr. 12.7 = Judeira 168 140) beside O. T. Gibeon (= el Jib 167 139). See also Chorazin, and Maps 8, 19, 25.
- GAD-YAVAN***: See Siloam.
- GAETA**, Seventy-five miles S.E. of Rome, in Campania, Italy: See p. 125 above, and Map 36.
- Gadil, H.**: See Jalil, Kh.
- GALILEE**, the province, is mentioned on pp. 70, 79, 81, 89, 128, and 138 above. Note also its capital, Scythopolis, p. 81: the division into Lower and Upper Galilee, p. 54; for the Sea of Galilee see Tiberias, Lake of; and in Jerusalem for the Galilee Gate see p. 66 above, and for "Galilee", perhaps meaning the shrine of the Ascension, p. 61 above, and Mount of Olives.
- GALLIANORUM or CHELIDONUM or CANDELORUM, MOUNT**, a harbour east of Myra in Lycia, now Candelor, Turkey: p. 126 above, and Map 36.
- GANGRA** in Paphlagonia, now Çankiri, Turkey: p. 67 above, and Map 13.
- Garda**, once Carlia, Italy: p. 134 above, and Map 40.
- GARGANUS, MOUNT**, in Apulia, Italy, now M. Gargano, 70 miles N.W. of Bari: p. 141 above, and Map 43.
- GATES* OF JERUSALEM**: See Jerusalem.
- GATH** (the biblical city) mentioned on p. 54 above.
- GAULANITIS**: p. 54 above.
- GAURUS, MONS**: See Gold, Mount of.
- GAZA** (Ar. Ghazza) 099 101, an important city of Palestine (Eusebius *On.* 62.26) which, according to Jerome, occupied a site different from that of ancient Gaza (*L. loc.* 63.22): mentioned above pp. 54, 65 and 142. Rigans there energetically resisted the expansion of Christianity in the 4th c. A.D., and their main temple, the Marcium, was not destroyed till 406 A.D., when the Empress Eudokia replaced it by a church: a series of events vividly described by Mark the Deacon in his *Life of Porphyry*. 19-18: see also Sozomen, *E.H.* 5.9f-204f, 7.15-321; Jerome *C. Iul.* 17.2f-268, and Theodoret, *E.H.* 3.17-182. The Jerusalem Talmud speaks of an idol which was worshipped near Gaza at Yord, possibly Tell en Nuqid or Tell es Sonan 092 097 where there was a Sorapeum: p.A.Z. 1.4-1 and *R.B.* 1920, 174.
- The Piacenza pilgrim admired Gaza for its civilisation, p. 85 above, into which we have an insight through our knowledge of the Christian rhetor Choricus, who was at work in the city about thirty years earlier: *R.A.* 1931, 5/31. Though the city plan is only partly visible on the Madaba Map, 116-74 a large church is to be seen which may be Eudokia's. The city was violently destroyed in the civil war of A.D. 797: Stephen of St. Saba, *Acts of the Twenty Martyrs* - 167. Gaza seems to have had little special interest to pilgrims. It was indeed Samson's city (p. 142 above, and Jud. 16.2, 23/31) where he wrought many miracles (1172 A.D.: 36-83). But we do not even know the identity of the "holy place" mentioned on p. 131 above.
- For the road from Jerusalem to Gaza see pp. 65, 85 above, and for the "old road" (cf. Acts 8.26), see p. 50 above. Its antiquities include a Jewish architectural fragment and mosaic *RCS* 30(1) and (5) - 25/6, and an inscribed column, probably from a synagogue of the 4/5th c., *RCS* 30(3) - 26 (= *SEG* 8.276). The Samaritan inscription (*RE* 1906, 84) may belong to the Arab period. No church building has been discovered from before the time of the Crusades, but there are many Christian burial inscriptions of the 5/6th and 8th c., *SEG* 8.270/5 and *RB* 1894, 248. See Maps 1, 4, 7b, 16, 19, 24, 26, 27, 38, 44, 46.
- GEBUS**: Map 8.
- Gedor**: See Gadara.

- GEHONNA***: See p. 53 above and the article on Hades below.
- GENARA**, an otherwise unknown name, mentioned on p. 70 above as one of the thirteen cities of Arabia.
- Gelemish**: See Palara.
- GENNESAR, LAKE**, the name used on p. 107 above for the Lake of Tiberias, q.v. see (for instance) Mark 6.53.
- GENNESARET, MOUNT**: See Seven Springs.
- GEORGE, GUEST-HOUSE OF**: twenty miles beyond Elusa to the south, p. 87 above, which would agree with the position of Oboda (Aydat, Ar. Abda 128 022). Its extensive ruins, for which see *Illustrated London News*, 26 November 1960, pp. 944/7, contain churches *CBC* 11/13-23/6. It is also possible that the guest-house was at Nessana, as shown on Map 26.
- GEORGE*, ST., IN JERUSALEM**, mentioned on p. 137 above may be the same as the early 6th c. chapel of St. George, *CBC* 70a/b - 81 at Giv'at ha-Kiryas, (Ar. Sheikh Bader, 169 133). This is also, according to J. T. Milik, *R.E.* 1960, 567 and *MU* 1961, pp. 138 ff., to be identified with the chapel beside a home for the aged which was founded by Empress Eudokia (Cyril Scyth., *V.J. H.* - 204.9): the chapel seems to have been built by a priest named Euphrosius (*GL* 1379 - 2.53. See also c. 760 A.D.: 23.11).
- Georgiopolis**: See Diocletian.
- Gitar**: See Calvary, Well of.
- Gemrit, H.** (Ar. Kh. Umra Jarar) 096 092: mid-6th c. church, *CBC* 131-129. See Map 7.
- GERASA**, now Jarash 234 187: mentioned on p. 70 above as one of the thirteen cities of Arabia: See also Map 19, Chorazin.
- GERASIMUS, MONASTERY OF ST.**, containing his tomb (see p. 138 above) was, according to Epiphanius the Monk, p. 121 above, three miles east of Jericho, and about a mile from the Holy River Jordan (John Moschus, *Pr.* 107-2965) and a vestal from the Convent of St. Pohn on the Jordan (1106 A.D.: 34-30). All these indications should make it clear where it was, but we learn that already in 1177 A.D.: 23-952 it had almost disappeared. The tradition is now attached to Deir Hagla, 197 136, Map 10.
- GERGESA**: See Chorazin.
- GERIZIM, MOUNT, and MOUNT EBAL** each appear twice on the Madaba Map, once near Jericho with the names in the LXX Greek form (27/8-44) and once near Shechem in Aramaic (Tour Garzin, Tour Gobel: (36/7-47). The Bible seems to offer support for both sides: for the one near Jericho at Deut. 11.30, which places the mountains "over against Gilgal", and, for the one near Shechem, at Judges 9.7. The rabbis who preferred the site near Jericho (*Sifre Deut.* 56) were no doubt reflecting hostility to the Samaritans, who preferred the (true) site near Shechem.
- Several Christians in the 4th c. seem to have joined the rabbis in this anti-Samaritan interpretation, one of them being Eusebius (see *On.* 64.10). The clearest Christian exponent of this position is Epiphanius in *Gene.* - 184/93. He tells us that there were idols hidden in Mount Gerizim, and that the Samaritans were therefore unknowingly idolaters (cf. *Haer.* 9.2-199, but contrast p. 134 above): moreover it "cannot be the true Gerizim". The Bible spoke of a group of tribes standing on Gerizim to bless the people, and another group standing on Ebal "for the curse", Deut. 27.12: Epiphanius asks how any one in the valley could hear voices from the top of the mountain when "its height is a mile or more". He therefore rejects the mountains near Shechem and prefers those near Gilgal "which are small hills about two miles east (of Jericho) and slightly to the south", suggesting a location near Tulul en Nitla 196 139 and Kh. el Mugheir 195 138. In 387/9 A.D. (*L. loc.* 65.19/21) Jerome followed this line of interpretation, but had revised it by 404 A.D.: p. 51 above, when he had been through a further fifteen years of biblical study. Since Jerome wrote *Letter* 108 (and perhaps because of it) Christians seem to have accepted the authenticity of the mountains above Shechem without question, Gerizim being Jebel et Tur 176 179 and Ebal Jebel Islamiya 176 181.
- The Bordeaux pilgrim (who had been shown the site near Shechem 586.3-154) speaks of the 1,300 steps to its summit, and also of the Samaritans' belief that it was the place where Abraham sacrificed Isaac (cf. 1177 A.D.: 13-940), and on p. 76 above appears a more detailed description by Procopius of Caesarea (who seems to provide the source for John Malalas 15-568). There had once been a temple of Zeus on the summit of Mount Gerizim (see Photius, *Bibl.* 242-1284 and Abel, *Geog.* 1365). The buildings described by Procopius include the church of c. 484 A.D., *CBC* 143-140 and the fortress walls round it, *HM* - 1257. Inside this church was found a stone with an inscription of the 6/7th c.: ΑΓΙΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΡΑΝΙΟΥ, *SEG* 8.134, meaning "A stone from holy Calvary".
- GERMANICIA** in Cilicia II (pace Theodosius, p. 71 above), now Maras, Turkey, 100 miles N.N.E. of Antioch, Map 23.
- GETHSEMANE*** (Matt. 27.36), a name meaning "oil-press", is east of the Kidron valley (John 18.1, see also Valley of Jehoshaphat) and contained a garden frequented by Jesus and his disciples. After Jesus' prayer of Agony (Mk. 14.32/42) Judas came there to betray him (Lk. 22.47/53) and have him arrested (Mk. 14.53). Gethsemane seems to have been used as a Christian place of prayer before any church was built in it: thus Eusebius, *On.* 74.16 describes it as a "place on the Mount of Olives where once Christ prayed (see the prayer of Agony) and where now the faithful are diligent in making prayer". At this place, probably between 379 and 384 A.D. (Theodosius I's accession, 939 A.D.: -6.152, and Egeria's departure, *Tr.* 36.1-135, cf. Jerome *L. loc.* 75.19) a "graceful church" was built, whose remains (*CBC* 73-84) are incorporated in the present Church of All Nations. This church must rather have been finally destroyed by the earthquake of A.D. 746 (since Willibald is the last to have seen it in 724/5 A.D.: 21-131 above) than, as Eusebius thought (939 A.D.: -1.215), by the Persians in 614. In speaking of a Gethsemane rock taken to the Tomb of the Virgin, p. 99 above, it is possible Adamantius misunderstood Arculf.
- In c. 440 A.D. Hesyclus of Jerusalem, *Diff.* 36-1424 says that Gethsemane lies at the foot of the Mount of Olives, and that from it

Jesus withdrew a stone's throw towards the crest of the mountain: after praying he came to Gethsemane where he was arrested. The phrasing of Luke 22.41, "a stone's throw" warns us not to seek the place of betrayal and arrest too far below the "graceful church" we have discussed (against J. T. Milik, *RB* 1960, 500/5, followed in 1971 by the present author, *Eg*, 7: p. 53, 7: 36.2). Now think that these words of Ignatius "There are a great many people . . . church candles" are likely to be a general comment on the whole descent rather than a description of the part of it between the "graceful church" and Gethsemane. The Bordenaux pilgrim tells us that the place of betrayal was a rock in a vineyard (594.6 - 159 cf. Cyril Jer. *Cal.* 10.19, 13.38 - 688, 817), and it was still being commemorated there in the early sixth c. when it is again mentioned in the *Breviarium* 7 - p. 61 above: cf. pp. 83, 120 and perhaps also 145 above. Bernard in 870 A.D.: 13 - 144 above and Peter the Deacon (*Eg*, 7: 1 - 184) in 1137 A.D. may both indicate that the arrest was in their time remembered inside the cave. But it is more probable that they are both explaining where the cave is: Bernard calls it a church (since presumably it was arranged as one), but Peter's phrasing may well have misrepresented the situation.

The *Breviarium*, 7 - 61, is also the first document telling us of a place "where the Lord had supper with his disciples and from which he went up onto the Mount". This, according to the Piacenza pilgrim (p. 83 above) was at the place of betrayal, and the supper in question was the one mentioned in about 560 A.D. by Eutychius of Constantinople as the "first supper" of the Passion and Passover, "which included the Sabbath purification and was held in Gethsemane" (his "second supper" being the one at Bethany, Jn 12.2, and the third the Last Supper on *Sion: Servit. de Pasch.* - 2392). Since this "first supper" is hard to identify in the gospels themselves it is not surprising that we find Theodosius (p. 66, cf. p. 99 above) describing it as the supper at which the feet-washing took place. Theodosius mentions four couches (cf. p. 83 above) which Bernard later calls "tables", p. 287 above, which sound like tomb-shelves (see V. Corbo, *Ricerche Archeologiche al Monte degli Ulivi* (PSEF 16), Jerusalem 1965, pp. 1/57). Arculf saw two wells in the cave (p. 99 above) and the couches for Epiphanius the Monk have been further interpreted as the "twelve thrones" of the Last Judgement (Matt. 19.28 and cf. Seven Springs, Dodecatheon). It is tempting to see a connexion between Egeria 36.2/3 - 135 f., where "over two hundred candles" are carried down the Mount to Gethsemane, and Theodosius p. 66 who says that two hundred monks go down to the cave: see J. T. Milik, *RB* 1960, 550.

The *Breviarium* (7 - 61 above) also mentions "the basilica of Mary and her tomb" (see also pp. 66, 92, 120, and 137 above). The Piacenza pilgrim tells us that it was said to be "her house and the place where she was taken up from this life" (17 - p. 83 above). This is the first phrase from the pilgrim literature which plainly expresses acceptance of belief in the Assumption of the Virgin. But questions about such a belief were already being asked by 377 A.D., as can be seen from Epiphanius' refusal to reply clearly (*Haer.* 78.11 - 3.462), and descriptions of the Assumption must already have been current for some time in c. 400 A.D. since there are considerable differences between the two early *Transitus Mariae* published by C. Tischendorf, *Apocryphes apocryphae*, Leipzig 1866, 112/23, 124/36. The pilgrims themselves who mention the Tomb of the Virgin all seem to take the Assumption for granted, though Adomnan, 1.12.3 - p. 99 above, and the editor of the abridged version of Willibald (Tobler-Molinier, *Mon. Hier.* 1291) both insert expressions of doubt drawn from the same source as Ps. Jerome, *Ep.* 9.2, *PL* 30.123 CD. By the time the church in Gethsemane was visited by Bernard in 870 A.D. it had become damaged: he probably describes the church as being also her birthplace, which (in his phrasing, which may be confused, see p. 144 above) might imply that in his time this commemoration had been transferred from the Probatica, which he does not mention. But the birth of Mary was certainly remembered at the Probatica in the Latin Kingdom (e.g. 1102 A.D. - 32).

We know that the church existed in about A.D. 500 when the *Breviarium* was written, and it is therefore not unreasonable to accept the evidence of the source used by St. John Damascene, *Hym.* 21.18 - 7481 that it existed in the time of Bishop Juvenal (425/59 A.D.). The "monastery of St. Mary on the Mount of Olives" (p. 77 above) was by 1172 A.D. (23 - 57f.) Al Mas'udi (943 A.D. - 182) probably intended the Tomb of the Virgin when he said that there was a Tomb of David in Gethsemane.

Near the Virgin's Tomb was a church of St. Leontius (*G.L.* 1359 - 2.51 says it was founded by Aphronius, see also p. 137 above): by 870 A.D. Bernard, p. 144 above, tells us that it had attracted to itself a commemoration of the Lord's Second Coming. Also in Gethsemane at a site not yet known was a monastery for men and a church of St. Julian founded before 435 A.D. by Flavia (526 A.D.: 5 - 83, Cyril Sc., *V. Theog.* - 241, and *G.L.* 1006 - 2.13).

Not till the coming of the Friars Minor to Palestine in A.D. 1335 was Christ's prayer of Agony celebrated in the Gethsemane cave, as now attested by the early fourteenth-century inscription on the roof of the cave, Map 29: cave (or "cave") Maps 11, 17, 18, 21, 30, 33, 45; Place of Agony, 11, 39, 45; Tomb of the Virgin, 11, 18, 21, 30, 33, 39, 41, 45.

Gevat 170 232: stone decorated with five-armed candlestick suggests the existence of a synagogue, *RCS* 40 - 32. See Map 7.

Gezer, Tel (Ar. Tell Abu Shusha): Moabit suggests existence of a church *ASP* 2 - 136, 75/9 - 158. See Map 7.

Ghamayim, Kh.: See Umm el Amad, Kh. (2).

GIBEAH (1) in Galilee, p. 54 above was founded by Herod the Great according to Josephus, *War* 3.36: it may have been at el Harithiya 160 236, as suggested by B. Mazar, *HUCA* 24 (1952/3) 75/84 or Bet She'anin (Ar. Sheikh Abreig) 162 234, *Abel. Géog.* 2.321 f.

GIBEAH (2) ON PHINEAS is in our period mentioned only by Egeria (*PL* 2 - 186f, and Jerome, p. 51 above). They seem to describe Kh. Siya 165 155, near Ibbia, with its church *CBC* 125 - 124: see *K.B.* 1946, 268f. *De Situ* in 1130 A.D. confuses this Gibeah with Gibeah of Saul (- 428).

See Map 7.

GIBEAH (3) OF SAUL, pp. 47 and 48 n. 23 above. This site, near Rama (er Ram 172, 140, Jerome, *COs.* 5.8f - 56) is the present Tell el Pul 172 136. It was already ruined by the late fourth century (Jerome, *C. Soph.* 1.15 - 673). Maps 2, 14.

GIBEON, the city which entered Joshua into an alliance, Josh. 9.3 ff. The site suggested by Eusebius, *On.* 66.13 is unknown to us (see *R.B.* 1934, 352/6), but the one known to Josephus, *War* 2.516, Epiphanius *Haer.* 46.5 - 209, perhaps Egeria (*Tr.* (P) 2 - 191) and certainly Jerome (p. 47 above) is el Jib 167 139. Map 14. This village probably contained the church of St. Isidore (*G.L.* 984, 1341 - 2.11, 49). This was also the biblical site: see *BAJOR* 160 (1960) 2/6. The "Mountain of Gibeon" near Jericho is Jebel Quruntul 190 142, and belongs to a later and entirely different topography (1106 A.D.: 36 - 32), and it is not clear how the Piacenza pilgrim came to identify Gibeon with Gadara (q.v.).

GILION, RIVER, is identified with the Nile (cf. Gen. 2.13 and p. 142 above) Theodosius, 16 - p. 69 above no doubt says that it passes near Jerusalem because I Kgs. 1.33 gives "Gihon" as the name of the city's ancient spring, but the location of this spring seems to have been unknown in our period, since it is nowhere mentioned as having been pointed out to pilgrims.

GILBOA (1), MOUNT, near Jezreel is the biblical name of Jebel Fuku'a, and seems to underlie the name of a village there called Gebus, now Jalbun 189 207 (*pace* H. Har Deroma, *PEQ* 1970, 116ff): see Eusebius, *On.* 72.10 and *Eg* (P) V5 - 201: as *De Situ* - 424 and contrast 1173 A.D.: - 34). Map 26.

GILBOA (2), MOUNT, in the Shephelah, seems never to have existed, since it is never mentioned except by the Piacenza pilgrim (p. 85 above), and he simply seems to have confused the name. See also Huzana.

GILGAL was "on the east border of Jericho" according to Josh. 4.19 (followed by Eusebius, *On.* 64.25) and either two miles or one mile from Jericho (cf. Aritha: *On.* 46.18 and Theodosius 1 - p. 63 above: Jerome gave "two" miles in *L. loc.* 67.5, which he probably translated from the *On.* but, though he quotes Jerome's words, Adomnan on p. 106 above gives "five" miles, which is presumably a mistake). The site seems to have been visible from Tell es Sultan (Bord. 597.3 - 161 and perhaps p. 51 above). Both the Madaba Map, 5 - 36, and Daniel 35 - 32 suggest a site on the north east (Daniel's "summer east") of Jericho, and it has been suggested by B. M. Bennett, *PEQ* 1972, 116, 120 that it may have been Tell el Jum 1426 1934, though note that it is not certain that this Byzantine building was a church, and it may have been a synagogue, *RCS* 106 - 68: see Map 10. Unfortunately the directions we have do not enable us to locate it with confidence. J. T. Milik, *RB* 1959, 566 is surely right to envisage some of the pilgrims coming from the Jordan to Tell es Sultan by some other route than through the town of Jericho.

Eusebius mentions the "Mound of the Forefathers" as a place "in Gilgal" (cf. Josh. 4.19, 5.10), but says that what are pointed out there are "the Twelve Stones", held in reverence by the "mortals" (or pagans) of the district (*On.* 66.5, compare *Tus. Sota* 8.6). We cannot be certain that these are the same as the stones mentioned a century and a half later by the Piacenza pilgrim (p. 82 above) since these were laid behind the altar of a Christian basilica, and may have been a site created to compete with the one used by the pagans. Arculf saw the stones arranged differently in a "great church" (p. 106 above) which, may well be the one shown on the Madaba Map, and identical with the one seen by the Piacenza pilgrim. The fact that the Madaba Map shows the stones outside the church need not be taken too literally. Willibald, who saw the stones about forty years after Arculf, found them in a "small wooden church" (p. 129 above), perhaps because the earlier church had been destroyed in an earthquake, either that of 672 or that of 710 A.D. By the time of the Latin Kingdom the church containing the stones also commemorated the meeting of Joshua with the captain of the Lord's host (Josh. 5.14) later identified with Michael the Archangel.

Both Theodosius (pp. 63, 69 above, apparently late passages) and the Piacenza pilgrim describe the Lord's field (cf. 13 - p. 82 above) and both probably were told of the Lord's Vine (cf. 14 - p. 82). See Maps 14, 19, 22, 38.

GINAEA: See Ullias.

GISCHALA: See Gush Hishar.

Givat haKiryat: See George in Jerusalem.

Givat haMore: See Hermonim.

Givat Hananyu: See Deir Abu Tor.

Goksun: See Cucusus.

GOLD, MOUNT OF, p. 144 above and Map 47. Bernard's cave with seven altars is near Olevano sul Tusciano, Monte Raione, to the north of Ehol: see F. Avil/J. R. Gebort, "L'itinéraire Bernardi Monachi et les pèlerinages d'Italie du Sud dans le haut Moyen-Âge", in *MAH* 79(1967), 269 - 98 and A. Petrucci, in *Millénaire Monastique du Mont Saint-Michel III, Culte de St. Michel*, ed. M. Baudot, Paris 1971, p. 344.

GOLGOTHA: See Tomb of the Lord.

Goli Kide: See Tarsus.

GOMORRAH: See Sodom.

GOPHNA, now Jifna 170 152: Map 6.

GOSHEN, LAND OF: mentioned p. 52 above.

GREAT PLAIN(S) of Galilee, now Hamaq Yizre'el (Ar. Marij Ibn Amir) 170, 225, pp. 52, 54 above.

GREAT SEA, or Mediterranean: See p. 54 above.

Gush Hishar (Ar. el Jish), 192 270: Two synagogues, *RCS* 45 - 34. This site is taken to have been Gischala. See Map 7.

HADAD-RIMMON, see p. 47 n. 6, and Maximianopolis.

Hadatha, Kh. el, 151 143: 5th c. chapel enlarged to serve a monastery: it stopped being used in 6th c. *CBC* 107 - 110. See Map 7.

HADES, CHIMNEY OF, near Lot's Wife: an unlocated site south and east of the Cave of John Baptist (p. 121): compare the interpretation of the hole in the floor of Gethsemane Cave, p. 120.

Haifa: See Syzaminum.

Haiyan, Kh., 176 146: the Wall is built on the apse of what was probably a monastery chapel of the 5/6th c.: *RB* 1970, 393. See Map 7.

HALFWAY POINT BETWEEN ELIM and Mount Sinai, mentioned in *Eg*, *Tr.*, 6.1 - 100 and (P) Y. 12 - 208, also on p. 73 above, as the place where God sent down the manna and the children of Israel kept the first Sabbath. Probably Abu Zenima 955 830.

HALICARNASSUS: p. 126 n. 12 above, now Budrum, Turkey, 75 miles N.W. of Rhodes.

Halusa, H.: See Elusa.

HAMATH, Isa. 36.19. Zech. 9.2, had the Greek name of Epiphanius Syriae (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.138; pp. 54, 89 above) and is now Hama in Syria 312 503. This Hamath was distinguished from Hamath the Great (Anios 6.2) by Jerome, who took the latter to be Antioch. Compare Jerome *C. Anios* 6.2/6 - 301.78/85 and Eusebius, *On.* 90.7f. Maps 23, 25, 28.

HAMMELMOUTH near HAMWICH is now Hamblehaven, Hampshire, England, but Hamwich itself has disappeared: p. 125 above, and Map 36.

Hamma, el (Heb. Hammat Gader): See Gadara.

Hamman Bishim Basha: See Tibetias (1).

Hammat diTabariya: See Tibetias (1) and Map 7.

Hanita (Ar. Hanuta, Kh.) 166 276: 5th or 6th c. church, *CBC* 59 - 70. See Map 7.

Hanita, Nahal: See Bezet.

Haram el Khalil: See Hebron.

Haram Ramat el Khalil: See Terebinth.

Haram esh Sherif: See Temple*

HARAN, where Abraham was born (*Gen.* 12.4, p. 89 above) contained a church "where Abraham's house originally used to stand" in 384 A.D. when it was visited by Egeria, *Tr.* 20(3), 5 - 118. The city is now Haran, twenty-five miles south east of Urfu, Turkey. Map 28.

Harithiya, el: See Gibeah (1).

Harun, Jebel: See Hor, Mount.

Hassan, Tell, 193 140: 4/5th c. Church of the Theotokos (compare "Elisha's Spring", p. 156 above, and Procopius, *Buildings* 5.IX.5 - p. 76 above). *CBC* 64 - 74. See Map 7.

Hazer Ashdod (Ar. Kh. Baniya) 123 131: church, *CBC* 61 - 72. See Map 7.

HEBRON (Ar. el Khalil 160 103) was a large village in Eusebius' time (*On.* 6.8) and was well-populated in the seventh century, despite the destruction of its walls (p. 105 above). At the end of our period it was "destroyed by the Saracens" and deserted (1102 A.D.: - 37; 1106 A.D.: 51 - 42. After 1173 A.D.: - 40) it was again described as a city. Its principal holy place is the sanctuary surrounding the cave of Mepeleh ("Double Cave", pp. 65, 105 above) in which were buried, according to *Gen.* 49.21, the three patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob with their wives Sarah, Rebecca and Leah: the connection with Abraham gave rise to the names Abrahim, *Eg* (P) N2, 190, and Afrania, p. 131 above. Maps 5, 14, 19, 26, 33.

The sanctuary, now known as the Haram el Khalil comprises a rectangular walled enclosure made of fine stonework (Bord. 599.7 - 163) which stood outside the city wall to the east (p. 105 above). Its style is very like that of the enclosure wall of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, and it is therefore likely that Herod the Great built it as a cult-centre for Idumea much in the same way that he provided similar centres at Sebaste, Caesarea, and Panias (none of which were for orthodox Jewish worship). For the heterodox local cult of Abraham see "Terebinth" below, p. 173.

Under the floor of the enclosure was the tomb-cave, and on the floor were cenotaphs. The enclosure had no roof (*Eg* (P) N2 - 190 and was still in the sixth century surrounded by four porticoes (p. 85 above) and divided by a screen down the middle so that Christians could use one half and Jews the other: a contemporary Christian inscription which includes the words "Give help, St. Abraham" *SEG* 8.240 can still be seen inside the east corner of the enclosure wall. Epiphanius the Monk used the name of "Double Cave" (or the Cave of the Nativity, p. 117 above (see Bethlehem) which suggests that Christians were excluded from the sanctuary from some time soon after the Muslim conquest. The enclosure was restored by the Fatimid Caliph al Mahdi in 918 A.D. (1047 A.D.: - 61) and was used as the Friday mosque in 951 A.D.: - 59. Possibly the Jews may for a time have shared the enclosure with the Muslims in the way they had with the Christians (Benjamin of Tudela, *Tr.* - 40), but at least they had access to some part of the enclosure or cave. Arculf (p. 105 above) noted that the feet of the tombs pointed south, which suggests that their present arrangement is Christian, or at least pre-Islamic, since Palestinian Muslims bury their dead with the feet to the east so that the face can be turned to face south, which is the direction of Mecca.

Other holy places mentioned as being in or near Hebron during our period are a Tomb of St. Caleb, *Eg* (P) N2 - 190, and see p. 50 above, which was near the Haram: a Tomb of Abner, *Eg* (P) N2 - 190; and a House of David (*Ibid.*, p. 65 above: also 1106 A.D.: 53 - 44). The latter may have been connected in some way with the celebration of the Feast of Jacob and David on 25th (*AL* 71 - 275) or 26th (p. 85 above) December. The mention of the eleven sons of Jacob in connection with Hebron (*Eg* (P) N2 - 190) ought rather to be connected with Shechem.

In the tenth century the Muslim hostels were known as the House of Abraham (985 A.D.: - 48, 1047 A.D.: - 61, and in the Latin Kingdom pilgrims were shown both the places where Adam was created and where he went for Abel for a hundred years (1130 A.D.: - 414 etc.).

The connexion of Adam with Hebron began by the attempt to interpret its name Kiriath-arba, *Gen.* 23.2, which means the City of the Four. Obviously, the interpreters assumed, three of the four were the patriarchs, and it seems that the local Christians took Saint Caleb to be the fourth (as suggested by Jeremias, *Hg.* p. 98, n. 4). The alternative theory, favoured by some of the rabbis, that the fourth was the "Adam the Great" mentioned in Josh. 14.15, was vigorously promoted by Jerome: see *O.H. Gen.* 23.2 - 28 etc. Jeremias, *Hg.* p. 96, n. 3 and cf. p. 105 above. Thus Jerome rejected Origen's idea that Adam was buried at Calvary (*In Matt. Com.* series 127 - 265.1/11: see Jerome, *C. Eph.* 5.14 - 526 and Epiphanius, *Haer.* 46.5 - 2.208f.). These theories are not repeated by later writers, and from 570 A.D.: (p. 85 above; see also 1102 A.D.: - 37 and 1047 A.D.: - 61) the fourth patriarch seems to

have been identified as Joseph, despite the explicit statement of Josh. 24.32 that his bones were buried in Shechem.

Heftz-bah: See Beit Alfa.

HEIDENHEIM, p. 135 above.

HELENA'S TOMB*: Josephus *Ant.* 20.95 mentions the "three pyramids" which Queen Helena of Adiabene erected outside Jerusalem, and they were still to be seen when Eusebius knew them (*HE* 2.12 - 132).

Jerome (p. 49 above) is the last writer to mention Helena's tomb till 1863, when the tomb-complex was re-discovered by F. de Saulcy and wrongly taken to be the Tombs of the Kings of Judah: see his *Carmes de Voyage en Orient*, 1845/69, Paris 1955, pp. 29, 167f, 185, and Vincent/Abel, *Jérusalem Ancienne* 346/63. The position of the Tomb at the junction of Nablus and Saladin roads 1717 1328 is the best guide to its identity, since the name "Saddan" found on a sarcophagus in the Tomb is nowhere explicitly identified with "Helena". See Maps 11, 15.

HELIAS, p. 54 above, is a misreading of Ginea (now Janin 177 207), the city mentioned by Josephus, *War.* 3.43.

HELIOPOLIS (1) in Egypt, biblical *On.* Map 1.

HELIOPOLIS (2) in Phoenicia, so called from its temple of Heliopolitan Jupiter, is now Baalbek in Lebanon: see p. 89 above, and Maps 25, 28.

HEPTAPEGON: See Seven Springs.

HERMIFUS, VILLAGE OF, see Agrippa.

HERMON, (1) LITTLE HILL OF: See Hermonim, and Jordan (Armona).

HERMON (2), MOUNT (Ar. Jebel ash Sheikh 225 310) p. 52 above, was also called Sirion (*Deut.* 3.9). In the fourth century there was pagan worship there (Eusebius, *On.* 20.9) and a temple (Jerome, *C. Ps.* 132.3 - 240) which an inscription from the summit suggests was dedicated to the "God Most Great and Holy": see *PEQ* 1903, 135/40, 231/42.

Hermon, Nahal: See Jordan.

HERMONIM, or LITTLE HERMON, is clearly identified by Ps-Origen, *Set. in Ps.* 88.1 - 1548, as Givat haMore (Ar. Jebel Duhl 183 224). See Map 8. Jerome is the last writer in our period to mention this site (p. 32 above and *Ep.* 46.13 - 344), but Egeria seems to have visited it and to have spoken of it as a place where "The Lord used to rest with his disciples" (Valerius, *Letter* 2b - 176), where he ate, and at which was a stone on which he rested his arms and a healing spring (*Eg* (P) P2 - 192). No further memory of this kind is recorded, though the place is again mentioned in the Latin Kingdom (1130 A.D.: - 423 and 1172 A.D.: 44 - 98). See also Mount Tabor.

Herodian (Ar. Jebel Fureidis, Heb. Har Herodas) 162 115: the ruins of the Herodian fortress were occupied by monks in the Byzantine period, *RB* 1964, 261, and a new chapel (so far unpublished) has been discovered next to the western road to Za'atara. Maps 5, 7.

HIERAPOLIS: "Hierapolis" (pp. 71 above) probably means the ancient Hierapolis which is now Mambij, Syria, 60 miles S.W. of Hama. See Map 23.

HIPPENE, p. 118 above, was the district belonging to Hippos, a city of the Decapolis. The city's remains are at Il. Susia (Ar. Qal'at el Hisan 212 242), a site containing four churches, *CBC* 171/4 - 174/8.

HIPPOTRONE: See Rachel's Tomb.

Hishani, Nahal: See Jordan.

HOLY CITY (meaning Jerusalem as in Matt. 27.53), pp. 57, 117, and 142 above. This usage probably gave its origin to the current Arabic name for Jerusalem which is "The Holy", *el Quds*.

HOLY MOUNTAIN: See Tabor.

Homs: See Hama.

HOR, MOUNT, on which Aaron died, Num. 20.22 (for HORITES see "Elutheropolis" above and Map 14), taken to be Jebel Harun 188 969, "ten miles" from Petra (Eusebius, *On.* 46.15, 176.7) on the summit of which it seems likely that there was a Byzantine monastery, *R.B.* 1936, 259/61.

Hordos, Har: See Herodium.

HOREB, MOUNT, as a name used in the Bible may well be an alternative name for all or part of Mount Sinai (see *Eg*, *Tr.* 4.2 - 95 and Jerome, *L. loc.* 173.15D). But Cosmas Indicopleustes (p. 73 above) places Horeb six miles beyond Paran, thus presumably identifying it with Jebel Serbal 019 782 (see Map 24), and the Piacenza pilgrim (p. 87 above) uses it as the name for Jebel el Deir 050 775, immediately to the east of Jebel Musa.

Horkania: See Mird, Kh. el.

Hubeila, Kh. el, 160 118: 6th c. church, perhaps associated with a monastery, *CBC* 116 - 118. See Map 7.

Hulda (Ar. Khudda) 141 136: Synagogue, *RCS* 36 - 30. See Map 7.

Hun, Tell: See Capernaum.

Husn, Tell el: See Seythopolis.

HYRCANIA: See Mird, Kh. el.

IARDA, or IARDES: See Jordan.

IBERIANUS*: See David*, Tower of, and p. 76 above.

Ibillin 168 247: Jewish dedication inscription suggests the existence of a synagogue, *RCS* 1 - 14. See Map 7.

IDUMAEA, pp. 52 and 54 above.

Iksal: See Xaloth.

Imwas: See Emmaus.

Inab, Kh. el: See Ajlun.

INDIA: the Piacenza pilgrim speaks of ships coming from India to Aila (p. 88) and Qlysna (p. 88 above: as Pliny *H.N.* 6.26 f. and *Eg* (P) Y6 - 206).

Ior, River: Map 25.

Irbid, Kh.: See Arbel, H.

Irma, Kh.: See Kefar Truaman.

Isawiya: See Nob.

- 22.14, as suggested in *RB* 1893, 258. See Map 7.

Itabyrium, see Syce Taburi.

Italy, p. 125 above.

Isnik: See Nicusa.

JACOB'S WELL: See Sychar.

Jaffa: see Joppa.

Jahannam, Wadi: See Jehoshaphat, Valley of.

Jahlan: See Gilboa, Mt.

Jail, Kh. (Heb.: H. 173 273), 5th c. church, *CBC* 114-117. See Map 7.

JAMES, SAINT: See Jehoshaphat, Valley of.

Jammala 159 153: church, *IBM* - 1269 in *RB* 1924, 235/45 and 1926, 129.

F. M. Abel argues that this, rather than Beit Final, was the Capthargamala where the remains of St. Stephen were discovered in A.D. 415. See Map 7.

JAMNIA was once the seat of a rabbinic court (*Mishnah, R. Sh. 4.1* - 192, cf. Benjamin of Tudela - 43). The inland city, now Yavne (Ar. Yibna 126 142) had a port (cf. Piny, *NH* 5.13: the site is now Il. Yavne Yam, Ar. Minat Rubin 121 148). Though the inland Jamnia seems to have been small, since Eusebius, *On* 106.20, describes it as a "town" and Stephen of Byzantium, c. 540 A.D.: - 212 as a "small city", its plan is shown on the Madaba Map 70 - 63. It survived as a fortress (891 A.D.: - 207) and boasted a magnificent mosque in 985 A.D.: - 207. Map 7b.

On the site of the inland city was found an inscription mentioning the erection of a Samaritan synagogue, *RCS* 113 - 72, which fits with John Rufus' statement (*V.P. Iber.* - 114) that there was a Samaritan population there. Probably the "townlet of the city of Jamnia" which he there mentions is a suburb of the inland city and not the port.

Empress Eudokia built there a hostel and a church of St. Stephen.

JANO: See Acramittene.

Jarash: See Gerasa.

Jard, Kh. el, 155 097: church, *CBC* 106 109. See Map 7.

JAULAN, EL: See Farlas.

Jebail: See Byblus.

JEBUS (or Jerusalem, see Josh 18.28), p. 49 above.

JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF, now generally known as the Kidron Valley, divides the walled city of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives (Eusebius, *On* 118.18). The name seems to have been used to describe the valley from the Tomb of the Virgin in the north to Siloam in the south (c. 670 A.D.: 16 - p. 144 above). The valley is associated with the Last Judgement because "Jehoshaphat" means "Yahweh judges", Joel 3.2, 12, cf. *Breviarium*, 7 - p. 61 above. It thus becomes identified with the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom (Gehenna), as on p. 53 above, despite the evidence of Josh. 19.16 (and 15.8) that Gehenna was to the south and west of the city. This identification was perhaps rejected by Jerome, who omitted it from his translation of Eusebius, *On* 170.8/10 (but cf. 70.2/4), and in *C. Matt.* 10.28 - 71 he may be speaking of another place. But the popular identification prevailed: thus it was believed that a brook in the Valley would belch flame at the end of the age (*Brev. loc. cit.*), and eventually the name for the valley which found its way into regular usage in Arabic was "Valley of Gehenna" (=Jahannam: 985 A.D.: - 202). Christians also came to call it "The Valley of Weeping", as on p. 120 above, and compare 1177 A.D.: 15 - 945.

The Valley was also called the Valley of Gethsemane (see pp. 83, 84 above) and in 1165 A.D.: 17 - 167 was the property of the monastery at the Virgin's Tomb in Gethsemane (q.v.). Otherwise its chief monuments were its rock-tombs, particularly those now called after Absalom and Zachariah (or, more correctly, the Tomb of the Bene Heriz), 1727 1325. During our period these were identified by a variety of names, which seem to apply to the monuments as follows:

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Aquiline" which follow this monastery in the *Commemoratorium* may also be in the Valley.

Perhaps we should seek to the Valley the place where Nathanael spoke with Philip and the fig-tree which the Lord cursed (see p. 120 above). For stepped streets in the valley see pp. 101, 120 and 138 above; the Valley is also mentioned on pp. 83, 95, 99, 100, 131, and 137 above, and shown on Map 18.

Jenin: See Helas.

Jerine, Kh.: See Yarin, Kh.

JEREMIAH'S PIT*: See Jerusalem 3. B. iii.

JERICHO is today located at el Ariha 193 140, a site which has remained constant since soon after 70 A.D. when its predecessor (at Tulul el Alayiq 191 140) was destroyed by the Romans. In our period it served as district capital of the "Region of Jericho" (Geo. Cypr. - 52), but was hardly ever important as a city in its own right. The remains of three churches of the Byzantine period have been found there, *CBC* 62/4 - 72/5. The city was frequently destroyed and rebuilt: thus the Ptolemaic pilgrim found its walls ruined (probably by the earthquake of 551 A.D.: p. 82 above) but thirty years later no damage appears on the Madaba Map (c. 600 A.D.: 25 - 44). The site was again ruined and deserted at the time of Arculf's visit, p. 106 above (cf. p. 129 where Willibrod passes the site without comment), but it recovered, for in the late ninth century Ya'kubi, G. - 8 speaks of it as "the city of al Ghor". This Jericho was ruined by an earthquake in A.D. 1033 (Ya'hya - 29), but evidently began to recover during the Latin Kingdom, since it is once more described as a small town in 1172 A.D.: 30 - 74. For the House of Rahab see above. Hisha's Spring, Jericho is also mentioned on pp. 53, 121, and 138 above, and on Maps 7, 9, 10, 14, 19, 26, 31, 34, 38.

The city's water supply is Elisha's spring (q.v.). Near the city founded by Oza and a tomb by the Roman road entering it along the south bank of the Wadi Qilt were shown the sycamore tree of Zacharias, (Bord. 597.1/6-161, who also mentions a tomb and fig. (P) 2 - 191, also pp. 51 and 82 above; the last mentions a chapel built round the tree). No tree is mentioned thereafter till 1106 A.D.: 35 - 31. The pilgrim then went on (see Jerome, p. 51 above) and saw the place beside the road where the blind men were restored by Jesus, but this place is not mentioned again in our period until the tenth century when Eucychius speaks of this as the miracle remembered at the "Church of Jericho" (*Deu* 328 - 140). It is then mentioned in 1170 (Anon. III. 9 - 133): such scattered references do not guarantee any continuity of site.

In Jericho in or before the fifth century was a rabbinic school called Beth Gadya or Beth Guria (Talmud, *ySora* 9.13 - 4), and the remains of a synagogue have been discovered a little to the north east of Tell es Sultan, *RCS* 42 - 33.

Jericho became and remained a great monastic centre with monasteries of virgins (*L. Fathers, Pelagius* 15 - 670) and two for men which were founded by Elias, of which one became the Monastery of the Eunuchs (Cyril Sc. *V. Euth* 51.15, *V. Sab* - 171.7 and J. Moschus, *Pr* 135, 165 - 2997, 3032). In or near Jericho was a monastic hospital (536/47 A.D.: 41.5 - 124 and perhaps also IX.4 - p. 76 above) and at least two hospices: one was bought by St. Sabas (Cyr. Sc., *V. Sab* - 109.12, 136.21 and J. Moschus, *Pr* 6 - 2857) and the other belonged to the monastery of St. Euthymius (Cyril Sc. *V.J.H.* 217.1). Chariton's cave was described as being near Jericho (his *Life* 10 - 911) and in the sixth century there was a monastery of St. Stephen (p. 138 above) and a Nestorian chapel in a 9th c. hermitage on the way to what is now the Allenby Bridge (*QAP* 4(1935) 81/6).

Most Latin Kingdom authors describe a fortified camp for pilgrims known as the Garden of Abraham (see for example 1102 A.D.: - 36 and 1172 A.D.: 28 - 69).

JERUSALEM: The city is described below under five main heads:

1. Name

2. Walls and Gates

3. Sites inside the Walls

4. Sites outside the Walls

5. Other unknown sites

Besides the material dealt with under these heads see also the separate entries:

Aeldama Helena's Tomb Sheep Pool

Bethany Jehoshaphat, Valley of Siloam

Caliphias, House of New St. Mary Sion, Mount

David, Tower of Olives, Mount of Temple

Gethsemane Praetorium Tomb of the Lord

See Maps 2, 4, 5, 6, 7b, 9, 14, 19, 22, 26, 42, 46.

1. Name. Jebus, Salem, and Jerusalem were the three names used for the city in the Bible, and since the days of Hadrian it was called Aelia (pp. 49, 53 above). The last name is not much used in our texts, though it appears as the official designation for the city from which miles are measured (pp. 53, 105 above), and was certainly in frequent use in the area. Indeed the name continued in use into the Muslim period, and Arculf may have heard it from Arabs (see pp. 99, 100 above, contrast Eucherius 10 - p. 53 above, and compare *PUM* 84). On the name Solyma see above, p. 91, n. 1. The title "The Holy City" is used by the writers here translated on pp. 124, 241, and 286. The first document to use it is Dan. 9.24, and it is used today as the current Arabic name for the city (cf. Quds).

2. Walls and Gates. (See Maps 11, 21, 30). The city was surrounded by rough hilly country to the north, but had plains and olive orchards to the west (pp. 53, 100 above). To the east (in all probability) was the "desert of Jerusalem" with monasteries including that of the Lazr (p. 77 above). The walls during the whole of our period seem to have followed the lines of today except on the south of the city, where Mount Sion was completely enclosed by a wall (Bord. 592.9 - 157 and p. 53 above), which included the Pool of Siloam (Bord 592.1/2 - 157 and p. 66 above). Traditionally the Empress Eudokia was said to have rebuilt the city wall (see for instance John Malalas, *Chron.*

14 - 532), no doubt because thus she would be "fulfilling" Ps. 520 (LXX) which asks God to "thy favour (*eudokia*) rebuild the walls of Jerusalem". But there was a wall round Siloam before the time of Eudokia and the verse of the psalm may very well have been quoted in connection with her building activity in general. For archaeological work recently done in the surroundings of Siloam see Kenyon, *Jerusalem*, pp. 187/91; and for her conclusions see *DJ*, pp. 267/72.

The three "important gates" of the city in the fifth century (p. 53 above) are evidently the present Jaffa, Damascus, and St. Stephen's Gates, but the six mentioned at the start of the following century are harder to identify (p. 63). The general picture which emerges from our documents enables us to identify only four gates with certainty. The first and main gate of the city was the one on the west, the "Gate of the Tower" (cf. "of David", p. 65 above) or "Gate of David" (pp. 95, 100 above and Latin Kingdom), which is now the Jaffa Gate (Ar. Bab el Khaldil). Muslims before the Crusades named it the "Gate of the Chapel of the Virgin", Bab Mihrah Da'ud, which indicated precisely the same as "Gate of the Tower": Istakhri - 27, el Muqaddesi - 28. The road from this gate ran to Bethlehem (c. 303 A.D.: 2150 - 2169). Eleutheropolis (p. 65 above) and Avalon (1130 A.D.: - 412).

The second of the gates, going round clockwise was the one on the north, the present Damascus Gate (Ar. Bab el Amdid), and from it went the road leading to Neapolis (Bord. 593.1 - 158), Diospolis and Joppa (Jerome, *C. Soph.* 1.10 - 666, as p. 84 above), Galilee (p. 66 above) and Tabariya/Tiberias (*L-Estat* 4 - 25). Most Christians of our period call this St. Stephen's Gate (pp. 70, and 95 above, as 1130 A.D.: - 412) believing he was stoned outside it. In fact this notion did not arise until the mid-fifth century when Empress Eudokia had built the Martyrium of St. Stephen beside the road a quarter of a mile north of the gate.

The third is the East Gate (Bord. 594.5 - 159; p. 120 above; 1130 A.D.: - 412) which led out to the Valley of Jehoshaphat (often mentioned in the Latin Kingdom), the Mount of Olives (Bord. 594.5 - 159), Jericho (985 A.D.: - 28) and the River Jordan (p. 63 above and 1130 A.D.: - 412). Early in our period (see pp. 63, 95 above) this was known as the Gate of Benjamin, but because of its position it was also called the Gate of the Sheep Pool (see John 5.2; *Capt.* 13.1.10). Theodosius (21 - p. 69) tells us that this was the gate through which the Saviour came in riding the colt. In the eighth century a place was pointed out near this gate at which a Jew "snatched at the beer" of the Virgin Mary: this location was no doubt chosen because this gate was the one leading to the Virgin's Tomb: see p. 120 and probably also 129 above.

The next gate, the fourth, is the Gate Beautiful (Acts 3.2, Gk. *ortie*): the present name for this, "Golden Gate" was perhaps adopted because *avena*, Latin for "golden", might sound the same as the Greek for "beautiful", and the earliest person to use the name "Golden" is a Latin author wrongly thought to be Bede, and probably writing in the seventh century (Ps-Bede - 507: the next is 1102 A.D.: - 32). This gate was thought to be a relic of the Jewish Temple (see p. 83 above), and, perhaps for this reason, "Bede" tells us that through it Christ entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. But the more probable reason why this gate is chosen by the later authors, but not, for example by the Ptolemaic pilgrim nor any of those earlier, is that the Golden Gate became connected with the story about Heraklus' attempted entry in 631 A.D., which was incomplete without a comparison with Christ's entry. The story of Heraklus probably arose out of a need to explain why the Golden Gate was walled up: so we are told in about 830 A.D. (70 - 133) that when Heraklus came back from Persia bringing the Wood of the Cross he received greetings like those of Christ on Palm Sunday. He rode a horse and wore his imperial robes. But when he reached the gate "suddenly the stones of the gate descended and closed together to make a solid wall". When Heraklus understood the reason for this he stripped himself and took off his shoes. "As he humbly approached, the hard stones instantly responded to divine authority, and the gate lifted, allowing the people to go in freely". This story continued to be told in the time of the Latin Kingdom (as in 1102 A.D.: - 32, 1172 A.D.: 3.20.26 - 7.53.64).

The next three gates are those on the southern end of the Temple area, and it is possible that Arculf told Adomnan about all three (see p. 95 above): thus the Single Gate (on the east) may be his "Little Gate (*Portula*)" by which one descends a stairway to the Valley of Jehoshaphat (perhaps identical with the postern shown on the LKM, and el Muqaddesi's "Gate of Silwan": - 28); then the middle or Triple Gate may be his "Gate of Jeremiah's Pit" (and thus also the "ancient city gate" mentioned in sec. 24 - p. 84 above), especially since there are so many water installations nearby; the westernmost of these three gates, the Double Gate, might then be his "Gate of the Palace", and there was certainly an Umayyad palace nearby, for which see B. Mazar and M. Ben Dov, *The Excavations in Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1971, pp. 39/41, and compare the interpretation by Kenyon, *DJ*, pp. 275/8.

The next gate in the modern city wall is the Dung Gate (Ar. Bab el Maghariba, meaning "Moors' Gate") and the next after that the Sion Gate, but both may be in positions determined during or after the Crusades, and need not be thought to correspond with the gates of our period such as the "Gate of Sion" (el Muqaddesi - 28; 1130 A.D.: - 412 etc.) or the "Gate of Tekoa" (p. 95 above).

We do not know the location of the "Gate of the Fuller's Field" (p. 95 above), though it was probably the one next to the Pool of Siloam, to judge from Eusebius' notice on the Fuller's Pool *On* 102.16, which places it "near Topkith and Aeldama". Nor can we place the "Gate of el Tih" (el Muqaddesi - 28) or the "iron gate", p. 144 above and *PD E* - 183.

The Streets and the Aqueduct: Forums are mentioned on pp. 92 and 142 above, and the latter, the main Forum, is evidently in the

present Muristan area to the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The former was probably the large open space containing the "Ecc Homo" arch which was laid out by Hadrian immediately north of the site of the Antonia fortress. There are not many mentions of streets, but note the one to Siloam (p. 84 above), and the descriptions which show that streets on steep slopes took the form of stairways (as on pp. 101, and 137f. above). The low-level aqueduct probably formed the "stone bridge" across the valley outside the Gate of David, running across just north of Birket es Sulam, p. 100 above.

3. Sites inside the Walls.

A: Known Sites: See Caliphias, House of David, House of (for Monastery of the Iberians); Tomb of the Lord (for Anastasis, Golgotha and Holy Sepulchre, Basilica of Constantine); New St. Mary; Sheep Pool (for Prohibition); Silwan; Sion

4. Sites outside the Walls.

A. Known Sites.

(i) **STEPHEN, SAINT.** When St. Stephen's remains were discovered in 415 A.D. (see Capbarzama) they were brought to a temporary resting place in the diocesan of Holy Sepulchre, AL 3 - 262 and GL 42 - 115. Many churches were given a share of the relics: thus Melania the Younger built on the Mount of Olives two martyria of St. Stephen, one in her monastery for women, and the other in the colonnade of the shrine of the Ascension (her *Life* 57-58f - 240, 244). The latter continues to be mentioned in the eighth century (GL 1064 - 218, "In the Colonnade, at St. Stephen") and probably also in the ninth, see *Commemoratorium* 17 - p. 137 above, Milik, *RB* 1960, 26 - 558 and Renoux, *Codex* 36 f. In the ninth century St. Stephen was still remembered also on Mount Zion: see p. 144 above.

On 15 May 460 A.D. St. Stephen's remains were finally transferred from Mount Zion to the new Church of St. Stephen which the Empress Eudokia had built 450 metres north of the Damascus Gate (CBC 66 - 77; Cyril Sc. *V. Patr.* - 107; also above pp. 58, 66, 137 and Maps 17, 41). Eudokia's own tomb occupied the same cave as that of St. Stephen, p. 84 above. This was still Jerusalem's largest ecclesiastical complex of buildings in 516 A.D., when it formed the rendezvous for a meeting of 10,000 monks, according to Cyril Sc., *V. Seb.* - 151.11 (cf. Eusebius Sch., *EH* 122 - 2484) but about twenty years later it was probably overshadowed by Justinian's foundations at New St. Mary. Eudokia's buildings were probably destroyed in 614 A.D. by the Persians, and replaced by something smaller, namely the chapel of St. Stephen founded before 638 A.D. by the Patriarch Sophronius (*Fusion of 40 MM.* 2 - 302). This supposition would explain the small complement there in 808 A.D. (see p. 137 above) but it may be wrong, since Eudokia rather than Sophronius continued to be remembered there (GL 1312 - 246). The place containing St. Stephen's remains soon became confused with "the place where he was stoned" (above p. 66. *Qualiter* - 349, and most Latin Kingdom sources), but the "actual stones" used were shown only (so far as we know) in his first martyrdom on Zion (p. 84 above). See also: Bethany (for Lazarium); Gethsemane; Olives, Mount of; and Zion, Mount.

B. Located only in general terms or by conjecture.

(i) **CIRYCUS, CHURCH OF SAINT.** (and, in Melkite calendars, also of St. Julitta) was "in the village of Jason", GL 1089 - 221, which is presumably the equivalent of the "Valley of Ciryus", *Capt.* 23.22 and of "Hircus" 16 - p. 137 above. "Jason" could well be at the foot of the Wadi Yasul (Heb. Nahal Azal 1726 1300), as suggested by Milik, *MU* 1961, 167 f.

(ii) **GEORGE OUTSIDE THE TOWER OF DAVID** in the building of the priest Euphrosius (sic), SAINT. Two sites have been suggested for this chapel, mentioned in GL 1379 - 253, either the early 6th c. chapel of St. George at Sheikh Badr, CBC 70 a/b - 81, which seems rather far away, or St. George's Church, the chapel of al Khadr at Nikephoria 1713 1312, not far outside the Tower of David: see Garitte on C.P.G. 392. Milik, *RB* 1960, 568 suggests that "Euphrosius" may be in fact the same Apollonius whose monastery is mentioned on p. 77 above, though it is possible that the latter is not in Jerusalem. *Capt.* 23.11 mentions the "Church of the Holy Martyr George which is outside the city" which may be our church, but hardly sounds like a description of anything a mile away at Sh. Badr. See also "St. George in Jerusalem" above.

(iii) **HESYCHIOS, CHURCH OF SAINT.** Going out by the Sheep Gate the Piacenza pilgrim, p. 84 above, came to a church containing the remains of Saint Hesyehios. It is named by GL (Latal) 1256a - 240 the "Building of the priest Hesyehios", who did his main work in the early fifth century: see List of Sources and Cyril Sc., *V. Patr.* - 80, who describes him as a "priest and teacher of the Church". The pilgrim tells us that at this church was a "place where bread was distributed to the poor", by which he refers to the Hospice of Passarion "before the gates of the Holy City to the east" serving the poor and sick: John Rufus *V.P.B.* - 33; *Oh. Theod.* 5 - 19. Passarion was a contemporary of Hesyehios and served as archimandrite of the monks of Palestine.

(iv) **JOHN BAPTIST, CHURCH OF SAINT.** built by Patriarch Amos (c. 594 to 601 A.D.) "outside the city, facing the Church of St. Stephen and to its east" (*On the Patr. Amos* - 182). This church could well be the one whose remains were discovered in the front garden of the Albright Institute 1719 1326: this building was probably destroyed in the 7th c.: *ASOR* 156, Dec. 1959, pp. 11, 15.

(v) **JUVENAL, FOUNDATION OF.** in the Kidron Valley. John Rufus, a stern opponent of Juvenal, says in *Pier.* 16 - 32 that this monastery was higher up "the valley" than Siloam, which, if it includes Birket al Hamia 1735 13083 lies at the confluence of three valleys, the Tyropoeon, Hinnom, and Jehoshaphat. Since he adds that "the place has inherited the curse of Judas" it should perhaps be sought in the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom near Aeldania, and may thus have been the predecessor of the modern Saint Onuphrius 1721 1306. For Milik, *RB* 1960, 364, the relics of Isaiah and Zachariah (GL 1176 - 2.30) in this foundation suggested rather that it was close to their tombs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

(vi) **MAMILLA CHURCH.** The Mamilla pool is still visible to the west of Jerusalem, 1709 1316. In the Persian general Razmiz detained the Christians in A.D. 614, *Capt.* 9.6, and in the nearby Cave of Mamilla (*ibid.* 23.4, 28) were later buried nearly 25,000 bodies. Near the cave Bernard the Monk saw a church, p. 144 above, whose position is probably occupied today by the mosque in the Muslim cemetery adjoining the pool, Milik, *MU* 1961, p. 183. In the Latin Kingdom the cave was known as the Cave or Charnel of Lion (1143 A.D.: 82 - 323; 1170 A.D. (Anon. II) 8 - 125), and it may well be the one described by Epiphanius the Monk, p. 119 above and n. 7: see Milik, *RB* 1960, 569.

C. Uncoloured.

(i) **PROCOPIUS, CHURCH OF SAINT.** GL 1267 - 2.41, if the same as the one mentioned in the Latin Kingdom, was somewhere on the hill south of the Valley of Hinnom, 1143 A.D. 3.4 - 328. There are remains of a church, CBC 66 a/b on the summit of Abu Tor (Heb. Giv'at Hananya 1716 1302), but no positive reason for identifying them with St. Procopius.

5. Other unknown sites

(i) **AQUILINA, CHURCH OF SAINT.** mentioned above, p. 137, but otherwise unknown.

(ii) **CHRISTOPHER, CHURCH OF SAINT.** mentioned above, p. 137, but otherwise unknown.

(iii) **DOMITIUS, CHURCH OF SAINT.** mentioned above, p. 137: GL 1147 - 2.27 commemorates Blessed Aeglon and Domitius at a village which has not been finally identified: see the suggestion by Milik, *RB* 1960, 58 - p. 573.

(iv) **GREGORY, MONASTERY OF SAINT.** restored by Emperor Justinian, above, p. 76, but otherwise unknown.

(v) **PHILIP, MONASTERY OF.** Rufinus *A.H.* 2.28 - 1034.

(vi) **QUARANTA (or FORTY), CHURCH OF THE HOLY.** (from some time early in the fifth century Jerusalem celebrated a feast of the Forty Martyrs of Sebastia (in Cappadocia), *AI* 14 - 263, GL 248 - 1.39, and their relics were laid in the monastery of the priest Peter, GL 1295 - 2.44. The church of the Holy Quaranta mentioned on p. 137 above may have been part of this monastery, and could, as Milik suggests in *RB* 1960, 30 - 560, be the same as the later Armenian monastery of this name in the Valley of Jehoshaphat: see also Renoux, *Codex*, pp. 34/40 for the introduction of the Forty into the Jerusalem calendar.

(vii) **SERGIUS, CHURCH OF SAINT.** above, p. 137, somewhere near the unknown St. Theodore (3.c.4v above).

(viii) **SILVTHEUS, MONASTERY OF.** above 10 - p. 77.

JEZREEL, now Yizre'el (Ar. Zer'in 181 218): see Map 8.

Jib. el: See Gadara, Gibeon.

Jish. el: See Gush ha-Lav.

JOPPA or JOPPE (Ar. Yafa, as 985 A.D.: - 206, usually rendered Jaffa; Heb.

Yafa, as *p.Yofa* 3.17; 127 162). When Jerome translated Eusebius' entry on Joppa in the *Onomasticon* he changed the word "city" to "town" (*loc.* 111.25), and in 392 A.D. Epiphanius reported that most of its buildings were in ruins, *WAF* 75 - 76. It was therefore a smallish place, which in the third and fourth centuries contained a Jewish community, as we know from burial inscriptions, *SEG* 8.143/4. Jerome is the last Christian in our period to speak of the legend of Androneda at Joppa (p. 47 above, and *C. Iana*, 1.3 - 383). Christian interest in Joppa was focussed on Peter raising Tabitha or Dorcas, Acts 9.36/43: though Jerome (p. 47) places the raising in Lydda! The fact of the miracle is stated above on p. 65; p. 89 suggests the existence of a Tomb of Tabitha; and Willibald, p. 132 (n. 35) above, saw a "Church of St. Peter where he raised Dorcas" (as 1106 A.D.: 7 - 10). No remains of this church are visible, probably because most of the town's Byzantine level has been destroyed by modern Arab building, *RB* 1957, 242. A further point of interest was the fact that Jonah is said to have embarked there (Jonah 1.3 followed by Jerome, p. 47 above: but p. 65 says it is where the whale cast him up).

As the port of Palestine, and of its Umayyad capital, or Ramla, Jaffa was fortified (985 A.D. - 206). The name of the town is mentioned also on pp. 54 and 84 above. See Maps 2, 7b, 14, 19, 32, 38, 46, 47.

JORDAN is the name used for a jund, which was organised in the seventh century to replace Palaestina Secunda and part of Arabia; also of a village (p. 55 above) otherwise called Iordan and perhaps Iardes, which occupied a site so far unidentified (see Josephus *War* 3.51 and 7.210. Both these names derive from that of the River.

Pilgrims who went as far north as Panias were shown the two streams which by popular etymology were named "the Ior and the Dan", now Nahal Hinnon (Ar. Nahr Banias) and Nahal Dan (Ar. Nahr Hisban) which join in map square 208 287 to form a single stream (see above pp. 63 (sic), 81, and 128; and the learned note by Adomnan, p. 107, with which compare Josephus, *War* 3.509/13). See also Maps 25, 38. Our first witness to these names comes from Jerome, *Q. Gen.* 14.14 - 19.3, and they led to interminable complications for which see Abel, *Geog.* 1.490. The Piacenza pilgrim informs us that the total length of the river after it leaves the Sea of Tiberias is "about 130 miles", p. 82 above, a figure probably obtained by doubling the distance from the Sea of Tiberias to the Dead Sea to make allowance for its meanderings.

The place on the Jordan visited by pilgrims was five miles north of the Dead Sea (Bord. 598.1 - 161 and p. 69 above) near the point at which the river is joined by Wadi Kharrar 203 138: two particular biblical events were remembered there, Christ's baptism (Matt. 3.13/17) and "above the far bank at the same place" the "lullock from which Elijah was taken up to heaven" (II Kgs. 2.11). Biblical commentators already connected some of the earlier miracles which had taken place on the Jordan with the Baptism of Christ. Thus about a century after the Bordeaux pilgrim we find Theodoret, *in Josh.* 14 - P.G. 80.464, making a parallel between Joshua's crossing of the river and the Baptism. Besides this parallel arising out of the "second Exodus" described in Josh. 3 there was probably another arising out of Elijah's crossing with Elisha to the place of his assumption (II Kgs. 2.8 and 14: see p. 51 above). In this connection it is interesting to remember that Origen proposed in *C. Joh.* 1.28 - 4.149 to substitute for the name "Bethany" in John 1.28 the word "Bethabara", meaning "House of the Crossing". This indicates that already at the time he was writing, not long after A.D. 231, Christians saw a connection between the crossing-place where the Roman road went over the river from Jericho to Livias, which may already have been a place of commemoration for Jews, and Christ's Baptism. Another miracle remembered at the same place was the one by which Elisha restored the axe-head to the sons of the prophets (II Kgs 6.5 and p. 81 above). See Maps 9, 14, 22, 26, 31,

34, 38, 42, 46.

Up to the time of the Muslim conquest the two principal memories at the river itself, of the Crossing and the Baptism, both seem to have existed together. This we find a monk of about 500 A.D. named Hagiodoulos who was walking by the Jordan and wondering what had become of the twelve stones which the priests' feet stood at the time of the crossing. The question in his mind and the vision which answered it (John Moschus, *Pr.* 11 - 2861) show that the same nexus of thoughts was still alive which we have seen in Origen.

Many changes have taken place at and near the Place of Baptism. The course of the river itself has moved, and the remains of buildings have been disappearing rapidly within living memory. The best summary of this process will be found in Kopp, pp. 119f, and the most comprehensive article on the remains is in *RB* 1932: see particularly pp. 238/49 and *PL* vi.2. Happily our descriptions complement each other, and enable us to form a reasonably clear picture of the holy places in the area, even if we are not able to pinpoint them all.

Eusebius speaks of the people of his day going to the place of Christ's baptism to be baptised themselves (*On* 58.20), or later to immerse themselves in the water (above pp. 107, 129: cf. 1106 A.D.: 31 - 28). In c.570 A.D.: 11 - 63, there was a special baptism-ceremony held there at Epiphany, but by the eighth century it seems to have been at least temporarily discontinued: see GL 83 - 1.19.

Early in the sixth century a marble column surmounted by a cross marked "the place where my Lord was baptised" (p. 69 above, but on p. 82 it is a wooden cross), and somewhere nearby, probably at the site between the river and Armona on Map 10, was a church founded by the Emperor Anastasius which stood on vaults or pillars, perhaps in much the same way as the Church of the Paralytic in Jerusalem; above pp. 69, 107, 121, 129, and 138: contrast 1106 A.D.: 29-27 which sounds like a different building. This church originally commemorated the Baptism and was dedicated to John the Baptist; but Arculf, p. 107 above, misunderstood it, taking it to commemorate the spot where the Lord's clothes were placed during the Baptism. Possibly he received this impression because no water was running beneath the church at the time of his visit.

About a kilometre above the Place of Baptism on the way to Jericho was the monastery of John Baptist, which already existed before the reign of Justinian, 527/53 A.D., as we may deduce from 19 - p. 77 above. Two centuries later Willibald stayed in one of its guesthouses, see pp. 82, 129 above. The convent continues to be mentioned in our period (pp. 107, 138 and 144 above), and the "Church of the Holy Trinity" (p. 121 above) probably belonged to it. But in 1106 A.D.: 27 f. - 26f this convent seems to be being mentioned as the "old" one, and another seems to have taken its place. It would be useful to know which of the two is the present Qasr el Yehud (201 138: see *RB* 1932, 240).

Not far from the place marked with the marble column, but distinct from it, was a place where visitors went to immerse themselves. They reached it by a stone ramp (p. 107 above, compare the steps of p. 82 and the rope of p. 129) and it was marked by a wooden cross. For the Piacenza pilgrim it marked the place of Crossing (p. 82 above) but for Willibald the place "where they now baptise" (p. 129, as p. 107 above). Gregory of Tours speaks of an inlet where lepers immersed themselves (*GL Mart.* 1.17, 19 - 721f). Another component of the cycle of Crossing-stories was the altar set up by the Transjordanian tribes, but it is not mentioned after the time of Egeria (*Tr.* 10.3 - 105, as in Josh 22.10/34).

According to Bord. 598.1 - 161 the place where Elijah was taken up in a chariot to heaven was a "little hill", and its proper name is recorded for us by Theodoretus in a form which may show us its meaning: *Armona*, p. 69 and n., probably means "the place of the chariot". But even to the text of Theodoretus it is clear that the name was taken to be "Hermion", the name of the mountain near Dan in the far north of the country. Obviously Elijah was taken up from heaven not far from Jericho, so "Hermion" was interpreted as the "little hill of Hermion" of Ps. 42.8 LXX and PBV: see p. 81 above, and for the "little hills" of the Jordan in general see 22 - p. 69 above. In the Latin Kingdom the name "Hermion" was applied to a place on the west bank and the place of Elijah's assumption was shown on the east bank: see 1106 A.D.: 28 - 27, and 33 - 29. It is impossible to be sure where the Piacenza pilgrim saw the valley where Elijah was fed by the ravens (p. 81), though it could have been in the Wadi Qilt where the monks of Choziba make this commemoration in one of their caves: if so the "Tomb of Absalom" would be somewhere nearby. The latter was perhaps the same as the tomb mentioned by Bord. 596.5 - 160.

The Piacenza pilgrim was also shown "the spring where John was baptising", evidently the Aenon which, according to John 3.23 was a place near Salim with much water. Here we seem to have a variant tradition, for the Madaba Map shows two places called Aenon. One, labelled "The Aenon near Salim" is the most northerly point remaining on the map, and was near Scythopolis, *MM* 1 - 35, for which see *EG Tr.* 13/15 108/11. The other is labelled "The Aenon which is now Sapsaphas" (*MM* 6 - 37). The word Sapsaphas is formed from the Hebrew word for willow, and is the place at which in about 500 A.D. a monk went to a cave where he had a vision of St. John Baptist, whom the Lord "often visited there". The monk "made the cave into a church and gathered a brotherhood there" (John Moschus, *Pr.* 1 - 2853). We are told by Epiphanius the Monk that the cave was "about a mile" (p. 120 above) or "three miles" (p. 121) beyond the Jordan and contained a spring. This means that Arculf was probably speaking of the same place as "A spring in the desert", p. 108 above, and it was still visited, at least when the east bank was accessible, in the time of the Latin Kingdom: as in 1106 A.D.: 33 - 29. The monk's vision suggests a need to authenticate the Crossing-place as truly the Aenon of Christ's baptism.

Many monasteries and hermitages for men and women were founded at "the Holy Jordan": see pp. 81f. and 144 above.

JOSHUA'S TOMB: See Thamma.

JUDAEA is a name used in its precise Herodian connotation in the quotations on pp. 53, 55 above, but has the general meaning of the area of Palaestina Prima south of Samaria when used by the Piacenza pilgrim on p.81 above.

Judeira: See Gadara.

Juhzum, Kh. 176 123: monastery church of 6th c.: *RB* 1954, 573. V. Corbo thinks this may be the monastery of Marcan (Cyr. Seythrop. *V. Seb.* 111.27, etc.) or Cassian (see *Inf.* 4.31 - 70 and compare Belhichon), *TS* 1951, pp. 144/8. See Map 7.

JULIAS: See Bethsaida, Livias.

JUNCTA: An unrecognisably corrupt form of the name of one of the thirteen cities of Arabia, p. 70 above.

Juncina, el: See Burj el Ahmar.

Jurn, Tell el. 193 142: Synagogue with mosaic, *RCS* 106 - 68. See Gdgal, and Maps 7, 10, 22.

Kabara, Kh. 143 217: Chapel, perhaps associated with monastery, *CBC* 146 - 143. See Map 7.

Kabul: See Zabulon.

KADESH-BARNEA (Num. 34.4, mentioned on p. 54 above) was probably a name applied to the area round Ain el Qudeirat 096 006: see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, E. T., London 1966, p. 63.

Kaf, Wadi el: See Eshtul.

Kafir Bir'im 189 272: Two ruined synagogues, *RCS* 47 - 36. See Map 7.

Kafir Dama 194 224: A lintel apparently from a synagogue, *RB* 1957, 90. See Map 7.

Kafir Kanna 191 236: Two chapels, probably associated with a monastery, both early 6th c. *CBC* 90/91 - 98. See Map 7.

Kafir Kanna 182 239: Church or synagogue, (*CBC* 92 - 99, *RCS* 51 - 38) with Aramaic inscription, and perhaps a second synagogue nearby at Karm el Ras (*RCS* 51 - 38). See S. Löffler, *Sepph'a Kafir Kanna*, *LA* 19 (1969) 328/48. See Map 7.

Kafir Yasif 166 262: Fragments probably belonging to a synagogue, *RCS* 54 - 39. Glass factory of 5th/6th c., *RB* 1965, 579. See Map 7.

Kanisa, el: See Rantis.

Kanisar er Rawat: See Rawat.

Kanna, Kafir: See Kanna.

Karak, Kh. el: See Bet Yerah.

Karmil, Kh. el (Heb. H. Karmel) 162 092: Three churches, *CBC* 50/52 - 61/3. See Map 7.

Karnak: See Thebes.

KASTELLION: See Mird, Kh. el, and David *, Tower of.

KATHISMA, here meaning "place of sitting" was at the third mile from Jerusalem on the road to Bethlehem (p. 70 above and, disregarding the reference to Rachel, 28 - p. 85 above). The name refers to the belief that the Virgin Mary dismounted precisely at the third milestone before giving birth to the Saviour, a story first told in *Protev. Jas.* 17.2 - 383. The place is today marked by a well, Bir el Qadisu 170 127 and nearby is a pool, at Kh. Abu Bureik, which may have served as the reservoir for the monastery of the Old Kathisma, built between 451 and 458 A.D. by a certain Ikela, but already known as "the Old" to Theodore of Petra between 536 and 547 A.D.: 13.20 - 109. See Map 5. Another monastery containing a 5th or 6th c. church, *CBC* 152 - 152, at nearby Ramat Rahel (Ar. Kh. Salih 171 126) may have been the "New Kathisma", though this name is not mentioned in any of our documents. In the eighth century only one Kathisma is mentioned (*GE* 1395 - 2.55) which is said to be at the village of a name which may be Bet Behor: if so it would fit well with the present name Bet Bahir which is one kilometre below Ramat Rahel to the east: see *RB* 1924, 32 - 617f, and 1960, 53 - 571f.

Kaufab el Hawa: See Belyot.

Kayseri: See Caesarea in Cappadocia.

KEFAR AZIZ: See Uzeiz, Kh.

Kefar Berekar: See Capbar Barncha.

Kefar Bili 134 143: Samaritan inscription, *RCS* 46 - 36, suggests the existence of a Samaritan synagogue. See Map 7.

Kefar Dikrin or K. Dikriya: See Capbar Zacharia.

Kefar Nahum: See Capernaum.

Kefar Qanayim (Ar. Tell Abu Faraj) 1995 2035: Synagogue mosaic, *RCS* 104 - 63. See Map 7.

Kefar Truman (Kh. or Ras or Kh. Irma) 143 154: 6th c. church probably associated with a monastery, *CBC* 94 - 101. See Map 7.

KEFAR TURBAN: See Map 4, Atreba, Kh., and Capbar Zacharia.

Kefar Zekharra: See Capbar Zacharia, and Map 4.

KEILAH: See Morasthi.

Kelsan, Tell: See Kison, Tel.

Keos: Map 36, and see Cheos.

Keraza, Kh.: See Chozazin.

Kerak, Kh. el: See Bet Yerah, Tel.

Khalasa, Kh.: See Elusa.

Khalil, el: See Hebron.

Khan el Ahmar 181 133: See Euthymius, Monastery of St.

Khan Saliba 186 137 (at contour line 125): 5/8th c. monastery with inscription of Abbot Paul, *RB* 1963, 252. J. T. Milik suggests the possibility that this is "the place where Adam wept"; *Epiph.* Mon. XI.3 - pp. 120f above. See Map 7.

Kharrar, Wadi: See Cherith, Jordan.

Khudriya, Kh. -177 146: Remains of a large monastery and church, *RB* 1969, 426. See Map 7.

Khulda: See Holda.

Khurisa, Kh. (Kh. Ummi Tima) 162 095: Church, *CBC* 117 - 120. See Map 7.

Khoriton, Kh.: See Charlton, Monastery of St.

KIDRON*, THE BROOK (John 18.1) which runs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat beneath the east wall of Jerusalem: above pp. 53, 95, 120.

Kinnasir: See Chalcis.

KINNERETH, LAKE OF: See Tiberias, Lake of.

KIRIATH-ARBA: See Hebron.

KIRIATH-JEARIM, where the ark of the Covenant was brought after the Philistines returned it, I Sam. 7.1/2. Correctly located in our period at

Deir el Azar 159 135: see F. M. Abol, *R.B.* 1934, 351, and M. Noth, *ZDPV* 66 (1943) p. 37, n.4. This is said to be nine miles from Jerusalem (Eusebius, *On* 114.23; *EgP* 1.2 - 186 f; Theodosius, p. 65 above; confuses Kiriath-jearim with Shiloh, but gives the right distance). The feast of the Ark of the Covenant was celebrated there on 2 July, *AL* 61 - 274, *GL* 1069 - 2.19 in the church, *CBC* 5 - 18, dated late 5th c. and next to a monastery.

KIRIATH-SEPIER, a name of interest to interpreters of the Bible (see p. 50 above and Hesychius, *Df* 14 - 1405 (?), rather than a place to be visited. It is said by Josh 15.15 to have been the former name of Debir, perhaps Tell Beit Mirsim (Hob. Tel Bet Mirsim 141 096), as shown on Map 14.

KISHON, BROOK (Ar. Nahr el Muqatta) mentioned on p. 52 above. Kishon, Tel (Ar. Tell Keisan) 164 253: Byz. chapel, *RB* 1972, 247. This site is possibly Porphyreon. *Fisc.* 3 - p. 79 above. See Map 7.

KISRION: See Iania.

KISSERON, MOUNT, now Jebel Kissarun in Lebanon: the area 25 km. north of Beirut (which includes Reiskoun) mentioned p. 77 above.

Kokhav haYarden: See Belvoir.

Kom Qulzum: See Clysma.

Kom Samadi: See Canopic Mouth.

Korazin (Ar. Kh. Keraza) 203 257: synagogue, whose main occupation was from 2/4th c., followed by a minor occupation in 5/6th c. *RB* 1963, 587. See Maps 7, 38. See also Chorazin, p. 154 above.

Kosa, River: See Putana.

Kufir 182 197: See Map 8.

Kufin, Kh. 160 114: 5th c. church, *CBC* 118 - 121. See Map 7.

Kufr Haris: See Tharima.

Kusi: See Chorazin, and Map 38.

Kurus: See Cyrrhus.

LACHISH (p. 52 above) is mentioned as a village before 311 A.D. by Eusebius, *On* 120.20, who places it seven miles from Eleutheropolis on the way to the Daronia; and in about 440 A.D. by Hesychius, *h* 353.36.1 - 1.1. The name seems to have been retained not at Tel Lachish (Ar. Tell el Duweir 135 108) which was no longer inhabited in Byzantine times, but at the site once occupied by the village of el Qubeiba, 1.5 km. N.N.E., in map square 136 109. See Map 14.

Lajjun, el: See Maximianopolis.

LAODICEA, now el Ladihiya, Syria, 50 miles S.S.W. of Antioch, mentioned on p. 77 above.

LARISSA, now Suezar, Syria, 15 miles S.W. of Apamea, mentioned on p. 89 above. Map 28.

Lattakia: See Laodicea, Apamea.

LAURA, THE GREAT: See Sabas.

LAZARIUM, LAZARUS: See Bethany.

LAZI, MONASTERY OF THE: An unknown monastery near Jerusalem mentioned on p. 77 above.

LEBANON, HEAD OF, now probably Ras en Naqura (Hob. Rosh haNiqra 160 278), mentioned on p. 132 above. See Maps 37, 38.

LEBANON, MOUNT, on pages 55, 63, 107 above used as a general name meaning the mountainous country north of Panias and now known as the Anti-Lebanon; but on pp. 79 and 132 above it means the western range known today as the Lebanon.

LEGIO: See Maximianopolis.

LEONTES, RIVER: Map 23.

LIBYA, in the quotation from Hegesippus on p. 111 above, is said to be divided from Egypt by the Canopic branch of the Nile.

LINTHARD, UPPER AND LOWER, near Mallersdorf in Lower Bavaria, p. 134 above.

LION, CAVE or CHARNEL OF THE: See Jerusalem 4.B.vi.

LIPARI, an island about 50 miles N.W. of the Straits of Messina, p. 133, n. 49 above.

LITHOSTROTION*: See below, articles Praetorium and Sion (end).

LIVIAS, or Bethramtha (Eusebius, *On* 48.13, perhaps as *ySheb.* 9.2), or Julius (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.27) was founded by Herod Antipas, and never grew to any great size or importance, having a status comparable with that of Jericho. Its site was probably at Tell er Rama, 211 137. It was named after Augustus' daughter, (Jerome, *C. Matr.* 16.13 - 139).

Its religious significance derived from its position in the Plains of Moab where Moses bade the children of Israel farewell before his death (*Deut.* 33, 34; *Eg. Tr.* 10.6 - 105) and where two and a half tribes remained when the others went across to Jericho (p. 82 above, Num. 32.33/42). Other memories connected with Moses became attached to the place, such as his death (p. 69 above, but it might perhaps mean the area in general - see Nebo) and a spring of sweet water with curative properties (p. 82 above) said to be the one brought forth by Moses from the rock (p. 69).

The most celebrated attraction of Livias, its hot springs, became known as the "Baths of Moses" (John Rufus, *V.P.* 16. 8, f; and above pp. 69, 82, both of which mention the lepers who were cleansed there, Gregory of Tours is surely mistaken in calling these the Baths of Joshua, *GL. Mart.* 1.18 - 721).

The large "Nicolaitan" date palms which grew near Livias (p. 69 above, and see Josephus, *War* 4.468) are perhaps shown conventionally with the town as the unnamed walled place above (or east of) Anon/Susaphas on the Madaba Map - 37. After the beginning of the seventh century the name Livias is not mentioned again except in lists of bishops. See Maps 9, 19, 26.

Loaves and Fishes: See Seven Springs.

Lod: See Diospolis.

LOMBARDY p. 145 above.

LOT, CAVE OF, p. 50 above.

LOT'S WIFE. The vivid account of Lot's wife's transformation into a pillar of salt in Gen. 19.26 must have prompted questions by visitors which their guides felt obliged to answer. Though in the late 4th c. Egeria was told that the pillar had not been visible for some years (*Tr.* 12.6 - 107 and see note) there was a pillar shown a century and a half later which waxed and waned with the moon (p. 69 above, as 1172 A.D.: 35 - 83)

and in 570 A.D. the Piacenza pilgrim seems to be speaking of a pillar which was a saltlick (p. 82 above and Deir, of Tudeia, after 1173 A.D.: - 37 and Adler's note). For Epiphanius the Monk (p. 121 above) Lot's wife was two miles south of the Place of Baptism, and thus north of the Dead Sea. Indeed the other Christian pilgrims of our period were evidently shown something at the north end of the Dead Sea, since we know of no one who went to the south end.

LUCA, now Lucca, ten miles north-east of Pisa, Tuscany, pp. 125, 134 above. See Maps 36 and 40.

Ludd: See Diospolis.

Luga, Kh. 172 125: Monastery chapel of 5/6th c., *CBC* 122 - 122. See Map 7.

Luxor: See Thebes.

LYCIA, the southerly province of Asia Minor which lies seventy miles east of Rhodes; p. 47 above and compare 94.1 - 126 above. Map 13.

LYDDA (LYDEA), see Diospolis.

Ma'ile Adomnin: See Adummin.

MAALLA, p. 142 above. Like Sebennytus, sounds like a stopping-place on the river journey to Damietta: Mahallet Inshaq 820 070, opposite Shirbin, is about half-way between Sebennytus (Sannatoud) and Damietta, and may thus be the place intended. See Maps 1, 44.

MACARIUS, MONASTERY OF, now Deir Maqar in Wadi en Natrun: Maps 1, 35.

MACHAERUS, a castle rebuilt by Herod the Great, now the site called el Mukawir 210 108: See Sebaste.

Magefah: See Habron.

Madaba: See Medaba.

Ma'jar, Kh. el: See Map 10.

MAGDALA: Near the village which retained the name Mjidal (Hob. Magdal) an expedition in 1960 found the remains of a Roman quay, *B.A.* 1961, 57. The Talmud speaks of a Tower of the Fish, Magdal Nunya, one mile from Tiberias. *bPer.* 46.b, which was probably to the north of Tiberias, since it agrees with the Christian sources which place Magdala on the way from Tiberias to Seven Springs. We may therefore take it that the settlement was beside the quay, in map square 198 248, and must therefore reject the idea that this Magdala was the same as Tathese, since the latter was thirty stades from Tiberias (Josephus *Life*, 156) and to the south (Pliny, *N.H.* 5.15).

Magdala is said to have been the "birthplace" of Mary Magdalene (pp. 63, 128 above) and the House of the Magdalene, where seven demons were driven out of her, which is probably the same place, is mentioned in the eighth century, p. 120 above and the tenth, Eutychius of Alexandria, *Dem.* 317 - 136. Maps 8, 19, 34.

Mahallet Inshaq: See Maalla.

Mahmi, Kh. el (Kh. el Shadarwan) 145 101: Remains of church, with font, columns, and shafts (*HN* - 1283) are probably Byzantine. See Map 7.

Mahatta, el: See Beth-poor.

Mahoz, H. (Ar. Kh. Mahuz): Byz. church, *CBC* 123 - 123. See Map 7.

MAIUMAS (1), near Ascalon, p. 85 above: A site some five miles down the coast near the mouth of Nahal Shiqma (Ar. Nahr Asqalan) in map square 102 112 is suggested by *MRP*: see G. A. Smith, *The Hist. Geog. of the Bible*, p. 190, n.1. See Maps 4, 26.

MAIUMAS (2) OF GAZA, now Mainas (Ar. el Mina 098 106) where there are extensive traces of settlement beneath the sand-dunes, *HM* 1288. This city was the port of Gaza (pp. 52, 65 above). Constantine created it a city, naming it Constantia, but Julian reduced it to dependence on Gaza (Sozomen *EH* 2.5, 5.3 - 56, 196). St. Hilazon was buried at a monastery nearby (Jerome, *V. Hil.* 3 - 30 and above, p. 85 n. 42). Christian inscriptions of the sixth century have been found there, *R.A.* 1892, 239; 1893, 203/5, and near the city both the Piacenza pilgrim, p. 85 above, and the Madaba Map mention the tomb of St. Victor, *MM*, 117 - 74. The Madaba Map also gives a city plan and the name Neapolis, which had been part of the full name of Maiumas when it was a city. On the name Maiumas and its relation to pagan festivals see *R.B.* 1909, 596/8. See Maps 4, 7, 14, 16, 19, 26.

Majdal: See Magdala.

Majd el Ba, Kh. 155 092: monastery chapel, *CBC* 124 - 123. See Map 7.

Makhrum, Kh. el, 175 123: monastic church indicated by inscription of Abbot Aiglon, *RB* 1934, 572. V. Corbo thinks this may have been the monastery of St. Theognus: see *TS* 1931, 8/11, and Map 7.

Malatya: See Melitene.

MALEDOMNI: See Adummin.

Mal'at-ha, Kh., 152 121: Inscription on a font, *RB* 1896, 272. Another dedication inscription *RB* 1898, 124, and a mosaic, *MP* 224 - 30. See Map 7.

MAMILLA*, see Jerusalem 4.B.vi.

MAMRE, see Terebinth.

Manger, see Bethlehem.

Maqfir, Kh. el (or Kh. el Mukatir) 1738 1477: 5/6th c. monastery church, *CBC* 110 - 113. See Map 7.

MARAH, the place with bitter water to which the Israelites came three days after crossing the Red Sea, *Exod.* 15.23, etc. In our period probably identified with the spring at Abu Mereir 937 871 (not as *Eg. Tr.* p. 207 n. 10): mentioned on p. 73 above, and on Maps 1, 24.

Maras: See Germanicia.

MAREOTIS LAKE, now Bahr Maryut south of Alexandria, Egypt, despite the wording of p. 110 above.

MARESHAH, now Tel Maresha (Ar. Tell Sandahanna 140 111). Eusebius, writing before 331 A.D.: 130/10 says it is deserted. Jerome and Paula passed it, p. 52 above, and Map 14.

Mari Ibn Amr: See Great Plain.

MARTYRIUM*: See above pp. 53, 97, and below, "Tomb of the Lord."

Masani, Kh. el, 170 134: 6th c. church, *CBC* 7 - 20: F. M. Abol believed that this was perhaps "New St. Zacharias at the second mile" (*GL* 1018, 10th June) *RB* 1924, 617. See Map 7.

MASISTA, p. 71 above, is presumably a mistake for Mopsuestia in Cilicia, near the present Misis in Turkey. See Map 23.

Mastraba, Tell el: See Scythopolis.

MATZI*, see Olives, Mount of.

Maura: See Musica.

MAXIMIANUPOLIS, according to Bord. 586.3 - 154 is twenty miles from Caesarea of Palestine and ten from Jezreel, which seems to make it identical with Legio ("three miles from Tannach", Eusebius, *On* 100.10). Though it had no interest for pilgrims, Jerome identified it wrongly with Hadad-Rimmon, *C. Zach.* 12.11 - 869, and it became important as forming the boundary between the junds of Palestine and Jordan: 951 A.D.: - 162; 985 A.D.: - 189. The village of el Ajluna, once Legio, was beside the important crossroads at 166 219: see Maps 7b, 8.

MEDABA, now the flourishing town of Madaba 224 125, was mentioned for its barrenness by Jerome, *C. Ess.* 15.3 ff. - 257. Mentioned above, pp. 57, 70.

MEGIDDO, PLAIN OF: See p. 47 above and n. 6.

Meirun: See Meron.

Melta, Kh. el, 1621, 1437: Church, columns and bases, *LM* - 1288. Probably Byzantine. See Map 7.

Meirhalum, 176 195: See Map 8.

MELITENE in Commagene, now Malatya, Turkey, 170 miles east of Caesarea of Cappadocia: p. 71 above, and Map 23.

Membij: See Hierapolis.

MEMPHIS, an area containing several villages (one of them Mit Riheina) on the west bank of the Nile just above Old Cairo. In the late fourth century some of its great buildings were still visible, such as the palace seen by Egeria (P) Y1 - 203 f; also pp. 67 perhaps 119 above "The palace of Pharaoh" and 88, where it is wrongly placed at Antinou (est. Sheikh Ibada, 170 miles to the south). The temple of Apis and oacles were still active in Memphis in 413 A.D.: - 30.1 ff. - 421, 423, but there were two monasteries there in 518 A.D.: - p. 67 above and fifty years later (p. 88 above) "the Temple" (that of Apis?) had been turned into a church, and was one of the places which commemorated the progress of the Holy Family during the Flight into Egypt: see also p. 82 n. 25 above.

The most memorable sight at Memphis was the pyramids. Since the late fourth century they were believed to be the granaries Joseph had built to store corn: see *EgP* Y2 - 204 and above pp. 88, 119 and 139. See also maps 1, 24, 27.

MENAS, TOMB OF ST.: See pp. 88, 119 above, and Map 1.

MERAS, p. 120 above, is probably a version of Merca or Marsh (q.v.). The fact that such a place is said to be near Jericho suggests that a deliberate parallel was being drawn between the Exodus-crossing of the Red Sea (for Marsh see *Exod.* 15.23) and the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua. No doubt it was a bitter spring.

Meron (Ar. Meirun) 191 265, Synagogue, *RCS* 77 - 48. See Map 7.

MERRA: See Marsh.

Mersin: See Zephyria.

MESOPOTAMIA, mentioned above pp. 70, 71, 89.

METHONE, at the south-west extremity of the Peloponnese: Map 13: a stage on Paula's journey to the East, Jerome *Ep.* 168. 7.2 - 312.

MICHAEL AT THE TWO TOMBS, ST.: p. 144 above.

MIDIAN, mentioned p. 88 above.

MIGDOL, see p. 88 above, note 48 - 49.

MILETUS in Caria, now Balat, Turkey, 30 miles south of Ephesus: p. 126 above, and Map 36.

Mina, el: See Azotus, Medmas (2).

Minat Rubin: See Janina.

Mird, Kh. el (Hob. Morknola) 184 125: monastery chapel founded 492 A.D., *CBC* 109 - 112 and *RB* 1962, 97 f. E. Mador wishes to identify this with St. Saba's foundation called Kastellion (Cyr. Scythop. *V. Seb.* - 110.5) *RB* 1929, 159. See Map 7.

Misis: See Masista.

Mit Riheina: See Memphis.

Miyamas, Kh. 169 185: Small church at spring, *PEQ* 1933, 8 ff: the name suggests that there had previously been a pagan temple there. See Map 7.

MIZPAH: See Ramathaim - Zophim.

MOAB, p. 57 above mentions the name as part of a quotation of Deut. 34.6.

MONASTERIES mentioned on p. 119 above: St. Sabas, now Deir Mar Saba 181 123 (q.v.; also p. 131 above); St. Chariton, now Kh. Khureiton 172 117, for this location see *De Situ* - 425 and for the remains of a monastery there *HM* 1260; St. Dionysius, unknown; and St. Theodosius, now Deir Ibn Ubaid 177 125, q.v.

MONEMBASIA in Achaia, still the name of the city 15 miles north of Boeae in the S.E. Peloponnese, p. 126 above, and Map 36.

MONS CASIUS, now el Qeis 966 071: see p. 52, n. 112 above and *AM* 124 - 75 "TO KACIN": See Albachara, and Maps 1, 16.

MOPSUESTIA, see Masista.

MORASTHI or MORESHETH-GATH, the home of the prophet Micah, Mic. 1.1, Jer. 26.18. The place identified with this in the time of Egeria (P) Y8 - 203 contained his tomb (see p. 52 above): it was named Nephthameunna by Sozomen, *E.H.* 7.29.1 - 345) and was called "Charissai" by Egeria and "Beru-chasia" by Sozomen.

Eusebius, *On* 134.10, tells us that it lay east of Eleutheropolis, and Egeria that it was three miles away. Sozomen says that it was ten stades from Kailah (*pace* Abal, *Glog.* 2,392 and 378) which is Kh. Qila 150 113. Three miles and ten stades make four miles, too short a distance to cover the ground from Eleutheropolis to Kailah, but as Kailah is due east of Eleutheropolis the direction is probably right (as stated by Eusebius and implied by Sozomen) and we should seek some correction to one of the distances. Abal, *loc. cit.* and Jeronias, *Hg.* 82 are therefore likely to be mistaken in identifying the remains of the church at Kh. el Basal, (q.v.) with Micah's tomb.

Thomson *LS* p. 42 should be followed in seeking Micah's Tomb near Kailah, and he suggests Bir es Suweidiya as shown on our Map 14. Whether or not this is the place such a suggestion would make good sense of the Madaba Map if, as seems probable, the artist intended to show Morasthi to the east of Eleutheropolis, and the "TO T..." to the

east of Morasthi should be taken to mean "The Tomb/Church of St. Habakkuk" (See *MM* 90 and 89 - 69).

Motha: See Musica.

Moza (Ar. Qubunya) 166 134: 5/6th c. church associated with a monastery, *CBC* 142 - 139. See Map 7.

Mugheifit, Kh. el: See Gerizim, Mt., and Map 10.

Mukata, Kh. el: See Maqfir, Kh. el.

Mukawir, el: See Macharius.

Mukmas 176 142: 6th c. church, *CBC* 144 - 142. See Map 7.

Muqrata, Nahr el: See Kishon.

Munusas, Kh. el, 178 131: Church associated with monastery, *CBC* 111 - 113. See Map 7.

Musa, Jebel: See Sinai.

MUSICA, an unrecognisable member of the group of thirteen cities of Arabia mentioned on p. 70 above. It is unlikely to have meant Motha (Maura 216 055) since Stephanus of Byzantium speaks of this merely as a village, and it has never been a city.

MYNDOS, above p. 126, n. 12.

MYRMIDONIA: See Sinope.

Na'aran, see Ain Duk.

Nabi Musa, en: Map 10.

Nabi Samwil en: See Ramathaim - Zophim and Map 34.

Nabi Thari, (or Kh. Sheer) 143 163: Church, *CBC* 145 - 143. See Map 7.

Nablus, see Neapolis (1).

Nabratein, Kh. en: See Nevoraya, H.

Nahariyya, 158 267: 5-6th c. church of large size destroyed early 7th c. See *CNT* 23 (1973) 171/2. See Map 7.

NAIN (Hob. Na'im, 183 226) is two miles south of Mount Tabor near Endor (Jerome, *L. loc.* 141.5 correcting Eusebius), where the widow's house was turned into a church by the time of Eger

belief equated Neapolis with O.T. Samaria, thus above pp. 63, 81, 21-103(?), and 951 A.D.: 198; 1106 A.D.: 73-57. The historically correct view that ancient Samaria had been at Sebaste was not, however, abandoned: see pp. 52, 132 above and *De Sin* 424; Benjamin of Tudela - 32. For those who adopted the latter view Neapolis was usually identified with Shechem, though the actual site of Shechem was in fact further to the east: thus, for instance, pp. 51 and 138 above, which mentions a church, probably in Neapolis, containing the Tomb of the Woman of Samaria, and 1143 A.D.: 8.1-321.

A city plan of Neapolis is shown on the Madaba Map 32-45, and has been interpreted by F.M. Abel, *R.B.* 1923, 120/32. Samaritan remains have been found in and near Neapolis (see *SHG* 8.133 and *RCS* 81-51) and the expressions used by Procopius suggest that the Samaritan community may have lived somewhere between the city and the summit of Mount Gerizim: see p. 76 above. Maps 6, 7, 8, 19, 26, 42.

NEAPOLIS (2) in Campania, now Naples, Italy, pp. 125 and 133 above: see also Pizzofalcone, and Maps 36, 40.

NEAPOLIS (3) in Palestine I: See Mahmas (2).

NEBO (1) was for Eusebius, *On* 136.12, a deserted site, but John Rufus writing of the site about a century later (p. 57 above), speaks of it as a village on the south side of "Mount Abarim or Pisgah", namely Mount Nebo. It was perhaps Qariat el Mukhayyat 221 128, as suggested in *R.B.* 1932, 256. For its mosques see *R.B.* 1934, 385 ff.

NEBO (2) MOUNT: See Abadim, and Maps 9, 26.

Negew: mentioned above p. 87 n. 44: see South, The.

NEPHSAMEEMANA: See Marathi.

NESSANA: See George, Guesthouse of, and Map 26.

NEVE: Now Nawa, see Map 25.

Nevaraya, H. (Ar. Kh. on Nabratayn) 197 267: Synagogue lintel of 564 A.D.

R.B. 1961, 468. See Map 7.

NEW SAINT MARY * or "the most holy New Church of the Theotokos", *SEG* 8.315, was built in Jerusalem by Justinian in the way described above at length on p. 75 by Procopius of Caesarea. It was dedicated on 20 November 543 A.D., (Cyril Sc. *V. Euseb.* 71.18, *GL* 1373-2.52) and destroyed by an earthquake, probably that of A.D. 746: see above 52-p. 138.

The church had been begun by Patriarch Elias, 494/516 A.D. who was unable to complete it, probably because he ended his patriarchate in exile. When St. Sabas went to seek help for Palestine from Justinian in A.D. 531 he asked him to complete the church and to provide a hospital for travellers who fell sick (Cyril Sc. *V. Sab.* 175.1, see Milik, *MUJ* 1961, 150f.). The Emperor sent an architect named Theodore who was supervised by the Bishop of Bactra (near Animan), named Baruchus. The large complex of buildings contained an important monastery which survived the destruction of the church (pp. 84 and 5-p. 137 above). Besides the approach courts and hospices described by Procopius we hear also of a library there (*MUJ* 1961, 147 f.).

Remains which are probably part of the church were recently discovered by Professor N. Avigad: see *IEJ* 20 (1970) 137 f. and Maps 11, 41.

NICAËA in Bithynia, now Izmit, Turkey, 55 miles S.E. of Constantinople, Map 40. P. 133 mentions the church (the Golden Octagon of the Palace) in which the first Council of Nicaea was held. Nothing remains of this building: see R. Krauthammer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1965, pp. 52 f.

NICOPOLIS: see Emmaus.

NILE, RIVER: See above pp. 111, 142: for the cataracts and nilometer

p. 83, and for Trajan's canal, p. 139 and n. 2. See also Gihon.

Nisibis, now Nusaybin, Turkey, 130 miles east of Urfah: Map 23.

Nitta, Kh. en, 196 140: Church containing a Latin inscription showing five stages of construction from fourth to ninth c. *CBC* 112-114: see also Gerizim, Mount, and Map 7.

NITRIA, Egypt, now Wadi en Natrun, p. 52 above: the same as Scete, p. 57 above: Maps 1, 16.

NO or NO-AMON: is taken to have been the name of Alexandria on pp. 52, 110 and 111 above, and by Jerome, *C. Num* 3.8-562. In fact Alexandria had been On, and No was a name for Thebes.

Norash, see Ain Duk.

NOB, I Sam. 22.11, has not been positively identified, but was evidently close to Jerusalem: see Isa. 10.32. Thus the O.T. site may have been at a site like that of Isawiya 173 134, though no positive identification has so far been made. Jerome seems to have identified Nob with Annaba (Heb. II. Ber. Anava 145 143), see p. 47 above and Map 14.

NOPH, a name for Memphis: See above p. 67, n. on St. Jeremiah.

Nu'eima, Wadi: See Achor, and Map 10.

Nuqid, Tell en: See Gaza.

OAK OF MAMRE: See Terebinth.

OATH, WELL OF THE: See Kadish-barnes and p. 85 above.

OBODA: See George, Guest-house of.

Old Cairo: See Babylon.

OLIVES *. **THE MOUNT OF**, Heb. Har ha Zeitim, also formerly Har ha-Mish-ha, *p. 72* 4.8-3; Ar. Jebel of Tur, also formerly Tur Zeita (913 A.D.: 134): 1733 1317, Map 10. The Mount looks down over Jerusalem (which at its eastern edge is seventy metres lower) and the steepness of its sides made it necessary for the ancient streets leading up to take the form of stairways: see above pp. 101, 120, 137. The summit of the Mountain is today surrounded by the village of et Tur, and the chief holy place on the Mount was at a site on the south edge of this village. It was originally named simply the Church (on the Mount) "of Olives" or "on the Eleons", since the Greek *eleion* means "of olives": see for instance *Ag.* 25.11-127.

The Eleona church was built on the site of a cave which was already venerated before Eusebius wrote *Dem.* 6.18.23-278, and thus probably before 314 A.D. It was regarded as the place of the Ascension where the Lord "prayed with his disciples and handed on to them the mysteries of perfection" (Eusebius, cf. Acts 1.3). For a time the Ascension continued to be commemorated in the cave (335 A.D.: 9.17-221) and whilst this continued it may be that the nearby hillock, which formed the actual

summit of the Mount, was used to commemorate the Transfiguration (as reported by Bord. 595.5-160). Whether or not this was so there is no doubt that this hillock was regarded as the site of the Ascension by the time of Egeria (*Tr.* 43.5-142 and thereafter).

The teaching associated with the cave was in the fourth century interpreted in terms of "mysteries". Thus in 335 A.D. Eusebius calls it the "mystic" cave (*Laud. Const.* 9.17-221) and in 398 A.D. Jerome makes (or perhaps reproduces from Origen) the following comment on Matt. 24.3-223: "He sat on the Mount of Olives", where the true light of knowledge was brought into being, "and the disciples" who wished to learn mysteries and have the future revealed "came to him privately". They ask three things (as in Matt. 24.3): when Jerusalem is to be destroyed, when the Christ will come, and when will be the consummation of the age. This "mystery-language" probably remained in use for a long time, as evidenced by Sophronius, p. 92 above. A strong reason for these associations was that the cave was associated with the pre-Christian belief that God's judgement would take place at the Mount of Olives where the nations would be gathered on the western slopes in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel 3.2), and the Christian belief that Christ would come again "in like manner" Acts 1.11, (and, so Christians were quick to infer, in the same place) as when the eleven disciples saw him ascend into heaven. A new analysis of this idea was made by G. Kretschmar in *ZDPV* 1972, 183/205: see also above p. 147.

The part of Christ's teaching so far discussed was given before his Passion (as Bord. 595.5-160, *Ag.* 7.35.2-135, and p. 33 above, which Adomnan interprets on pp. 101 f.). But in the eighth century Epiphanius the Monk understood it to have been the teaching given in the "forty days" after the Resurrection, Acts 1.3: see p. 120 above which refers to Matt. 28.19, and compare Eusebius, *Dem.* 6.18.23-278. But writers of the Latin Kingdom all speak of the Lord "teaching" (1106 A.D.: 23-24) or "writing" the Lord's Prayer there: so in 1102 A.D.: 34 it was shown written in Hebrew on marble, and in 1170 A.D.: 7-125 a writer tells us of a stone below the altar on which the Lord's Prayer was written in Greek.

In form the church (*CBC* 71-82) is oriented to include the cave of the teaching underneath a raised sanctuary. It may or may not have been provided with the apse proposed by L. H. Vincent: for his plan see *Ag.* 7. pp. 49 f. The excavations revealed the steps from which Sophronius (p. 92, lines 13/16 above) wished to contemplate the Holy City.

Although the name "Eleona" continues in use in the ninth and tenth centuries it is probably by then archaic (see *C.P.G.* 171.2). Eutychius of Alexandria, *Ann.* 1.215, mentions it by this name only to say that it had been destroyed in 614 A.D. by the Persians. After this date the name normally in use was some form of "Place of the Disciples" or "Apostles" which had already come into use before the Persian invasion. Thus Egeria (*Tr.* 35.2-135) says that the cave is "where the Lord was with the apostles", similarly the *Life of Melania* calls it the "Apostolium" (49-220): the Armenian Lectionary speaks of "The Room of the Disciples" (40-268 but not as note c) and John Rufus calls it "The Cenacle of the Disciples" p. 58 above. From the early sixth century it is called by the equivalent name "Mathetium" (= "Matzi" p. 69 above: see *GL* 642-1.93 etc., and *Capture* 24.14), and from the seventh century the "Didascallium" or "Place of Teaching", as above pp. (92), 120, and 137. See further Milik *R.B.* 1960, 23/4-555/7: a building of the Priest Sabas containing a chapel of Saint Andrew formed part of the Mathetium, *GL* 938-2.7. For the Church of the Teaching see Maps 11, 18, 29, 33, 41.

In about 384 A.D. when Egeria visited the Hillock, there was no church there in which the Eucharist could be celebrated (see e.g. 7. 43.5-142, where the Hillock is called Imbomon). Such a church, albeit in an unconventional form, was founded soon afterwards and in any case before 392 A.D. by a noblewoman called Polimonia to provide a worthy setting for the celebration of the Ascension: see *Ag.* 7. p. 51. The earliest remaining description of this building is that written by Paulinus of Nola for Sulpicius Severus in his *Letter* 31.4-271 f., where he speaks of a grassy place "so sanctified by His divine footprints that it has never been possible to cover it over or pave it with stones". On the summit of the Mount of Olives Christ's footprints displayed the fulfillment of Scripture in a special way, for Zech. 14.4 promised that "in that day his feet shall stand upon the Mount of Olives". These words are quoted by Eusebius, *Dem.* 6.18.17-277, and are surely being echoed by such writers as Prudentius (*Dir.* 44-398, "footprints of peace"), and Corontius (*Life of Melania* 57-238, "this is the place where the Lord's feet stood").

It is probable that in describing the Ascension Church Paulinus is quoting a description by Jerome, since section 3 of the same letter is closely based on Jerome's *Letter* 58.3-531. Sulpicius Severus reproduces what he was told by Paulinus in *Hist. Sac.* 2.33-148, and Augustine borrows from some part of this exchange in *Tr. in Joh.* 47.4-406.

On top of the church building, probably set up on its porch, was a sizable cross, which is mentioned by Jerome on p. 50 above. There he is presumably talking of the arrangement made by Polimonia rather than the previous arrangement which Paula would in fact have seen in 385 A.D. When this cross was burned down the Empress Eudokia gave as a replacement a cross containing "6,000 lb. of bronze" (John Rufus, *Assue.* 11-27). This in turn was pulled down by Caliph Umar, if we are to believe Theophanes, *Chron.* (year 635)-700. The building as a whole had the form of a circular colonnade whose plan, so far as it can be deduced from the small amount of archaeological evidence available, is reproduced in *Ag.* 7. p. 51: see *CBC* 74 a/b-85/7 and above pp. 100/101 (with the plan Pl.2), and p. 131. Adomnan includes two explanations of its lack of a roof, one derived from Sulpicius Severus (above 23/45-p. 101) and the other, a different one, which he was told by Arculf (23, 15/17-p. 101).

The visitor entered the circular colonnade through a porch on the south (mentioned by John Rufus, *Assue.* 51-105: this approach was in contrast with the present entrance, which is on the west), which suggests that there was a path, perhaps of some formal kind, connecting it with the Eleona. On entering the inner circle, which was open to the sky, he found himself near a circular bronze railing, and if he went to the western

side of it he was able to reach the centre of the enclosure, and take some of the dust on which the Lord's footprints appeared: a lamp hung above: see pp. 101 and 131. Inside the east part of the colonnade (pp. 100, 120 above) was an altar under its own roof (see pp. 120, 144). On the west side, facing the city, were windows containing eight lamps (above, p. 101): Willibald (p. 131 above) mentions two columns, and may have done so because in his day they were the only ones left.

By the eighth century the enclosure containing the dust seems to have been replaced by "The Holy Stone" (p. 120 above: also reported in 1106 A.D.: 25-24 and 1172 A.D.: 27-66) but the structure remained round and had no roof. This sanctuary is also mentioned above on pp. 53, 58, 61 (compare 60 n. 3), 92, 137 and 147. Somewhere inside it Melania the Younger constructed the Martyrium of Stephen "in the Colonnade": see above, Jerusalem 4. A.I. For the Church of the Ascension see Maps 11, 17, 29, 30, 33, 39, 41, 45. Near the Ascension in the early sixth century there may have been a site named Galilee (p. 61 above and Map 18: see Matt. 28.10 and contrast Stair below). To the south of the Ascension in a deep cave was the tomb of St. Pelagia, the woman who successfully pretended to be a male anchoite till the time of her death: this location, described in 1106 A.D.: 26-26, would perhaps correspond with the modern "Tomb of Huldah", and perhaps also the original tomb of Pelagia, for which see p. 83 above and *Pitae Patrum, Pelagia* 14-670.

In c. 518 A.D. Theodosius, p. 65 above, says that there were twenty-four churches on the Mount of Olives, and the Piacenza pilgrim tells of "vast numbers" of monks and nuns (p. 83 above). We know the names of a good many: thus St. Basil between 370 and 378 A.D. writes *Letter* 258, 1/2-949 to "our brethren on the Mount of Olives, Palladius and Innocentius the Italian". Innocentius founded a martyrion on the Mount of Olives containing the remains of John the Baptist (Palladius, *HL* 103-76 34. 1209) which is mentioned both as the "Building of Innocentius" in the Georgian Lectionary, 1261-241, and also (probably) as "Old St. John", 1026-2.15, which may be the "St. John occupied by the Armenians" mentioned as No. 30-p. 137 above. It may have been on the site now occupied by the Russian convent on the summit of the Mount, 1734 1318, which contains mosaics of the early seventh century (*LA* 6(1955/6)354) with Armenian burial inscriptions (*MP* 116/19-2.167).

Convents for women were founded on the Mount of Olives both by Melania the Elder and by Melania the Younger, one in about 375 A.D. and the other early in the fifth century. The latter also, in addition to the Apostolium, founded a monastery for men *V.Met.* 49.57-220,238. It is possible that some of the remains found on the summit of the Mount correspond with these foundations: see the proposals in *R.B.* 1918, 557 and *CBC* 75-87: note also Milik, *R.B.* 1960, 35-563. A small hermitage was founded by Gabrielus, who had been abbot of St. Stephen's "in the Valley to the east of the revered Hillock of the Ascension", Cyril Sc. *V. Euseb.* 56.6. Despite the suggestion of Milik, *R.B.* 1960, 71-580, this is likely to be the same as, or at least close to, the monastery on the slope five hundred feet (150 m.) south of the Russian Tower at 1734 1316, for which see *CBC* 76-87/9. There was also a Church of St. Mary (25-137) distinct from her Tomb at the foot of the mountain.

There was a second St. John's, "The Lower", "where he was born" (19-p. 137 above) somewhere on the mountain side, in the place to which the Pharisees brought the woman taken in adultery and Jesus wrote on the ground (John 8.6). Letters on a stone were shown to pilgrims there: see Milik *R.B.* 1960, 33-562. Another church somewhere on the Mount was named St. Lawrence, *GL* 1309-2.45, which, though he was a Roman martyr, is hardly likely to have been the chapel of the hospice allegedly founded by Gregory the Great (John the Deacon, *V. Greg.* 2.52-110, see Abel, *R.B.* 1924, 25-616), since the hospice was inside the city walls (see above, *Jerusalem* B.I.). "Near the Mount of Olives" was "Saint Peter and Paul in Byzantium", 28-p. 137 above which, as Milik suggests in *R.B.* 1960, p. 574, could be the monastery of Abba Romanus mentioned in Procopius, *Buil.* 9.11-p. 156 above and *GL* 939, 1258-2.728: there seems little foundation for Milik's suggestion that this church is to be sought in the Wadi Qaddum 1735 1304. We know also the names of several other monasteries which were on or near the Mount of Olives, like those of Anastasia, Cyril Sc., *V. Seb.* 145.9 and the foundation of Flavia in Gethsemane (q.v.). The monastery of Abba Abramios (later abbot of New St. Mary according to J. Moschus, *Tr.* 187-3064) may be the same as the "Building of Ephraemia", *GL* 1194, 1227-2.32.36.

We thus have some knowledge of about half the churches mentioned by Theodosius as being on the Mount of Olives, and slightly more than half if we count the large monastery at the Virgin's Tomb (see *Gethsemane* above) and the Tomb of Saint James (see *Jehoshaphat*).

ONO: (Ar. Kufi Ana 137 159): See Map 7b.

ORFINE, ORINE: See En Karen.

ORONTES, RIVER: Map 23.

OSTRAKINE: See above, p. 52 n. 112, MM 123-75, and Albachara.

Usually taken to be el Filustiyat 000 059. Maps 1, 16.

Ozem (Ar. Kh. Beit Manin) 122 116: 5/6th c. church, *CBC* 151-151.

See Map 7.

PALESTINE: its northern boundary, above p. 47 n. 8; meaning "land of the Philistines" 17-p. 54; the Roman province 19-p. 54, p. 70: Palaestina Prima, see Caesarea Palaestinae; Palaestina Tertia p. 76.

PALMYRA: Map 23.

PANIAS or **PANEAS**, now Banias 215 294, named after the god Pan, where Herod the Great dedicated "a temple of white marble" to Augustus Josephus, *War* 1.404. Herod's son Philip enlarged the city and named it Caesarea Philippi (*Ant.* 18.28), a name which was used among Jews (thus Mishnah *Bar.* 8.11-707 gives the diminutive Kisrion); but the name Caesarea seems soon to have been dropped, probably to avoid confusion with Caesarea of Palestine (like that in 46-p. 89 above), and only one of our pilgrims uses it (p. 128 and perhaps also 132 above). All the rest use Pannias as the current name, for the city (or its district, as on p. 107 above) and if they mention Caesarea it is in historical reference to

Matt. 16.13 or Mark 8.27.

At Pannias the cave from which a tributary of the Jordan flowed was the focal point of pagan worship. It was known as the Cave of Pan, and stood at the foot of a large cliff from which each year a victim was thrown, Eusebius, *EH* 7.17-670. The arrangement of the cave is lost, since its ceiling has fallen in. The Augusteum too has disappeared. It may have stood in front of the cave if its remains were those shown as one of the "altars" to Benjamin of Tudela, 1173 A.D.: 46.

Christians went to pray in the city mainly because of a statue which they took to represent the woman with an issue of blood being healed by the Lord (Matt. 9.20; Eusebius *EH* 7.18-672, who also speaks of painted portraits of "Paul, Peter, and Christ himself"). They saw also the House of the Woman with the issue of blood. The famous statue was beheaded by the Emperor Julian and replaced by a statue of Pan (Philostorgius, *EH* 7.3-73) or of Julian himself (Socrus *EH* 5.21-228). But the statue of the woman was later replaced (p. 63 above) and in about 575 A.D. John Malalas, *Chron.* 10-364 tells us that the woman herself set up the statue, and that her name was Beronike, the equivalent of the Latin Veronika. It is unlikely that Christians would have been permitted to venerate the statue in times of Muslim iconoclasm. Thus if the last words we hear about the statue (939 A.D.: 320-136) are, as is possible, a literary reference, the last evidence we have that the statue is visible is that of Theodosius, p. 63 above, in the early sixth century.

Pannias was so well placed that it continued to prosper, and under Arab administration served as capital of al Julan, 891 A.D.: G-13. See Maps 8, 19, 23, 25, 31, 37, 38.

PANTUS, MOUNT, is Mount Hermon: p. 107 above.

PANTELFIMON, MONASTERY OF, in the desert of the Jordan, above 3-p. 76. Its site is unknown.

PAPHOS, on the S.W. shores of Cyprus: mentioned on p. 126 above. See Maps 23, 36.

PARALYTIC *. **CHURCH OF THE**: See Sheep Pool.

PARAN (1), a village three days south of Aila (Procopius of Gaza, *Eclag.* 332D correcting Eusebius, *On* 166.15) and on the main road to Mount Sinai (see *Ag.* 7. 6.1, (P). Y15-98.209): thus certainly the same as Feiran 018 792. Egeria probably stayed there in the guesthouse of a monastery, but by the time the Piacenza pilgrim arrived it seems to have grown, since he describes it as a city with a formidable garrison, p. 88 above.

Paran was equated with Rephidim, Exod. 17.8/13, *Ag.* 7. 209, and above pp. 70, 73, 88, and a church was built there at the place where Moses prayed, and his hands were supported by Aaron and Hur. This is not the same as the episcopal church inside the city (implied by the mention of the bishop, p. 88 above). See Maps 1, 21, 27.

PARAN (2), **MONASTERY OF MOUNT**, mentioned above 40-p. 138, has left various remains which can be seen in the Greek monastery near Kh. Fara and Ain Fara 179 137. This was the first monastery not only of St. Chariton but also of Saints Euthymius and Theodotus.

PARSANABA: See Antipatris.

PATARA in Lycia, Acts 21.1, the harbour at the mouth of the River Xanthus (now Kosa) mentioned on p. 126 above: it is now Golemish, Turkey, 65 miles E.S.E. of Rhodes. Map 36.

PATRIARCHUM *. See below, Tomb of the Lord, and of section 3.

PAUL THE FIRST HERMIT, Monastery of: See Qubba.

PAVEMENT *. The: See below, Praetorium and Mount Zion.

Pavia, once Ticinum in Liguria, 20 miles south of Milan: p. 134 above and Map 40.

PEACE, WELL OF, at Ascalon, p. 85 above.

PELLA, now Tabaqat Falal 207 206: Map 7b.

PELUSIUM, the port giving its name to the westernmost mouth of the Nile in ancient times, p. 52 above, with a "very secure harbour", Jerome, *C. Ezech.* 30.101-422. It is "the beginning of Egypt" according to Epiphanius the Monk p. 119 above, probably in the sense that it is the first fertile place after the desert. He calls it Pharna, like Bernard's *Parana*, p. 142 above, which confirms its identification as Tell of Parana 915 053. Bernard mentions a church there at "the place where the Angel told Joseph to flee with his Son and the Mother". Maps 1, 16, 24, 35, 44.

PENTASCHOENUM: a site exactly half-way between Pelusium and Mons Casius: Map 16.

Peql'in (Ar. Buq'at) 182 264: Architectural fragments ornamented with Jewish symbols suggest a synagogue, *RCS* 88-56: See also Bactra, and Map 7.

PERSARMENTA, the part of Armenia round Lake Van, pp. 70, 71 above.

PERSIA, mentioned p. 71 above.

PERSIS, originally the central district of Persia, p. 71 above.

PHARAN, see Parana.

PHARAS, see Pharos.

PHARMA, see Pelusium.

PHAROS, the lighthouse at Alexandria which was one of the Wonders of the World: described above pp. 110 and 119.

PHIALA, the mention on p. 107 above is derived from Josephus, *War* 3.509 f., who takes Phiala to be the source feeding the River Jordan. It is the small crater lake called Birket Ram 222 294, which in fact has no direct connection with the Jordan.

PHILADELPHIA, now Auran 138 151, mentioned above as one of the thirteen cities of Arabia, p. 70. While Christian sources mention no holy place there, Muslims honoured the Tomb of Urfah, according to el Muqaddasi - 149. Map 19.

PHILIP'S SPRING: See Beth-zur.

PHISON, see Tishon.

PHOENICIA, the Roman province, mentioned above pp. 47, 54, 70, 77,

and 107. Map 7b.

PHOENICONA, the place where the children of Israel arrived after crossing the Red Sea and before passing through the Desert of Shur (p. 73 above). It seems thus to be the same as the hamlet with an inn which is mentioned on p. 88 above, which we should locate at Qum Musa 923 923. See

also Marsh, and Map 24.
PHYGELA in Asia, a large village somewhere on the coast south of Ephesus, mentioned on p. 126 above; see Map 36.
Piacenza or Placentia, on the River Po, fifty miles S.E. of Milan; mentioned on p. 79 above. Map 13.
PILATE *, House of: See Praetorium.
Pi Mazzuca, H. See Bezat.
PINE WOOD mentioned by Adomnan on p. 106 above; see Kh. Is-tah.
PISGAH, see Abarim.
PISHON RIVER, (also Phison) a River of Paradise originally connected with the Tigris or Euphrates, Gen. 2.11 and on pp. 67 and 119 above (taken to mean the Nile).
Pizzofalcone in Campania, (now part of Naples) which was the village where St. Severinus is buried, above p. 133 n. 51.
PLACENTIA, see Piacenza.
PLAIN(S), THE GREAT, or Plain of Jezreel, p. 52 above.
PONTIA, the island now called Ponza, twenty-five miles south of Terracina in Campania; p. 47 above, and Map 13.
PORPHYREON in Phoenicia, with a church of the Mother of God, p. 77 above; possibly Tel Kison, q.v., see Map 25.
PORTA PYRGU *, or Gate of the Tower, p. 65 above and Jerusalem (2).
POTTER'S FIELD *, see Avdikuma.
PRAETORIUM *. Though Jerome uses this name to denote the contemporary praetors' residence in Jerusalem (p. 49 above and Map 15) the name is usually used in reference to Mark 15.16 and the residence of Pontius Pilate. Both Pilate and the praetors of Jerome's time lived in what is now the Citadel, and in the palace beside it to the south, as argued by F. Benoit, *R.H.* 1952, 531/50, but the place pointed out to pilgrims as containing the ruins of Pilate's House or Praetorium (Cyril Jer., *Chr.* 13.38) was down in the Tyropoeon valley (Bord. 593.3 - 158). The position is confirmed and further defined by the Piacenza pilgrim, p. 84 above (in a way which contradicts Milik's proposed identification of the site on the Madaba Map, *MU* 37 (1961) 153, since it says it was "below", i.e., to the east of, Valley Street). Before the mid-fifth century a church had been built over the site of the ruins named "the Church called Pilate's", "Holy Wisdom", or "Saint Sophia"; see above pp. 58, 60f, 66, 81 and Maps 11, 18, 29. From the mid-sixth century pilgrims were shown there a stone on which the Lord had stood when his case was heard, and his footprints (above pp. 91f, lines 72/80, and p. 84, where the Piacenza pilgrim speaks also of Pilate's Seat and a portrait of Christ).
 Adomnan makes no mention of this church thus suggesting that Arculf was not taken to see it. Indeed our last mention of it is probably that of its existence in 614 A.D. (*Cap.* 23.16), and it had doubtless been destroyed by the time of Arculf's visit. This proposal is consistent with the Georgian Lectionary which gives a litany for the eve of the dedication on 7th August, 1134 - 2.26 but no dedication on the 8th. The Latin manuscript of the Lectionary gives on 21st September, 1256a - 2.20 the dedication of the "New Sophia", "where Pontius Pilate's House used to be", and this is possibly the one described by Epiphanius the Monk (D and E - p. 117 below) and called "The Pavement" (see John 19.13). It was nowhere near the site of the earlier church, but between the Tower of David and Holy Zion, and despite the fact that Epiphanius appears to confuse the betrayal and the condemnation of the Lord, he is certainly speaking of the same place mentioned in the later documents as that of the condemnation: note the order of items 3/5 - p. 137 above and Anon II, 4 - 122, writing in about 1170 A.D., who says it is north of the courtyard of Holy Zion. *Vypikov* - 130 calls it "The Pavement (*Lithostrotion*), the Holy Wisdom" and it continued in use during the Latin Kingdom.
PRECIPITATION: See Nazareth.
PRISON OF CHRIST *: See Zion, Tomb of the Lord.
PRIXA, the ancient name of Brixen: p. 134, n. 58, n. 2.
PROBATHICA, see Skepp Pool.
PROMISED LAND, (cf. Dent. 19.8) used in the same way as "Holy Land": see above pp. 54, 30 - p. 137, and 144.
PROOF, WATER OF, see p. 119, which mentions a place no longer known. The name is probably derived from the incident at Massah, Exod. 17.7.
PTOLEMAIS or AKE, now Akko (Ar. Akko 157 268) a city with an important harbour. Though it was in Phoenicia the Mishnah counts it for religious purposes as the northernmost part of the Land of Israel on the Mediterranean coast (*Gitt.* 1.1, *iShab.* 5.1; also 1173 A.D. - 31). Apart from the fact that St. Paul had stayed there (Acts 21.7 and p. 47 above) it had no special religious associations for Christians. It is also mentioned on pp. 54f, 77, 79 n. 132 and p. 132 above. See Maps 2, 7b, 14, 23, 25, 37, 38.
Qaisariya, Kh.: See Caesarea Palaestinae.
Qal'at el Ihsa: see Ippene.
Qal'at Mudik: See Apsene.
Qal'at Ras el Ain: See Antipatris.
Qalunya: See Moza.
Qana, Kh.: See Cana.
Qaryat el Mukhlaiyat: See Nebo (1).
Qasr of Abd 172 116: chapel connected with Laura, *CBC* 93 - 100; D. C. Chitty took this to be Susakim, *PEQ* 1929, 174, but B. Bagatti to be the Monastery of Romanus, *LA* 1968, 288 - 300. Map 7.
Qasr Ali, 177 135: Map 9.
Qasr Hajla: See Cerasimus, Monastery of St.
Qasr of Tubas: See Zoor.
Qasr el Yehud: See Jordan, and Map 10.
Qasrain, el 167 103: Synagogue, *RCS* 89 - 56. Map 7.
Qastra, H.: See Samaritan's Camp.
Qatrawani, esh Sheikh: See Sheikh Qatrawani.
Qeimin, Tell: See Yaqne'am, Tel.
Qesari, H.: See Caesarea Palaestinae.
Qila, Kh.: See Morasthi.
Qilt, Wadi: See Jericho, Jordan.
QUARANTA, St. (viz. the Forty Martyrs): See Jerusalem S.vi.

QUBBA, on p. 88 above arises out of P. Geyer's amendment of the meaningless *syacumba* to *syiace cuba*. Arabic *qubba*, dome. It could well be a name for Deir Bula, the monastery of Paul the first Hermit, 897 811: Map 27.
Qubeiba, el: See Lachish.
Qurna: See Thebes.
Qurnat al Jebel: See Gibeon.
Quswilla: See Abila.
Raba 187 199: Map 8.
RACHEL'S TOMB, Gen. 35.19 identifies Ephraim with Bethlehem, thus implying that Rachel's Tomb was south of Jerusalem in its present place, 169 125. But an alternative tradition is reflected in I Sam. 10.2, which places the tomb north of Jerusalem, and thus in the tribe of Benjamin; this passage, probably earlier than the explanation in Genesis, probably places the tomb somewhere near Ramah/er Ram 172 140. Comments on the tomb in our period (invariably the southern site) are often concerned to explain the word "Ephodion", which the LXX introduced into their translation of this passage of Genesis. See for instance p. 85.
 Only Adomnan gives any description of the tomb and he, like George Synellus in the ninth century, makes it evident that the tomb was in the open air, p. 105 above and *Eloge Chron.* 107A - 200. Since the Georgian Lectionary requires that the liturgy be celebrated at the Tomb, 1096 - 2.22, there must have been some kind of altar and, no doubt, roof, or perhaps a chapel nearby, as described by the Piacenza pilgrim, p. 85 above; see Ramah. The tomb is also mentioned above on pp. 49, 58, 117 and 123, and remained visible in the Latin Kingdom; see 1130 A.D. - 425. See also Bethlehem (1) and note that Jerome, *L. loc.* 45.1 should refer to the tomb of "Rachel" instead of "Archelaus", Maps 5, 26, 34.
RAFFIA or RAPHIA, the most southerly city in Palestine, now Tell Rafah 077 079. It was evidently shown on the Madaba Map, 119 - 75. Mentioned on p. 65 above. Maps 1, 19, 24.
RAITHU: See Elim.
Ram, cr.: See Gibeon (3), Ramah, and Map 20.
Rama, cr. 184 260: Decorated lintel with Aramaic inscription suggests a benediction by a rabbi *RCS* 92 - 57. The column fragments, bases and capitals there (*HM* - 1303) therefore probably belonged to a synagogue. See Map 7.
Rama, Tel. cr.: See Livias.
RAMAH, a name attracted from er Ram 172 140 to a place near Rachel's Tomb, q.v. A church was seen nearby by the Piacenza pilgrim which had been built over the water which sprang forth to quench the thirst of the Blessed Virgin Mary on her way to Egypt: p. 85 above. Since he also tells us that this water and church were "at the third milestone" he evidently refers to the Kathisma, q.v. The water doubtless came from the high-level aqueduct which ran nearby. See also Ramla.
Ramat el Khelil, Haram: See Jericho.
RAMATHA: See Ramathaim-zophim, and Map 20.
RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM, RAMATHA, or ARMATHAM, the birthplace of the prophet Samuel, I Sam. 1.1. Eusebius, *Chr.* 32.21, followed by *MM* 49 - 49, identifies this with Arimathea and places it at Ramis (q.v.), 152 159. Jerome in 406 A.D. tells us that the Emperor Arcadius transferred the bones of Samuel from Judaea to Thrace (c. *Fig.* 5 - 343) and if he means that they were taken from Ramis this would perhaps explain why its connection with Samuel seems to be forgotten (as suggested by F. M. Abel, *R.B.* 1912, 267). All the memories connected with the prophet seem to have been celebrated instead at the splendidly-located shrine now called on Nabi Samwil 167 137, the Tomb of the prophet (see Theod. p. 65 above and Ep. Mon., p. 120, if we may read "six" for "sixteen" in XI.2) and its associated monastery (p. 77 above and of Muqaddasi, A.D. 985 - 74). Theodosius calls the place "Ramatha" (Map 20), recalling the Ramah where Samuel was buried, I Sam. 28.3, but for the GL (1159 - 2.28) it seems to be Mizpah (cf. I Sam. 7.5) for Arculf Armatem (p. 100 above) and for the Latin Kingdom "Mount Shiloh" (I Sam. 1.3, see Theodoric, 1172 A.D.: 38 - 87 and Benjamin of Tudela, after 1173 A.D. - 42). See Map 34.
Ramat Rahel: See Kathisma.
RAMLA, ER, 138 148, the capital of the Jund of Filistin, created by Sulayman ibn Abd el Malik in about 715 A.D. of a previously unoccupied area: "its situation was a sandy area", 869 A.D. - 81. By the mid-tenth century it was the largest town in Palestine, 951 A.D. - 27: its port was Jaffa. In the Latin Kingdom it was sometimes confused with O.T. Ramah, as in 1170 A.D.: Anon III, 3 - 130 and after 1173 A.D. - 42. Mentioned on pp. 119 and 142 above. Maps 2, 34, 46.
RAMUSA, p. 71 above, a place-name otherwise unknown.
Rantis 152 159: Foundations of church with apse, *HM* - 1303, and mosaic in three places, including el Kanisa, south of the town: *MP* 281 - 38. See Map 7. See also Arimathea and Ramathaim-zophim above.
RAPHIA: See Raffia.
RAPIDUS, the river near Monte Cassino, 75 miles S.E. of Rome: p. 133 above.
Raqqa: See Callitricum.
Ras, Kh. cr.: See Beth Horon, Kofar Trueman.
Ras en Nangra: See Lebanon, Head of.
Ras Siyagh: See Abarim, Beth-poor.
Ras et Tulin: See Bahurim.
Rawaba, Kh., Qasr, or Wadi cr., 177 135: 5/6th c. hermit's chapel, *CBC* 179 - 182. See Map 7.
Rawar, Kaitat cr. 172 123: Cave with arrangements as a chapel from 4-5th c. destroyed early in 7th c. and soon restored. See *CNY* 23 (1973) pp. 250/1. See Map 7: cf. *CBC* 95 - 102.
RED SEA, mentioned above, pp. 76, 88, 119, and 139.
Reggio, Calabria, once Regium Iulium, 12 miles south of Massina: above pp. 125, 133. Maps 36, 40.
Rehov, Tel (Ar. Tullul Farwana) 1967 2077: Synagogue chancel screen *JEJ* 1973, 181/3 near potter's shop, *R.B.* 1957, 260. See M. Avi-Yonah, *Antiquity and Survival* 2 (1957) 271: this was probably the site of Roob, Eusebius *On.* 142.19. See Map 7.
Reifoun: See Kisseron, Mount.
REMPHTHIS: See Arimathea.
REPHIDIM: See Paran.
Reshef (Ar. Arsuf) 132 177: 6th c. church, *CBC* 155 - 155 and Jewish lintel with Greek inscription, *RCS* 10 - 17. See Map 7.
Restar cr.: See Arisura.
RESURRECTION: See Tomb of the Lord.
RHODES, island off the S.W. coast of Turkey, p. 47 above. Maps 13, 36.
RINOCORURA, now el Arish 036 060, mentioned on p. 54 above. In Jerome's time it was in Egypt but perhaps spoke Aramaic, the language of Syria, *C. Exa.* 27.12 - 352. The Madaba Map shows it as a small town, 122 - 75: see also Alariza, and Maps 1, 16.
ROMANIA, apparently meaning the Roman Empire, p. 121 above; meaning the area round Rome, p. 145 above.
ROME, mentioned above pp. 47, 115, 125, 141, 134, 144: shown on Maps 13, 32, 36, 40, 43, 47: see also Bethlehem.
ROOB: See Rehov, Tel.
Rosh haNigra: See Lebanon, Head of.
ROTH, p. 54 above, a mistaken rendering of Josephus' "Meroth", *War* 3.40, now Meron, q.v.
Rouen, anciently Rotomagus, p. 125 above, and Map 36.
Royal City: see Constantinople.
Rund: see Arcadius.
Ruhama 122 100: monastery chapel of 6/7th c., *CBC* 157 - 156. See Map 7.
Rumeldi, Jebel cr. 159 104: Church, *CBC* 58 - 69. Map 7.
Rumella, Kh.: See Bet Shemesh, Tel.
RUSAPA, see note above, p. 71, and Tetrapyrgion, below.
Rushidiya, Tell cr. 201 132: Map 10.
SABA or SABAS, THE GREAT LAURA OF, 181 123. The first church there was the "God-built" church consecrated by Patriarch Sallustius on 12th December 491 A.D., Cyril Sc. *V. Sab.* 104.20. The monastery became far the most important in Palestine (see p. 135 above: it is described on p. 131 above and mentioned also on p. 119). At the beginning of the Latin Kingdom there were more than three hundred monks there, 1102 A.D. - 35. For ancient remains there see *SWP* 3.219, including the larger church dedicated on 1 July 501 A.D.: see *V. Sab.* - 100.1; 102.1, 18; 117.1. See Maps 7, 34, 38, 42.
Sabastia: See Sebaste (1).
SAFDRA: See Asra.
SAFFORINE or Saffuriya: See Diocessarea.
Safi es, Ghor es Safi: See Zoor.
Saida: See Sidon.
SALAMINIAS, now Salamiya in Syria, p. 132 above. Map 37.
SALAMIS: See Constantin, and Maps 23, 36.
Salt: See Shalim.
SALIM, the name of Melchizedek's realm Gen. 14.18, generally taken to have been an early name for Jerusalem, as on p. 49 above.
Salih, Kh.: See Kathisma.
SADIM, John 3.23, presumably the "Sadima" of Egeria's Travels 13.2/15.6: see Jordan.
Salina: See Didymus.
SALT SEA, see Dead Sea.
Sarnak, Tell cr.: See Sycaminum.
SAMARIA: for the city see Neapolis and Sebaste; for the region see above, pp. 54f, 81, and 108.
SAMARITANS' CAMP, or CASTRA SAMARITANORUM, p. 79 above was rendered *Qastra in Thr. R. I.* 17. It was near Porphyrion (Manst. *SC* 13, 159/62 and *PG* 86.3216), and is the present H. Qastra (Ar. el Tin'ane 147 247). Map 25.
Samaritani: See Sidon.
SAMARRA, Iraq, 70 miles N.W. of Baghdad, rendered *Aznarri* on p. 141 above.
SAMOS, the island in the Aegean S.W. of Ephesus, p. 126 above. Map 36.
SAMPSON: See Bet Shemesh, Succoth (1).
SAMSON'S SPRING was at Succoth, q.v., p. 52 above, which was in the district of Eleutheropolis. This may be the meaning of the phrasing of p. 85 above.
SAMUEL, THE CITY OF, above 20 - p. 100: see Ramathaim-zophim.
Sannam, Tell cr.: See Gaza.
Sandahanne, Kh. 140 111: 5/6th c. church, *CBC* 138-135: see Eleuthero-polis, and Map 7.
San el Hogar: See Tanis.
SAPSAPHAS: See Jordan.
SAPSAS: See Cherith.
Sera, H. (Ar. Kh. Shura) 204 264: Remains of a synagogue, *RCS* 69 - 44. See Map 7.
SARAFIA or DIOCLETIANOPOLIS, probably Kh. Sharaf 107 114, mentioned on p. 85 above. Perhaps this was the Sariphea violently destroyed by Saracens in 797 A.D., according to Stephen of Mar Saba, *Acts of the Twenty Martyrs* - 167. Maps 4, 7b, 26.
SAREPTA, or ZAREPETH, I Kgs 17.10 ff, where Elijah went to the widow and asked her to give him food, as Bord. 583.1 - 153: now Sarfand 176 316. It was a large village (Eusebius, *On.* 162.1: see p. 79 above), the "Turret of Elijah", p. 47 above was turned into a church before 518 A.D.: p. 70 above, but still contained his "room" which was pointed out in c. 570 A.D.: p. 79 above. A fragment of the Madaba Map shows Sarepta, 148 - 77. There is no later mention of any church there for over five hundred years: see 1177 A.D.: 7 - 392. Maps 2, 23, 25.
Sas'ar 187 271: Grotto in the nineteenth century saw remains which he judged to be those of a synagogue, *Galilee II*, 93 f. See Map 7.
Sawira: See Boice.
SCALA SCHOLASTICA (sic) see p. 125 above.
SCETE, p. 57 above, is identical with Nubia in Egypt (p. 52 above), now Wadi Natrun.
SCYTHOPOLIS, biblical Bethshean, Jud. 1.27, or Bethshan, I Sam. 31.10, is modern Bet She'an (Ar. Baisan 198 212). Its position and fertility have made it one of the principal cities of the Holy Land: it became capital of Palaestina IIa (Eusebius, *On.* 54.9; Council of Ephesus - 79, cf. p. 81

above), and supplied the whole of the rest of the country with rice, at least in the tenth century, el Muqaddasi - 37. Maps 7, 8, 19, 25.
 In the mid-fourth century Count Joseph of Tiberias settled on his properties in Scythopolis, and found himself the only non-Arian in the city, Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.5, 12 - 339f, 348. The principal saint honoured there was the martyr Basil (p. 63 above and Cyril Sc. *V. Euth.* 26.12). From the religious standpoint the city was a mixture. A Jewish synagogue was built there in the 5th c., *RCS* 17 - 20 and *R.B.* 1971, 585. But there was also a strong Samaritan community, including a certain Arsenius, who persecuted the Christians in the period before A.D. 530 (Procopius, *Secr. Hist.* 27.5); an inscription recording his name appears in *R.B.* 1911, 289. For a lamp with a Samaritan inscription see *IAJ* 1956, 65. The city's fine theatre remained in use during the Byzantine period, *R.B.* 1962, 409.
 Cyril of Scythopolis, the foremost biographer of the Palestinian monks, mentions a good many of the religious buildings of his native city, and it must have contained a strong Christian community. There were the Chapel of Saint Thomas, after which one of the quarters in the city was named, the Church of Saint John (for which see p. 81 above), and monasteries of Euthanasius and of St. Procopius, the first martyr of Palestine: Cyril Sc. *V. Sib.* - 162/4, 180. The remains of several ecclesiastical buildings have been found, and include a round church, perhaps of the 5th c. on Tell el Husn (*CBC* 24 - 38), a monastery chapel of the mid-5th c. on Tell el Mastaba (*CBC* 25 - 40), and a monastery chapel of the 6th c. in the valley (*CBC* 23 - 38).
 Apart from the apostles named in church dedications we hear of no biblical associations for the city till 1106 A.D.: 75 - 58.
SEBASTE or SEBASTIA (1) in Palestine, now Sebastiya (Heb. Shomron 169 187) was the Samaria of the O.T., and for the last hundred years of the northern kingdom served as its capital, 1 Kgs 16.24. It was rebuilt by Herod the Great, who changed its name to Sebaste (Eusebius *Chron.* - II.130, 142).
 Before 361 A.D. the tombs of John Baptist, Obadiah, and Elisha were already revered by Christians there, since we are told that the Emperor Julian expressed his approval of the Sebastene pagans who desecrated the tombs and burned the saints' bones, Philostorgius, *Eccl.* 7.4 - 80. The cult was soon restored, and a story explaining how the scattered relics were collected and preserved is carefully told by Rufinus, *E.H.* 2.28 - 1034. Both Egeria and Jerome visited the tombs in the late fourth century (Eg(P) *NG* - 201; pp. 51f. above) and Egeria mentions also the two splendid caves of Kings 18.4. The Piacenza Pilgrim seems to mention a Tomb of Elisha on p. 81 above.
 Josephus tells us, *Ant.* 18.119, that John Baptist was beheaded on the far side of the Dead Sea at Machaerus; but this information was not known to all Christians, and when they sought some reason for connecting the Baptist with Sebastia, several said he was beheaded there: thus p. 63 above, John Malalas, *Chron.* 10 - 364, and 48 - p. 138 above: the last passage speaks of a "church where the prison was and he was beheaded" in the same way as 1106 A.D.: 75 - 58.
 The Church of St. John Baptist, *CBC* 158 - 157 is dated to the 5th c. but the tomb seems to have been regarded separately even though it probably formed part of that church in the same way as it does now. John Rufus, *Assur.* 29 - 70 speaks of "a throne there covered with a cloth on which no one sits" and of "two caskets there . . . one belongs to John Baptist and the other to the Prophet Elisha", but in A.D. 726 Willibald saw all three tombs, p. 132 above. By A.D. 808 the great church was destroyed, though the tomb was preserved, p. 138 above, and in 1006 A.D.: 75 - 58 not only was the church restored, but also a rich Frankish convent had been founded there.
 Besides the main church which was built in our period there is also a monastery chapel of the 6/7th century, *CBC* 159 - 158. Since the spacious south street of shops became narrowed by the intrusion of roughly-made buildings early in the Byzantine period, and was destroyed by fire in the 6th c. (*R.H.* 1966, 580) it seems to have declined more rapidly than most other cities of Palestine. This may explain Willibald's vocabulary, for he speaks of the place as a village at the time of its foundation, p. 132 above. See Maps 6, 7, 8, 14, 19, 26, 38, 42.
SEBASTIA (2) "in Cappadocia", according to p. 67 above. In fact it was capital of Armenia Ia, and is now Sivas, Turkey, 175 miles S.W. of Trebizond; Map 13.
Sebastopol: See Chersona.
Sede Nahum 195 214: 6th c. chapel associated with monastery, *CBC* 160 - 159. See Map 7.
SEDIMA: See Salim.
SEGOR: See Zoor.
Seihun: See Shiloh.
SELEUCIA PIERIA, the port of Antioch, Syria, p. 47 above. It is a site near Suveydiya in Hatay, Turkey: See Map 13.
SEPPHORIS: See Diocessarea, and above, p. 52 n. 115.
SEPULCHRE, THE HOLY: See Tomb of the Lord.
Serbal, Jebel: See Horeb, and Map 24.
SEVEN SPRINGS, now En Sheva (Ar. Ain el 'Abgha, a deformation of "Heptapegon", Greek for "seven springs" 202 253). A place remarkable for its strong supply of water which has been adapted since Roman times for providing irrigation and water-power for mills: see S. Loffreda, *Scavi di el 'Abgha*, Jerusalem, 1970. As we hear of the site in Peter the Deacon's summary of Egeria (V2/4 - 196/201, q.v. for further details and plans) that is, in the late fourth century, it already commemorated three events: the teaching of the Beatitudes on the mountain (Matt. 5.1/11; the Feeding of the Five Thousand in a place where there was grass (Mark 6.39); and the time when the Lord "stood" on the shore after the Resurrection and prepared breakfast for the disciples (John 21.4). The site provides suitable scenery for all three events, and Eusebius was probably referring to our site when he explained that though the Beatitudes were taught on a mountain, it was not a high one but "close to the ground", *Diff.* 13 - 1405. See Maps 7, 8, 19, 31, 34, 42.
 Mark 6.35, like p. 52 above, speaks of the place where the Five

Thousand were fed as *cremēs*, meaning "desert" or "lonely", no doubt alluding to passages like Deut. 8.16 which describe God giving food to the Israelites during their wilderness wanderings, and the Beatitudes were taught on a mountain. The name "Mount Bēnūs" might thus witness to a combination of the two events: Valerius, *Itiner* 2b = 176. The first church commemorating the Feeding was built in the 4/5th c. and it was enlarged in the 5/6th: *CBC* 46 a/b - 56 and *SEG* 8.5/6; see also *LA* 20(1970) 370/80 and above pp. 52, 63, 81, and Arculf, p. 108, who reported that there were no buildings standing there. Evidently the church was soon rebuilt, p. 120 above, with its monastery, pp. 121, 138. The church was called "Of the Twelve . . .", and the word following "Twelve" is lost. It was probably "Seats", since *V. Const.* 49 (p. 203 below) speaks of a "Dodecatheonon" or "Place of Twelve Seats" as the place where the Lord fed the Four Thousand (Mark 8.1/10) and Sacculi - 34 tells us that this miracle was believed to have been performed in the same place as the Feeding of the Five Thousand. In 939 A.D.: 318 - 136 this is called "the Church of Mount Gennesaret" and in 1106 A.D.: 81 - 63 its dedication is to the Holy Apostles.

The rock "Table" near the steps by the sea shore commemorated the breakfast made by the Lord for the apostles after the Resurrection, John 21.9. It may already have been surrounded by a church in the fourth century (Fig. P) V2 - 196 and Ioffreda, *Sevot* 27/30 and 174 f. It is certainly mentioned on p. 121 above, and in 939 A.D.: *Dem.* 348 - 148 is called "The Place of the Coals".

The monastery chapel to the north of these two sites dates only to the sixth century, *CBC* 47 - 59. It may be connected with the Beatitudes.

These three commemorations continue to be made during the Latin Kingdom: see 1130 A.D.: 422, where the place of Feeding the Five Thousand is (perhaps mistakenly) called "The Table". But there may have been a fourth memory attached to the site which was recalled in the early sixth century but not otherwise: Theodosius, p. 63 above, tells us that at the Seven Springs the Lord "baptised the apostles": speculation on their baptism went back almost to their own time (see Hennecke II, 38f). The introduction of the Samaritan women (p. 121) is evidently a mistake: perhaps the writer intended to speak of the women with the issue of blood as at X.6f. - p. 120 above.

Sh'alvin (Ar. Salfit) 148 142: Samaritan synagogue of 4th c. *RCS* 96 - 57. See Map 7.

Shadwan, Kh. esh: See Mahami, Kh. el.

Sham esh: See Damascus.

Sharaf, Kh.: See Sarafa.

Shav Ziyon 157 265: Church, probably of 5th c. which was last repaired in 485/6 A.D. *CBC* 161 a/b - 160. See Map 7.

SHECHEM, or **SICIMA** before 331 A.D.: 150.2 was a deserted site on the outskirts of Neapolis near the Tomb of Joseph. Thus Byzantine Shechem was the authentic O.T. site, now Tell Balata 176 179, which, strictly speaking, was distinct either from Sychar which contained Jacob's Well (Bord. 588.2 - 154, *Ag. P.* R. - 193, and p. 108 above) or from Neapolis: thus the separation of the sites on the Madaba Map 33/5 - 46 is probably intentional. But Shechem was sometimes popularly identified with Neapolis, as on p. 51 above and 49 - p. 138. See also Hebron, Sychar, & Maps 6, 14, 31, 38.

SHEEPFOLD: See Shepherds.

SHEEP POOL * (Latin. Piscina Probatica) or Pool of Bethesda, mentioned in John 5.2, is near the east gate of Jerusalem. Partial excavation has revealed an arrangement of the double pool (see Fig. 3), which bears out Origen's statement that of the five porches (or porticoes) there were

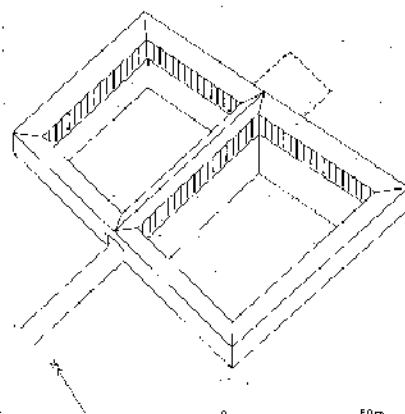


Fig. 3. The Sheep Pool.

"four round the edges and another across the middle", *C. Iov.* 5.2 (= fr. 6.1) - 4.532, followed by Cyril *loc. cit.* in *Paral.* 1.2 - 1133). In the fourth century A.D. the porches may no longer have been visible to judge from the language of Eusebius, *On.* 58.22, cited p. 53 above, and it is possible that they were not seen by Hord. 589.8 - 156.

After the foundation of Aelia Capitolina the pools were certainly a pagan healing sanctuary: the latest available discussion of the archaeology is given by A. Duprez, *Jésus et les Deux Guérisseurs*, Paris 1970. What of the time before? Cyril (*loc. cit.*) says that at the pool "there was a great infidelity of the Jews", which at the least suggests that what is described in John 5.3, 7 was unorthodox. Duprez suggests that the remains (scanty though they are) may have been an Aesculapion.

By the mid-fifth century a "Church at the Sheep Pool" or "Church of the Paralytic man" had been built (John Rufus, p. 58 above and *Assur.* 18.35) with its courtyard overhanging the pools (see Fig. 4). This church was dedicated to My Lady Mary, and the couch of the paralysed

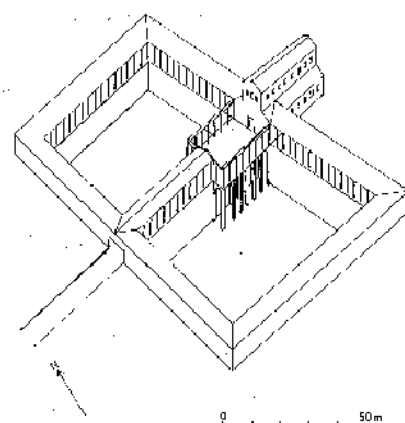


Fig. 4. The Sheep Pool.

man which was kept there (p. 66 above) was probably in the diaconicon (*Assur.* *loc. cit.*) which may be the small building whose remains can be seen immediately to the north of the church. All these three titles seem to refer to one church; only one is mentioned above on pp. 84 and 92 and only one, with its diaconicon has been identified archaeologically. The second, despite L.H. Vincent, *Jer. M.* 685, may not have been built till the time of the Latin Kingdom.

Sinat, the Greek word translated "porches" in the A.V., meant different things to different people. It may be that the original *sinat* - possibly porticoes - were restored (see p. 84 above): but p. 137 above suggests that by the late seventh century the five things pointed out to visitors were no longer of the type described by Origen, and writers during the Latin Kingdom may well have been referring to recesses or chapels: 1102 A.D.: 32 and 1172 A.D.: 26 - 65.

Almost from the first moment the church is mentioned it is connected with Mary, the Lord's Mother, and commemorated her birth. This memory may have come into prominence when Christians in Jerusalem heard of other traditions of her birth in Diospolis (p. 79 above) and 1130 A.D.: 423 and in Nazareth, (Hippolytus of Thebes 9.15.23, and 1165 A.D.: 1 - 111). But the idea that she was born in Jerusalem is compatible with the traditions that her parents brought her to Jerusalem (*Proter.* James, ch. 5, 6) and that she remained as an oblate in the Temple from the ages of three to twelve years (as *Proter.* 7-378 and Epiphanius the Monk, *Life of the Theot.* 7 - 195).

The official lectionary of Jerusalem remembered both the feeding of the paralysed man and the Birth of Mary (*GL* 789, 1221 - 1.122, 2.35), and though the local emphasis was usually on the latter (see p. 92 above and 3 - p. 137 above) the paralytic was not forgotten: thus pp. 117 and 129 (*sic*) and 939 A.D.: *Dem.* 325/6 - 139.

Some kind of church was visible at the pools after the ninth century and possibly after the tenth (see *Typicon* - 18). But in 1099 at the arrival of the Crusaders it contained only "three or four poor wretched women", 1143 A.D.: 11.1 - 795, whose church was evidently known as St. Anne's. 1102 A.D.: 32. It was soon thereafter replaced by the line church to be seen there today, and a monastic chapel was erected or perhaps restored on the site of the old Byzantine church of the Sheep Pool. Maps 11, 21, 29, 33, 39, 41.

Sheer, Kh.: See Nabi Thad, en.

Sheikh, Jebel esh: See Hermon.

Sheikh Abdallah, esh: See Beit Natiff.

Sheikh Abreik, esh: See Gilva (1).

Sheikh Bader, esh: See George * in Jerusalem.

Sheikh Ibada, esh: See Memphis.

Sheikh Issa, Kh.: See Zoor.

Sheikh Qutrawani, esh, 168 155: site of a monastery and church, *RB* 1946, 264, partly occupied by present building with a double dome. See Map 7.

Sheikh Sha'la, esh 1694 1857: Lintel of an ancient building, Kh. el Baniyaya, records the foundation of a Church of St. Elijah by Stephen Bishop of Samaria in 4/5th c. *SEG* 8.119, *RB* 1926, 468. See Map 7.

Sheikh Zu'aid, esh: See Bethulia.

Shelzar: See Larissa.

Shems, H. 192 264: Synagogue occupied from 4th c. till the Arab period, *RB* 1971, 418 and 1972, 409. See Map 7.

SHEPHERDS, CHURCH OF THE, or **SHEEPFOLD** (Greek, *Poinnion*).

From the time of Egeria this church included a cave. *Fig. P* 1.1 - 185, and either from her day or at latest from the early fifth century the celebration of Christmas began in this church (*Tr.* 25.6 - 126 and n. 3; and *AL* 1/2 - 262). Its location was about a mile to the east of Bethlehem and near it, that is to say in the area of Beit Sahur 170 123, were the remains known as the Tower of David (see Gen. 35.21) which served as a religious landmark and perhaps also as a holy place for the Jews (Mishnah *Shek.* 7.4; *Fig. P* 2 - 192; Jerome *Q. II. Gen.* 35.21 - 43; see also p. 50 above).

The church is probably the place containing the Tombs of the Shepherds (above p. 105) and also where the angel appeared to the Shepherds (pp. 117, 131 and 144), and formed part of a monastery. Its cave continues to be mentioned in the Latin Kingdom, making it likely that the remains of our church are Kenisat or Ruwat, *CBC* 95 - 102, rather than Kh. Siyar el Ghannim, *CBC* 126 a/b - 124f, which lacks a suitable cave: see Kopp, p. 44, and our Maps 5, 7, 34, 38, 46.

Sheva, En: See Seven Springs.

SHILOH (1). Eusebius, *On.* 156.28, correctly places the O.T. city "in the district of Acrabittene twelve miles from Neapolis", namely at Kh. Seilon (Heb. Shilo 177 162), and from Eusebius both Jerome (p. 51

above) and the Madaba Map 31 - 45 derive their information. Egeria is the only pilgrim of our period who is recorded as having visited this site. *Fig. P* 7 - 202. See also Ramathaim-zophim. Kh. Seilon contained a synagogue-lintel, *RCS* 99 - 61, and two churches of c.500 A.D. with dedication inscriptions: *CBC* 163/4 - 164/5, *SEG* 8.148/9; see also Acrabittene, and Maps 6, 7, 14.

SHILOH (2), p. 65 above: see Ramathaim-zophim, and Maps 2, and 19 (Kiriath-jourim).

Shiqma, Nahel: See Melusias (1).

Shiqmons, Tel: See Sycaminum.

Shimron: See Sebaste (1).

SHUNEM: See Acrabittene and Map 8.

SHUR or **SUR**. The desert between the Exodus crossing-point and Marah: *Fig. P* Y.11 - 207, and p. 73 above.

Shura, Kh.: See Sara, H.

Shush: See Susa.

Shurta: See Bet haShitta.

Shuweika, Kh. (1), at m.r. 179 143, near Tell on Nasseh. *R.B.* 1960, 578 f. speaks of the remains of a church which has not been excavated. See Map 7.

Shuweika, Kh. (2): See Succoth (1).

SICILY: visited on the voyage from Rome to the Holy Land, 107, pp. 116, 125, 133 above.

SICIMA: See Shechem.

SIDON: Now Said, Lebanon, mentioned above, pp. 47, 70, 79, 132. Maps 2, 13, 23, 25.

SILOAM *, the pool to which the Lord sent the blind man to wash and he healed: see maps 11, 17, 18, 21, 33, 45. The name, which according to John 9.7, means "sent", was due in the first place to the fact that the water had been "sent" to Siloam from the spring Gihon (see 2 Kings 20.20), but by the first century A.D. there is no sign that any one remembered where Gihon was. Thus the name was re-interpreted as meaning that the water was "sent" to Isaiah when he was being martyred nearby, *L. Proph.* Isa. 2 - 34. Most Christians of our period seem to have forgotten this connection with Isaiah, but it is mentioned in the tenth century by Eutychius of Alexandria, *Dem.* 327 - 139. For the nearby Tomb of Isaiah see also Bord. 595.3 - 160 and *JOS* 2(1922) 25/33. In form the pool was square and surrounded by colonnades, probably the work of Herod the Great, but perhaps of Hadrian.

Siloam had special religious significance for Jews: its water was used for libation and purification, and it was regarded as the centre of the Land of Israel, (*Sukka.* 4.9 - 179; *Par.* 3.2 - 699; *yHag.* 1.1 - 3). Both Christians and Muslims later believed that the water had healing properties (p. 84 above and Sophronius, *M. Cyr.* 4, 46 - 3957; 1047 A.D.: 153). Near the pool was a pagan sanctuary named God-Yawan, "The God of Fortune of the Greeks" (*yHag.* 1.1 - 3). Our first visitor to the site, the Bordeaux pilgrim, 592.1 - 157, speaks of two pools there, the Pool of Siloam, meaning the present Birket Silwan 17231 13090, and "a second pool outside", by which presumably he means outside the city wall, which is the present Birket el Hamra, marked on the 1:2500 map as "Old Pool of Siloam" 17235 13085. The colonnades which surrounded the former survived into the period of the Latin Kingdom, 1172 A.D.: 19 - 50 and 1173 A.D.: 37. The Bordeaux pilgrim comments also on the irregular flow of water, reporting that it does not flow on the Sabbath. This remark, combined with his silence about Christ's healing miracle at the pool, may imply that at this point (and perhaps throughout the area covered from 589.7 - 155 to 592.3 - 157, he was being guided by a Jew.

Presumably the church at Siloam in which Peter the Iberian presided at the eucharist (*Life* - 56, see also p. 58 above) was already built by the mid-5th century. Its remains, *CBC* 78 a/b - 90/3, have been thoroughly examined, and it is likely that it was built by Empress Hodoikia. It is subsequently mentioned in the *Breviarium* (7 - p. 61 above) but the last to speak of it is the Piacenza pilgrim, p. 84 above, if we discount the Georgian Lectionary 1218 - 234 as probably retaining the commemoration of an altar already lost. See also above pp. 117 and 144 and 1102 A.D.: 33. The church used to overhang the northern colonnade of the pool, and both were inside the city wall (pp. 66 and 84 above). See "Jerusalem, 2" above.

Writers of our period continue to speak of the irregular flow of the water of Siloam: above pp. 53 and 84, also 1143 A.D.: 8.4 - 329. But they seem to be unaware of the artificial character of Hezekiah's tunnel, by which it was fed, and speak vaguely of the water arriving at the pool through underground hollows and caves: thus Jerome, *C. Ios.* 8.5 - 113, and p. 83 above. The Piacenza pilgrim describes the Pool of Siloam as divided into separate sections for men and women, and the second pool as used (apparently) for laundry, which would explain the naming of the nearby Fuller's Field: see *JOS* 2 (1922), pp. 29ff.

SINAI, MOUNT. Jews provide the evidence that they ever remembered or selected any particular place to represent the Mount Sinai on which God gave the Law to Moses. But Christian monks had by 381 A.D. provided themselves with not only a commemorative mountain, but also a generous number of auxiliary sites nearby, as testified by Egeria, *Tr.* 125. 91/8; see also above pp. 70, 73, and 119. The spot round came to be called Sinai, p. 54. This mountain was Jebel Musa, 149 773. At the foot of the mountain was the heavily-fortified monastery of the Rush, and some way up it Elijah's Cave, pp. 76, 87, 119, 138 above. Near the monastery were the "Mould of the Calf" and the "Graves of the Hebrews" (p. 119 above), which may be the same as the "Graves of Craving" of Nun, 1134 and *Fig. Tr.* 1.1 - 91. The mountain was ascended by 7,700 steps and seven platforms (pp. 119, 138 above). From the end of the sixth century and onwards the monastery received some of its funds from churches in the West, and it was flourishing during the period of the Latin Kingdom, John the Deacon, *Life of Greg.* 2.52 - 110 and 1130 A.D.: 417. See Maps 1, 24, 27, 35.

SINOPE in Helenopolis, where the Apostle Andrew released St. Matthew from prison: p. 67 above. Now Sinop, Turkey, Map 13.

SION*, **MOUNT**: According to 2 Sam. 5.7 King David "captured the

stronghold of Sion, and it is now known as the City of David". The historical Zion of the Old Testament, as now revealed by excavation (Kenyon, *Jer.* 19/53) was therefore the narrow spur leading south from the Temple area to the Pool of Siloam. The name "stronghold" (Greek *Akra*), which in Hasmonean times was used to describe a feature on this spur (Josephus, *War* 1.39; 5.137), was perhaps a deliberate reminder of David's victory, and if so we should expect the monument known in that period as David's tomb to have been pointed out nearby (see Josephus, *Ant.* 16.179, 181).

In contrast with this interpretation of the Bible the Christians of our period consistently applied the name "Sion" to the loftier spur immediately to the west, which for Josephus was *Agrippa*: as part of the Upper City. (See Maps 11, 15, 17, 18, 21, 29, 30, 33, 39, 41, 45). Early Christian authors occasionally refer to this spur as the "stronghold" (thus 377 A.D.: 46.5 - 2.209, Jerome, *C. Ios.* 51.17ff - 569), but they mention no Tomb of David. The first Christian mention of such a Tomb does not come till just before the eleventh century (*V. Const.* - 51, ca. 204 below), but the Muslim writer al-Mas'udi speaks of a Tomb of David in the Church at Gethsemane (943 A.D.: 1.111). The Jewish pilgrim Benjamin of Tudela (after 1173 A.D.: 38) was told of a Tomb of David at a spot not precisely identified on Mount Sion, but this information is not likely to be factually reliable, since it seems to be merely a deduction from the Christian use of the name "Mount Sion" for the western spur, and Benjamin's story seems to be a version of the one told by Josephus, *Ant.* 16.181 f, suitably altered to discredit the Latin patriarch rather than Herod the Great.

How did the Christians come to identify the name Sion with the wrong hill? Two related passages of Scripture which were being quoted by fourth-century Christians may give us a clue: the first, Isa. 1.7, warns that because of the people's sins the country is desolate and (verse 8) "only Zion is left, like a watchman's shelter in a vineyard, a shed in a field of cucumbers", and is cited before 348 A.D.: 16.18 - 944; and in 392 A.D.: 14 - 30. The second, Micah 3.12 (and *Jer.* 26.18), tells the national leaders that "because of you Zion shall be ploughed as a field, Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins and the Mountain of the House (viz. the Temple) a wooded height" and is cited in our period after 314 A.D.: 6.13 - 264; and 333 A.D.: 592.4 - 158.

Christians probably used these verses to account for the fact that in their time most of Jerusalem had been destroyed but part of it preserved - in accordance with prophecy - and that the old part which remained was therefore to be identified with Sion. The oldest building was identified as a synagogue (333 A.D.: 592.4 - 158, as Optatus, *Serm.* 3.2 - 994f; Epiphanius, *WM*, 14 - 30). Before 348 A.D.: 164 - 924 there had been built there a Church of the Apostles in which the primary commemoration was the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (above pp. 49, 53, 99). Soon so many memories grew up round the primary commemoration that many visitors came and went without being aware of it (see above pp. 60, 66, 83ff, 100, 117, 144).

Epiphanius does not speak of the "single synagogue" and the Church of the Apostles as if they were identical, and the ancient niche behind the present Tomb of David 17481 13101, if it was indeed part of a synagogue (*RCS* 43 - 33f and fig. 8), is thus unlikely to have been part of the earliest church on Sion. Indeed the niche is just as likely to have originated with the rebuilding of the Church of Sion mentioned before 348 A.D.: 164 - 924 as its successor rebuilt by Bishop John II (397/417 AD) according to *GL* 568 - 180. This passage of the lectionary ascribes the first building of Sion to this John, but the phrasing probably refers to alterations made after the discovery of St. Stephen's remains in 413 A.D. (see 1130 A.D.: 413 for this theory) and the force of "first building" is reduced by the fact that it stands in contrast with the words "Modestus, who rebuilt it after the fire": Arculf drew a plan of the church (Plates 3 and 4) and the *Commemoratorium* (p. 138 above) gives the dimensions of the Church after the work of Modestus.

The cracked condition of the stones round the ancient niche suggests that the stonework has been damaged by fire, possibly the one of A.D. 614 (reported in c.620 A.D.: 1427; *Copt.* 13.15; *GL* 1414 - 236), but more probably something later, perhaps the fire of 965 A.D. (Yahya - 183).

The House of Sapphas (p. 9) and the column at which they scourged Christ were already being pointed out before the main church was built on Sion (see Bord. 592.4 - 157). The column was incorporated into the church building (*Fig. Tr.* 37.1 - 136, Prudentius, *Dist.* 41 - 398 and pp. 49, 66 above) and regularly pointed out there, with the marks of the Lord's hands on it (above pp. 60, 66, 84, p. 91 (lines 73f.), 100 and Plates 3 and 4) and it is last mentioned on Sion by Epiphanius the Monk, p. 117 above. It may be that it was lost and replaced, or it may simply have been transferred, but in either case we hear of a column of Christ's scourging in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Latin Kingdom: see Map 11, 2 - 119 and compare Peter the Deacon C2 - 181.

Sion was believed to be the place of Pentecost, but this implied that it was the place where the disciples waited after the Ascension (see Acts 1.4, Hippolytus, *WM* 14 - 30) and thus the upper room to which the disciples retreated after the Resurrection (John 20.19, 26; see Kopp, 321/3). It was therefore recognised as being the place where Jesus appeared to the disciples and, eight days later, also to Thomas (see *Fig. Tr.* 39 - 140; see also above pp. 53 (7), 66, 91 line 68; Eutychius *Al.* *Dem.* 344 - 350 - 146, 149; 1108 A.D.: 36; and note that 1102 A.D.: 34 and 1130 A.D.: 413 name the place of the resurrection appearance in Sion "Galilee". Cf. Mount of Olives).

What sort of a building would have formed the setting for these great events? The church must once have been a house which the apostles used according to Alexander the Monk (*Inn. Ch.* - 404f) and Egeria thus says that it was "altered into a church" (*Tr.* 49.3 - 141). Whose house would it have been? The writers of the fifth and sixth centuries provide us with at least three different candidates: John (c. 475 A.D.: Hippolytus of Thebes 1.4 - 5, also John of Damascus, *Hom.* 21 in *Paral.* 4 - 729 and 1106 A.D.: 40 - 35); Mark (indeed he is different from John (p. 66 above); Mary (Alexander the Monk, *Loc.*

Born. 13 - 440; and James (p. 84 above).

The mention of James seems to fit with the belief that James the Less, the Lord's Brother and first bishop of Jerusalem was specially connected with Sion, as we know from the mention of his throne there (Eg(P) E - 183 and n. 2, cf. *At* 71 - 275), and it was believed that James was consecrated bishop on Sion (see for instance Hippolytus of Thebes 1.4 - 6). Hence Sion came to be called "The Mother of all the Churches", a title which from its first appearance in the liturgy of St. James (c. 450 A.D.: 53) is a normal way of referring to the church (as pp. 66 above and Cyril Sc. *V. Seb.* - 153.2, to take two out of numerous examples).

The name of John seems to fit with another set of ideas about Sion, connected with the belief that the Virgin Mary was received into the "home" of John after the Crucifixion, and that she spent the rest of her earthly life there (see John 19.27). The writers who speak of Sion as John's house all speak of Mary falling asleep there. The passage already mentioned by Hippolytus of Thebes is the earliest witness to the belief that the Blessed Virgin died on Mount Sion, and probably belongs to the last half of the fifth century (see also above pp. 91 line 63, 100 (plan only), 117, 131, 144, and compare 702/3 A.D.: 2.5 - 306 (Bede drawing on Adomnan), 1102 A.D.: - 34 and almost all authors during the Latin Kingdom). Before her falling asleep Mary had lived for some time in the house, so it was believed. Her prayers there were recalled by pointing out the prints of her knees (see p. 117 above and before 740 A.D.: - 1072).

The only memory to survive on Sion from Byzantine times in any power is that of the Last Supper. Egeria's description of the Great Week suggests that no connection had yet been made between Sion and the Last Supper in the late fourth century (7. 35.1/2 - 134 f.), but the Armenian lectionary in the early fifth century sends the people to Sion for one of the celebrations of the Eucharist on the Thursday (39 - 267; as *Typicon* - 96, but contrast *GL* 636 - 191). Hesychius of Jerusalem, if indeed he is the author of *In Ps.* 49.23, 50.17, 54.14, 109.2 - 1197, 1205, 1217, 1324, would be a contemporary witness to the location of the Last Supper on Sion, but if these passages are by a later author our first explicit witness is Hippolytus of Thebes in the second half of the fifth century (1.3 - 30; see also for the Supper, above pp. 91, 100, 117, and 1102 A.D.: - 34, and for the feet-washing above pp. 91, 144, and most authors of the Latin Kingdom); note that the "Cup of the Apostles", p. 84 above, was connected not with the Last Supper, but with the first Eucharist celebrated after the Resurrection.

The use of the diacalicon of St. John (42 - 1.15) as the Martyrium of St. Stephen made it appropriate to show on Sion the stones with which he was stoned: above pp. 60, 84, 100 (and n. 31). From the late ninth century the associations with St. Stephen are said to be remembered in a church "to the east" of Sion (above p. 144; as 1102 A.D.: - 34; 1130 A.D.: - 413; 1143 A.D.: 8.5 - 230). Of the other relics mentioned the Crown of Thorns was evidently something specially shown on Sion (above pp. 60, 84, 144; see also 1165 A.D.: 9 - 140). The Piacenza pilgrim, who admits that in this case his memory is vague, speaks of relics on Sion like the Horn of Anointing (p. 84; contrast *Ag.* 7r. 37.3 - 137) and the Lance (contrast p. 91 above) which we know to have been on Golgotha. But the corner-stone he saw (pp. 83f. above) surely belonged to Sion, since it would illustrate the fulfillment of Isaiah 28.16. The reason why other relics like the column of Peter's cross (p. 84 above) were shown on Sion is not clear. The list given by Epiphanius the Monk (p. 117 above) seems to include things to do with Peter's Denial and Jesus' condemnation by Pilate, which perhaps means that these relics had been brought from nearby churches at a time when they had been threatened or destroyed.

Near Sion Church was a Church of St. Peter (see Caiphas' House), and somewhere near was the monastery of St. Theodosius, restored by Justinian in the early sixth century (p. 76 above) and still occupied, though only by one cleric, at the beginning of the ninth (*GL* 1372 - 2.52 and 6 - p. 137 above). There had been monks and nuns on Sion probably from the fourth century: see p. 53 above. One monastery for men is mentioned by Barsanubius (191.4 115, 119 and another was founded by Eustorgius in about 466 A.D.: Cyril Sc. *V. Cyr.* - 224.12. For nuns a monastery is mentioned on p. 84 above which may have continued a relic of Saint Theodora.

"In front of the door of the Church" of Sion (1130 A.D.: - 427) was "the Lithostrotion", a small church where, according to Epiphanius the Monk, p. 117 above, "Judas betrayed the Lord". We learn from a later source that the church was dedicated to Saints Cyrus and John (*V. Const.* 52 (p. 204 below) and the Armenian Guide-book, 6 (p. 201 below)) tells us of a Prison of Christ nearby, of which we would not otherwise have known until 1165 A.D.: 9 - 139.

SIOR, p. 52 above; See also Nile.

Sir, 179 196; See Map 8.

SIRION: See Hermon, Mount.

SITINUTH, now Samannud, Egypt, 45 miles S.W. of Damietta: p. 142 above, and Maps 1, 44.

Siyā, Kh.: See Gibeah (2) of Phineas.

Sivas: See Sebastia (2).

Siyar el Ghaneim, Kh., 171 123: 4/5th c. monastery chapel, CBC 126 a/b - 124. See Map 7.

SKULL*, PLACE OF A: See Torib of the Lord (6).

SLAVINIA, above p. 126. Slaves had been in the Peloponnese since 589 A.D.: see Bauch, p. 92, n. 55.

SOAR, page 109 above, is the Semitic name for Tyre, q.v.

SOCCH: See Succoth (1).

SODOM AND GOMORRAH, ADMAH AND ZEBOIM, the four cities of the Pentapolis which were destroyed by fire and brimstone, Gen. 19.24. The ashes of Sodom may already have been pointed out to travellers at the time when 2 Peter 2.6 was written and Josephus mentions them before 79 A.D. in *Jar* 4.483: certainly in our period they were believed to stretch all round the Dead Sea. No doubt the "ashes" were stones blackened by desert varnish, which are common in the area, and the

sight of them moved pilgrims to penitence, as attested by J. Chrysostom, *Ant. Rom.* 19 - 191: see also J. Cassian, *Coll.* 6.1 - 153 and p. 50 above. The Piacenza pilgrim speaks of the site of Sodom and Gomorrah as if it was between Jericho and the north end of the Dead Sea (see above pp. 82, 84). Muslims in the tenth century were still pointing out the black stones. There was an alternative tradition in our period that the cities were destroyed not by being burned, but by being engulfed in the Dead Sea, p. 69 above.

Sokho, H.: See Succoth (1).

SOLOMON'S PORCH*: See above p. 129.

SOLYMA*: See above, p. 91, n. 1.

SOPHIA*: See Prætorium.

Souriya: See Suras.

SOUTH, THE, or DAROMA, or NEGBE: A regular biblical name for part of Idumea and the desert area to its south, used on p. 50 above; see Abel, *Geog.* 1.418/23.

SPRING IN THE DESERT: p. 108 above. See Jordan, and Map 10 (spot beside Armon).

STEPHEN, CHURCH OF ST., p. 58, 137; Maps 11, 21.

STONE, THE HOLY (of the Ascension), p. 120 above.

STRATO'S TOWER, the tower on the site which Herod the Great developed as Caesarea Palaestinae: pp. 47 and 89 (sic) above.

SITROBOLIS: p. 136, n. 12 above, and Map 36.

SUCCOTH (1) in the Shephelah. Two villages nine miles from Eleutheropolis on the road to Jerusalem, an Upper and a Lower (Eusebius, *On* 156.18) about twenty miles from Jerusalem (Eg(P) V7 - 202 and John Moschos, *Pr.* 180 - 305.2). The singular of this plural name is Succoth, (1 Sam. 17.1, etc., Mishnah *Ab.* 1.3 - 446, and Madaba Map 85 - 68) which is preserved in the Arabic name Kh. Shuweika (Mod. Heb. H. Sokho 147 121), which was the Upper. The Lower was the nearby Kh. Abbud. A tile has been found from our period stamped with the name COXOT (QAP 10 - 169). An ion was there according to John Rufus (*P. Iber.* - 54, and the place was an estate (KTUMMA) rather than a village, according to John Moschos. See Maps 4, 14. Nearby (p. 52 above) was the "Spring of Samson". The monastery at Ain Shems (q.v.), which John Moschos called "Sampson" *Pr.* 170 - 303.6, is too far away to be identified with this Spring.

SUCCOTH (2) on the route of the Exodus: See Exod. 13.20, *Eg. Tr.* 7.4/5 - 101, and p. 88 above.

SUCCOTH (3) "across the Jordan in the region of Scythopolis", Jerome, *Q.H. Gen.* 33.17 - 41. This may be at or near Tell Deir Alla 208 177. Suhmata, 178 267: Church of 555 A.D. according to the inscription (*SAG* 8.21) on its unusual floor: CBC 170 - 173. See Map 7.

Suka: See Chariton, Monastery of; David*, Tower of.

Sultan, Tell es: See Jericho, and Map 10.

Süßenbrücken, near Lichtershausen, south of Erfurt, Bavaria: p. 134 above.

Sumaq, H. (Ar. Kh. Summaqa) 154 231: Building with moulded door-jamb and slotted columns appears to have been a synagogue. RCS 68 - 44. See Map 7.

SUR: See Shur.

Sur, es: See Tyre.

SURANDELA: See Elim.

SURAS (on the Euphrates, with a bridge on which footprints of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus were pointed out, p. 89 above; near the present Souriya, north of Rusafa, Syria. Map 28.

Sur Bahir: See Kathisma.

SUSA in Persia, p. 71 above: the ruins round Shush, Iran.

SUSAKIM: See Qatr el Abd.

Susita, H.: See Hippene.

Susiya, Kh. 159 090: Jewish synagogue in use from 4th to 12/13th c. RCS 70 - 44: RB 1972, 421. See Map 7.

Suveydiya: See Seleucia Pieria.

Swets, Kh. el. 145 102: Foundations of church with font, caves, wells, *HM* - 1321 (possibly Byzantine). See Map 7.

SYCAMINUM, now Tel Shikmona (Ar. Tell es Samak 146 247) is mentioned by the pilgrims of Bordeaux, 584.9 - 153 and Piacenza, p. 79 above. Eusebius (rightly or wrongly) says that it is also called Ephra (that is, Haifa: *On* 108.30f.) This village existed in 1047 A.D.: 58, but by 1172 A.D.: 39 - 89 may have been in ruins. See Maps 2, 25.

"SYCE TABUR!" see above, p. 65: this seems to be the corrupt rendering of some other name connected with Mount Tabor, such as Itabyrium.

SYCIAR. St. Jerome regarded this place-name in John 4.5 as corrupt, and wanted to substitute "Shechem" (pp. 51, 108 above). But there is no textual reason to suspect that the name is wrongly rendered, and we should therefore assume it to be the correct name of the place containing Jacob's Well. The difficulty for us (as perhaps it was for Jerome) is that Jacob's Well is at Balata 177 179, but Askar 177 180, the village which seems to preserve the consonants of the name Sychar, is a kilometre away to the north-east. But if the Well was not during our period in Sychar, nor was it in Shechem, since the Bordeaux pilgrim, 588.2 - 155 tells us that it was a mile away.

A church had been built at the Well by the time of Egeria, *Tr(P)* R - 193 and p. 51 above which was evidently separate from Nablus and also from Sychar, if we are to follow the Madaba Map 33, 35 - 46. Probably the Map is here (as elsewhere) drawing attention to the holy place by showing as an item separate from the village of which it was territorially part. Adomnan's description would support this interpretation (see p. 108 above) and so would the comparison with Madaba Map nos. 80/81, 82/83 and 86/87. The Well was covered by a cruciform church (p. 108 above and plan: see also p. 132 above). There was no church at the Well in 1106 A.D.: 72 - 57, but one was again built in 1054 A.D.: see Abel, *RB* 1933, p. 399.

SYRACUSE, Sicily, pp. 125, 133 above, and Maps 36, 40.

SYRIA: The Roman province which in N.T. times included Phoenicia. Zarephath (p. 70 above) was not in Syria Secunda but in Phoenicia Secunda. The name "Syria" was used in a title given by a scribe to the work of Epiphanius the Monk (see p. 117 above) and on p. 126 above is used in a general sense. Syria Secunda is mentioned under Apamea. Tahgha, Ain et: See Seven Springs.

TABOR, MOUNT, or Har Tavor (Ar. Jebel et Tur 187 232). The New Testament does not tell us on which mountain the Lord was transfigured, but the pilgrims of our period unanimously accept the belief that it was on Tabor. Eusebius, writing as a commentator on the Bible, *C.P.* 88.13 - 1092 expressed himself in terms which are less than certain: "I think that in these mountains (i.e., Tabor and Hermon) the glorious transfigurations of our Saviour took place, and that he often spent time there when he was doing his work with human beings". This passage may underlie Egeria's statement about Mount Hermonim, *Tr(P)* P3 - 192. But from the time of Cyril Jer., *Car.* 12.16 - 744 no further doubts are expressed: see above pp. 52, 81, 109, 128, 138, and Maps 8, 14, 19, 25, 31, 34, 38, and 42.

Whereas Mark 9.6 seems to condemn Peter for his suggestion that the disciples build three tabernacles for the Lord, Moses, and Elijah, Matthew 17.5 suggests no adverse criticism. Here, as so often, the Palestinian Church followed Matthew. Church buildings associated with a monastery of the 4/5th c. were found on the mountain, according to CBC 60 - 71, and in 570 A.D.: p. 81 above, we hear that three basilicas were standing in the place where the disciples had wanted to build the three tabernacles. An Armenian monk named Yeghishe, also writing in the sixth century, describes them as follows: "One of the three churches is larger than the two others, and is called the Church of the Lord. In the two small churches are preserved the relics of the Apostles who laid their foundations on the very day when they said they must build three tabernacles: these are known by the name 'The Holy Martyria' and are called after Moses and Elijah" (C - 238).

The three churches were seen by Arculf, p. 109 above, and probably also by Willibrod, even though Hogebeur mentions only one, p. 128 above. In 808 A.D.: p. 138 above, we hear of a fourth, which probably commemorated the meeting of Melchizedek and Abraham: see nC, line 15, p. 120 above, which could well refer to Tabor, and *De Sin.* 1130 A.D.: - 423 which (like 1106 A.D.: 88 - 68) says "On the way down Mt. Tabor Melchizedek met Abraham".

Yeghishe - 237 also speaks of monks living on the mountain, and they continue at least into the ninth century: above pp. 225, 121, 128, 276). In the late seventh century the Christian buildings on the mountain were surrounded by a wall, p. 109 above, and there were steps up the mountain in the eighth century, p. 121. This mountain had the special title "The Holy Mountain" (*U. For.* 1, 18) see pp. 128 (*age mons*) and 138 above: from the ninth century (p. 138 above) there was a bishop there, but he departed on the arrival of the crusaders, to judge from Abbot Daniel, 1106 A.D.: 86 - 67.

Taiyiba, (1) et., 178 152: Mid-6th c. church, CBC 56 - 66. See Map 7.

Taiyiba, (2) Kh. of, 169 243: fragments suggest existence of a synagogue, RCS 103 - 63. See Map 7.

Tafat ed Damm: See Adumman.

TAMIAHIN: See Damias.

TANIS, biblical ZOAN, Ps. 78.12 etc. For Jerome, p. 52 above, and Bernard, p. 142, Tanis is probably to be located at San el Hagar, thirty miles south-west of Port Said; but for the Piacenza pilgrim, if his memory serves him correctly, between Babylonia and Memphis, p. 88 above. Maps 1, 16, 44.

Tantura: See Dor.

TAPHNIS, biblical Tahpanhes, now Tell Defenneh in Egypt: Map 1.

Tarabulus: See Tripoli.

TARENTUM, now Taranto in Apulia, 45 miles W.S.W. of Brindisi, p. 141 above, and Map 43.

TARICHEAE: See Magdala.

TARSUS in Cilicia, now Tarsus or Gölk Kule, Turkey, twenty-five miles west of Adana: p. 71 above, and Map 23.

Tertius: See Antiochus.

TAURUS, MOUNT, in Cilicia, p. 54 above.

Tavor, Har: See Tabor, Mount.

Tawus, Kh. 146 099: church, CBC 128 - 126. See Map 7.

TEANUM, now Teano or Tiano in Campania, Italy, thirty miles N.N.W. of Naples: p. 133 above, and Map 40.

TEKOA, the birthplace of Amos, Amos 1.1, now Kh. Tuqu' 170 116. Egeria was shown the prophet's tomb, *Tr(P)* L2 - 186, and Cyril Sc., *V. Seb.* - 123.16, mentions a chapel of Amos: this may be the church whose octagonal foot is still visible on the site: *HM* - 1326.

Jerome speaks of Tekoa as a hamlet (*C. Amos*, prol. - 211 and *C. Jer.* 6.1 - 63), but it grew after (and perhaps because of) the foundation nearby of the New Laura and St. Chariton's monastery (John Rufus, *Pr.* 25 - 59, *Ob. Theod.* 7 - 18, and Cyril Sc., *V. Cyr.* - 229.1. Thus the Madaba Map shows it as a large village, 79 - 66, and it has left extensive ruins. See Maps 5, 7, 14, 38.

Tekoa is mentioned above, p. 50, and on p. 131 above Hogebeur unexpectedly says that the Holy Innocents were killed there, probably because it could be counted as being within the "region of Bethlehem" (see Matt. 2.16). From the beginning of the Latin Kingdom the prophet Ihabakkuk is said to have been there (1106 A.D.: 56 - 48; 1143 A.D.: 8.1 - 321) and to have been taken from there with the meal to Daniel in Babylon (Bel and the Dragon 33/42 and 1130 A.D.: - 425).

TEMPLE*, THE. The Jewish Temple once stood on the site now occupied by the Dome of the Rock and, though it was destroyed in A.D. 70, its sacred area retained much of its supporting structure, and is still in use as the Haram esh Sherif or Noble Sanctuary. At the beginning of our period a statue of Hadrian still presided over the wreckage, Origen, *C. Matt.* 24.15 - 254, and there was a second statue, Bord. 591.4 - 157. On these see *REBQ.* 1976 (July) pp. 77f. See also Maps 11, 30, 33 and 45.

The folklore reported in the earliest Christian sources concerned the bloodstains to be seen where Zacharias was slain between the porch and the altar, an incident derived from II Chr. 24.20/2 through Matt. 23.35. The incident was retold by the *Proterogospelum* of James 23.2 (followed by Origen, *C. Matt.* 25 - 1631) as if it referred to Zacharias the father of John the Baptist, and *Protev.* 24.2, like Tertullian, *Scorp.* 8.3 - 1083, mentions also his congealed blood by the altar. The identification with

the Baptist's father may have been a means of christianising a pre-existing piece of Jewish folklore: whether it was or not the blood continued to be pointed out. Thus Eg(P) E - 183 referring to the Zacharias of Matt. 23.35, Jerome *C. Matt.* 23.25 - 219ff who says they are pointed out by "the simpler brethren"; p. 117 (a memory) and p. 60, where the commemoration has been transferred to the Anastasis in 1106 A.D.: 17 - 20 though the bloodstains were no longer to be seen, an incident connected with Zacharias was commemorated.

In the early fourth century the Bordeaux pilgrim, 589.11, 590.4 - 156, was shown chambers which he was told belonged to Solomon's palace. These were probably substructures like those known as Solomon's Stables which had become exposed through the destruction of the enclosure wall. The Bordeaux pilgrim also mentions the "pinnacle of the Temple" (Matt. 4.5 and p. 53 above), which was simply the point where the original Herodian stones then stood (and still stand) to a considerable height at the south-east corner of the enclosure. See Maps 18 and 21. Its size and shape can still be seen by noting the point at which the large Herodian stones meet the smaller ones of later periods of construction. Egeria, *Eg(P)* E - 183, speaks of two pinnacles. Jerome, *V. Ill.* 2 - 8 (like p. 66 above) tells us that St. James the Less was thrown down from the pinnacle to his martyrdom. And Prudentius, *Dist.* 31 - 396, like Bord. 590.3 - 156 connects the pinnacle with the "corner stone which the builders rejected" of Matt. 21.42. On pp. 83f. above a stone supposed to be the one mentioned in this verse was shown on Sion. On p. 138 above the pinnacle is merely a landmark. The convent there mentioned may have had as its chapel the "cross-shaped basilica" of p. 61 above: at any rate this basilica is unlikely to have been inside the Temple enclosure, since if it was we would surely have heard of it from some other writer.

It may be that the "exact spot" corresponding to the former Temple or Sanctuary was pointed out in the Enclosure, as we may guess from the language of Bord. 591.1 - 156 and Epiphanius *Adv.* 69 - 73, and p. 61 above, where we learn that only "a single cave" remained. Among the minor sights pointed out were: the Gate Beautiful, Prudentius, *Dist.* 46 - 399 and above, Jerusalem 2; and, much to the disgust of Jerome (*C. Am.* 38.4ff - 445), the "house of Heczekiah", Bord. 591.6 - 157. The memory of Jesus cleansing the Temple is transferred to the courtyard at Golgotha in the Breviarius, 3 - p. 60 above.

Such things sound more like "sights" than places of prayer, and Christians never used the ruins of the Temple for corporate prayer until the time of the Latin Kingdom. Perhaps Eucherius of Alexandria was right when he gave as the reason for this negative attitude Christ's saying "There shall not remain here one stone upon another": 939 A.D.: 7 - 17. What of the Jews? The Bordeaux pilgrim, 591.4 - 157, tells us that once a year they came to anoint a pierced stone, namely the one now enshrined in the Dome of the Rock: "they mourn and send their garments, and then depart". In modern terms it sounds as though the Jews were in 333 A.D. allowed to visit the Rock, the site of some part of the temple building, on the day of its destruction, the penitential day which the Mishnah assigns to Tisha ba'Av, the ninth day of the fifth lunar month. Despite the failure of their attempt to rebuild their Temple in the reign of Julian (for which see John Chrysostom, *Exp. in Ps.* 110 - 285 and Sozomen, *S.H.* 5.22.5ff - 230) the Jews were still allowed to hold the penitential liturgy at the rock in the time of Jerome: *C. Soph.* 1.15 - 673 ff. By the mid-fifth century, when new and stricter legislation for the Jews had been enacted by Theodosius II, the *Dist. of Barsanubius* - (191.4) 119 speaks of this ceremony as if it were unusual enough to merit a special visit by Christians to look at it, and says that it was held by the explicit permission of Empress Eudokia.

Anti-Jewish laws were still further extended by Justinian, and Sebeos is probably right in telling us that the Jews hoped that the Arab conquest would give them another opportunity to rebuild their Temple, *Dist. Herge.* 24 - 68. But they were disappointed: the Patriarch Sophronius ceded the temple area to Umar (Eucherius, *loc. cit.*), and it was later developed by the Umayyads, so we are told by Ya'kubi *H.* 211, as a place of pilgrimage which would be an alternative to Mecca. When the area came into Muslim hands Christians were not permitted to go in: for a time they remembered the cave and the "Hanging Rock" (p. 117 above), but the old "sights" were forgotten as a new order began to appear with first a temporary mosque of wood (p. 95 above) and then the "Saracen synagogue" whose distant view Bernard must have seen, but which he could not visit (p. 144 above).

About two centuries after the Muslims had taken over the Temple area Prothius, *Q. 207 ad Amph.* - 338 f. says that "The porch of Solomon, like what was once the Holy of Holies, now that they are occupied by the godless Saracens and serve as their mosque, are no longer known to any of the Christians in Jerusalem, for Christians are forbidden entry to places holy to the Saracens". Thus there was no living continuity between the beliefs of Christians about the site in the Byzantine period and the Christian interpretation of the Muslim Haram which was undertaken by the Crusaders on their arrival in A.D. 1099. They gave the Dome of the Rock the name "The Temple of the Lord", with the cave beneath the Rock as the Holy of Holies, and called the mosque of Aqsa "The Temple of Solomon" (*Quaest.* - 348; 1130 A.D.: - 413). Soon a new liturgy grew up in them, since we are told by the *Typicon* (in the revision of 1122 A.D.: - 18f), that whereas the Palm Sunday procession used to be to the Sheep Pool it is now to "the Temple, to the Holy of Holies".

TEREBINTH, THE, or OAK OF MAMRE, to which Hadrian, after quelling the second Jewish revolt, took the Jewish prisoners, "held a market and sold them, each for the price of a horse", *Chron. Pasch.* - 613. The name was sometimes used for its district as a whole (*ZDPV* 1931, 234 ff) but more often denoted the single group of buildings mentioned by Sozomen, *Adv.* 2.4.5 - 55. Though the description on p. 65 above is generally confused it rightly states that the Terebint "is called the Oak of Mamre"; hence the Madaba Map, despite its two captions 82* - (Terebintus) and 83 "The Oak of Mam(bre)" is probably speaking of a single place. See Maps 5, 7b, 14, 19, 26.

As we first hear of it from Eusebius, *Dem.* 5.9.7-232, this is a holy place for the local people, but neither exclusively Christian nor Jewish: "the people of the neighbourhood revere the place because of those who appeared by the Terebint (see Gen. 18), which is still there, including, even if they are unaware of it, the Lord". Eusebius *On* 124.5, and Jerome *L. loc.* 77.4f make it clear that this was pagan worship, even though the annual feast at the Terebint was in honour of Abraham's meeting with the angels. Sozomen describes this feast for us in some detail, and at the same time tells how Eutropia, Constantine's mother-in-law, was present at the feast and, offended by its pagan character, asked the Emperor to intervene, *E.H.* 2.5.6f-55f. Constantine removed from the enclosure the pagan altar and statues, and built a church whose remains are now visible: *CBC* 135-131 at Haram Ramat el Khalil (Heb. *Memre* 160-107). This church contained a sixth-century inscription, *SEG* 8.241.

This church was seen by the Bordeaux pilgrim, 599.3-162/3, who, like Egeria, (*P*) N1-188, mentions also a well. But Egeria saw no Terebint tree, since it had died at some stage between 337 and 361 A.D.: see Jerome, *L. loc.* 77.2. The stump remained visible: see p. 85 above (a confused passage) and Adomnan, p. 106 above, who is the last writer in our period to mention the site. When we hear of it again in 1106 A.D.: 52-43 no church is mentioned, but another church was there in 1170 A.D.: 8-26.

Jerome's language about "the cells of Sarah", p. 50 above, sounds like a description of a convent, and nuns are mentioned by Adomnan. TERRACINA, on the coast of Campania, sixty miles S.E. of Rome: p. 125 above. Map 36.

TETRACOMIA: Map 7b.

TETRAPYRGION or RUSAF, the burial-place of St. Sargius, p. 89 above. Now Rasaf, Syria. Map 28.

THALLA or THIELLA, the village which forms the eastern boundary-point of Upper Galilee, p. 54 above (which is derived from Josephus, *War*, 3.40). It is probably Yotat habla'ala (Ar. Tuleil 207-273) where an inscribed column was found which had belonged to a synagogue, *RCS* 44-34. See Map 7.

THAMNA (biblical Timnah, Timnath-heres, or Timnath-serah) now Kh. Tibneh 160-157, was a large village serving as the capital of a district (p. 100 above). Though "the distinguished monument of Joshua" was there (Eusebius, *On* 70.19, as *Ep* (P) L2-186 and p. 51 above) the Madaba Map, 72-64, describes "Thamna" as "where Judah sheared his sheep", referring to the narrative about Thamar, Gen. 38.12. During the Latin Kingdom Timnath-serah, with a tomb of Joshua, was identified with the competing Samaritan site at Kufir Haris 163-168: it may be that the compiler of the Madaba Map had also commemorated Joshua's tomb at Kufir Haris, which would explain his choice of the alternative "sheep shearing" commemoration for Kh. Tibneh. See Map 14.

THAUATHA, the birthplace of St. Hilarion; now Kh. Umm el Tut 090-094; Map 4.

THEBES in Egypt: the ancient remains at Qurna, Karnak, and Luxor, an area which assumed a leading role in Egyptian monasticism: and is mentioned as such by Epiphanius the Monk (p. 120). See also pp. 67 (note) and 82 n. 25. See Map 35.

THEODOSIUS, Monastery of St.: See Delr Ibn Ubaid, and Maps 34, 42.

THEOPOLIS: See Antioch.

Thuringia: p. 134 above.

Tiano: See Teanum.

TIBERIAS (1) the city, (Ar. et Tiberiya 201-243), with hot springs near-by providing baths at Hammam (Ar. Hammam Ibrahim Basha 201-242). The baths are mentioned in Mishnah *Shab.* 22.5-119 and Talmud, *yMeg.* 1.1-6 as well as on p. 81 above. Near the baths a synagogue was built in the 4th c. and renewed in the 5/6th: *R.B.* 1963, 589; *RCS* 31-26. In the 4th c. A.D. Tiberias was still mainly Jewish, (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.12-347), and Mishnah, *Shab.* 10.10-135 mentions a synagogue there. Willibald saw many synagogues there, p. 128 above. The city wall was restored by Justinian (p. 77 above) and the city retained its walls after the Muslim conquest because it was the capital of the jund of Jordan (p. 120 above). Epiphanius also tells us how Count Joseph of Tiberias was responsible for building the first church in his home town, which he did by converting its temple of Hadrian.

Later in the fourth century Egeria, *Ep* (P) V2-194, tells us of a church on the site of "the house of the apostles James and John". This sounds suspiciously like the one at Bethsaida (q.v.) or Capernaum, and is possibly assigned to Tiberias only through some misunderstanding on the part of Peter the Deacon. Willibald, p. 128 above, tells us that there were many churches in Tiberias: at 46-p. 138 above we are told that in 808 A.D. there were five churches and a convent. The city contained a Muslim Tomb of Joshua the son of Nun in 1047 A.D.: 127.

The Synagogue are indicated by fourth century mosaic *SEG* 20.453 and *RCS* 107-68. Note also the rediscovery of a mosaic first found in 1921 by N. Slousch, *RB* 1971, 436. An early 5th c. church altered in 6th c. was attached to a monastery. *CBC* 178 a/b-180.

In the period of the Latin Kingdom the hot springs became known as "The Baths of Christ", 1106 A.D.: 79-62, and the Tomb of Elisha is mentioned as well as that of Joshua. By 1165 A.D.: 6-133 there was also a tomb of Lazarus' sister Mary. The city is also mentioned above on pp. 54, 108 and 121 above, and appears on Maps 7, 8, 19, 25, 34, 38, 42.

TIBERIAS (2) Sea or Lake (also of Galilee, Gennesaret, or Kinnereth) which is described above, pp. 107. The commonest of the memories attached to the lake by Christians is that it is the one on which the Lord walked: *Ep* (P) V2-194, and above, pp. 63, 128. Irenaeus of Alexandria, *Dem.* 329-140 speaks of a bridge or jetty (*gantra*) from which the Lord was believed to have set out on the water.

The Paganza pilgrim tells us that it is sixty miles round the lake, p. 81 above (in fact 35 miles would be nearer). There is a reference to the apostles fishing on p. 121 above which may be connected with John 21.3, and therefore apply to Seven Springs rather than to the sea

as a whole. The Sea is also mentioned above on pp. 52, 53, 54, 108, 121 and 138.

Tibneh, Kh.: See Thamna.

TICHINE, TICNUM: See Pavia.

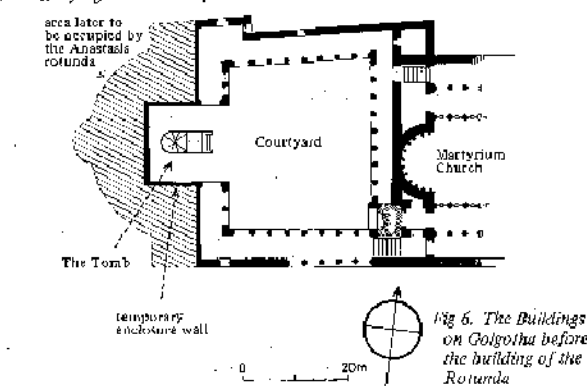
TIGRIS, RIVER, mentioned above, pp. 67 and 121 n. 19. See Map 23.

TIMNAH, TIMNATH-HERES or-SERAH: See Thamna.

Tin'ane, et: See Samaritan's Camp.

Tira, Kh. et, 168-147: Church from before 9th c. *CBC* 113-116. See Map 7.

TOMB OF THE LORD*, THE. The buildings connected with the Tomb and lying between the present Khan ez Zeit Street and Christian Street

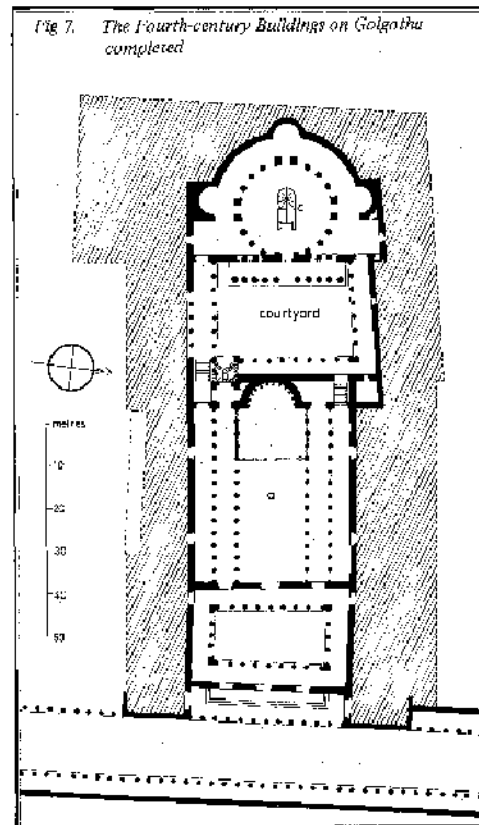


(see fig. 5) are discussed below in the following order:

1. The complex as a whole.
2. History.
3. The Church of St. Constantine.
4. The Tomb of Christ.
5. The Church of the Resurrection.
6. Golgotha.
7. The Court before the Cross.

1. The Complex as a whole

In the Bible the name Golgotha which, like "Calvary", means "Place of a Skull", denotes the place both of the Crucifixion and of the Resurrection (see John 19.41). Hence the site of the earliest Christian buildings here discussed was in a general way called Golgotha, as in *Ep* Tr. 25.8-127; (*P*) C2-181, Cyril Jer., *Cor.* 14.5-829 and also perhaps 13.27-806. Though we shall find traces of this general use of the name in later writers, "Golgotha" was more often used as the proper name of an outcrop of rock about twelve feet high, which stands forty metres east of the Lord's Tomb. There was no name to take the place of "Golgotha" to describe the site as a whole, and those who went there usually refer to its three principal elements (see fig. 6 to which the



reference-numbers relate): the first is the Basilica of Constantine, or Church of Saint Constantine (a). This form of the name with its minor variants was probably current from the time it was built (see for example *Ep* Tr. pp. 158, 127), and gradually ousted the original name "The Martyrium" which was derived from Zach. 3.8 (LXX). See *PEQ* 1976 (July) p. 91. Indeed the two latest witnesses to the name "Martyrium" in the texts seem both to be quoting from earlier sources: see Adomnan, p. 97 above and *GL* 618-188, cf. *A.L.* 37-266. A frequently used title in the Georgian Lectionary is the "Catholica", 744-1.144 etc., as in *Capr.* 6.8. The second principal element on the site is "Golgotha" (or "Calvary" or "Place of the Skull"), where Christ was crucified (b), and the third (c) was the "Resurrection" (Greek, *Anastasis*) which is the oldest name for the church structure at the west of the site, or "The Holy Tomb", which is the object it was built to contain (1, 3). Thus the favourite name for the Church during the Latin Kingdom, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre" (*Qualiter* 347 etc.) means "the church containing the Holy Tomb". The three buildings rather than the site as a whole are mentioned above on pp. 53, 83, 97 and Arculf's plan (Plates 5 and 6), 117, 138 and 142f. See also Maps 11, 15, 17, 18, 21, 29, 30, 33, 39 and 45.

2. History

Whilst it is impossible to prove that the site we have discussed is the same as the Golgotha mentioned in the Bible it is at least the only place which is at all likely to be authentic. Excavations at the Damascus Gate, *Levants* 3(1970)22/7, and in the Muristan area, Kenyon, *Jer.* 151/4 and C. Lux, *ZDPV* 88(1972)185 have revealed nothing which makes it unlikely that the site lay outside the city walls of about 30 A.D. Indeed the existence of the "Tomb of Joseph of Arimathea", a chamber which once contained at least nine oven-shaped tombs of a kind common in the first century A.D., is consistent with the theory that the site was outside the walls until 44 A.D., when the city area was enlarged.

It is thus possible that the consistent Christian tradition is correct which has pointed to this as the site of Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection. The origins of the site and its buildings are further discussed in *Ep* Tr. especially pp. 39/46 and 164/171. But at the time of our first text they had already been completed in the form they retained till the Persians set them on fire in 614 A.D. In this first period, lasting a little over two centuries, the appearance of the buildings gradually changed through wear and tear and by the acquisition of gifts (see p. 83 above), but they suffered no major damage.

These buildings replaced Hadrian's Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which is represented on one of the first coins Hadrian minted for the city, and a temple (or statue) of Venus, for which see *Ep* Tr. 26-165, text and n.1. For some reason now unknown to us the Christian community believed that Hadrian had built his temple over the Tomb from which the Lord has risen from the dead. Thus when members of the community cleared the site in the early fourth century their aim was to recover the Tomb, and though at the same time they uncovered the rock outcrop which soon came to be known as Golgotha (Bord. 593.4-158) its discovery is not mentioned by Eusebius in his detailed account of the works in the *Life of Constantine*. He wrote in 337 A.D. and the Bordeaux pilgrim in 333, but neither knew of any rooted building in the area apart from the basilica of Constantine (Bord. 594.2-158): "the hill of Golgotha... and, about a stone's throw from it, the Cave where they laid the Lord's body" sound as though they were both in the open air. Both authors thus seem to be describing the arrangement deduced from the archaeological evidence by Collinson, pp. 21/3 and pl. VII (compare fig. 5 above), by which the Tomb was deliberately surrounded by a temporary enclosure so that preliminary work could be done to construct the building which was eventually to form the setting of the Tomb. We should envisage the temporary arrangement as the one seen by those who attended the dedication ceremonies from 13th to 20th September, 335 A.D., but we should expect them to have been finished soon afterwards. So just before 348 A.D. Cyril Jer., *Cor.* 18.33-1056, is speaking of the completed building when he invites the catechumens to "Come into the Holy Place of the Resurrection", and this phrase is identical in meaning with Egeria's "Come into the Anastasis", Tr. 47.2-145 (as against my mistaken conjecture, *op cit.* p. 168, n. 1). A plan of these Constantinian buildings is reproduced above as fig. 6.

In 614 A.D. the buildings were burned by the Persians (c. 620 A.D.: 1427; *Chr. Pasch.* -987; *Capr.* 13.15) after which we know that they were rebuilt by Modestus. Yet neither our documents nor our archaeological knowledge enable us to distinguish any changes which may then have taken place. We should probably assume that while all the church ornaments and its panelling and roof would have needed replacing the stonework remained undamaged. The only change for which Collinson sees evidence is that buttresses were added (his pl. 17, 34), and otherwise there seems to have been no substantial change in layout. The fact that it is still possible to see a good deal of undamaged limestone masonry of the Byzantine period may be explained by the well-attested fact that the limestone surfaces were all covered with a layer of marble, which would have protected them during the fire. See *Ep* Tr. pp. 166f, 168f, 171; 9-127.

When Caliph Umar received the surrender of Jerusalem in 638 A.D. he spared the buildings on Golgotha (see text in Collinson p. 18) which then seem to have enjoyed a further two centuries without any major alteration. Then in about A.D. 815 the Patriarch Thomas restored the cupola of the Resurrection and "made a double dome" (939 A.D.: *Ann.* -2.55), which perhaps entailed little alteration. In the tenth century Byzantine successes over the Muslims led to some reprisals against Christians in Jerusalem, and in 938 A.D. (*Ibid.* -7.17, cf. -1.217) "Muslims plotted on the Day of Hosanna and burned the south doors of the Church of Constantine and half the portion... and then devastated the Place of the Skull and the Church of the Resurrection". Another riot by Jews and Muslims in 965 A.D. led to further damage and looting (Yahya -183 and G. Codrenus -2.108), but the severest

damage was done forty years later. In 1009 A.D. the mad Fatimid Caliph Hakim gave orders which resulted in the final destruction of the Tomb and of the Church of Constantine and in severe damage to the Resurrection church (see Collinson, p. 20; R. Glaber, *Hist.* 3.7-657 presumably thought the Tomb had survived because he or his informant had been shown a replica which had been built to occupy the place of the original). As the result of a treaty made in 1030 A.D. the buildings in the west part of the site were restored (see fig. 7), but the Church of Constantine was not then and has not since been rebuilt.

This restoration, carried out under Emperor Constantine Monomachus between 1042/8 A.D., produced the buildings which are mentioned in the last years of our period. After the Latin Kingdom had been in power for fifty years it brought to completion another programme of improvements and alterations which gave us the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as we know it today. It was dedicated on 15 July 1149. See *Ep* Tr. figure on p. 44.

3. The Church of Constantine

This "Great Church built on Golgotha", *Ep* Tr. 25.9-127 and Barsauma - (1914)115 (note "built on the summit of Golgotha", John Rufus, *V.P.B.* -41) was designed as the *ecclēsia maior* or principal liturgical meeting-point of the Christian community in Jerusalem (see figure 6, a). Eusebius gives a long and detailed account of the church and its decoration at the time of its building (see his text in *Ep* Tr. pp. 168/71) and what remains of it today is now described by Collinson on pp. 41/4.

The *Breviarium* (c. 500 A.D.: p. 59 above) abruptly introduces us to the idea that the Wood of the Cross was found under the apse of this church (as on pp. 66, 83, 91, 117 and 129 above) note also p. 71 above with the memorias recorded in 1102 A.D.: 27 and 1106 A.D.: 15-18, and the habit in this context of describing the site in general as Golgotha (above, p. 66) or Calvary (as 1130 A.D.: 428; 1143 A.D.: 8.3-324). Then in 1165 A.D.: 13-152 f., (after the construction of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre) the place where the Cross was discovered is stated to be in its modern position beyond the crypt chapel (as in 1172 A.D.: 10-25).

The story which explained how the Cross was discovered had not reached a stable form till about seventy years after the Church was built, and cannot have influenced its layout, especially in view of Eusebius' failure to mention either the Wood or its discovery when he gives his detailed account of the church and apse (*V. Const.* 3.38-170, cf. p. 126 above). We ought therefore to consider the possibility that that story arose out of an attempt to account for the existence of relics purporting to be the Wood of the Cross in terms of events which took place in the already well-known buildings erected by Constantine: cf. Rufinus, *E.H.* 1.7-Pl. 21.475 ff and above pp. 204, 241.

In c. 620 A.D.: 1427 this church is described as "The Venerable House of the Honourable Cross", which is a title alluding to the contents of its reliquary chapel next to the Calvary rock "Behind the Cross", *Ep* Tr. 37.1-136 f. and Collinson Pl. VIII (see our fig. 6), space east of No. 9 and south of apse of 10. To a person coming from the court between the Church of Constantine and the Anastasis this was on the left "as one goes into the basilica", p. 59 above. It may have been somewhat raised above the level of the rest of the Church (as stated on p. 91 and perhaps implied on p. 117 above) and is likely to have had an entry directly from the courtyard (p. 83 above and fig. 6). This chapel occupied the normal position for a Table of Prothesis, to which the people were intended to bring their offerings when they arrived at the Church (see p. 97 above), and we therefore find that the Table in the chapel was the one known as the Altar of Abraham, to which he brought Isaac for the sacrifice (see above pp. 60, 65 (at the foot of Calvary), 83 (next to the rock) and note *GL* 1168-2.29 and *Typicon* -146, which speaks of the Niketikon behind the Holy Skull as the place where the Wood of the Cross was kept. Section 2 - p. 60 above suggests that this relic was kept in the same place as the altar of Abraham. The relic was already being shown before 348 A.D.: *Capr.* 10.19-685 (which is surely by Cyril despite the doubts mentioned by Kepp, p. 383 n. 40), *Ep* Tr. 37.1.3-136/7; and above pp. 71, 91.

With the Wood of the Cross was kept its title and other relics of the Passion. There was a cup which some took to be that of the Last Supper (above, pp. 83, 97) but others the one from which the Lord drank the vinegar and gall (p. 117, see Matt. 27.34). There were also the sponge and reed (Matt. 27.48; above pp. 83, 97 (sponge only), 91, 117) and the lance (John 19.34; above pp. 91, 117). Epiphanius the Monk mentions also the basin of the feetwashing and the cloth like the one seen in Peter's vision, Acts 10.11 (p. 117 above), and there is a confused account of these relics, but not of the Wood of the Cross, given in 1106 A.D.: 13-16. The mention of this group of relics strongly suggests that the "Chapel of the Lord's Cup" as shown on Arculf's plan which detaches it from Calvary, is in an impossible position, and should be "behind the Cross" and inside the building known as the Church of Constantine.

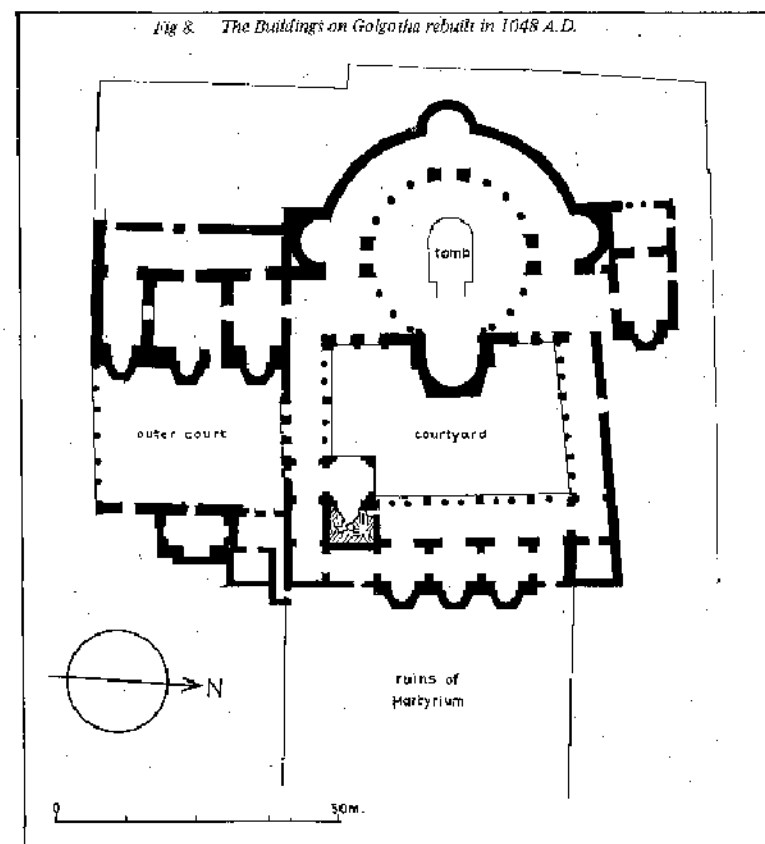
We hear that the Wood of the Cross was removed by the Persians in A.D. 614 and then brought back by Heraclius; thus Sophronius, *Anacr.* 18.37-3808, Sebeos, *H. Heracl.* 29-90f, and *Capr.* 24.9 which, being written in about 760 A.D. is the last source we have which speaks of the original relic known as the Wood of the Cross, for the *Typicon*, perhaps two centuries later, uses the past tense, saying that the Wood "used to be" kept in the Niketikon (-146). Relics of the Wood of the Cross which were displayed in the Latin Kingdom were probably of different origin: see 1170 A.D.: 2-119 (f); 10-128; 1172 A.D.: 9-23.

Epiphanius the Monk tells us (p. 117 above) of a Patriarchium below which is a "church without a throne". Neither feature is easy to picture, but the "church" is hardly likely to have been the crypt of Constantine's Church, now St. Helena's chapel: see Collinson p. 41.

The Church of Constantine was not rebuilt after 1009 A.D.

4. The Tomb of Christ

In his *Life of Constantine* 3.28 - *Ep* Tr. 165, Eusebius recounts how



the rock-tomb of Christ which had been buried under Hadrian's Temple was discovered, and how the Emperor commanded that it should be "displayed", in consequence the rock round the Tomb was cut away, which left it as "the only thing standing in a wide space" (words from *Theoph.* - 14*-9-17 which Eusebius must surely have written whilst the works were in progress). See *P.E.Q.* 1976 (July) p. 90 for a diagram. This *adnicula* or small house of living rock was then "adorned with choice columns and much ornament" (Eusebius, *V. Const.* 3.34-167: for suggestions about the form of its decoration, see *Levant* 6 (1974), 179/87 and 4 (1972), 92/7: note also p. 91, n. 2). Pilgrims speak of its gold and silver roof (above pp. 60 and 83, before the Persian invasion, and 96, 123 afterwards), the columns which surrounded it (ten of them, p. 123; nine (correctly) p. 142; eleven p. 146). The four columns in front formed a kind of porch, possibly the "sanctuary" of pp. 91 and 146 above, which surrounded the Stone of the Angel, which was believed to be part of the rolling stone on which the Easter angel sat (*Matt.* 28.2). This Stone is already mentioned before 348 A.D.: *Cyr.* 10.19, 13.38-688,820; then above pp. 49, 60, 83, 142; 97, 123 and 146 say that it has been made into an altar: cf. 1106 A.D.: 10-13. The stone was made of *silex*, p. 60 above, there literally translated as "flint". But since the Italian derivative *silex* can be used to mean *basalt* we ought perhaps to picture the Stone as being made of hard limestone which had gained a high polish, like the one now visible in the Tombs of the Kings. In this way we could explain the statement on p. 83 above where it is said to be the same colour as Golgotha. The porch containing the Stone had gates which are described by Egeria, *Tr.* 24.2-123 and 47.1-145. From the porch the pilgrim went through a small door (p. 123 above) to penetrate the rock tomb-chamber itself (pp. 83, 96, and 146).

For the dimensions of the tomb itself and of its shelf see above pp. 96 and 123; for its lamps pp. 83, 96 (a text describing Arculf's plan), 129 and 123, which also describes roof-candlesticks which correspond moderately well but not precisely with those shown on Monza flask 13B and Bobbio 6 and 189 (see *Levant* 6 (1974), 180). The same passage mentions other decoration and three windows which are not easy to visualize.

As "blessings" from the Tomb pilgrims took pellets of earth, which was white in colour and brought in from outside (p. 83 above and Gregory of Tours, *Gl. Mart.* 1.7-712). Eusebius is the last to describe the Tomb in detail before it was destroyed in 1009 A.D. (see p. 146 above), and the details of the new tomb-replica are given in *Qualiter* - 347 and 1106 A.D.: 10-13. For its final form in the completed Church of the Holy Sepulchre see 1165 A.D.: 12-148 and note 1177 A.D.: 14-944.

5. The Church of the Resurrection

The Greek word for Resurrection, *anastasis*, was the normal name for the Church of the Resurrection, even in some of the Latin texts like *Ex. Tr.* 24.1-123; and above pp. 53 and (its citation) 97. The Arabic for Resurrection, *qiyama* provided the Muslims with the opportunity for a play on words, and they sometimes called the church by the nickname

el qumama "the Dungheap".

The church in its complete form was round (above pp. 60, 95, and 1106 A.D.: 10-14). It contained twelve columns and three pairs of square masonry pillars (see pp. 95, 123 and 1106 A.D.: 10-14 and compare Coliason, pp. 26/36 and Plate XI. We may ignore Adomnan's statement that "three walls" rose from its foundations (p. 95 above), since it arises not out of the monument itself but from his study of Arculf's plan, p. 96 above and Plates 5 and 6. His statement that there were eight doors is however extremely valuable, since it provides a clue for reconstructing the facade (as Coliason pp. 32/5, but it is possible there was a broken pediment): Daniel, writing in 1106 A.D.: 10-12 of Monomachus' reconstruction speaks only of six doors and of a gallery with sixteen columns. The dome (10-13) was made of wood, and had a hole directly over the Tomb. See also the account of its final state in 1165 A.D.: 12-148 f. For its baptistery see the pilgrim of Bordeaux 594.4-158 and the suggestion by C. Tinelli, *L.A.* 1973, 93/104.

In the fifth century the Anastasis contained at least two altars. One was in front of the Tomb, and Epiphanius had preached near by: John Rufus, *Assur.* 22-53; Jerome, *C. John Jer.* 11-363; *Ex. Tr.* 24.5-124; *Typicon* - 76; also above p. 60, which says Zacharias was killed there, but contrast Bord. 591.2-157; pp. 83 and 96 above, where it is said to have formed part of the rolling stone. In c.518 there was a second altar behind the Tomb (p. 71 above and cf. *Typicon* - 161). In the seventh century Arculf told Adomnan of two more, one north and the other south of the Tomb (pp. 93/7). In Monomachus' reconstruction there was an apse protruding from the east front of the church, and Daniel may refer to a mosaic inside it when he speaks of a picture of Christ above the altar, 1106 A.D.: 10-12. The *Typicon* - 190 tells us of a Royal Door, and also of a "door of the Myrophoroi" - 162, 184 and a "door of the Catechumens" - 179.

The Church of the Resurrection as described in 808 A.D.: 1-p. 137 above, meaning the whole complex, had a total staff of one hundred and fifty. Though its original purpose was to be the bishop's church it soon attracted its own groups of monks and nuns, the Spoudaei, and thus had to provide accommodation not only for its collegiate clergy, who probably lived in the presbytery immediately north and west of the Church of the Resurrection (see Coliason Pl. VIII (= fig. 6), John Rufus, *Assur.* 41-92; Anastasius the Sinaita - 66), but also for the Spoudaei, who were eventually given their own monastery, the Spoudaeon, which lasted till the Latin Kingdom (1106 A.D.: 13-16 and see *Tower of David*). The *Commemoratorium* lists the officers of the church (1-p. 137) and we there hear some of the same titles which were in use before the Muslim conquest. Thus there were a treasurer, J. Moschus, *Pr.* 48-2904; a crosswarden, Mark the Deacon, *V. Porphy.* 10-10; and a "cantorress", Cyril Sc. *V. Cyr.* - 233.29; see also Theod. Petr., *V. Theod.* - 62 and Cyril Sc., *V. Euth.* - 49.3.

In its early days the Church of the Resurrection and its neighbouring buildings seem to have been compared with the Jewish Temple. Thus in 337 A.D.: 3.33-167 Eusebius contrasts this "New Jerusalem" with

its recently-finished buildings with the "far-famed Jerusalem of old time", namely the ruined Temple-site, and both he and Cyril of Jerusalem apply to the Resurrection the title "Holy of Holies" (*ibid.* 3.28-165, *Abstr.* 1.11-1076). Furthermore the form of the edicule seems to correspond in several respects with the conventional rendering of the Jewish Holy of Holies and Ark of the Covenant as they are shown in contemporary synagogue mosaics.

This comparison between the Jewish Temple and the church buildings at Golgotha, enables us to explain a good many scattered remarks used by the pilgrims. Thus we see how Zacharias can be said to have been killed in the Anastasis, p. 60 above, cf. *Matt.* 23.35; or how this is described as the place where Solomon scaled the demons, p. 60 above as contrasting with Bord. 589.11-156 above and n. 4. We can explain the belief that the altar of Abraham was there (p. 60, etc) as it had been on Mount Moriah (II Chr. 3.1) where the Temple was later built: we can see how Jesus is said to have performed there the Cleansing of the Temple (p. 60 above and *Matt.* 21.12). The understanding of the Church in terms of the Temple (no doubt the "True Temple") may well have influenced the liturgy: thus there may have been a conscious parallel between the Jewish high priest entering the Holy of Holies (Lev. 16, Heb. 9.7) and the bishop, who on Sunday mornings entered the Tomb to read the Resurrection-gospel (*Ex. Tr.* 24.9-125). Certainly the form and position of the Stone of the Angel seem deliberately arranged to recall the altar of incense in the Holy Place (see Exod. 30.1-6 and Josephus, *War* 5.216, 218). On p. 60 above the Breviarus tells us that Adam was created at Calvary. This too is a parallel with such Jewish beliefs about Mount Moriah as those in *Gen. R.* 14.9 and *p.Naz.* 7.36b. See also 2 *Enoch* 23.45.

6. Golgotha

"Mount Calvary" was the favourite title for the rock outcrop during the Latin Kingdom, but its earliest descriptions are ambiguous. The Bordeaux pilgrim is content to call it a hillock, 593.4-158, but Cyril Jer., *Car.* 10.19-688 may mean something different when he calls it "this holy place set on high". The important thing is that it was in no sense a hill or "mount", it was of modest size (see Coliason pp. 39 f.), and "it bears no resemblance to its name, for it is not situated on any height", according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* 4.6.5-2.208 f. Epiphanius believed that it took its name not from anything to do with its shape, but from the fact that Adam's skull had been discovered there, since in that very spot he had been buried. How did he come to accept a belief so bizarre? Possibly through his acquaintance with an idea of Origen who had borrowed it from some one else and included it in his *Commentary on Matthew* (27.33-264): using the text I Cor. 15.22, "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive" he illustrates it by saying that Christ's death on the Cross brought life to Adam who [it so happened] was buried beneath the place of Crucifixion.

Origen himself had never seen the rock in question, since in the time he was writing it was buried from view under some element of Hadrian's Capitol, probably a statue of Venus as stated in Jerome, *Ep.* 58.3-531. But the idea was so striking that it was borrowed by later writers (such as *Adv. Marc.* - 1123 and perhaps Basil, see Theod. Petr., *V. Theod.* 16-10) including Jerome, *Ep.* 46.3-Valdard p. 210. Elsewhere Jerome admitted that only some thought Adam was buried at Calvary, but that "the Hebrews think he is buried in Hebron", *L. loc.* 75.23 and *C. Rpn.* 51.4-526. Finally in 398 A.D. he came out clearly against the idea that the "skull" giving its name to Golgotha was that of Adam, claiming that "Golgotha" meant "the place of the beheaded", *C. Matt.* 27.33-270. But his disapproval was not weighty enough to prevent later writers from accepting the idea of Adam's tomb at Golgotha (see for instance p. 117 above; George Hamartolos, *Chron.* 4.236-280; on Adam's creation see sec. 5 and it is probable that the requiem Masses mentioned on p. 97 above were connected with the idea of Adam's burial and resurrection). The belief was still accepted in the Latin Kingdom, e.g. 1106 A.D.: 11-15, but not by John of Würzburg 10-144, Saewulf, 1102 A.D.: 28 explains how at the Crucifixion Christ's blood dripped down through a cleft in the rock (questioned by Cyril Jer., *Car.* 13.38-820, see *Matt.* 27.51) and revived Adam. Note also that the *Placenza* pilgrim was shown a bloodstain on the rock, p. 83 above.

On top of the rock called Calvary stood a cross. We do not know whether it was erected when the Constantinian arrangements were complete or at some later time. But in about 384 A.D. Egeria speaks of "the Cross that is there now", *Tr.* 37.1-137, see also p. 49 above. Two late annalists tell us that in 420 (or 426) A.D. the Emperor Theodosius II sent a golden cross set with gems to replace the one which was seen by Egeria (*Theoph. Ann.* (year 420): 234; G. Codrines, *Comp.* (year 428): 1.644), and this must surely have disappeared in the turmoil of 614 A.D. But it was soon replaced by a silver cross, and this was believed to stand "in the same socket as the wooden cross" of Christ (p. 97 above). Whether or not she is giving an accurate report of Willibald's words, Huguibert tells us that he saw three crosses out of doors under a roof, p. 129 above (where her "east" should surely be "west"). Huguibert is not the first to record the roof above the cross, for it is already mentioned at the beginning of the sixth century (see pp. 59 (B), 66 above) and is represented, admittedly in a somewhat abstract way, on the early seventh-century silver flask now in Monza and Bobbio: see Monza 4 and 12 (= 13, = Bobbio 8) A. Grabar, *Les Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris 1958, pl. xxi.

In order to reach the level of the cross pilgrims mounted steps, pp. 65, 83, 117 above, and the rock with its roof evidently forms some kind of open building, pp. 59, 91 lines 23/32, which we might describe as a tower with two storeys and a roof: on the upper storey was the place of Crucifixion (p. 65 above) and at floor level was a chapel named on p. 117 above as the Tomb of Adam. In some sense this tower formed part of the Church of Constantine: see p. 142 above and Coliason, Pl. viii (= fig. 6). Adomnan uses the phrase "a rectangular stone construction" to describe what we have called a tower (see 6.1-p. 97 above) and it sounds as though it were fairly small, since, when there was a

requiem Mass, the body had to lie in the court outside (5.2-p. 97 above).

Adomnan therefore sets us a problem when he says (5.1-p. 97 above) that there was "a huge church" at Golgotha. Since the building was in any case in the court between the Churches of the Resurrection and Constantine it cannot have been very big, and none of the eyewitnesses describe it as being impressive in size: see *Ex. Tr.* p. 43 and 25.11-127, where "At the Cross" might mean merely the rock, p. 59 above which speaks of the ornaments of the rock, and pp. 66, 83, and 91 where the emphasis is always on the rock rather than on any church containing it. On p. 117 above the "church" beneath the place of Crucifixion need not have been of any great size. Indeed there seems to be a contradiction between Adomnan who speaks of a "great church" and Huguibert who speaks of the crosses being "outside the church", out of doors under a roof.

In support of Adomnan Coliason points out that "on Golgotha behind the cross" and outside the Church of Constantine, the Bishop celebrated the Eucharist on the Thursday before Easter, and presided over the veneration of the Cross on the Friday (Coliason, p. 51). He therefore advocates a separate building large enough to house these two activities, and suggests that it was located to the south of the rock of Calvary (as shown on his pl. viii 8). But it is unnecessary to interpret the site in this way, since it was possible then (as now) for the chief celebrant of the Eucharist to lead the service from a very small chapel, such as the one containing the Stone of the Angel (p. 123 above, compare *Typicon* - 188), and the Veneration of the Cross, whilst it involved an immense number of people, sent them to the Bishop one by one, and therefore required very little space. Indeed Theodore of Petra tells us that the Veneration of the Cross took place inside the Church of Constantine: see *V. Theod.* - 71. The present author would therefore prefer to envisage both these acts as done in the space east of Coliason's 9 and south of the main apse on his Pl. viii (our fig. 6), and to see Adomnan's reference to "a huge church" as a misunderstanding.

When the Latin texts after our period make any distinction between the names Golgotha and Calvary, "Golgotha" usually means the chapel below and "Calvary" or "Mount Calvary" the upper level: thus *Qualiter* - 347; 1102 A.D.: 28; 1137 A.D.: C2-181; Anon. II, 2-119; 1172 A.D.: 12-28, 31. But for Greek authors Golgotha was usually above, when it was used in a particular sense, as in *Typicon* - 12; Daniel (Russian) 12-15; but contrast John Phocas, 14-944; for both Latin and Greek-speaking authors the names Golgotha and its equivalent were still sometimes used in the general sense of the whole site in which the Cross was found, then occupied by the Church of Constantine: see above pp. 66, 128 and 142.

7. The Court Before the Cross

Between the Tomb of Christ and the Church of Constantine there existed throughout our period a court. For its preliminary arrangement see Coliason pl. VII (our fig. 5, correcting *Ex. Tr.* plan on p. 41), and for its subsequent form till 1009 A.D. fig. 6; and, after 1009 A.D., fig. 7.

This court, containing the Golgotha Rock in its south-east corner came to be called "The Garden of Joseph" (cf. John 19.41 and Cyril Jer., *Car.* 14.5-829), our first witness being Epiphanius the Monk in the eighth century, p. 117 above. The new name from this time onwards supplants the earlier name "Before the Cross", as will be seen on pp. 129, 144 above, *Typicon* - 184 and 1137 A.D.: C1-180. At roughly the same time as the name began to be changed the idea was revived that this garden, being the scene of both Crucifixion and Resurrection, was the Centre of the Earth. This idea seemed to have the support of Scripture, for Ps. 74.12 (LXX says, "Thou, O God, ... hast wrought salvation in the midst of the earth"). This verse was first

applied to the general area of Golgotha by Cyril of Jerusalem, *Car.* 13.27-806, and the idea was accepted by Christian authors elsewhere (see *Adv. Marc.* - 1123; Ill. Poit., *In Ps.* 134.19-706) and, possibly through them, by Adomnan: see p. 99 above and compare Eusebius of Alexandria, *Dem.* 339-144. In about 600 A.D. Sophronius speaks of the centrepiece as being the "Rock in which the Cross was fixed (p. 91, line 29), but in the ninth century the point was marked in the court by four claims which met in the middle (p. 144 above). Later on, in the tenth century, the mark was an *omphalos* of a form unknown to us, as we are informed by the *Typicon* - 184 and by Peter the Deacon, C1-181, who is the last witness to this arrangement. After the building of the choir which replaced the court there was a time when the Stone of Unction was taken to be the Centre (1185 A.D.: 194). The stone is the black rectangle shown in Coliason pl. xxi immediately to the south of the choir and west of Golgotha).

From the sixth century we are told of a famous icon of the Theotokos (pp. 83, 91 above) which was "on the left of St. Constantine" and prevented Mary the Egyptian entering the Church on the day when the Cross was venerated (p. 117 above). In 1102 A.D.: 30 this icon or perhaps its successor was to be found in the chapel of St. Mary, which was adjacent to the Anastasis on the north. In the eighth century we hear of a "guardroom in which Christ and Barabbas were imprisoned" which was "to the north of the garden", p. 117 above and *Typicon* - 146; contrast 1130 A.D.: 427. This seems to be identical with the irregular four-sided room attached to the north-east corner of the court (see Coliason pl. viii, our fig. 6), still known as the Prison of Christ, but on this supposition it is hard to interpret what follows in Epiphanius' description on p. 117 above. The court also contained somewhere a "House of Joseph" below which Helena met the funeral procession of the girl who was brought to life by touching the Wood of the Cross (see p. 117 above).

From the time of Monomachus' restoration, and perhaps from the time of Constantine, it was possible to approach the court through the open space on the south, now called the Foyais. Monomachus built along its western edge three buildings of which the apses are visible today (see Coliason pl. ix), and they are described by Saewulf - 30.

10. *Eleutheropolis* (Twenty five churches, six monasteries, and five Jewish synagogues.)

Churches	Agur Ain Ma'mudiya Arab, Kh. el Atraba, Kh. Basal, Kh. el Beida, Kh. Tell el Beit Amra, Kh. Beit Awwa	Beit Bad, Kh. Beit Jimal Beit Lei, Kh. Beit Nattif, Kh. Bet Ghuvrin Bira, Kh. el Deir el Asal Duma, Kh.	Jauf, Kh. el Khureisa, Kh. Mahami, Kh. el Majd el Ba, Kh. Maikat-ha, Kh. Sandahanna, Tell Suweis, Kh. Tawus, Kh.
Monasteries	Deir Asfur Der, Kh. ed	Istabil, Kh. Rumeila, Kh.	Umm el Amad (1), Kh. Umm el Amad (2), Kh.
Jewish synagogues	Ain Jidi (see En Gedi) Bet Ghuvrin	En Gedi Qasrain, el	Susiya, Kh. Uzeiz, Kh. el

11. *Gaza* (Three or more churches, a monastery at Ruhama, and both a Jewish and (possibly) a Samaritan synagogue at Gaza itself)

Churches	Gaza	Gerar, H.	Mina, el.
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12. *Jamnia* (A Samaritan synagogue at Yavne and a church at Tel Yonah.)13. *Region of Jericho* (Four monasteries, three Jewish synagogues, one church at Tell Hassan.)

The monasteries	Deir el Qilt Jericho-Jordan road	Khan Saliba Nitla, Kh. en
The Jewish synagogues	Ain Duk Sultan, Tell es (near)	Jum, Tell el

14. *Joppa* (Jewish occupation at Jaffa.)15. *Nicopolis* (Three Samaritan synagogues, one Jewish Synagogue at Khulda, and probably another at Nicopolis, and two church sites at Nicopolis and (probably) at Tel Gezer.)

The Samaritan Synagogues	Kefar Bilu	Nicopolis	Sha'alvim
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16. *Neapolis* (One Jewish synagogue at Seilun, Samaritan occupation at Nablus, and three churches.)

The Churches	Duma	Gerizim, Mount	Seilun
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17. *Sebastiya* (three churches: probably a synagogue at Fahma)

The Churches	Baubariya, Kh. el, near Sha'la, Sh.	Miyamas, Kh.	Sebastiya
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18. *Terebinthus* (extra-territorial) (Three churches)

The Churches	Haram Ramat el Khalil	Hebron	Rumeidi, Jebel er
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B. *Palestine II*1. *Come Nais* (Two churches in Nain itself).2. *Diocaesarea* (Eight Jewish synagogues, seven churches, one monastery at Mount Tabor.)

Remains suggesting synagogues	Bet Lechem haGelilit Gevat I'billin	Kafr Kenna (?) Nazareth Taiyiba, Kh. et	Yafa Zippori (= Diocaesarea)
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The churches	H. Amud Arraba Bal es Sih, Kh.	Dabburiya Kafr Kenna (?)	Nazareth Zippori (= Diocaesarea)
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3. *Gabae* (no discoveries)4. *Legio Maximianopolis* (one church at Yoqne'am).5. *Scythopolis* (Four Jewish synagogues, three monasteries, two churches (at Bet haShitta and at Scythopolis itself) and evidence of Samaritan occupation, also in Scythopolis.)

The Jewish synagogues	Bet Alfa Farwana, Tulul	Kefar Qarnayim Scythopolis
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The monasteries	XBasul, Tell	Mastaba, Tel el	Sede Nahum
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6. *Tiberias* (Eleven Jewish synagogues, three churches, two monasteries, at Kafr Kama and at Tabgha).

The synagogues	Ailabun Ammudim, H. Arbel, H. Belvoir	Bet Yerah, Tel Capernaum Hammam di Tabariya Kafr Danna	Korazim Tiberias Weradim, H.
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The churches	Bet Yerah, Tel	Capernaum	Tiberias
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7. *Tetracomia* (village area) (Thirteen Jewish synagogues)

Synagogue remains	Alma Dallata Dalton Jish Kafr Bir'im	Meron Nabrataim, Kh. en Peqi'in Rama	Sa'sa' Shema', H. Shura, Kh. Yesud haMa'ale
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C. *Phoenicia*1. *Ptolemais* (Seven churches and three Jewish synagogues)

The churches	Damon, H. Elijah's Cave	Evron Tel Kison	Nahariyya Mahoz, H. Shave Ziyyon
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Jewish worship	Elijah's Cave	Isfiya	Kafr Yasif
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2. *Part of territory of Tyre* (Six churches; Jewish occupation suggests a synagogue at Bezet).

The churches	Bezet Hanita	Jalil, Kh. Suhmata	Yarin, Kh. Yarun, Kh.
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APPENDIX 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BREVIARIUS

In R. Weber's excellent edition of the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (C.S.L. 175, pp. 105/12) two forms of the text are distinguished. Form (a), which is the longer of the two, is based on two manuscripts, A and O¹, which are in close agreement where they overlap with each other, while form (b) is based on a third manuscript, S².

These two forms appear to have developed independently, but to owe their origin to a single source-document. Though no such document has survived we may without undue difficulty recover its main lines by extracting from forms (a) and (b) such elements as are common to both. The reconstruction below is the result of this process, and words which appear in both forms are printed in ordinary type. Those drawn from one only are in italic, and have the letter indicating their manuscript source attached to them. The headings are added, and the figures at the side indicate the lines in Weber's text.

A. The City of Jerusalem

3/4 Ipsa ciuitas in monte posita.

B. The Basilica

5/6 In medio ciuitatis est basilica
8/10 cubiculus ubi crux Domini posita est³
11 Intrans in basilica^{S4}
13/18 ubi inuente sunt^A tres cruces, est^A ibi altare^A de argento et auro¹ et nouem columnae^A quae^A sustinent^A illud^A altare^A.
24/30 Et est in media basilica lancea unde percussus est^A Dominus, et de ipsa facta est crux, et lucet in^A nocte sicut sol in^A uirtute^A diei

C. Golgotha

31/36 Et intrans in Golgotha^S ibi est atrium grande ubi crucifixus est^A Dominus. In circuitu in^A ipso^A monte^A sunt cancellae argenteae^A
41 ubi fuit crux Domini^A:
43 de auro et gemmis^A ornata,
44 caelum desuper aureum^{S6a},
45/6 et de^S foras^{S6b} cancellum^S.
46/9 Ibi^{S7} est ille discus^A ubi caput Iohannis portatum fuit:
50/51 Et ibi^S est illud^A cornu^A quo^A Dauid unctus est.
54/5 Ubi^A plasmatus Adam
56/7 ibidem^S crucifixus est Dominus.

D. The Holy Resurrection

60/63 Inde^A ad^A occidentem^A intrans sanctam resurrectionem ubi est sepulchrum Domini.

1. A is cod. Mediol. Ambr. M.79, sup. (saec. XII) 44/44^v, and O cod. Oxon. Laud. Misc. 263 (saec. VIII/IX) 1/1^v. On the latter see A. Wilmart, *RB* 1928, 101/6. Overlapping can be examined at Weber's lines 91/115, p. 111.
2. S is cod. Sangall. 732 (A.D. 811) pp. 100/4.
3. This is the word order of A.
4. We follow S, since A here makes its first substantial interpolation.
5. "Golgotha" here seems to represent the whole area of the churches.
6a. *Caelum* seems in S to have the meaning "baldachino", but it appears that the scribe of A took it in its simple meaning, "sky".
6b. If A has changed line 44, S is likely to be a better witness here.
7. A usually gives *ubi* where S gives *ibi*. Here O supports the usage of S and thus, in all probability, of the original document. See Weber's apparatus to lines 107, 111, 113, and line 123.

E. Another Basilica (I.e. Holy Sion)

86/91 Inde^S uadis ad basilicam^A ubi *cesus*^A est Dominus, et^S misit^S manum^S suam^S super^S columnam^{S8}.
93/104 Inde^(O) uenis ad sacrarium^{AO} et ibi^S est ille^{A5} lapis unde lapidatus est sanctus Stephanus. In media basilica est^{AO} corona de^{AO} spinis^{AO} quam^{AO} accepit^{AO} Dominus. Et est ibi⁹ illa lucerna ubi^{AO} docebat discipulos suos Dominus¹ quando cenauerat^{AO} ibi est illa uirga inclusa in^{AO} columna^{AO} argentea^{AO10}.

F. The House of Pilate

109/11 Inde uadis^{AO} ad domum Pilati ubi tradidit^{AO} Dominum^{AO} Iudaeis.¹¹

G. The Pinnacle of the Temple

119 Inde uenis ad illam^S pinnam^S ubi Satanas posuit^O Dominum.¹²

H. The Valley of Jehoshaphat

122/46 . . . ubi se lauabant infirmi et sanabuntur. Et ibi est basilica sanctae Mariae et ibi est sepulchrum eius. Et ibi tradidit Iudas Dominum.¹³ Et ibi est locus ubi Dominus cenauit cum discipulis suis et inde ascendit in montem. Ad dexteram parte ibi est uallis Iosaphat, ibi iudicaturus est Dominus iustos et peccatores. Et ibi est fauulus parius qui ignem uomit in consummationem saeculi. Et ibi sunt duos basilicas ubi docebat Dominus¹⁴ discipulos suos. Et inde uenis ad Galilaeam, ubi discipuli uiderunt Dominum¹⁵ postquam resurrexit a mortuis.

We have in such a document a clear example of the Jerusalem "circuit" being described, though we have not enough comparable material to be entirely sure of the date of this version of it, nor indeed of the additional material we have identified in forms (a)¹⁶ and (b).¹⁷ All we can say is that it falls somewhere between the building of the church of the Virgin's Tomb (mid fifth century) and the year 614 A.D. when the Elcona was destroyed.

8. Both form (a) and (b) include the word *manus*, but (a) — AO — is here likely to have been affected by interpolation.
9. This is the word order of A.
10. S here gives the unintelligible *de arca uiolso*, but the text suggested above is not easy to understand. The word *inclusa* makes it possible that the word *uirga* above was in some previous version *uirgo*.
11. At this point manuscript A ends, but O and S continue.
12. From this point our only manuscript is S.
13. S here gives *nostrum Iesum Christum*.
14. S here gives *Christus* (compare line 42).
15. S here gives *Iesum*.
16. See lines 7f, 12f, 36/8, 38/42, 52/47 64/73.
17. See lines 41f, 57f, and 122f.

APPENDIX 3

THE SOURCES OF THEODOSIUS.
"DE SITU TERRAE SANCTAE"

Theodosius's work *de Situ Terrae Sanctae*¹ contains so many inconsistencies of style that it cannot have been composed out of one pilgrim's personal experience. Rather it reads like notebooks of a person who was about to compile an encyclopaedia of pilgrimage in the orient. This compiler, for whom we shall accept the name Theodosius, is not otherwise identifiable in history, but we can go some way towards saying which parts of *De Situ* are from his pen, since at one point he is obviously not copying from any document, but passing on information which he received by word of mouth. He tells us something he was told by a deacon Eudoxius (V149.19), and relates what he was told in a style which must be his own. Fortunately for us this style contains some peculiarities which we can identify elsewhere in the work: thus when he refers to Susa (V149.16) Theodosius says not "*in qua*" or "*ubi*", but "*in qua ciuitate*", a phrase which is strictly speaking redundant. Such expressions occur in a good many other passages in the work, and we have emphasised them in the working text below by printing them with hyphens, as follows: *in-qua-ciuitate*. In the passage mentioning Eudoxius we find also the word *ipsa*, common elsewhere in the work: this and other characteristic words we emphasise below by printing them in italic. Passages containing the characteristic peculiarities of Theodosius are given the prefix (Th below. As we begin to isolate them by using the two clues we have mentioned we begin to notice other characteristics of his style. Thus Theodosius used *domnus* as his usual title for Christ and the saints of the new covenant², and we find that the words *fabricare*, *nullatenus*, and *tantummodo* are among his favourites.

Where Theodosius generally uses the title *domnus* for holy people, *de Situ* contains many passages where saints (including those of the Old Testament) are given the title *sanctus* (as at 137.13). Most or perhaps all these passages could derive from a written source from which Theodosius copied, and we therefore distinguish them below by the prefix (S: but *sanctus* is so ordinary a word, particularly in church titles, that we cannot be sure that it will serve as a reliable indicator of a single source, especially since in *de Situ* it is not possible to identify other characteristics which go with the word *sanctus*. Possibly the word *mirabilia* (V139.7) is one, but there is nothing else. There are, fortunately for us, two passages which show the relationship between the style using *domnus* and the one using *sanctus*, at V140.5 and V148.5. The latter reads, *Ibi est sanctus Timotheus, discipulus domni Pauli*, from which we can see that Theodosius' characteristic phrase "*discipulus domni Pauli*" is explaining the "*sanctus Timotheus*" which he copies from his source.

As we look more closely at the source, we see that it was in a composite style before it reached Theodosius. Thus in V144.10 and V150.4 we find the name *Apollonius* used where we should expect to find *Paulus*. Theodosius was perfectly capable, as we have just seen, of writing the name Paulus in a legible way: we should therefore assume that he put down *Apollonius* because he was copying from a badly-written source. It is hardly believable that he could have made the same mistake if he had been copying from manuscripts written by two different scribes, and we must therefore treat the two passages containing *Apollonius* as being from one source: but in this case it was composite, for in 144.10 we read *sanctus Apollonius*, whereas in 150.4 he has no title.

The material used by Theodosius included various itineraries which we have distinguished by the prefix (I. It is impossible to say whether these were already combined with the S-passages when he copied them, and certainly some of those we have are combined with each other.³ With one exception these seem to have been civil itineraries which originally mentioned main towns and cities, and later received religious additions. The exception is an itinerary which seems to have been religious from the start (prefixed (r), and is a guide to places of no civil importance: its individuality is marked by its calling the Lord *domnus Christus*, V.138.10 etc. This itinerary was probably written in about 500 A.D., since it mentions a church at the House of Pilate (as on p. 124 above). At V138.2 it tells us that Christ baptised the disciples at the Seven Springs, a commemoration mentioned in no other source. There is also, as we should expect,

an account of the Jerusalem circuit, which we have distinguished by the prefix (J. The seventh itinerary⁴ and Jerusalem circuit⁵ were written with abbreviations which we do not find in other sources.⁶

Theodosius himself referred to Christ as *domnus*, but there are several passages where *dominus* is used⁷; all these, as the reader will observe, can be removed from the text without serious loss, and they were probably glosses made after the work had left Theodosius's hand. They and some other material of a similar kind have been marked with the prefix (t).

Though we can do little to determine the dates of the different types of material we have distinguished we can at least gain some picture of the process of composing *de Situ*. Some sources, as we have seen, were written down before they reached Theodosius: they include -

- i) a set of itineraries between Jerusalem and the main cities of Palestine. These have been adapted for the use of pilgrims by the insertion of religious items.
- J) an account of the Jerusalem circuit, marked as being from a different source by its use of abbreviations.
- r) a religious itinerary which gives the distances between pilgrimage sites rather than main cities.
- S) a source or sources using the title *sanctus* which deals with a large part of the east Roman empire, since it covers (outside the Holy Land) North Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, Armenia, Memphis, and the Taurian Chersonese.

These sources were compiled by Theodosius, and his work later received some interpolations which must be earlier than the time when our earliest remaining manuscript was made, that is, in or before the eighth century.

When did Theodosius do his work? Most modern authors who cite him suggest 530 A.D., which is reasonable, because he mentions Anastasius (who ended his reign in 518 A.D.) but says nothing of Justinian (who came to the throne in 527 A.D.) or of his buildings in the Holy Land, which were erected between 531 and 543 A.D. But since Theodosius mentions Anastasius several times,⁸ and says nothing of Justin, we may guess that he wrote soon after Anastasius' death in A.D.518.

In the text below words which seem to be characteristic of their sources are printed in italic. The first occurrence of each work of this sort is accompanied by a note which says where else it is used. The footnotes are designed to help the reader form judgements on the division of the text, and notes of another kind will be found accompanying the translation on pp. 63/71 above.

4. 32(b) - p. 71 above and note.

5. 7(b), 8(b) - p. 66 above.

6. Thus in the seventh itinerary LXXX (for which see Geyer's apparatus to V150.5) is rendered sometimes as *LXXX milia* and sometimes as *milia LXXX* (see V150.13f.). Similarly in the Jerusalem circuit the abbreviation *pass* gives rise to variations between *passi* and *passus*, (see V141.4 and 9).

7. See note to V137.4.

8. V145.24, 149.4, 149.7.

1. P. Geyer's edition of the text has been printed both in *CSEL* 39, Vienna 1898, and in *CSL* 175, Turnhout 1968.

Readings from a newly-identified manuscript (Paris B.N., n.a.l. 1065) are given in *CSL* 176, pp. 852 f. In this appendix we refer to Geyer's pages and lines which are retained also in the text below.

2. For Christ see 141.6, 143.1/2, 146.14/15 and 147.1; for saints of the new covenant see 143.13 and note to 137.14; Old Testament saints usually have no title, as at 137.9f, 142.1 and 145.17, but 140.7 seems to be an exception.

3. See for instance the Fifth Itinerary, V.139.16/140.3.

THEODOSII
DE SITU TERRAE SANCTAE

1. FIRST ITINERARY - FROM JERUSALEM TO JERICHO

- 137.1 (Th Ciuitas Hierusalem habens portas maiores VI absque posticia, id est porta Benjamin exiens ad Iordanem, habens ab Hiericho milia XVIII; inde ad Iordanem milia VII. De Hiericho usque Galgala miliario uno. (+ ibi est ager Domini, ubi dominus Ihesus Christus (Th unum sulcum (+ de manu sua arauit; (Th ibi sunt duodecim lapides, quos leuauerunt filii Israel de Iordane. De Hiericho usque ad fontem Helysaei milia II; ibi erat domus Raab publicanae, quae excepit exploratores.

2. SECOND ITINERARY - FROM JERUSALEM TO PANIAS

- 10 (Th Item (i de Hierusalem usque in Bethsaida milia XII, (Th in qua Bethsaida uidit Iacob in somnis angelos ascendentes et descendentes de caelo. (i De Bethsaida usque in Samaria, quae (Th dicitur modo (i Neapolis, milia XVIII. (Th ibi est puteus, quem fabricauit Iacob, (s ibi sunt ossa sancti Ioseph. (i De Samaria usque in 15 (Th Sebastea milia VI, ubi dominus Iohannes decollatus est. De Sebastea usque in (i Scitopolim milia XXX: (Th ibi dominus Basilius martyrizatus est. (i De Scitopolim usque ad (Th mare (i Tyberiad. (Th is (i milia XXIII, (Th ibi dominus (+ Iesus Christus pedibus (Th ambulauit. (i De Tyberiada usque Magdale, (Th ubi domna Maria 138.1 nata est, (i milia II. De Magdale usque ad Septem Fontes, ubi dominus Christus baptizauit apostolos, milia II, (Th ubi et saturauit populum de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus. (i De Septem Fontibus usque in 5 Capharnaum milia II. De Capharnaum usque Bethsaida milia VI, (Th ubi nati sunt apostoli Petrus, Andreas,

- (137) 1. *Ciuitas Hierusalem*: for this introduction compare 140.16, 143.11, 144.7, (144.14, 16/18), 145.16, (147.17), 148.1, (148.7), 149.7f, 14f, and (N.B.) 17, and 150.1.
1. *maiores*: as at 145.18, 19, 25.
2. *posticia*: accusative for ablative after a preposition, as at 138.7, 143.4, 144.20.
2. *id est*: introduces a list at 138.19, 147.18, 148.3.
2. *habens*: *habere* is used like *esse* also at 142.2, 145.16, 19, 147.5, 148.3.
2. *porta Benjamin*: as at 146.19.
4. *usque Galgala*: The text at this point is no longer giving an itinerary, but two distances, both measured from the city of Jericho. Compare the composite passage 140.6/15, perhaps 139.12f, and further measurements from the Jericho area at 145.16f, and 146.9.
4. *ager Domini*: This phrase and line 5 look as though they may once, in Theodosius' original, have formed part of chapter 18. The form *Domini*, and the rearrangement, are probably the work of an interpolator.
4. *Domini*: the form used also at 137.5, 140.16, 141.1, 142.7, 16, 145.7, 8, 148.17, 149.1, 150.14.
5. *dominus Ihesus Christus*: a unique form: cp. 137.17, 141.7, 150.14f.
5. *unum*: used as indefinite article also at 141.3, 145.22, 148.22.
5. *manu sua*: as at 142.7; compare *pedibus suis* 137.17.
7. *Helysaei*: as at 146.6. Spelt *Helysaei* at 145.9, perhaps by the interpolator.
8. *Raab* may deserve, but is not here given, an honorific title. Other O.T. saints are mentioned without such titles at 137.10, 13, Jacob; 138.13, David; 140.4, Samuel; 140.15, Baruc; 140.17, 19, Abraham; 144.8 Ioseph; 145.17, 20f, Moses; 146.12, Loth; 147.17, Ihesu Naue. Of the N.T. saints mentioned Lazarus appears twice without title, at 140.9 and 147.11: see also Apollonius, 150.4.
9. *Bethsaida*: This should read *Bethel*.
10. *caelo*: Since this word appears elsewhere in the plural (see 140.11, 145.3) it may have been so here, in which case the original would have read *de caelis*.
12. *dicitur*: on occasion almost a synonym of *esse*; also, in various tenses, at 139.3, 145.4, 146.16, 18, (147.11), 147.21, 148.5, 149.9, 149.16; (imperf.) 144.3, 148.13; (perf.) 147.6.
12. *modo*: as at 141.20, 142.19, 143.3, 14, 144.4, 147.8. Contrast *nunc*, 139.2.
13. *fabricauit*: as at 141.20, 142.13, 145.24, 146.1, 148.10, 149.7.
13. *sancti Ioseph*: *Sanctus* is a title used for saints of all periods: thus s. Zacharias 138.16, s. Cleopas 139.3, s. Georgius 139.6, s. Petrus, s. Tabita 139.7f, s. Iona 139.9 (Gildemeister), s. David 140.2, s. Elisabeth 140.5, s. Hieronimus 140.14, 141.12, 144.10, s. Petrus 141.9, s. Stephanus 141.19, s. Iacobus 142.7, 11, s. Zacharias, s. Symeon 142.11, s. Apollonius heremita 144.10f, s. Mammes, s. Galenicus, s. Theodorus, s. Platon 144.12/19, s. Iohannes euang. 145.6 (contrast the spelling s. Iohannes bap, 145.22), s. Helias 146.5, 147.8, 10, s. Helysaeus 146.6, s. Tecla 146.17, s. Daniel 149.16, s. Lazarus 147.14, s. Timotheus 148.5, s. Moyses 148.7, s. Cosmas 150.9f, s. Sergius 150.11. Compare also the use of *sanctus* in the titles of buildings: s. Sion, 141.5; 8, 14, and s. Sophia 141.11: and of objects: s. Crux 149.22 (and contrast *crux domni* 141.4).
14. *dominus Iohannes*: only once is this title used for an O.T. saint (Hieronimus 140.6). But it is frequently used for N.T. saints and those from later times, namely: d. Basilius 137.16, d. Maria 137.18, d. Cornelius, d. Petrus 139.10, d. Philippus 139.16, d. Iohannes bap. 140.6, d. Maria, 142.6, 16, 148.17, d. Clemens 143.11f, d. Andreas, d. Mattheus 144.1f, d. Paulus 148.6. Note also d. Eudocia, uxor Theodosii, 141.20.
16. *martyrizatus est*: as at 139.6, 17, 143.12.
17. *dominus*: note that ms. H here gives *dominus Ihesus Christus*, as at 137.5.
17. *milia XXIII*: This is the distance between the cities of Scythopolis and Tiberias, which shows that an editor has inserted *mare* into a pre-existent itinerary.
18. *nata est*: as at 138.5, 140.7.
(138) 1. *dominus Christus*: as at 138.10, 140.9, 141.13, 142.4.
3. *de*: instrumental as at 142.9, 145.17.

Philippus, et filii Zebedaei. De Bethsaida (i usque in Paniada milia L; (Th inde exit Iordanis de duo loca Ior et Dan. Ipsa Paniada in medio mittent et subius ciuitate coniungunt ad pare et ab inde accepit nomen
10 Iordanis; (i inde fuit mulier, quam Dominus Christus liberauit de fluxu sanguinis, (Th nomen ipsius mulieris Mariosa; ibi est statua Domni electrina, quam ipsa Mariosa fecit. Ibi habet capud mons Libanus.

3. THIRD ITINERARY - FROM JERUSALEM TO BETHULIA

- (Th De porta Purgu usque ubi pugnauit Dauid cum Golia in monte Buzana, quod interpretatur lucerna, milia 15 XV. De Buzana (i usque Eleuteropoli milia XV. De Eleuteropoli usque (Th in loco ubi requiescit (s Sanctus Zacharias, milia VI, (Th et de ipso loco usque (i ad Ascalona milia XX. De Ascalona usque ad Gaza milia XII. (Th Inter Ascalonam et Gazam ciuitates duas, id est, Antedona et Maioma. (i De Gaza usque ad Rafia milia 20 XXIII. De Rafia usque ad Betuliam, (Th? ubi Olofeinis mortuus est, (i milia XII.

4. FOURTH ITINERARY - JERUSALEM TO SYCE TABURI

- 139.1 (i De Hierusalem usque (Th in Silona, ubi fuit arca testamenti Domni, milia VIII. De Silona usque (s Emmau, (Th quae nunc (i Nicopolis (Th dicitur, (i milia (Th VIII, in qua Emmau (s sanctus Cleopas cognouit Dominum 5 in confectione panis; ibi et martyrium pertulit. (Th De Emmau usque (i in Diospolim milia XII, (s ubi sanctus Georgius (Th martyrizatus est; ibi et (s corpus eius est et multa mirabilia fiunt. (i De Diospoli in Ioppen milia XII, (s ubi sanctus Petrus resuscitauit sanctam Tabitam; ibi et cetus iactauit sanctum Ionam. (i De Ioppe ad 10 Caesaream Palacastinae milia XXX; (Th ibi baptizatus est dominus Cornelius a domno Petro et martyrizatus est. (i De Caesarea usque in Diocaesarea milia XXX; inde fuit Symon magus. De Diocaesarea usque in Canan Galitiae milia V. De Diocaesarea usque in Nazareth milia V. De Nazareth in Syce Taburi milia VII; (Th ibi 15 Dominus post resurrectionem apostolis apparuit.

5. FIFTH ITINERARY - FROM JERUSALEM TO HEBRON

- (i De Hierusalem (Th usque ubi baptizauit dominus Philippus eunuchum milia XVI. Inde (i usque Terebintum, 140.1 (Th quod appellatur ilex Mambre, milia II. (i De Terebinto (Th usque ad Speluncam Duplicem, ubi requiescunt patriarchae, milia III. De Spelunca Duplice (i usque in Cebron milia II, (s ubi habitauit sanctus Dauid septem annis, quando fugiebat ante Saul.
7. Since *loca* can hardly be the subject of *coniungunt* in the next line, we should suppose that the original subject was the streams Ior and Dan.
8. *mittent*: for other uses of *-ent* as a present indicative ending see 143.1, 3.
8. *subius* here as a preposition: at 143.4 it is used as an adverb.
11. *Domni*: a frequent way of referring to the Lord, as at (137.17), 139.4, 14, 140.11, 141.2, 4, 6, 14, 142.8, 15, 18, 143.1, 18, 145.3, 5, 10, 13, 22, 146.3, 8, 14, 18, 147.1, 11, 149.3, 22.
12. *capud*: as at 149.11.
13. *porta Purgu*: Though this style of beginning recalls the presentation which began at 137.2, it is the last echo of it. No doubt the compiler had a list of gates before him which he soon forgot. At least it does not seem that he had any personal knowledge of the gates, or he would surely have completed the list.
14. *Mons Buzana*: this otherwise unknown name is not necessarily to be taken as having been a traditional site for David's battle, since lines 15/19 clearly belong to a conflated passage.
14. *interpretatur*: as at 145.4.
16. *requiescit*: as at 140.1, 4, 8.
16. *milia VI*: The Peutinger Map wrongly tells us that the distance from Eleutheropolis to Ascalon was XVI miles. Clearly the Map should have given XXVI, which is indeed the sum of VI here and XX in the next line.
17. *Ascalona, Gaza*: notice the same names differently inflected in the next line, a phenomenon pointing clearly to compilation.
20. *Bethuliam*: a village on the main road to Egypt, so it may have been mentioned in a civil itinerary.
(139) 4. *martyrium pertulit*: In its present form this phrase seems to mean "underwent martyrdom", but, originating as it does in a source which mentions several buildings, it may have meant something to do with a building (*martyrium*) at Emmaus which housed Cleopas' relics.
7. *mirabilia*: as at 143.18.
9. *sanctum Ionam*: Gildemeister's emendation of *se uicto Ionam*.
12. *Symon*: came from Gitta, according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* 21.1 - 238. But since Rabbi Shim'on, son of R. Judah came from Diocaesarea, he may have been the person to whom reference was made here in the first place.
(140) 17. *appellatur*: as at 146.4.
1. *De Spelunca Duplice*: But the "Double Cave" is in Hebron. Two itineraries have evidently been conflated by some one unfamiliar with the road.
2. *habitauit*: as at 140.5.

6. DISTANCES TO HOLY PLACES NEAR JERUSALEM

- 5 (Th De Hierusalem in Ramatha, ubi *requiescit Samuël*, milia V. (s De Hierusalem usque ubi habitauit *sancta* Elisabeth (Th mater *domni* Iohannis baptistae (s milia V. (Th De Hierusalem usque Anato, ubi *natus est domnus* Hieremias propheta, ubi et *requiescit*, milia VI. (r De Hierusalem usque Bethania milia II, ubi resuscitauit *domnus Christus* Lazarum. (Th De Hierusalem usque in montem Oliueti, quod scribitur "stadia septem", miliario uno; inde *Domnus* ascendit in caelos; ibi sunt *fabricatas* ũ numero XXIII ecclesias. (s De monte Oliueti usque in uico Hermippo, ubi dormiuit Abdimelech sub arbore ficus annis XLVI, miliario uno, (Th qui-
15 Abdimelech (s discipulus fuit *sancti* Hieremias; (Th ibi fuit Baruc propheta.

7(a). CALVARY

- (Th In ciuitate Hierusalem (+ ad sepulcrum *Domini* (Th ibi est ũ Caluariae locus; (Th ibi *Abraham* obtulit filium suum holocaustum, et quia ũ mons petreus est, (Th in ipso monte, *hoc est* ad pedem montis-ipsius, fecit *Abraham* altario; super altare eminet mons, ũ ad quem (Th montem ũ per gradus scalatur; (+ ibi *Domnus*
141.1 crucifixus est.
2

7(b). THE BEGINNING OF THE JERUSALEM CIRCUIT

- 2 ũ De Sepulcro Domni usque ad Caluariae locum sunt passus numero XV; (Th sub uno tecto est.
ũ De Caluariae locum usque in Golgotha passus numero XV, (Th ubi crux *Domni* inuenta est. ũ De Golgotha
5 usque in sancta Sion passi numero CC, (Th quae est mater omnium ecclesiarum; quam Sion *Domnus* (+ noster Christus (Th cum apostolis fundauit. *Ipsa* (s fuit domus *sancti* Marci euangelistae. ũ De sancta Sion ad domum Caiphae, (Th quae est *modo* (s ecclesia *sancti* Petri, (Th sunt ũ plus minus passi numero L. De domo Caiphae
10 ad praetorium Pilati plus minus passi numero C; (s ibi est ecclesia *sanctae* Sophiae; (Th iuxta (s se missus est *sanctus* Hieremias in lacum. (r Columna, (Th quae fuit (r in domo Caiphae, ad quam *domnus Christus* flagellatus est, (Th *modo* in sancta Sion iussu *Domni ipsa* columna secuta est, et quomodo eam, dum
15 flagellaretur, amplexauit, sicut in cera ũ sic brachia eius, manus uel digiti in eam haeserunt (Th et hodie patet, (r sed et facies omnis, mentus, nasus uel oculi eius sicut in caera designauit.

8(a). SAINT STEPHEN

- 20 (s *Sanctus* Stephanus foras *porta Galilaeae* lapidatus est; ibi et ecclesia eius est, (Th quam *fabricauit* *domna*
142.1 Eudocia uxor Theodosii imperatoris.

8(b). THE REST OF THE JERUSALEM CIRCUIT

- 1 (Th Piscina Siloe a lacu, ubi missus est Hieremias propheta, *habet* passus numero C, quae-piscina intra murum est. ũ De domo Pilati usque ad piscinam probaticam passus plus minus numero C. (r Ibi *domnus*
5 *Christus* paralyticum curauit, cuius lectus adhuc ibi est. (Th iuxta piscinam probaticam ibi est ecclesia *dominae* Mariae.

- (140) 7. *domnus*: This is the only time this title is applied to an O.T. figure.
9. *Lazarum*: who is (apart from "Apollonius", 150.4) the only N.T. figure to be mentioned without title, here and at 147.11.
11. *fabricatas*: accusative for nominative, as at 143.9, 17, 145.20, 147.15, 149.22.
12. *numero*: as at 141.3/142.4, and 144.15.
16. *sepulcrum*: as at 141.2: contrast sepulchrum, 149.1, 3, 6, 20.
18. *hoc est*: as at 144.9, 147.1.
19. *altario*: ablative for accusative, as at 149.10.
(141) 1. *gradus*: treated as second declension, like *iussu*, 141.14.
10. *praetorium*: This is not harmonised with *domo* Pilati, 142.3.
12. *lacum*: for *λίανος*. Note the repetition, perhaps from another source, at 142.1.
15. *cera*: as at 146.16: contrast caera 141.18. The alternative spelling as well as the prolixity of this passage suggest that it is composite.
16. *uel*: only here and in the next line.
19. *porta Galilaeae*: is the same gate which in 148.21 is called *porta s. Stephani*.
20. *domna*: here used in a secular context: contrast the lack of such a title for Helena at 149.20.
(142) 3. *intra*: preposition: compare *intus* (adverb) at 143.5.
3. *murum*: the city wall, which may have been extended to this point by Eudocia.
5. *curauit*: as at 145.21.

9. SAINT JAMES

- (s *Sanctus* Iacobus, (+ quem *Dominus manu sua* episcopum ordinauit, (s post ascensum *Domni* de pinna templi praecipitatus est, (Th et nihil ei nocuit, sed fullo cum *de* vecte, in quo res portare consueuerat, occidit et (s
10 positus est in monte Oliueti. (Th *Ipsa* (s *sanctus* Iacobus et *sanctus* Zacharias et *sanctus* Symeon in una memoria positi sunt, (Th quam memoriam *ipse* (s *sanctus* Iacobus (Th *fabricauit*, (s corpora eorum *ipse* ibi recondidit et se ibi cum eis praecipit poni.

10. GETHSEMANE

- 15 (Th Ibi est uallis Iosaphat; ibi *Domnum* Iudas tradidit. Ibi est ecclesia *dominae* Mariae (+ matris *Domini*; ibi et *Dominus* lauit pedes discipulorum, ibi et cenauit; (Th ibi sunt quattuor accubita, ubi *Domnus* cum apostolis
20 *ipse* medius accubuit, quae accubita *ternos* homines recipiunt. *Modo* aliquanti pro religiositate ibi cum
143.1 uenerint, excepto carnis ibi cibaria sua comedere delectantur et accendent luminaria, ubi *ipse Domnus* apostolis pedes lauit, quia *ipse* locus in spelunca est, et descendit ibi *modo* CC monachi.

11. THE ENCLOSED CONVENT

- 5 (Th A pinna templi *subtus* monasterium est de castas, et quando aliqua earum *de saeculo transierit*, ibi intus in monasterio ipso deponitur, et a quo illuc intrauerint, usque dum uiuunt, inde non exeunt. Quando aliqua
10 *nam* semper clausae sunt, et uictualia eis per muros deponuntur, *nam* aquam ibi in cisternas habent.

12. CERSONA AND SAINT CLEMENT

- (Th Ciuitas Cersona, quae est ad mare Pontum; ibi *domnus* Clemens *martyrizatus* est in mari. Memoriam eius cum corpus missus est. Cui domno Clementi anchora ad collum ligata est, et *modo* (s in *natale* eius omnes in
15 barcas ascendunt populus et sacerdotes, et (Th dum ibi uenerint, maris desiccet milia VI, et ubi *ipsa* arca est (s tenduntur super se papilionem et ponitur altaris et per octo dies ibi missae celebrantur, et multa *mirabilia* ibi *Domnus* facit. Ibi daemones excluduntur. (Th Si quis uero de uexaticis ad *ipsam* anchoram adtingere
20 potuerit et eam tetigerit, statim *liberatur*.

13. SINOPE

- 144.1 (Th De Cersona usque in Sinope, ubi *domnus* Andreas liberauit *domnum* Matthaeum euangelistam de carcere. Quae Sinope illo tempore Myrmidona dicebatur, et omnes qui ibi *manebant* homines pares suos comedebant;
5 *nam modo* tanta misericordia ibi est, ut ad stratos sedeant per peregrinos suscipiendos. Inde iam Armenia est.

14. MEMPHIS

- (Th In Aegypto ciuitas Memphis, ubi Pharaon *manebat*, ubi et Ioseph in carcere missus fuerat; (s ibi sunt monasteria duo: (Th unum est religionis Wandalorum et aliud Romanorum, *hoc est* (s Wandalorum *sancti* Hieremiae, Romanorum *sancti* Apolloni heremitae

10. *consueuerat*: pluperfect auxiliary as at 144.8.
10. *positus est*: for burial only here and in line 12. Compare *deponuntur* 143.10.
12. *memoria*: as at 143.12, 146.6.
16. *Domnus - discipulorum*: contrast the regular combination of *Domnus - apostoli* at 139.14, 141.6, 142.18, 143.1.
19. *ternos*: distributive correctly used, as *senos* at 146.2.
20. *uenerint*: perfect subjunctive, as at 143.5, 6, 8, 15, 19, 20, 145.12, 148.11, 150.3.
(143) 5. *de saeculo transire*: as at 145.20.
8. *tantummodo*: as at 147.11.
9. *nam*: as at 143.10, 144.4, 147.10.
12. *in mari*. *Memoriam*: We have changed the punctuation, assuming that the compiler would have tolerated the irregularities of the resulting second sentence. Compare for instance 145.181, where *ipsa* almost certainly goes with *Leuitada*.
16. *arca*: surely a mistake for *anchora*.
19. *uero*: as at 148.19, 149.3.
(144) 4. *manebant*: as at 144.7, 147.18, 150.15.
6. *suscipiendos*: gerundive forms also at 147.3, 149.9.

15. MARTYRS OF ASIA MINOR

- (^s? Cacsarea Cappadociae, ibi est sanctus Mammes heremita et *martyr*, qui mulsit agrestia et fecit caseum, et sanctus Mercurius *martyr*. (Th in *ipsa* prouincia est. (^s? Ciuitas Sebastea, ubi sunt numero XL *martyres*, quae est in prouincia Cappadociae. Ciuitas Gangra, ibi est *sanctus martyr* Galenicus, quae est in prouincia Galatiae. Ciuitas Euchaita, ubi est *sanctus martyr* Theodorus, quae est in prouincia Galatiae. Ciuitas Anquira, quae est in prouincia Galatiae, ubi est *sanctus* Platon *martyr*.

16. THE RIVERS OF PARADISE

- (Th De montes Armeniae exeunt flumina duo, Tygris et Eufrates, et inrigat Tygris terras Assyriorum, et Eufrata inrigat terras Mesopotamiae, Phison *autem* inrigat omnem terram Aethiopiae et perexit ad Aegyptum, Geon inrigat terram Euilath et transit iuxta Hierusalem.

17. THE MOUNT OF OLIVES - THE MATZI

- (Th De monte Oliueti ascendit *Domnus* in caelis et ibi prope est spelunca, quae *dicitur* Matzi, quod *interpretatur* discipulorum, ubi *Domnus*, quando praedicabat in Hierusalem, requiescebat. (⁺ Ibi sanctus Ioannes euangelista super pectus *Domini* recumbat.

18. THE LORD'S FIELD

- (⁺ Ager *Domini*, (Th qui est in Galgala, inrigatur de fonte Helisaei, ferit plus minus modios sex, aratur mense Augusto medius *ipse* ager et occurrit ad pascham, et (^s in *cena Domini* et *pascha* communicatur, (Th et alia medietas, cum *illud* sectum fuerit, aratur, et cum alia messe occurrit; ibi est et uitis, quam *Domnus* posuit, quae- (^s uitis in *Pentecosten* fructum dat et inde communicatur Constantinopolim (Th et exinde tam de agro quam de uite transmittitur suo quoque tempore.

19. LIVIAS

- (Th Ciuitas Leuiada trans Iordanem *habens* de Hiericho milia XII; in *ipsa*-Leuiada *Moyses* lapidem de uirga percussit et fluxerunt aquae; inde *maior* aqua exiit, quae *ipsa*-Leuiada omnem inrigat; ibi habet dactalum Nicolaum *maiores*, ibi et *Moyses* de saeculo *transiit*, et ibi aquas calidas sunt, ubi *Moyses* lauit, et in *ipsas* aquas-calidas leprosi curantur.

20. THE PLACE OF BAPTISM AND THE DEAD SEA

- (Th In loco ubi *Domnus* baptizatus est, ibi est *una* columna marmorea, et in *ipsa* columna facta est crux ferrea, (^s ibi est et ecclesia *sancti* Iohannis baptistae, (Th quam *fabricauit* Anastasius imperator, quae-ecclesia super cameras *maiores* excelsa *fabricata* est pro Iordane, quando implet; in qua-ecclesia monachi morantur, qui-monachi *senos* solidos per annum de fisco accipiunt pro uita sua transigenda. (^s Ubi *Domnus* baptizatus est trans Iordanem, ibi est "mons modicus", (Th qui *appellatur* (^s Armona: (⁺ mons Tabor in Galilaea est: (^s ibi *sanctus* Helias raptus est. Memoria *sancti* Helysaei, (Th ubi fontem *illum* *benedixit*, (^s ibi est, (Th et super *ipsa* memoria ecclesia *fabricata* est. Ab unde *Domnus* baptizatus est, usque ubi Iordanis in mare mortuo intrat, sunt milia V, et *ipse* est maris mortuus, ubi Sodoma et Gomorra dimersae sunt cum aliis tribus, quae quinque ciuitates fuerunt iuxta mare mortuum. Ibi est uxor Loth, quae facta est statua salis, et quomodo crescit luna, crescit et ipsa, et quomodo minuitur luna, diminit et ipsa.

- (144) 21. *Eufrates/Eufrata*: the different forms here, and the use of *terram* (lines 145.1/2) instead of *terras* (144.21/2) suggest that a geographical statement has been conflated with a rather vaguely-remembered comment on Gen. 2.13f.
 22. *autem*: as 148.12, *sin autem*.
 (145) 6. *Ioannes*: everywhere else spelt *Iohannes*.
 9. *Helisaei*: everywhere else spelt *Helysaei*.
 11. *illum*: compare other uses of *ille* at (144.3), 146.5, 147.8, 148.9.
 12. *aratur*: A ploughing after the first harvest is also implied by the Piacenza pilgrim, p. 82 above.
 24. Anastasius: also mentioned at 149.4 and 7.
 (146) 3. *fisco*: note also *fiscalia* at 150.3.
 6. *benedixit*: as at 148.18.
 9. *sunt*: like *habens* (137.2, etc.) seems to be an editorial insertion.

21. THE MOUNT OF OLIVES - THE ANCONA AND BETHPHAGE

- 15 (Th In montem Oliueti *Domnus* super lapidem humeros inposuit, in qua petra ambo humeri eius descenderunt, sicut in cera molle, qui locus Ancona *dicitur*, ibi et ecclesia *fabricata* est, (^s ubi prope est ecclesia, ubi *sancta* Tecla est, (Th et ipse locus *dicitur* Bethphage. Inde pullus asinae, quem *Domnus* sedit, adductus est, cum quo intrauit de porta *Bentamin* in Hierusalem.

22. THE 'LITTLE HILLS' OF THE JORDAN

- 20 (Th Vbi legitur: "Maris, quare conturbatus es, et tu, Iordanis, quare conuersus es in retrorsum, et uos montes, 147.1 quare gestitis sicut arietes, et uos, colles, sicut agni ouium?" ubi circa Iordanem est, *hoc est*, monticuli sunt multi, et quando *Domnus* ad baptismum descendit, *ipsi* montes ante *ipsum* ambulabant *gestiendo*, et hodie uelut saltantes uidentur.

23(a).ZAREPHATH

- 5 (Th "Saraptha Sidoniae", quod scriptum est, in *ipsa* Fenice, secunda Syria, iuxta montem Carmelum. XII milia habet de Saraptha usque in Sidona et propter hoc dicta est "Saraptha Sidoniae", quia *ipso* tempore metropolis erat Sidona a Saraptha, et *modo* Saraptha est metropolis, (^s Vbi *sanctus* Helias missus est ad uiduam 10 (Th illam quae cum pasceret, (^s et filium eius suscitauit, ibi ecclesia *sancti* Heliae est, (Th nam nomen 11 mulieris non *dicitur* nisi *tantummodo* uidua.

23(b).LAZARUS' DEATH AND FEAST-DAY

- 11 (Th Lazarum, quem *Domnus* resuscitauit, scitur quia resuscitatus est, secundam mortem eius nemo cognouit. Hoc in Bethania contigit secundo miliario de Hierusalem et (^s in 15 resuscitatione *sancti* Lazari (Th in *ipso* loco (^s ante *pascua dominico* omnis populus congregat et missas celebrantur.

24. CITIES OF ARABIA

- (Th In Arabia sunt ciuitates quas *Hiesu Naue* destruxit, ubi *manebant* Amorrei, Gergesaei et Ferezei, tredecim, id est Iuncta, Volumata, Medeua, Musica, Philadelphia, Gerassa, Genara, Vostra, Damasco, Gadara, Auila, 20 Capitulia, Astra.

25. THE PROVINCES FROM PALESTINE TO ARMENIA

- (Th Vbi est Hierusalem, prouincia Palaestina *dicitur*, terra Chana, inde Galilaea, inde Syria, inde Mesopotamia. In sinistra Armenia prima et secunda-Armenia et Persa Armenia, quae-Armeniae sub imperatore sunt.

26. EPHESUS

- 148.1 (Th In prouincia Asia ciuitas Epheso, ubi sunt septem fratres dormientes et catulus Viricanus ad pedes eorum; nomina eorum id est, Achellidis, Diomedis, Eugenius, Stephanus, Probatas, Sabbatius et Quiriacus; quorum 5 mater Caritina *dicitur* graece, latine Felicitas. (^s Ibi est sanctus Timotheus, (Th discipulus *domni* Pauli.

27. FARAN AND THE SIXTH ITINERARY

- (^s Iuxta montem Syna in Fara ciuitate, ibi *sanctus* Moyses cum Amalech pugnavit. (⁺ De Hierusalem in Elusath mansiones III, de Elusath in Aila mansiones VII, (Th quam *ille* Alexander Magnus Macedo *fabricauit*. 10 (⁺ De Aila usque in monte Syna mansiones VIII, (Th si comperiendaria uolueris ambulare (⁺ per heremum, (Th *sin autem* (⁺ per Aegyptum mansiones XXV.
 (147) 14. *lapidem/petra*: the same transition of words as at 148.18.
 4. *Fenice*: after Gildemeister.
 12. *quia*: meaning "that" as at 148.23.
 20. *Astra*: is perhaps the same as Saldra, *Ex. Tr.* 12.8.
 22. *Chana* (= Canaan) and *Galilaea* are biblical names inserted into a secular list.
 (148) 4. *Caritina*: for Caterina?
 6. *Pauli*: contrast *Apolloni* 144.10, 150.4.

28. URBICIUS

- (Th Vrbicius dicebatur praepositus imperii, qui ad septem imperatores praepositus fuit et coronas *ipsis* imperatoribus in capite ponebat et *ipse* eas de eorum capite deponebat et *ipse* eos castigabat. Est locus tertio miliario de Hierusalem ciuitate. Dum *domna* Maria (+ mater *Domini*) (Th ier in Bethleem, descendit de asina et sedit super petram et *benedixit* eam. *Ipse* uero praepositus Vrbicius *ipsum* lapidem incidit et fecit eum quadrum in modum altaris uolens eum Constantinopolim dirigere, et dum ad *portam sancti Stephani* ueniret, iam amplius eum mouere non potuit; quem lapidem *unus* iugus bouum ducebat, et dum uiderent *quia nullatenus* potuerunt eum in antea mouere, (+ reuocatus est ad sepulchrum *Domini* et ibi (Th altaris de *ipsa* petra factus est et de *ipso* altare communicatur. Tamen post sepulchrum Domini est. Ipse uero Vrbicius praepositus sub Anastasio imperatore Constantinopolim moritur et + obierunt. Quem Vrbicius terra non recepit, tertio eum sepulchrum foris iactauit.

29. DARA

- (Th *Fabricauit* Anastasius in Mesopotamia prouincia ciuitatem, quae ciuitas Dara *dicitur*, tenet in longitudinem milia III propter Persos, quando in prouincia imperatoris ad praedandum ueniebant, ubi fossato figebant, quia aquae *nullatenus* inueniuntur nisi ibi; in qua ciuitate fluuius exit et ad *capud* ciuitatis mergit sub terra, quia *ipse* fluuius omnis muro cinctus est.

30. PERSA ARMENIA AND PERSIS

- (Th Ciuitas Melitene in Persa Armenia est, ipsa est metropolis. Alia ciuitas Arauisso, alia Cocusso, alia Germanicia. In Persida (S? ubi iacet corpus *sancti* Danihelis, (Th Susa *dicitur*, XXX milia de Babylonia; (S? ibi sunt et tres pueri; (Th in qua ciuitate habitatio hominum non est propter serpentes et ippocentauros. Hoc Eudoxius diaconus dixit, qui de *ipsa* prouincia est.

31. THE FEAST OF THE CROSS

- (S Inuentio *sanctae* crucis, quando inuenta est ab Helena matre Constantini XVII. Kal. octobris, et per septem dies in Hierusalem ibi ad sepulchrum *Domni* missas celebrantur et (Th ipsa (S crux ostenditur.

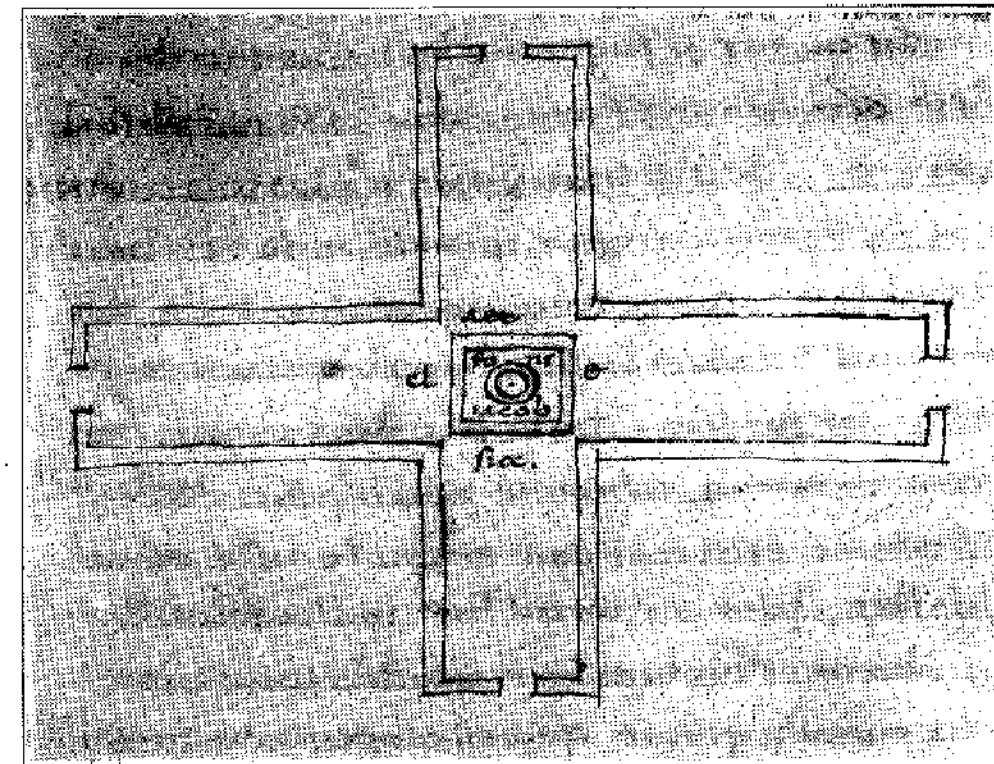
32(a). AEGEA AND TARSUS

- (Th In prouincia Cilicia Aegea *dicitur* ciuitas, ubi XL dies commercia geruntur et nemo de eis aliquid requirit; si post XL dies inuentus fuerit negotium gerere, fiscalia reddit. In prouincia Cilicia ciuitas Tharso, inde Apollonius fuit.

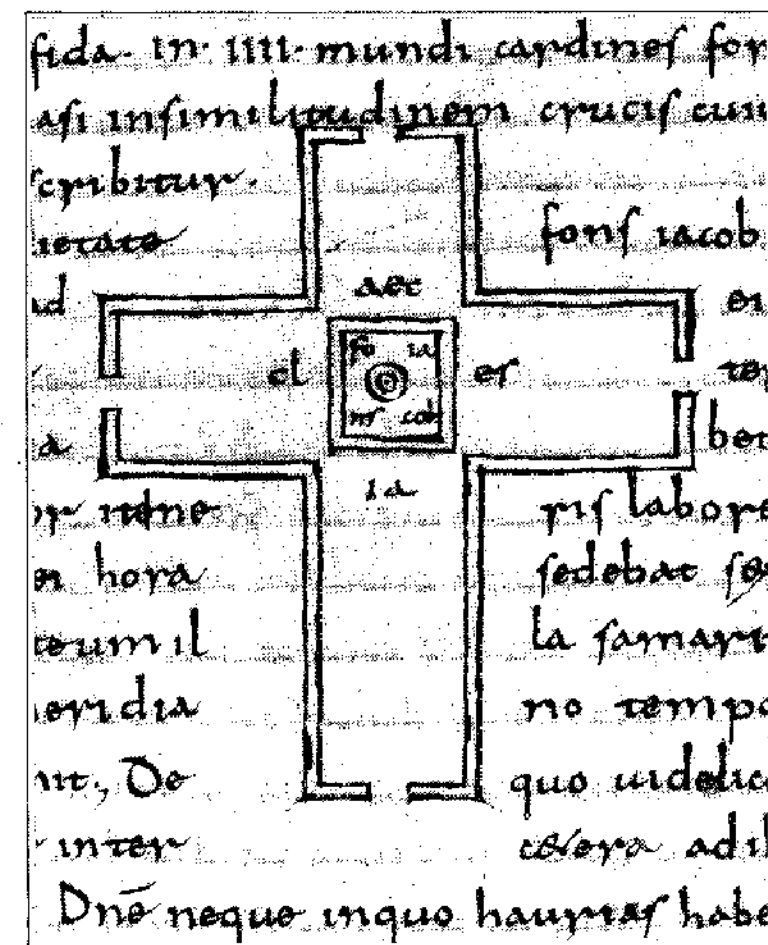
32(b) SEVENTH ITINERARY - FROM TARSUS TO RAMUSA

- (i De Tharso usque Adana ciuitate milia XXX. De Adana usque ad Masista XXX milia. De Masista usque ad Anasta . . . usque Aegeas LX milia. De Aegeas usque ad Alexandria Scabiosa LX milia. Ab Alexandria Scabiosa usque Antiochia LX milia. De Antiochia usque in Quiro, (S? ubi sunt *sanctus* Cosmas et Damianus, qui ibi et percussi sunt, (i milia LX. De Quiro usque Barbarisso, (S? ubi sunt percussi *sanctus* Sergius et Bacco, (i milia LX. De Barbarisso usque ad Eneapoli . . . in Calonico milia LXXX. De Calonico usque in Constantina milia LX. De Constantina in Edessa LXXX milia, (Th ubi Abgarus rex, (+ qui *domino* Christo scripsit, (Th manebat, (i De Edessa usque in Dara CXX milia. De Dara in Amida LXXX milia, quae est ad fines Persarum. De Amida usque Ramusa milia XVIII.

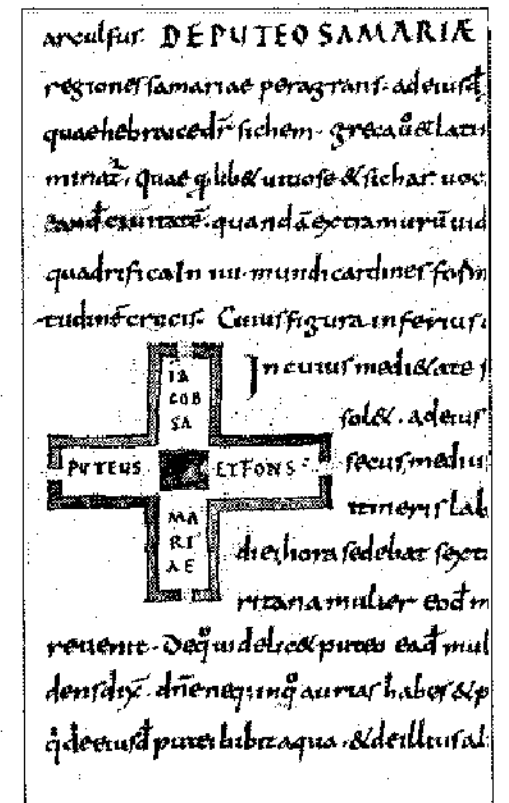
- (149) 21. *portam s. Stephani*: contrast *porta Galitaeae* 141.19.
9. *Persos*: contrast *Persarum* 150.17.
20. *sanctae crucis*: contrast *crux Domni* 141.4



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APPENDIX 4

ARCULF'S PLANS OF THE HOLY PLACES

Adomnan tells us¹ that he made four church plans, which were copies of the diagrams Arculf made for him on wax tablets. The plans have survived in several forms, but have been presented together for comparison only by A. Heisenberg, who treats them briefly.² Most manuscripts of Adomnan's work³ do not contain the plans, but there are still a number from which to choose, and versions of the plans appear also in several manuscripts of Bede's work *de locis sanctis*, much of which derives from the work of Adomnan. The main manuscripts containing the plans are these:

(of Adomnan) aY	(9th c.):	Vindobonensis 458, which in matters of text often stands by itself against the two mss. next mentioned, aP and aZ.
aP	(9th c.):	Parisinus Bibl. nat. lat. 13048, whose text usually agrees with aZ where it varies from aY.
aZ	(9th c.):	Zürich, Rheinau 73.
aK	(9th c.):	Karlsruhe, Aug. 129, a fragment which contains one of the plans.
(of Bede) ⁴ bL	(9th c.):	Laon 216.
bM	(9th c.):	Munich, Monac. 6389.
bP	(10th c.):	Parisinus 2321.
bV	(11th c.):	Vindobonensis 580.
bN	(11th c.):	Namurcensis, Séminaire 37.

All the plans are oriented so that north is at the top, and were ordinarily prepared in such a way that they could be coloured: thus walls were usually shown by double lines so that colour could be applied between. In some cases where colour was not in fact applied the double lines have later been misinterpreted.⁵ We first study the simplest of the four plans and leave till last the one of the buildings near the Holy Sepulchre which is the most complex as well as the most interesting.

The Church at Jacob's Well (Plate 1)

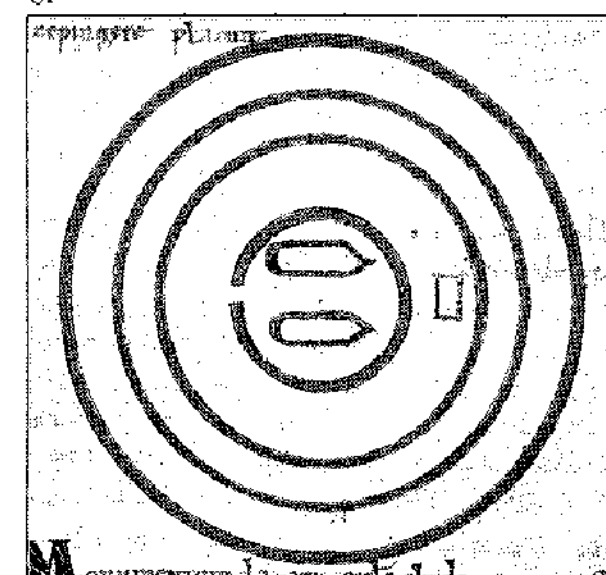
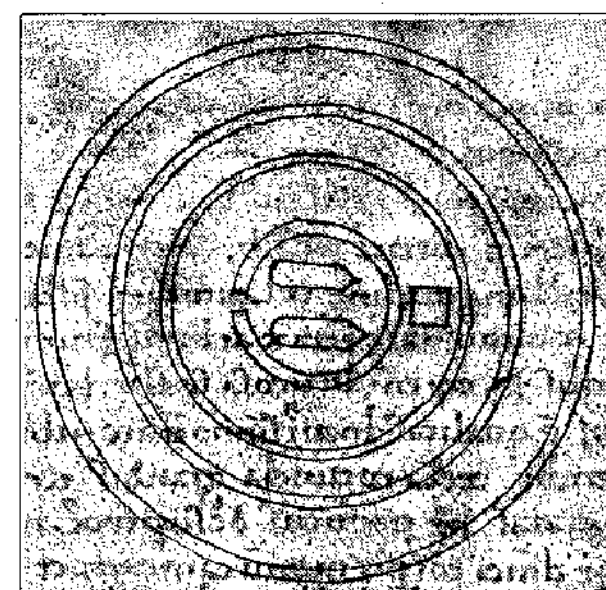
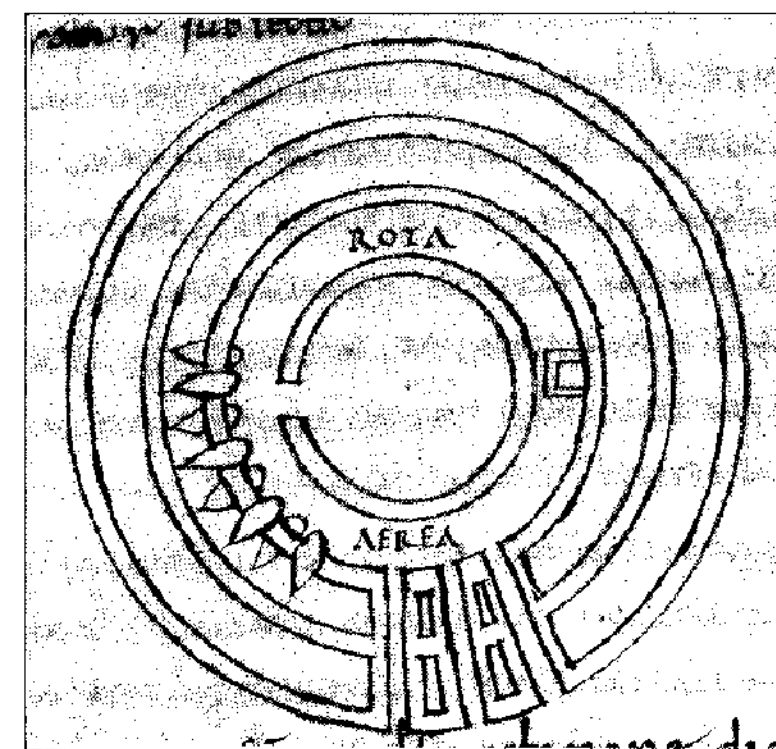
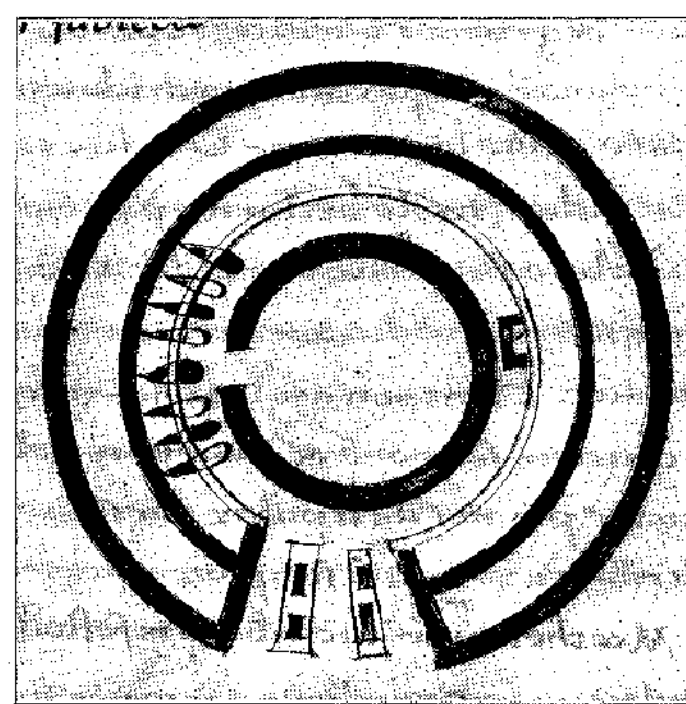
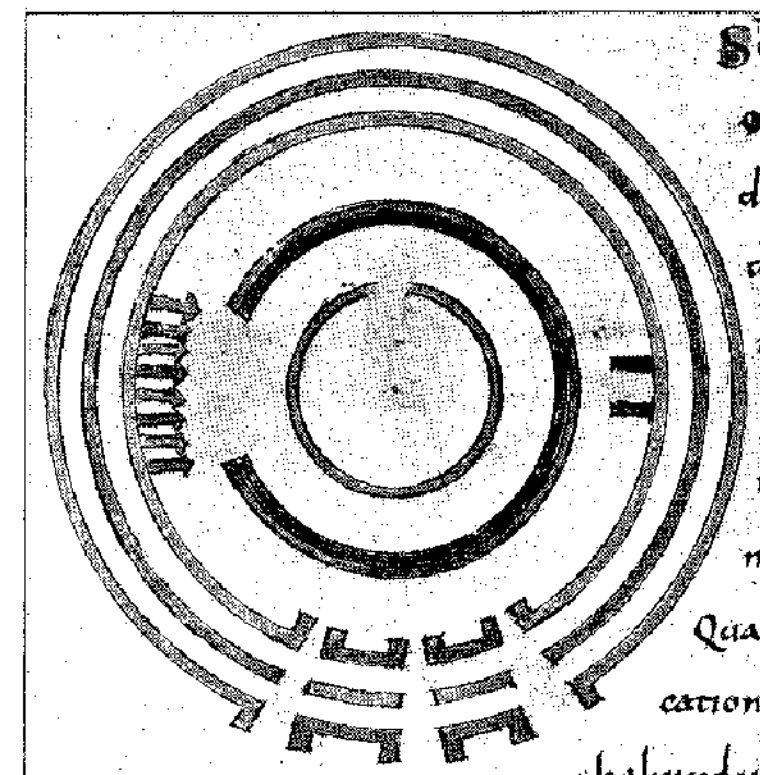
Adomnan speaks of this church in a chapter called "*de puteo Samariae*". He tells us that it spreads out in four towards the cardinal points of the world, in the shape of a cross, and contains in the centre Jacob's Well, where Jesus conversed with the Samaritan woman.⁶ Three manuscripts of Adomnan reproduce its plan, but it has not survived in any of the manuscripts of Bede, and the text does not lead us to suppose that it was included, since this passage lacks the introductory wording which Bede uses to lead up to the other three pictures.⁷

In aZ and aP the plan is reproduced on a large scale, occupying a space equivalent in height to eleven lines of writing. The space provided for the legend *aeclesia* is not all needed, though the words *fo-ns ia-cob* in the centre are crowded in the frame which surrounds the circular well-head. Manuscript aY reduces the scale so that the plan occupied only the vertical equivalent of six lines of writing, which means that there is no room for any writing in the frame round the well-head, and it appears that the well-head itself has been omitted. It could be for this reason that the legend was altered, and reads PUTEUS ET FONS IACOB SAMARIAE, but here, as often in matters of text, manuscript aY stands by itself against aP and aZ.

There is no complication in the rendering of the cross-shape, with its doors at the end of each transept. Manuscript aY has had the double lines filled in with colour, while the other two have been left black and white.

The legends are simply words taken from the text of Adomnan and attached to the appropriate features.

1. I.2.14/15 - V230.
2. A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig 1908, pp. 175/7. and Platos X and XI.
3. Including, as we are courteously informed by their curators, Brussels, Bibl. roy. 3921/2 and Laon 92.
4. Similarly mss. Brugensis 77 and Ambrosianus M. 79 sup. contain no plans. Note that ms. bN is known to the present writer only through the drawings reproduced in CSL 175, pp. 256, 258, and 263.
5. The extra circles in the Ascension and Anastasis plans on ms. aY may well have come into being in this way.
6. *Loc. S.* II.21.2/3 - V270, compare Bede *Loc. S.* 14 - V319.
7. See Bede, *Loc. S.* 2.2 - V305, 2.5 - V306 and 6.2 - V311.



aZ

aP

bP

The Ascension (Plate 2)

Adomnan informs us that at the place of the Ascension there is a "great round church", open to the sky in the middle, where a circular bronze railing (*aerea rota*), with its entry on the west, has been set up round a patch of dust which displays the Lord's footprints. This church comprises three roofed circular porticoes, and on the western side has eight windows containing lamps which shine out over Jerusalem.⁸

The plans of aP and aZ are virtually identical with each other, except that aZ is not coloured. They show the three porticoes as three circles, pierced on the south by three openings which seem to be doorways—a detail not mentioned in the text. On the west are eight conventional signs which, as we shall see, represent the lamps, and on the east, against the innermost of the three circles, is a rectangle evidently representing an altar which, the text tells us, is sheltered by a narrow covering.⁹ Inside this "church" is a circle with an opening to the west which is identified by aZ as the *rota aerea*. This circle is shown with a very thick line by aP; but it is shown with a double circle in two colours by aY, which, once more independent of the other two, shows an extra circle inside it: aY is useful in showing that the eight conventional signs represent lamps, since, as we shall see below, it uses the same sign for the lamps round the shelf of the Holy Sepulchre.

The plans in Bede's manuscripts bP and bV are the same as each other except that bV has been coloured. They show the three outer circles (without the entry-doors or lamps), the altar (standing slightly away from the innermost circle), and the bronze rail with two shapes inside which must surely represent Christ's footprints. Here we have an example of pictorial representation being used with legends, or sometimes in preference to them, which appears also in the picture of the Lord's Chalice in manuscript aV.¹⁰

Here it seems evident that the original plan by Bede was not identical with that which formed the archetype of aY on the one hand, and aP and aZ on the other. But it may well be that Bede received a copy of Adomnan's work in which some of the plans had already begun to develop characteristics not present in Arculf's original.

A characteristic of the plans here becomes clear, namely that they seem to delineate buildings by foundation-lines. Thus no distinction is made in the plan we have studied between solid walls and open porticoes. We may also notice that while the manuscripts of Adomnan have an emphatic way of showing doors through these walls or porticoes, no such emphasis can have been made in the manuscripts of Bede. Indeed Plate 4 (bV) shows that such indication as there was was unemphatic. The doors of the Anastasis rotunda are there shown simply as black squares breaking a coloured line. Thus we may suppose that the entry doors were originally marked this way in the plans of the Ascension in Bede's manuscripts, but were ignored by copyists.

The Great Basilica on Mount Sion

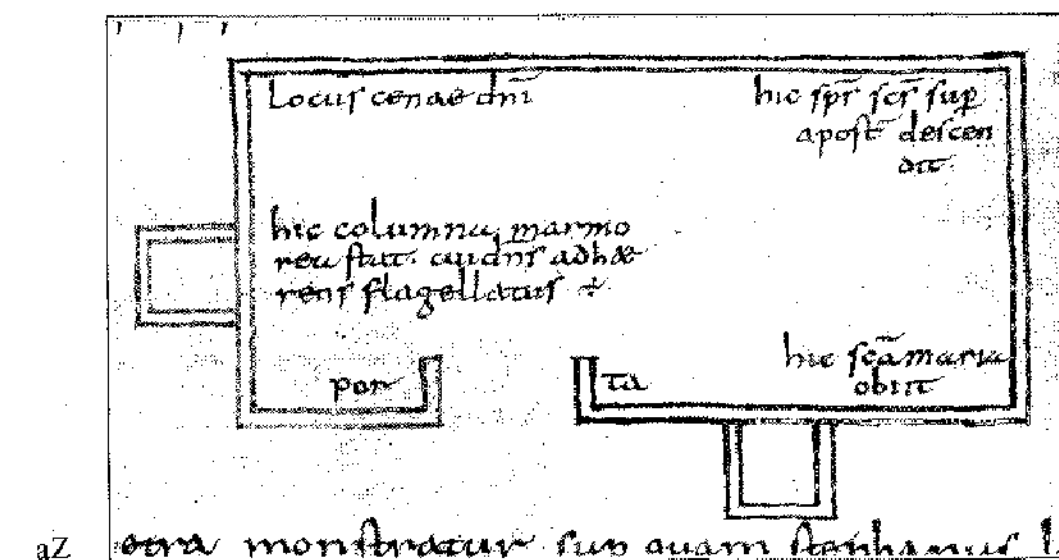
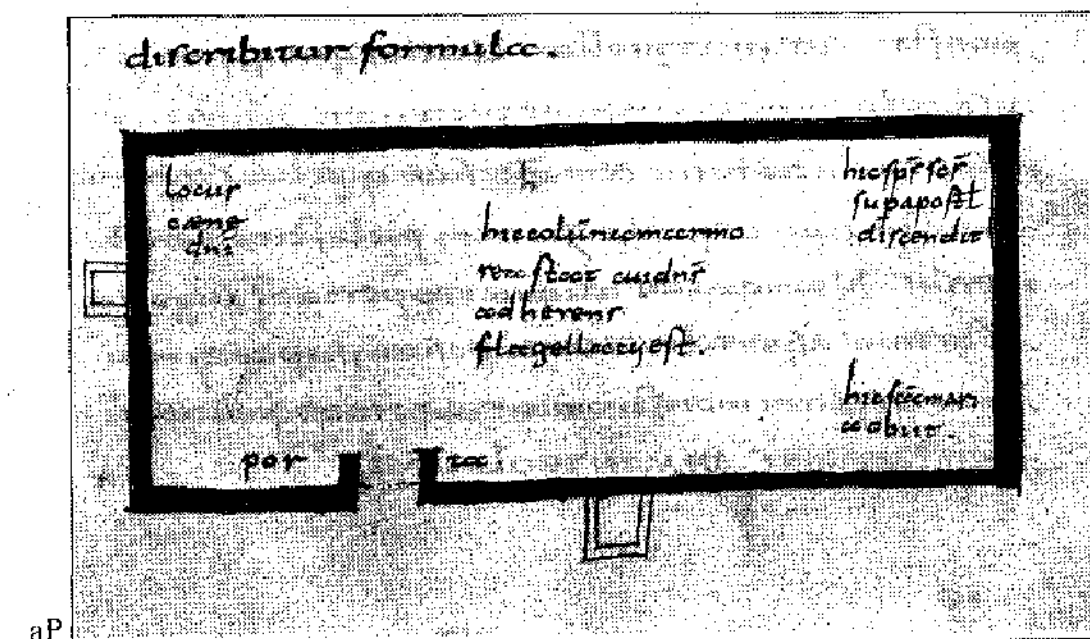
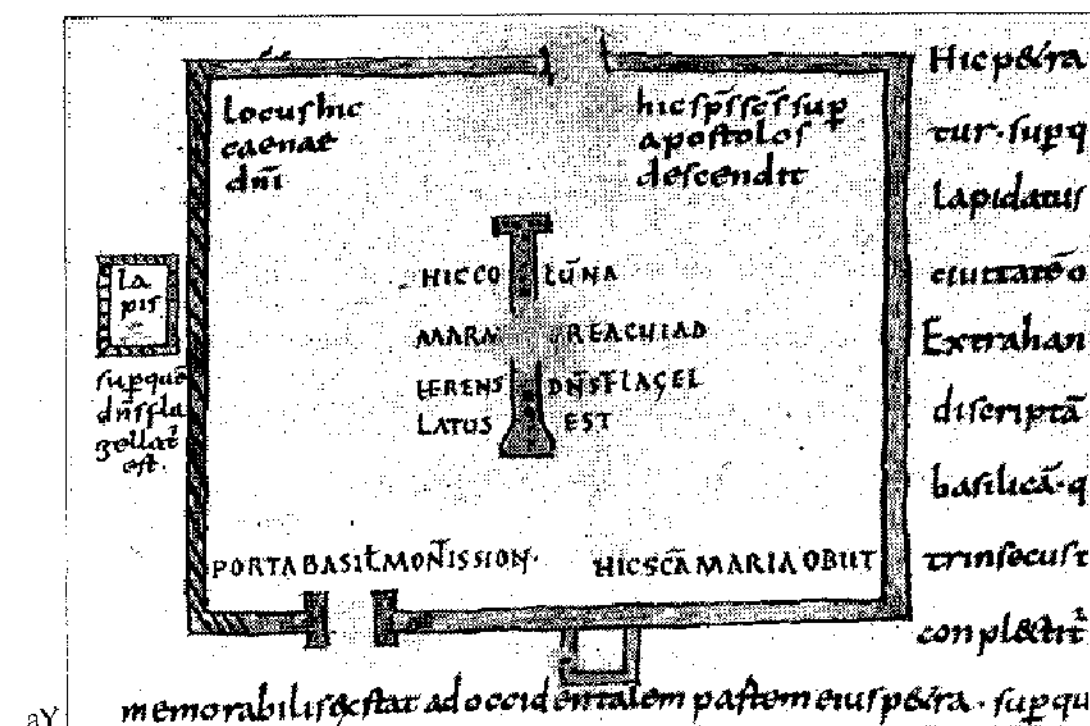
While Adomnan's other plans derive their legends from his text, the plan of Sion contains four legends which are drawn from elsewhere, possibly indeed from some other book. Bede has incorporated the legends into his text.¹¹

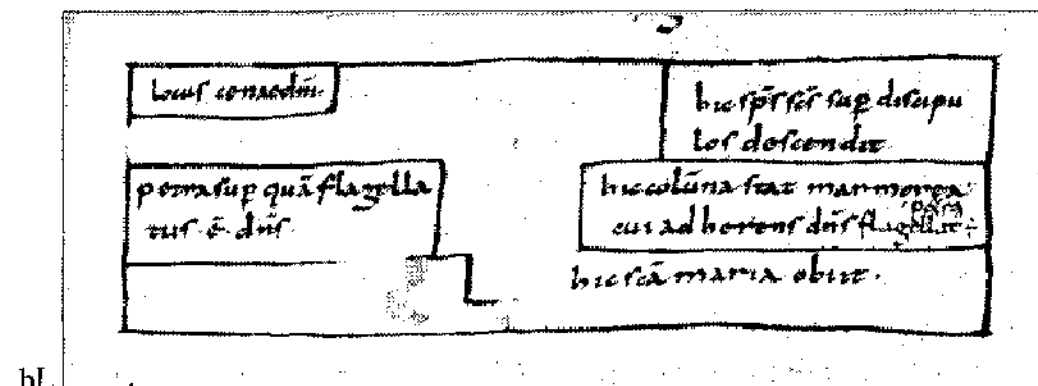
The basilica is shown as a "landscape"-shaped oblong with an entrance-opening at the bottom,¹² slightly to the left of centre, and near it, slightly to the right of centre, a small rectangular projection. There is a comparable projection in the middle of the left-hand wall, which according to the text, is on the west.¹³ Otherwise there is no other pictorial element except (in aY) the column mentioned by legend (f) below. The legends are as follows:

- (a) Ms. aY places this legend beside the rectangle outside the west end of the Church: *lapis super quem dominus flagellatus est*. The versions of this legend on Bede's plans use the word *petra* for *lapis*, no doubt following Adomnan's text.¹⁴

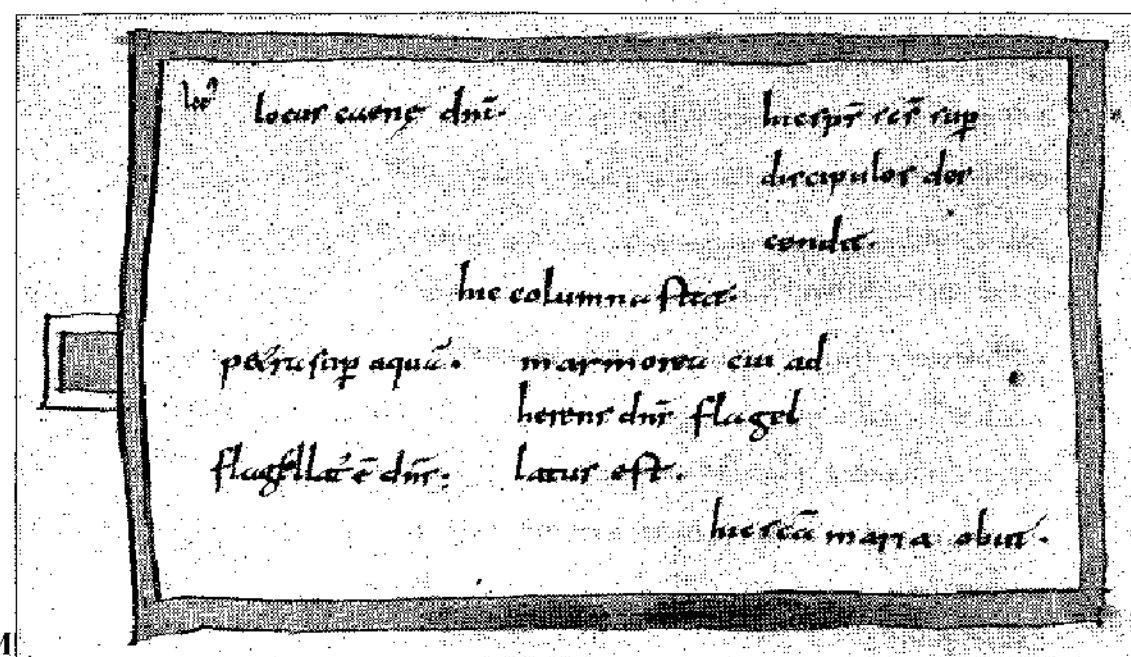
All the remaining legends are inside the oblong basilica:

8. See Adomnan, *Loc.S.* L23.1/2 - V246, 6/11 - V247/8; compare Bede, *Loc.S.* 6.1/2 - V310/11.
9. Adomnan *Loc.S.* L23.2 - V246.
10. Heisenberg also reproduces a plan from the late manuscript Vindobonensis 609, where the process has been taken still further. See his Plate XI (6).
11. See Bede *Loc.S.* 2.5 - V306.
12. The apparent opening at the top centre in ms. aY could be a tidying-up of damage, though it could represent a later correction. See page below.
13. Adomnan, *Loc.S.* L18.2 - V244.
14. Adomnan L18.2 - V244.
15. Ms aY adds *hic*.

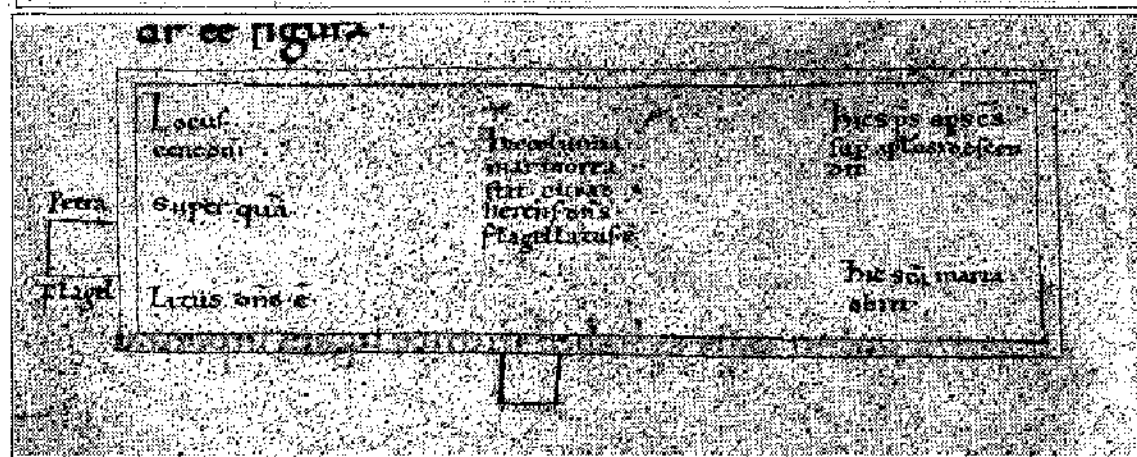




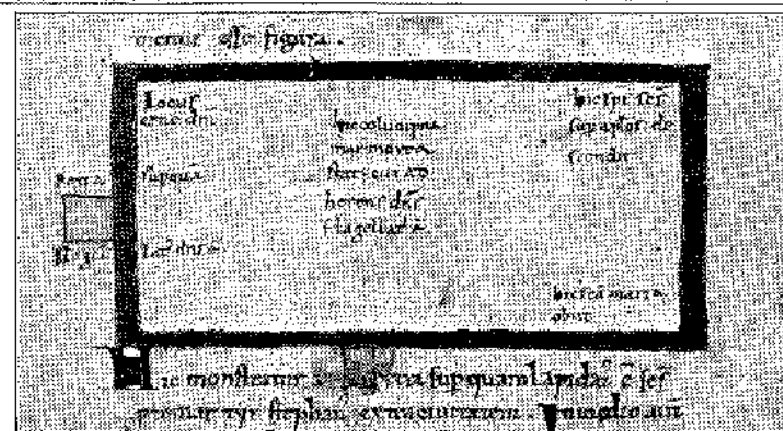
bL



bM



bP



bV

- (b) In the top left-hand corner: *locus*¹⁵ *cenae domini*.
- (c) In the top right-hand corner: *hic spiritus sanctus super apostolos descendit*.
- (d) In the bottom right-hand corner: *hic sancta Maria obiit* (a location not mentioned in the text).
- (e) *Porta*¹⁶ by the opening.
- (f) In the centre of the basilica (aP, aY) or to the left (aZ - possibly to leave room for a picture): *hic columna marmorea stat, cui dominus adherens flagellatus est*.¹⁷

Bede's diagrams omit the doorway at the bottom, but their other variations seem of little importance: bL seems simply confused.

The Buildings on Golgotha (Plates 5 and 6)

Since several buildings are represented on the plan we shall treat them in the following order: (1) The Round Church over the Lord's Sepulchre, (2) The Tomb, and the Stone rolled against its door, (3) The Church of St. Mary the Virgin, (4) The Church on Calvary, (5) The Court between the Anastasis and the Martyrium, and (6) The Basilica of Constantine, where the Crosses were found.

The Round Church

Adomnan tells us that this church, called the Anastasis,¹⁸ is round and made of stone. It "rises from its foundations with three walls", which are divided from each other by the width of a street. There are three altars in recesses. The Church is supported on twelve columns, and it has two groups of four doors.¹⁹

The plans in aP and aZ show their usual slight variations from aY, and are supplemented in this instance by the plan in aK, which is clearly a member of their family. Ms. aK adds summaries of the text round the plans, but introduces no material not available elsewhere either from the plans or the text.

These plans in aP, aZ and aK—leaving aside for the moment the one in aY—show the Anastasis in almost the same way as we have seen for the Ascension, and the entrances are treated similarly. The main differences are that the "Holy Anastasis" (so named by aK) has two groups of four doors instead of one group of three, and that the wall between the inner and the outer one instead of being a plain circle has three recesses for altars, as mentioned by aZ and aK. The fourth altar (also provided with its legend by these two mss.) stands not in a recess, but inside the innermost of the three walls, just like the altar at the Ascension (see Plate II).

The plan in aY, though obviously closely related to the ones we have examined, contains some interesting variations. Thus it not only shows the recesses as round, but expressly says they were by its legends, such as *altare in occidentali rotunda*.²⁰ It is possible that this plan, like those of Sion and the Ascension, from the same manuscript, has been deliberately corrected by some one who had visited the places, since the deletion of part of the east wall of the north and south rotundas makes them correspond much better with what is to be seen on the spot.

Bede's plans from bV and bP seem to have confused the recesses with the altars themselves, and bP omits altogether the doors which in bV are rendered with little emphasis. The plans in Bede's manuscripts here again show evidence of decadence in comparison with those of Adomnan's work.

The Tomb

The Tomb, according to Adomnan, is a round rock edicule with its entry to the east. The Lord's Sepulchre is a shelf inside it, which is a cavity opening towards the south, and seven feet in length.²¹ Inside it there is no ornament,²² apart from twelve lamps.²³

- 16. Ms aY adds *basilicæ montis Sion*.
- 17. Ms aY has ... *marmorea cui adherens dominus flagellatus est*.
- 18. Adomnan, *Loc. S.* 1.6.3 - V234.
- 19. *Op. cit.* 1.2.3/5 - V227/8.
- 20. Note that the legend for the north recess reads *ecclesia cum altare in aquilonate rotunda*. But since the "rotunda" concerned is not shown to be different from the other two we may guess that the word *ecclesia* (included, for instance, by aK in the plan) was originally near this legend and became incorporated into it by mistake. Thus the original legend would have begun with the word *altare*, like the two corresponding legends.
- 21. Adomnan, *Loc. S.* 1.2.6/7, 10 - V228/9.
- 22. *Op. cit.* 1.3.3 - V232.
- 23. *Op. cit.* 1.2.12 - V229.

This tomb-edicule, correctly named the *Monumentum* by aK and *Tugurium rotundum* by aZ is a circle with an elaborate opening facing east. The opening should be compared in mss. aP, aZ and aK with the nearby entry to Golgotha. In the light of other reports on the appearance of the edicule we should most naturally understand this elaboration, unintelligible by itself, as the vestige of an attempt to display the porch-like entrance, which contained the Stone of the Angel.²⁴ Ms. aK is surely wrong to identify it as *altare cum linteamenibus*, if we are right in thinking that these words are borrowed from the end of *Loc. S. I.3.1*. Inside the circular *tugurium* on the north side is a more or less rectangular shape containing the words *sepulchrum domini*,²⁵ and representing the tomb-shelf. Yet again aY's representation is independent. While the general arrangement is the same, it gives a double line round the edicule (as with the bronze rails at the Ascension) and a slightly expanded legend. Where the other mss. simply say *sepulchrum domini*, aY adds *cum xii luminaria*,²⁶ and gives a formal representation of the twelve lamps.

Bede's plans in mss. bP and bV are similar, with the legend *monumentum domini* outside the edicule. bV appears to indicate the flames of many lamps by the seven marks on the tomb-shelf.

The Church of St. Mary the Virgin

The text²⁷ leaves us uncertain how close the Church of St. Mary, the mother (*mater*) of the Lord, is supposed to be to the right side of the Anastasis, but our plans for Adomnan's text all show that it is not touching the wall of the main rotunda. Ms aY shows the church, (here named as in the other mss. of Adomnan *sanctae Mariae ecclesia*,) as completely independent of the buildings round it. But the other three mss. of Adomnan, like those of Bede, suggest that it had some attachment: thus aP, aZ and aK show a rectangular²⁸ church whose eastern wall extends forward to touch the southern wall of the church of Golgotha. The church of St. Mary seems to have four entrances in its north wall²⁹ and a long passage running from it to the west, which is open at its west end.

Bede's mss. bV and bP have a different legend, "The Church of the holy Mother (*genitrix*) of God", and show its plan and that of the surrounding space in a degenerate form. The corner of the church has been squeezed up against the outer curve of the rotunda, and the passage has become a trumpet-shaped attachment pointing westwards.

The Church of Golgotha

This "very large" church, according to Adomnan has two storeys, one above, where the large silver cross stands, and the "cave" below, containing an altar used for Masses for the Dead.³⁰ All the manuscripts of Adomnan illustrate the upper storey, giving the legend *Golgothana ecclesia*, and a picture of a cross with a spike-shaped extension from its foot. The manuscripts of Bede, on the other hand, might be intended to show the cave, since instead of being rectangular, this church is shown by a D-shape with its "Apse" to the east, like the present-day Chapel of Adam. More probably the distortion of shape came about through careless copying.

The Court between the Anastasis and the Martyrium

Adomnan speaks of a courtyard (*plateola*) in which lamps are always kept burning,³¹ and also of a wooden table in the place of Abraham's altar, and of a chapel containing the Lord's Chalice.³² Their relative positions appear on all the plans in the manuscripts of Adomnan, but they are not shown in the mss. of Bede. The *exedra cum calice Domini* is behind, that is, to the east of the Golgotha church.³³ The *mensa lignea in loco altaris abraham*³⁴ is on the opposite side of the court, in the north-east corner, and the legend, *plateola in qua die et nocte lampades ardent*, now in the north-west corner, seems simply to be placed in the corner where space is available for it.

In Bede's mss. the court is empty, except that in bP two crosses seem to have strayed into it from Constantine's basilica.

24. Adomnan, *Loc. S. I.3.1* - V232.

25. aZ adds *Ihesu*.

26. See Adomnan, *Loc. S. I.2.12* - V229.

27. Adomnan, *L.4* - V233.

28. Adomnan, *loc. cit.*

29. Open in aP, blocked in aZ and aK. Three, not four in aY.

30. Adomnan, *Loc. S. I.5.1/2* - V233.

31. Op. cit. *L.6.3* - V234. *L.6.2*.

32. Chapel = *exedra*: op. cit. *L.7.1/3* - V234/5.

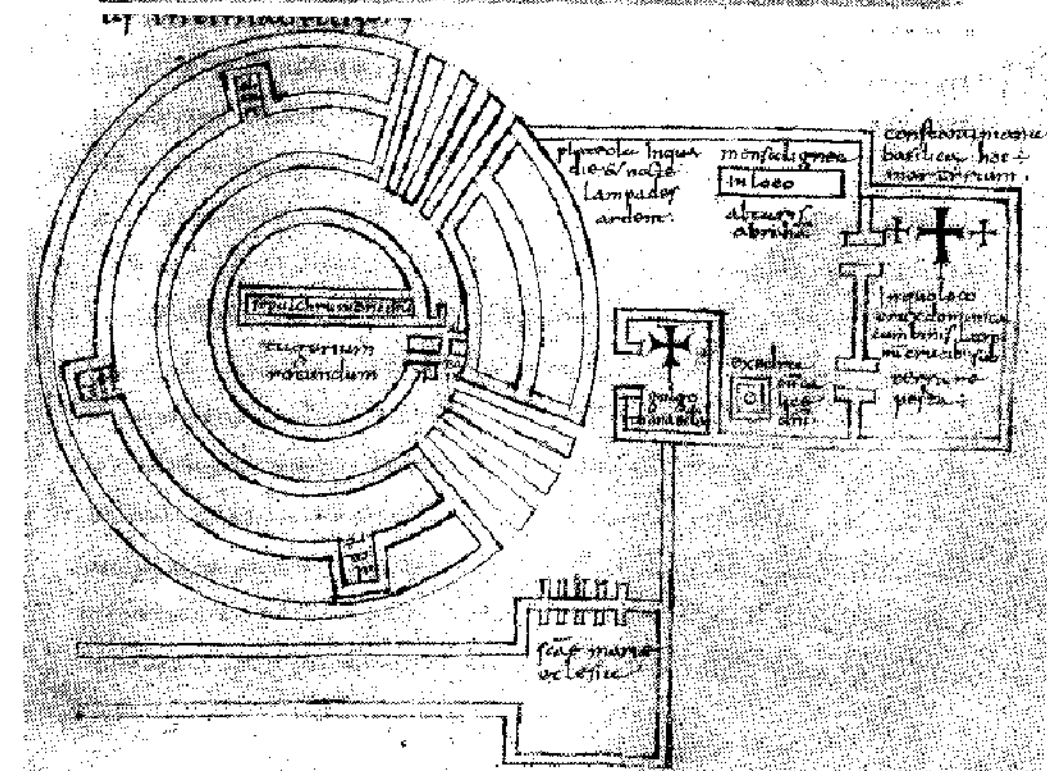
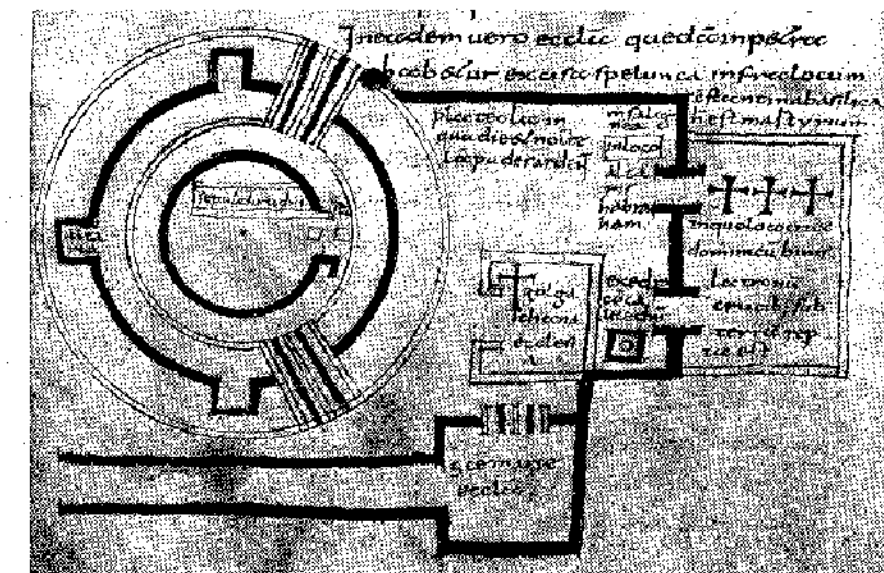
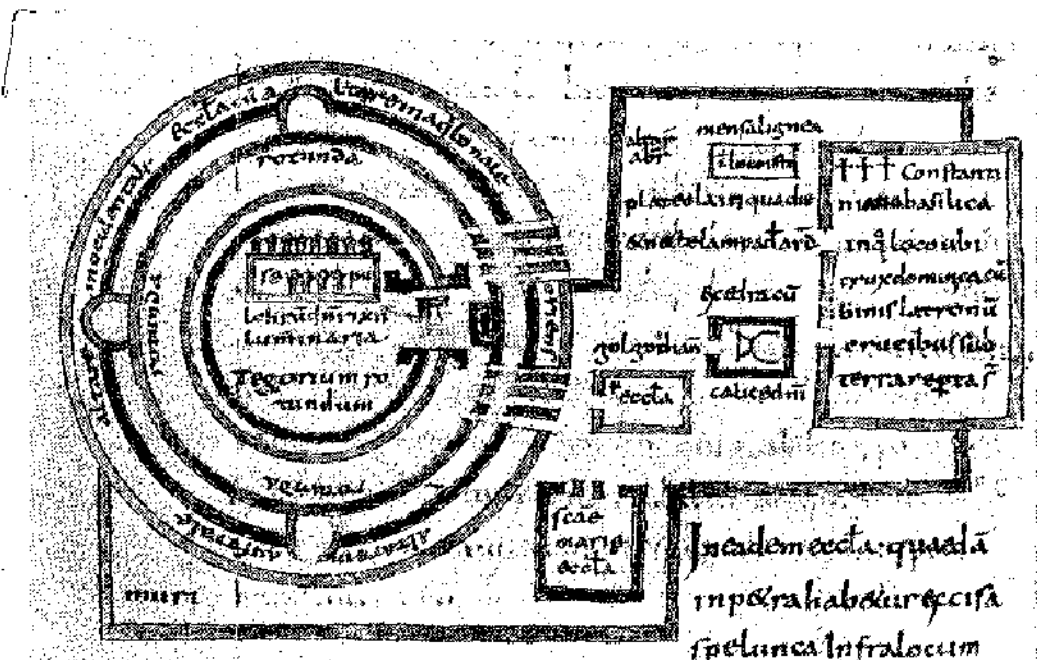
33. Here aY distinguishes itself from the mss of the other type by showing a picture of the chalice.

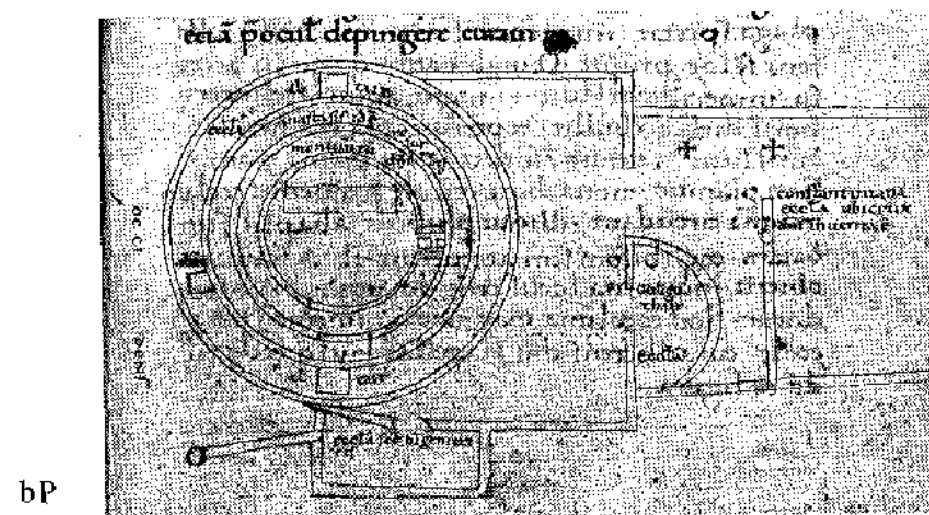
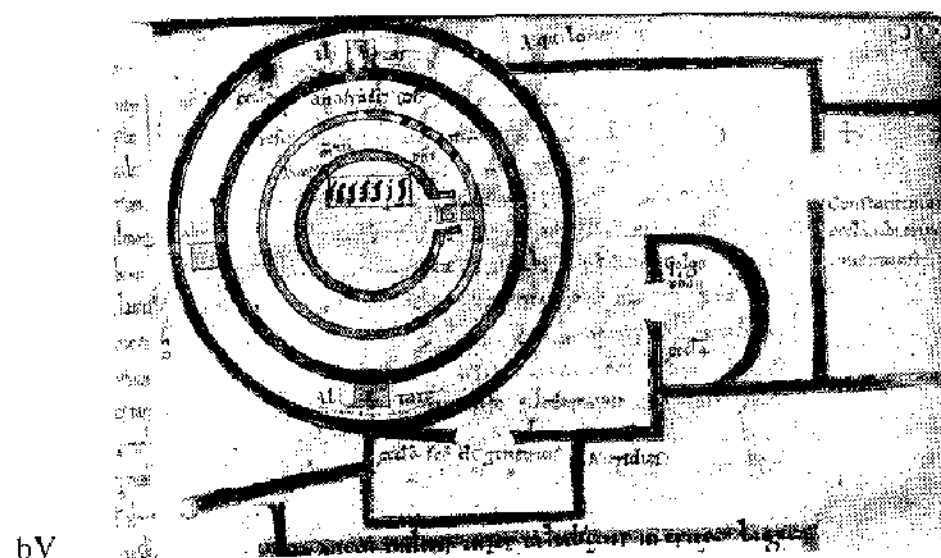
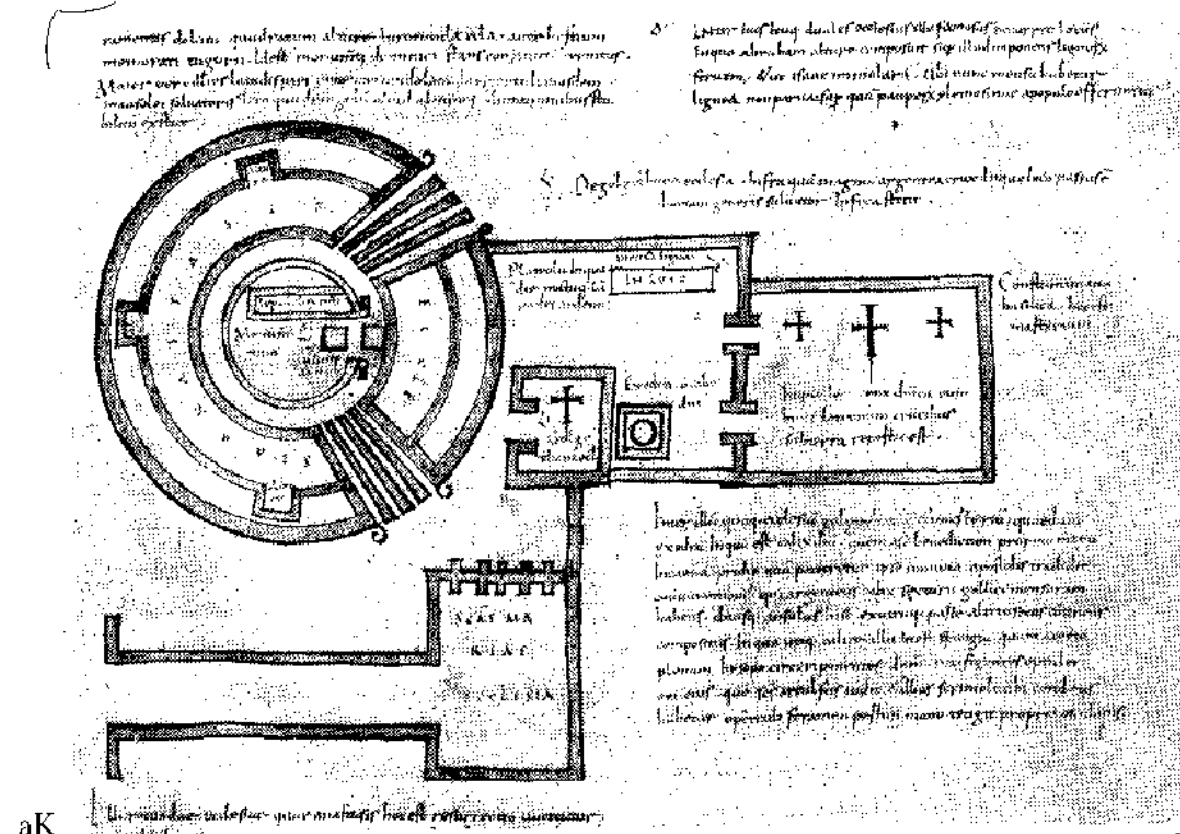
34. Ms. aY fails to fit this caption into the space.

aY

aP

aZ





The Basilica of Constantine

All the manuscripts of Adomnan show a rectangular space on the east of the plan which they name *Constantiniana basilica, hoc est martyrium, in quo loco* ³⁵ *crux dominica cum binis latronum crucibus sub terra reperta est.* ³⁶ All show the three crosses, and mss aZ and aK give the central cross a spike-shaped projection on its foot, like that of the cross on Golgotha. The mss of Bede also show crosses, bP two and probably only two in bV, with the legend *Constantiniana ecclesia ubi crux domini inuenta est.*

The Relative Value of the Plans

Despite the fact that their legends are often different from those of the manuscripts of Adomnan, those of the manuscripts of Bede are evidently second-hand, and it is sometimes possible to see what they should have been by reference to plans from Adomnan. The plans of Bede's work are therefore of little interest if we wish to learn what pictures they were which Arculf made on the wax tablets for Adomnan.

It was the intention of Professor Bieler that Dr. Meehan should use the plans from aY in his edition of Adomnan, and that Bieler should reproduce those of aP for his almost simultaneous edition in the *Corpus Christianorum*. ³⁷ This was indeed the best way of bringing their readers within the closest possible reach of the original drawings by Arculf, since as we have seen the evidence of both branches of the manuscript tradition is needed, and it is not enough to rely on one.

35. Ms. aY here adds *ubi*.

36. See Adomnan, *Loc. S.* I.5.1 - V234.

37. See Bieler, in *CSL* 175, p. 181. For some unstated reason this intention was not put into effect. At any rate the present writer's copy of *CSL* 175 does not contain the plans.

APPENDIX 5

EPIPHANIUS THE MONK'S "ACCOUNT" AND ITS FORMATION

Professor Herbert Donner's critical edition of the *Account of the Holy City and the Holy Places*¹ has removed many problems which had appeared insuperable, and we can now, thanks to his valuable work, make a new estimate of the way in which the work developed and of the period to which it belonged.

In its present form the work is clearly composite. After the journey from some part of the Byzantine empire ("Romania", as in XIII 7 - p. 121 above) the author describes part of the Jerusalem circuit, Bethlehem and some sites to the west of the city (sections A/H3). Then comes a long passage describing a pilgrimage to Egypt and Mount Sinai (jI) which is obviously an insertion, since the Jerusalem circuit continues immediately afterwards (sections J/M). Then comes the journey eastwards, down to the Jordan and across it (sections sM/sS), and the narrative switches abruptly to a description of sites near Capernaum and Nazareth (sec. nU). After a confused passage we find ourselves back on the Mount of Olives once more, and again setting off eastwards to the Jordan and up to Galilee, this time to Tiberias as well as to some of the other sites previously mentioned (sections jN/jV).

The whole work with the sections in this order is first found in a Vatican manuscript of about 1300 A.D. But we are able to analyse it because we know also two other versions of it, both of them shorter: the first (j) is exemplified by a Jerusalem manuscript which though copied nearly 300 years later than the Vatican ms. must represent an earlier stage in the transmission of the text. The second form (s) is known to us through fifteenth and sixteenth century translations into Old Slavonic. Both form (j) and form (s) contain material which is not in the other, but neither provide us with anything not in the full Vatican ms. Indeed the Vatican ms. contains a passage about Galilee (nU) which, since it appears in neither (j) nor (s) seems to have been combined with them only in a final stage of editing.

We should therefore envisage the first version of the work as a description of the Jerusalem circuit, an "Account of the Holy City", which only took the visitor as far as the Jordan. In the translation above, pp. 117-21, this is represented by the passages which have simple capital letters at the beginning and sM/sS, and although we have no certain indication of the date it is after 638 A.D. and "the Saracen invasion" II.9 - p. 117, and probably before 689 A.D., when the Dome of the Rock was built, to judge from the wording of II.18/20 - p. 117. Certainly it was compiled before 900 A.D., when the Emperor Leo VI took the icon of the Theotokos away from Jerusalem to Constantinople (see II.10 - p. 117 above).

This earliest version was itself composite, since directions out of doors are sometimes indicated by the words "right" and "left" (as in sections D, E, F, G, M and H1) and sometimes by the points of the compass, which are found elsewhere.

The next stage was to expand the work to be an "Account of the Holy City and the Holy Places" in the form known to us from the Jerusalem ms. The additions thus made are marked in the translation with the prefix (j) and include an alternative version of the journey from the Valley of Jehoshaphat to the Jordan (jN/jT) which replaced the original version sM/sS (preserved in our Slavonic translations), and journeys to Egypt (jI) and Galilee (jU). This version must have been made before the eleventh century, when the Vatican ms. (representing the next stage of transmission) was copied and after 715/17 A.D., the foundation of Ramla, V.1 - p. 243 above.

The Armenian Guide-book translated below, pp. 209/1 seems to derive at least in part from this second stage of transmission, and is unlikely to have been compiled after 1009 A.D., because of its careful description of the buildings near the Tomb of Christ as they were before Hakim's destruction.

The third stage seems to have involved two operations, which produce for us the full version of the *Account* as we have it in the Vatican ms. The first thing done was the insertion of a new passage dealing with Galilee, (nU), which

cannot have been in the original version because it does not appear in the Slavonic versions, and the second was the weaving together of all passages in both the first and the second versions. The whole work was clumsily done, as appears from the very abrupt transition at the end of (sS) and the confusions connected with (jN) and (jO).

The *Life of Constantine* of which an extract is translated below (pp. 202/5) derives from this third and final version of the *Account*, since among other passages it draws on the newest of all, (nU).

We cannot tell at what stage the name of Epiphanius the Monk became associated with the *Account*, nor whether he is the same Epiphanius who wrote the lives of the Theotokos and of Andrew.²

2. See H. Donner, *op. cit.* p. 42 and PG 120.185/216, 259/272.

1. H. Donner, "Die Palästinabeschreibung des Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita", ZDPV 87 (1971) 45, lists and describes the manuscripts.

APPENDIX 6

AN ARMENIAN GUIDE-BOOK

The short Guide-book translated below¹ reached us by being included in a *History of the Armenians*, and is evidently derived from the second version of Epiphanius the Monk's *Account of the Holy City and the Holy Places* (see p. 198 above). Parallels are noted by the introductory letters which correspond with those in the translation of Epiphanius on pp. 117/121 above. Passages and words deriving from Epiphanius are printed in italic.

There seem to be passages where dependence is clearly on the *Account* rather than on the *Life of Constantine* (pp. 202/5 below) which derives from the *Account* at a later stage of transmission.

It could be that the guide-book as we have it has been through several versions before reaching its present form, but since there were many Armenians in Jerusalem at the time of the Crusades it can hardly have been written much after 1009 A.D., when the buildings near the Holy Sepulchre were changed. This means that its reference to a "Prison of Christ" on Mount Sion must belong to a time before the Crusades, even though this site is otherwise known to us first only in 1165 A.D. 9 - 139.

The way in which the Guide-book is included in the *History* affords us no help in trying to date it, since the previous chapter describes visits to Jerusalem by hermits who seem to have come between 644 and 657 A.D., and the following chapter was compiled in the twelfth century or later.²

From Movses Dasxuranci, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*

Book II, ch. 51

ON THE CHURCHES BUILT IN HOLY JERUSALEM, THEIR NUMBER AND POSITION. THIS IS AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT

1. (B) The Tomb of the Life-giving Christ is hewn out of rock, and is the length of a man. It is one and a half ells³ from the middle of the dome to the Tomb of the holy Life-giver. And on the columns of the church has been built a dome a hundred ells high and a hundred ells wide: on each side of it are twelve columns down below and twelve above in the upper chamber. This gallery contains the Spear, the Sponge, and Christ's Cup⁴ covered with gold.
2. The principal church, which is called the Martyrium, "*The Finding of the Cross*",⁵ is twenty ells distant from "*The Resurrection*", and has sixty-five columns ranged along it, above and below.⁶
3. Ten paces away from "*The Resurrection*" is the holy Church of *Golgotha*. It is called "*The Tomb of Adam*" below, and above there is an altar. On its rock Christ was crucified.⁷
4. (E) The holy Church of Sion is one stade distant from "*The Resurrection*". It is a hundred ells in length and seventy in breadth, and has eighty columns joined by arches.⁸ It has no upper room, but a wooden screen, and on the screen hangs the Crown of Thorns which they placed on the head of the Life-giver. On the right side of the church is the Upper Room of the Sacrament, and a wooden cupola on which is painted the Saviour's Last Supper. On its altar the Sacrifice is offered in the upper storey of Sion, and there is one Upper Room.

1. The work forms chapter 51 of the second book of the *History of the Caucasian Albanians* by Movses Dasxuranci, edited by M. Emin, Moscow 1860, and by K. Shahnazarean, Paris 1860, and translated into English by C. J. F. Dowsett (*London Oriental Series* 8), London 1961. Previous translations such as that by R. Nisbet Bain, *P.E.Q.* 1896, pp. 346/9, were from a Russian version. The present translation was prepared by the Revd Harold Nahabedian who, besides using the works mentioned, was permitted to work with manuscript Jerusalem 375, copied by Vartan Hounanian in 1685.

2. See A. Sanjian in *Le Muséon* 82 (1969), p. 265.

3. Pie or "ell" is a measure of 45 inches. It is not clear whether this indicates the height of the dome above the tomb-shelf (which seems unlikely in view of the use of the word "dome" two lines later) or the distance between the tomb and the centre of the floor of the rotunda.

4. Literally "bowl" or "plate".

5. Ep. M. I. 16f - p. 117; *Life* 5(B) - p. 203.

6. The two storeys are mentioned in Eusebius *V. Const.* 3.37 - 169.

7. Ep. M. I. 10/12 - p. 117.

8. The masonry of Bethlehem displays relieving arches above the architrave: see W. Harvey, *A Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*, London 1935, fig. 39.

5. And on the right of Holy Sion stands the Palace of Pilate called Gabbatha, containing the stone on which the Saviour stood before *Pilate*, and upon which his *footprints*⁹ are to be seen to this day. Beneath it is the basin in which he washed the disciples' feet.
6. And to the left of Holy Sion is the dungeon where they imprisoned Christ, and there is a table there where the Sacrifice is offered.
7. (J) Outside the city at the place where the Jew snatched at the bier of the Holy Virgin, and would not let her be buried, there is a dome resting on four marble columns¹⁰ and surmounted by a bronze cross.
- (K) Two hundred and fifty steps lead down¹¹ from this (L) to the holy Tomb of the Virgin in the Valley of Gethsemane,¹² (jN) and from there eight hundred steps lead up to the Mount of Olives, from which Christ ascended.¹³
8. At the place of the Ascension there is a very beautiful dome-shaped building like the Church of the Resurrection, a hundred ells long and a hundred wide. From it can be seen the River Jordan, Mount Hor, and many other districts.
9. (H) Bethlehem is 220 parasangs¹⁴ west of "*The Resurrection*"; its Church is two hundred ells in length and a hundred in breadth and had ninety marble columns joined by stone arches. In it is the double cave which Abraham bought for a burial place. Below the sanctuary are the holy cave and the manger: there is a table¹⁵ there, and the Sacrifice is offered. To the right of the church is a martyrion in which are kept the remains of the children murdered by Herod.
10. Three stades to the east, towards the Jordan, is the Shepherds' Field. It contains two churches in which the Sacrifice is offered.¹⁶
11. (jS) Five stades east of Jerusalem is the River Jordan, where the Saviour was baptized. A church is there in the shape of a cross with a pointed roof. It is eighty ells in length and eighty in breadth, and contains three tables at which the sacrifice is offered.
12. (N) And the Mount of Olives stands on the east of Jerusalem.

9. Ep. M. III.6f. - p. 117: contrast the phrasing of *Life* 12D - p. 204.

10. Ep. M. VIII.6 - p. 120.

11. *Life* 5K - p. 203 does not tell the number of steps.

12. Ep. M. VIII.10 - p. 120; *Life* 5L - p. 203.

13. Ep. M. IX.4 - p. 120 X.20 - p. 120; *Life* 6sN - p. 203.

14. Since a parasang measures nearly four miles this distance demands revision.

15. Ep. M. IV.4/7 - p. 117; *Life* 10H1 - p. 204.

16. Ep. M. IV.12/15 - p. 117.

APPENDIX 7

AN ANONYMOUS "LIFE OF CONSTANTINE"

The extract translated below, which we have entitled "St. Helena in the Holy Places"¹ is of special importance, since it provides us with the earliest known statement of the belief, still stoutly maintained by many local Christians in the Holy Land, that Saint Helena was personally responsible for building almost all the churches in the country.

Since the passage is derived from the latest version of Epiphanius the Monk's *Account* (see pp. 117-121 above)² its topographical information refers to a time between 715 and 1009 A.D. It adds little to what we already know from the *Account*, except the mention of the *Dodecathronon*, 7 - p. 203, and (what may well be an insertion) the names of Sts. Cyrus and John, 12 - p. 204.

Passages and words deriving from Epiphanius are printed in *italic*.

SAINT HELENA IN THE HOLY PLACES
from an anonymous *Life of Constantine*

- p. 46 1. Also at that time the Emperor (Constantine) commanded Macarius, the Archbishop of the holy Church in Jerusalem who was attending the Council (of Nicaea), to go back there and seek out the place of the holy Resurrection of Christ our God, and Golgotha "the place of the skull", and the lifegiving Wood, or rather the venerable and holy Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ by which he suffered for the salvation of the human race, and delivered us from error.
2. These things went well, and he crowned his mother, the god-conscious and very holy Helena, and allotted her the income of an Empress. She saw a vision commanding her to travel to Jerusalem and to bring to light the holy Cross and the holy places which the lawless Jews had hid in the ground. And she asked her son Constantine to fulfil what God had commanded her, and he fulfilled her request and sent her with much money to Jerusalem to look for the lifegiving and salutary and venerable Cross of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ.
3. The blessed and holy Helena left for Jerusalem, and there met her holy Macarius, the Archbishop of Jerusalem, with honours befitting an Empress. Together with her he undertook the search for the life-bearing Wood, and they fasted and prayed continuously: and instantly the Lord, who loves mankind, revealed the place of his holy Tomb by a vision to holy Macarius, at the very place where had been erected a temple and statue of the unclean she-devil Aphrodite. And holy Helena making use of her authority as Empress, instantly destroyed it with a crowd of workmen, digging deep down and removing the earth, for it had been founded long before by Aelius Hadrianus with enthusiasm on a lavish scale.
- p. 47 4. At once the holy Tomb and the Place of a Skull were revealed and nearby, to the east of them, three crosses buried in the ground. After a search they found also the holy Nails with which Christ our God was fixed to the Cross. Then every one wondered which Cross was the Lord's, and the godly, noble and blessed Helena was much concerned. But Macarius, that aptly-named bishop, by faith produced what they were seeking, for he identified the Lord's Cross by using each one of the ever-brilliant and glorious crosses to touch an unconscious woman who was at death's door. This sick woman, who could neither breathe nor move, when only the shadow of the Lord's Cross touched her, received strength through God's power and leapt up, well again and praising God with a loud voice. With fear and much joy the religious and all-blessed Helena lifted up the life-giving Wood of the venerable Cross: part of it she took, together with the awesome and venerable nails, to keep for herself, and was eager to send them to her son, the Christ-loving Constantine, in Byzantium (which she did); and the rest she laid up in a silver box, and handed over to the godly Macarius, the Archbishop of God's holy Church in Jerusalem, for the salvation of the generations to come.
5. Then also this blessed and truly holy Empress Helena gave orders that churches should be founded in the places where for our salvation our Lord Jesus Christ went about and wrought his glorious wonders.

1. The translation below is made from the text published by M. Guidi, *Un Bios di Costantino*, Rome 1908 (= *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche* 16:5, pp. 46/53). Passages underlined are verbally identical with Epiphanius the Monk. Paragraph-numbers are added.

2. A. M. Schneider was therefore wrong to argue that Epiphanius and the present biographer depended on a common source: *ZDPV* 63 (1940), 154.

- p. 48 (B) In the first place in Jerusalem she founded a church where the life-giving Wood of the all-venerable Cross was found, and called it "Saint Constantine" after her son's name. Similarly she erected holy sanctuaries also at the holy Tomb of the holy Resurrection of our Christ and God, and at the Place of a Skull. (K) She made also a marble staircase going down *eastwards*³ from the holy City to (L) *Holy Gethsemane*. In that place is the *Tomb of the Holy Theotokos*,⁴ and she made also a very beautiful sanctuary there on the very spot in the name of "The All-Holy Theotokos". Inside the sanctuary of the church she enclosed her all-holy Tomb with a wall.
6. (sM) And it is said by many people that this valley is called *the Valley of Weeping*,⁵ and *the Brook Kidron*, and *the Valley of Jehoshaphat*,⁶ in that place was also *the garden* in which our Christ and God was betrayed,⁷ and the place in which the Lord prayed on the night when he was betrayed. (sN) The marvellous Helena tore herself away from there and climbed *the Mount of Olives* to the east, where our Christ and God was taken up,⁸ and there in faith she laid the foundation of a church of our Christ and God. (sP) She went down to *Bethany* to the *Tomb of the blessed and holy Lazarus*,⁹ which is two miles distant¹⁰ from the city; there she knelt on the ground and, worshipping Almighty God, she sprinkled the Tomb of righteous Lazarus with warm tears. She also ordered that a church should be built over the Tomb in the name of "Saint Lazarus". (sS) Then she reached the *River Jordan*¹¹ in which our Christ and God was baptized¹² for our salvation. (T) And when she had crossed the Jordan and found *the cave in which the Forerunner used to live*,¹³ she caused a church to be made in the name of "John the Baptist". Opposite the cave is a raised place at which Saint Elias was caught up to heaven, and there she decreed that there should be a very impressive sanctuary in the name of the Prophet Elias.
- p. 49 7. (nU) She went off to the city of Tiberias which is four days' journey from the Holy City, and beyond Tiberias are the places which will now be mentioned: what is called the "Dodecathronon", where our Christ and God used to sit and teach, and in which also he multiplied the seven loaves and fed the four thousand. And near it is *Capernaum, the place where our Christ and God lived*,¹⁴ which contains also *the house of Saint John the Theologian*:¹⁵ there the divine Lord's Supper took place with the disciples, and thus there also was performed *the miracle of the Centurion*,¹⁶ and in this house they also let down the bed of *the paralytic from the roof*.¹⁷ In these places the blessed and holy Helena ordained that solemn and holy sanctuaries be built to the glory of Christ and of the holy places. After this she took her Empress's escort and the courtiers who attended her from Constantinople across the nearby river, and, finding a stone with the sign of the Cross at which Christ healed the woman with the issue of blood,¹⁸ she erected a church in the name of his venerable and lifegiving "Holy Cross". Again, tearing herself away from there she came to a hamlet near the aforesaid cross where there is a great spring called "*Heptapegon*"¹⁹ where our Christ and God performed *the miracle of the five loaves and the two fishes*,²⁰ and there she raised up a very marvellous sanctuary. And from there she went on to the Sea of Tiberias and, finding the place in which our Lord Jesus Christ, after his resurrection, stood near to the apostles when they were fishing—when the brazier was there and the fish lying with the bread, where they took food from him and he ate with them, and where also they caught the 153 fish—she founded a church in the name of the "Holy and truly Evangelical Apostles".
8. Then, with devotion, she left that place and went on her way in gladness and joy for a further two miles, where she found the *House of Mary Magdalene*,²¹ and there too she erected a church. And when the blessed Helena had visited all the venerable places beyond Tiberias and had erected churches in each one, she took with her the faithful men of her company and entered *the city of Tiberias*.²² At its centre she found the house of the Mother-in-law of the Apostle Peter who was cured of the fever by the touch of the Master's hand, and she erected a very beautiful church of "Holy Peter, the Leader of the Apostles". Then, tearing herself away from Tiberias, and going ten miles west, she reached Mount Tabor, where *Melchisedech blessed Abraham*.²³ Seeking the place where Christ our God was transfigured, she found it,

3. Compare Epiphanius the Monk, *Account*, viii.10 - p. 120.

4. Cf. *a.c.* viii.11 - p. 120.

5. Cf. *a.c.* ix.1 - p. 120.

6. Cf. *a.c.* ix.2/3 - p. 120.

7. Cf. *a.c.* ix.3 - p. 120.

8. Cf. *a.c.* ix.4 - p. 120.

9. Cf. *a.c.* ix.15 - p. 120.

10. Cf. *a.c.* ix.9 + 14? - p. 120.

11. Cf. *a.c.* ix.16, and xi.21 - pp. 120.f.

12. Cf. *a.c.* x.2 - p. 120.

13. Cf. *a.c.* ix.20 - p. 120.

14. Cf. *a.c.* x.3 - p. 120.

15. Cf. *a.c.* x.3 - p. 120.

16. Cf. *a.c.* x.4 - p. 120.

17. Cf. *a.c.* x.4/5 - p. 120.

18. Cf. *a.c.* x.6 - p. 120.

19. Cf. *a.c.* x.8 - p. 120.

20. Cf. *a.c.* x.9 - p. 120.

21. Cf. *a.c.* x.10/11 - p. 120.

22. Cf. *a.c.* x.12 - p. 120.

23. Cf. *a.c.* x.15 - p. 120.

and there raised up a church in the name of "Our Saviour and of the holy Apostles Peter, James and John", and appointed holy and reverent clergy to sing services there,²⁴ endowing the place with a great sum of money.

9. So she then descended the mountain eastwards and journeyed to Nazareth,²⁵ and sought the house in which the all-hymned Theotokos heard the Archangel Gabriel's "Hail!" There she made a glorious sanctuary of the all-holy Theotokos. And from the city of Nazareth she reached the place called *Cana of Galilee*, and seeking the site where the marriage of Simon the Canaanite was held, at which also Christ our God made the water into wine,²⁶ she raised up a most holy sanctuary.
- p. 51 10. (H1) And she went away to *Bethlehem*, which is six miles distant from the *Holy City*,²⁷ and there built a great and immense²⁸ church in the shape of a cross, in the name of "Christ our God": beneath its great altar she enclosed both the manger and the holy Cave.²⁹ She went outside Bethlehem, and sought the place in which were killed the Holy Children murdered by Herod:³⁰ there she paid suitable reverence to the Cave, and built a church in the name of "The Holy Infants". She went down to the holy *Palmation*, and found the place in which the angels gave the *Shepherds*³¹ the good news of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ and said, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth". And when she had raised up a very venerable sanctuary in honour of "Mary the Theotokos and Joseph the Foster-father" she hurried back to Holy Sion.
11. (E) Holy Sion is on the loftiest point of the holy city, to the south; and there the blessed and holy Helena, spouse of Constans and mother of the Great Emperor Constantine founded a long and broad and immense church, and roofed it not with tiles but with lead. Inside the rear of the sanctuary and on the right of her building she included the House of the holy Disciples, the place where they had hidden themselves for fear of the Jews and Christ stood by them when the doors were shut. And on the left she included the porphyry column to which Christ our God was bound when he was scourged by the Jews. On the right side of the chancel is the holy Font and the Descent of the holy Spirit on holy Pentecost: and to the left of the diaconicon containing the Tomb of the holy Prophet David this blessed and holy Helena made the Presentation³² of the holy Anaphora. The Palace of Caiaphas she made into a sanctuary of the holy and ever-Evangelical Leader of the Apostles, Peter. The distance of this place, holy Sion, from the Holy Resurrection is one mile.
- p. 52 12. (G) Holy Empress Helena, first among Christians, founded also many other churches of God in those holy places; at the Pit of the prophet Jeremiah, at the spring of *Siloam*,³³ at the *Potter's Field*³⁴ (the graveyard for the poor), at the Oak of Mamre at which the Saviour appeared to Abraham, (D) and at the Holy Pavement (Saints Cyrus and John).³⁵
13. Now that these venerable and holy churches of our God had been brought into existence in the places where it had been directed that they should be founded by the great-hearted and truly Christ-loving Helena, blessed mother of the blessed and holy Great Emperor Constantine, she immediately offered faithful hymns to God, who Himself had travelled in these places. Then accompanied by the most holy Patriarch of the church of Jerusalem, Saint Macarius, she carried with her the piece of the all-venerable Cross she was to keep, and the venerable and holy nails, and went back to the truly-Evangelical Emperor Constantine her son in Byzantium. He joyfully accepted first the piece of the life-giving Wood, which he put in a golden casket and gave for safe keeping to the very holy bishop Alexander (for blessed Metrophanes had died), and then the nails. Some he welded into his own crown, and others he attached to the bit of his horse to fulfil the word of the prophet who said, "In that day what is on the bridle of the King's horse shall be holy to the Lord, the Almighty".³⁶
- p. 53 14. And the truly-Evangelical Constantine, the Great Emperor, at once sent to command the President of the Church in Jerusalem, Macarius, to make haste to further the construction of the holy churches which the blessed and holy Helena had left behind unfinished, and he also sent foremen for the work, supplied with much money, and directed them to adorn all the holy sanctuaries which had been brought into existence by Saint Helena his mother with workmanship of such quality that no churches any where in the whole world should be more beautiful. And he wrote to the princes of the Province to give energetic co-operation in the work, and if any thing were needed beyond the budget, to pay for it out of public funds.

24. Cf. *o.c.* xii. 9/11 - p. 121.

25. Cf. *o.c.* x. 17 - p. 120.

26. Cf. *o.c.* xii. 14 - p. 121.

27. Cf. *o.c.* iv. 2 - p. 117.

28. Cf. *o.c.* iv. 3 - p. 117. The word for "immense" is *dromike*, which may mean "the size of a stadium".

29. Cf. *o.c.* iv. 6, 4 - p. 117.

30. Cf. *o.c.* iv. 18 - p. 119.

31. Cf. *o.c.* iv. 12 - p. 117.

32. Cf. *Proskomide*.

33. Cf. *o.c.* iii. 18 - p. 117.

34. Cf. *o.c.* iii. 20 - p. 117.

35. Cf. *o.c.* ii. 22 - p. 117, xi. 11 - p. 121, and note that *Lithostrotos* is masculine here, but neuter in Epiphanius, D - p. 117 above.

36. Zech. 14. 20.

APPENDIX 8 THE ITINERARY OF JACINTHUS: THE LATIN TEXT

- fol 5^r 1 In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis atque unitatis, Ego Iacintus in dei nomine sacer, deum inuoco
323 testem, quanto desiderio alui uidendi sanctissima loca ubi dominus noster ihesus christus natus fuit, et ubi pro totius mundi passionem sustinuit. Hoc est ciuitatem Bethlem et sanctam Iherusalem modo ubi anteam deproperabimus; deinde dicam quam uerius petro. Civitatem Bethlemi destructa est, etenim paucas domus adhuc ibi sunt. Civitas undique circumdata fertilis terra oliueta et uineis.
- 2 Intrante me Iacintus presbiter circa cure est ecclesia quod XXX.^a innumeraui quod abentur columne.
- 3 Dum ego in ecclesia intraui, undique ornamentum et pulchritudinem ecclesie expectare cepi. Nempe erat clara in splendidis lapidis et incomparabilis fulgore aliarum lapidarum. O quam gloriosa domus que priorem se non abet. Similiter non est uisa nec habere sequentem, quia a deo factum est hoc quod cernitis. In capite sancte ecclesie tres habentur tribune; aurum et gemmis mirabiliter sunt ornate. Unum altare in coro ecclesie habentur, sub quo altare presepe domini est. Dum descendimus de coro ad sinistram manum scala per quam descendimus est unum paries putei, alium pariter est iunctum cum cancellis coris super quem putei stellam stetit qui Magos ab oriente perduxit.
- 4 A puteo usque ad locum ubi fuit natus Dominus noster, passum unum et dimidium est.
- 5 Item ab illo loco ubi dignatus nasci dominus noster usque ad presepe tres passos habentur; gradus uero per quos descendimus ad praesepe XII.^m sunt. Duo ostea erea ibi sunt. Domus ubi presepe stat et ubi Christus dignatus est nasci tres passos longitudinem et duo et medium per latitudinem in modum crucis ecclesia constructa est; et est ibi altare super locum ubi dignatus est nasci dominus que altari continentur IIII.^{or} colume. In ecclesia quod XXXX et IIII.^{or} columne ibi sunt, qui retinent alas ecclesie, excepto IIII.^{or} que inter tribunas abentur; et sex similiter que in coro ecclesie stant; celum uero ecclesie depictum et sculptum est: cooperturam ecclesie plumbea est; de pauimento uero ecclesie quid dicam. In toto mundo per pulchritudinem pauimentum aulam non equabitur illo.
- 6 Intrante me in sinistro latere ecclesie, inueni marmorea mensa super quam dominus cum discipulis suis manducauit, et ibi in ecclesia iusta que est locus ubi balneatus fuit.
- 7 Postquam hec omnia completa atque a me mensurata, gaudio sum gaudis quod mihi ultra non fuit. Deo et sancte marie comendati et sic ad Iherusalem cepimus uiam nostram.
- fol 5^v 8 In medio itinere quod est iuxta titulum christianorum sunt miliaria duo et est sepulcrum racelis, et ad sepulcrum racelis usque ad ciuitatem sanctam Iherusalem similiter sunt dva. Modo quem introibimus in ecclesia et ad sanctissimum sepulcrum orationem fecimus, de quo scilicet sepulcro dicam quam melius potuero. Longitudo sepulcri bracia IIII et duos polices, altitudinem uero palmi IIII.^{or} et similiter per latitudinem. Super sepulcrum sunt duo angeli sculpti in lapidibus: unum ad caput, alterum ad pedes. Tres cruces de auro habentur super lapidem sepulcri. Lapidem sepulcri pulchra est, sed non est tota alua.
- 9 Hostium sepulcri II.^o cubito est altitudo eius: latitudo unum et dimidium. Ante ostium monumenti est lapis, unde monumentum clausum fuit, quod modo uidetur esse altari. In quo altari missa semel celebratur in anno: hoc est resurrectionem; tria ostia lignea habent introitum sepulcri: circa sepulcrum columne abentur X.^m, inter quas lampade sunt VIII.^o. Super sepulcrum sex dinumerabimus candelabros: quisque unus illorum tres abentur ordines ramorum: hic prope II.^o cancella abentur, tugurium sepulcri, in sex continentur columne, super qua est tugurium creum: fenestre tres abentur circa murum sepulcri, super quas missas celebrantur.
- 10 Ecclesia que circa sepulcrum est, dominus constantinus imperator fecit eam filio domina elena regina. Dicamus de ecclesia. Intus in ecclesia sunt ordinate XII columpne, qui habent singulos in capite et singulos impede circulos de auricalco et insuper de auro coopertos. Et inter ipsas sunt alie sex quatrade et magne nimis quoopertos de marmoreas lapides, et ante singule pendent singule catenas quibus tenent...

APPENDIX 9

HUGEBURC'S LIFE OF WILLIBALD

Saint Willibald was related through his mother to St. Boniface, the 'Apostle of Germany', and joined him in his missionary work in Bavaria in 740 A.D.¹ In the following year Boniface consecrated him Bishop of Eichstätt, where he continued to work for the rest of his life, and died in 787. Willibald, who was born in about 700 in Hampshire was educated under Abbot Egwald at Bishop's Waltham. In the summer of 720 he set out with his father and his brother Wynnebald on a journey to Rome, and in 723 went on with several companions, including Tidbercht, to travel in the East, where he spent nearly four years, c. 724/7. After a further two years spent in Constantinople he went in 729 to Monte Cassino, where he spent ten years (729/39) as a monk under Abbot Petronax. In 739 Pope Gregory III sent him to join Boniface.

Once in Germany St. Willibald rejoined his brother Wynnebald, and the two brothers in 751 or 752 A.D. founded a monastery for men and women at Heidenheim. Wynnebald was head of this monastery till the end of 761, when he died and was succeeded by Walburga, his sister.

It seems that when Walburga came to Wynnebald's funeral she brought with her a young woman, then perhaps already a nun. This young woman was certainly an eye-witness of the translation of Wynnebald's body in 777². She it was who wrote the first *Life* of Willibald, to which she prefixed the following cryptogram:

Secdg quar. quin. n. pri. sprix quar. nter
cpri. n. quar. mter. n. secun. h. quin. g. seed
b. quin. r. c. quar. r. din. ando. h. secde. sorter
b. secd. b. prim.

Earlier printed editions of the *Life* ascribed it to 'a nun of Heidenheim' but in 1931 Dom Bernhard Bischoff provided the key to the cryptogram and revealed her name.³ He recognised that the numerical abbreviations stood for five vowels, and produced this sentence:

Ego una Saxonica nomine Hugeburc ordinando hec scribebam.

Hugeburc tells us that she was the last and youngest member of Willibald's family⁴ to arrive from England to join in the work in Germany.⁵ We do not know when it occurred to her to write his life, but in saying how she did it she seems to indicate two distinct stages. The first was 'collecting the material and putting it in order', and we know that she was able to interview Willibald and take down what he said to her on "Tuesday 23 June".⁶ It seems that she also gained some information about his early life from Abbess Walburga.⁷ This activity must have taken place before 779, the year of Walburga's death, and Hugeburc then seems to have gone on to her second stage 'weaving the material together',⁸ or setting it in its final literary form, which appeared in about 780 as the two *Lives* of Willibald and Wynnebald.

Even if Hugeburc had not made these stages clear, most readers would have been able to detect them. The *Life of Willibald* is written in two sharply-contrasting styles which cannot be due merely to variations in subject-matter. In broad terms the beginning and end of the book is written in long sentences, with occasional similes and a marked liking for alliteration: this is also the style of the *Life of Wynnebald*. But the part of the work which describes

1. The dates here accepted are those worked out by F. Heidingsfelder (ed) *Die Regesten der Bischöfe von Eichstätt* (*Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte* VI, Reihe 1915 ff) pp. 1-15. The legend that Willibald's father was an English king called Richard originated only in the eleventh century.
2. See *V. Wyn* 114.25, 116.5. These numbers refer to the pages and lines in Holder-Egger's text used also by Bauch.
3. B. Bischoff, "Wer ist die Nonne von Heidenheim?" in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens* 49 (1931) p. 387 f.
4. 87.29-30 and *V. Wyn* 114.22.
5. 86.28-9.
6. 87.22: the years when this date occurred were 767, 772 and 778.
7. As she says she did for the life of Wynnebald, 114.22.
8. 88.12.

Willibald's travels is in far shorter sentences,⁹ and is almost free of the embellishments which mark the other style: this style comes as a result of a respectful fidelity to the actual sentences Willibald dictated, and the process of dictation is reflected in the text both when she prefaces one sentence with the words 'Similarly he himself said . . .', and also when she copied from her notes one sentence 'the shepherds gave us sour milk'¹⁰ without changing it, as she did elsewhere, into part of a narrative in the third person.

Hugeburc was scrupulous in passing on all the information she had received from Willibald. Indeed there is a certain defensiveness about her references to his dictation:

We should realise that this account is given not on the basis of legends or untrustworthy stories, but, as it were, under his own watchful eye, as he told it to us by word of mouth. We decided to listen to him and take it down at his dictation. With me were two deacons who heard it on Tuesday 23 June.¹¹

Hugeburc had every reason to be afraid people would not believe her. Willibald was in his eighties at the time the book was completed, and Walburga was dead; thus the writer's age and her late arrival in Germany would certainly suggest that she was unlikely to have had accurate information about the events which took place before her own arrival on the scene.

Where Hugeburc expanded the business-like notes dictated by Willibald, as for instance when she enlarges on his interview with Pope Gregory III, she never seems to have added any solid information, but simply uses more florid language. Indeed an analysis of the conjunctions used by Hugeburc suggests that she tidied up what had been dictated to her,¹² and 'wove it together' with embellishments of her own, but did not venture to make any additions of substance.

Subject and style alike make it fairly easy to locate the point in the *Life* where Hugeburc moves on from the notes she took down from Willibald. Evidently he ended his dictation by describing his consecration as bishop.¹³ The subject demands that Willibald himself should describe his journey from the point where he left England in 720, and presumably at that time said goodbye to Walburga who was the only other person likely to have been Hugeburc's informant for this period. But at this point the style provides little help. Indeed from the point where she describes Willibald's departure from England to the point of his departure from Rome for Jerusalem Hugeburc is writing in the florid style with only a few hints that she is basing her text on Willibald's dictation.¹⁴ Perhaps she was deliberately trying to make an easy transition to the simpler style, or perhaps she tired of the effort to embellish the simple account from which she was working.

For our present purposes we have translated only those parts of the *Life* which seem to come from Willibald's dictation. The shape of the whole work is arranged as follows:

- Prologue and Chapter 1*¹⁵ (86.20-88.12: in the florid style) Hugeburc's address to the clergy, and her statement that she intends to describe Willibald's life from infancy to old age: Hugeburc needed no sources for this.
- Chapters 2-7* (88.13-90.22: in the florid style) Willibald as a child is miraculously cured; his education; his decision to go on pilgrimage: Walburga is the probable source of this information.
- Chapters 8-10A* (91.1-92.26: still almost all in the florid style) Willibald's journey to Rome and his decision to go on to Jerusalem: this information can only have come from Willibald.
- Chapters 10B-32A* (92.26-102.18: apart from a few interpolations in the florid style the simpler style is here maintained throughout) Willibald's seven years' travelling in the East: based on Willibald's own dictation.¹⁶

9. The average length of sentence in the first and last parts of the book is between three and four lines in Holder-Egger's edition, whereas in the middle they average 1.1/3 lines.
10. 97.32.
11. 87.22: compare 105.15-17 p. 135 above.
12. Her favourite conjunctions are identifiable from *V. Wyn*, where they are (in order) *cumque*, (asyndeton), *et*, and *tunc*. In *V. Will* the same four predominate at the beginning and end of the book, and, though they are present in the parts dependent on Willibald's dictation, they are there overshadowed by his own favourites *et inde*, and *et ibi*.
13. The date of the consecration is determined by the season of the year and a feast-day (see 105.10-11), without the periphrases with words like *curriculum* or *inductum* which Hugeburc liked to use. The following chapter begins with an alliteration and other marks of Hugeburc's own composition. Thus the first sentence of Ch. 38 is fifteen lines long: see 105.18-106.3.
14. The clues exist: the very short sentence 'Ibi fuit mercimonia' 91.12, the succession of place-names, and the dating by feasts, 92.2-3 all point to Willibald as her source.
15. The chapter divisions are those used by Tobler and Molinier, *op. cit.*
16. Hugeburc, despite the intention expressed in Ch. 1, seems to regard what he told her as essentially a travelogue, the "seven years' travels" (105.15-17) or "journey" (87.4-17).

Chapters 32B - 34 (102.19 - 104.26: the prevailing florid style seems to be a sign that Hugeburc has here much expanded her source) Willibald travels to Monte Cassino, where he lives for ten years as a monk. Then Gregory III sends him to Boniface in Germany: here again Hugeburc must depend on information given her by Willibald.

Chapters 35 - 37A (104.26 - 105.11: a reversion to the simpler style) On reaching Germany Willibald is ordained priest and, three months later consecrated bishop: dictated by Willibald.

Chapter 37B (105.13 - 17 - two longish sentences) A final note about Willibald's dictation: by Hugeburc herself.

Chapters 38 - 40 (105.18 - 106.25: in the florid style) Eulogy of Willibald's episcopate: original work by Hugeburc.

A LIST OF SOURCES

A. Abbreviations common in this list.

- AA.SS. = *Acta Sanctorum*, Antwerp 1643 ff.
 AB = *Analecta Bollandiana*, Paris and Brussels, 1882 ff.
 ACW = *Ancient Christian Writers, The Works of the Fathers in Translation*, ed. J. Quasten - J. C. Plumpe, Westminster, Md - London 1946 ff.
 ANCL = *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Edinburgh 1864 ff.
 BGA = *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabum*, Leyden 1870 ff.
 CSHB = *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 49 vols., Bonn 1828 - 78.
 CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Paris, etc., 1903 ff.
 CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna 1866 f.
 CSL = *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, Turnhout 1953 ff.
 Eg. Tr. = *Egeria's Travels*, tr. J. Wilkinson, London 1971.
 FC = *Fathers of the Church*, ed. R. J. Deferrari.
 GCS = *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig - Berlin 1897 ff.
 GGM = *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, Paris 1882.
 ICC = *Library of Christian Classics*, SCM Press, London 1953 ff.
 LF = *Library of the Fathers*, 43 vols., Oxford 1838 - 74.
 Loeb = *Loeb Classical Library*, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1912 ff.
 NPNF = *Nicene and Post-Nicene Christian Fathers*, New York 1887 - 92 Oxford 1890 - 1900.
 NTA = *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. E. Hennecke - W. Schneemelcher, tr. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols, London 1963.
 Or. Chr. = *Oriens Christianus*, Leipzig 1901 ff.
 PG = *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1857 ff.
 PL = *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1844 ff.
 PO = *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. R. Graffin - F. Nau, Paris 1907 ff.
 SC = *Sources Chrétiennes*, Paris 1940 ff.
 TGA = *Textes Géographiques Arabes*, tr. A. Marmadji, Paris 1951.
 TS = *Texts and Studies*, Cambridge
 TU = *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Leipzig 1882 ff.

B. Alphabetical List of Authors

The figures which follow the names in this list indicate the years where the complete entry is to be found in section C. Names in brackets are authors to whom a work has been wrongly ascribed.

(Addai) 370
 Adomnan 685
 Aelius Spartianus 300
 Aethiria or Egeria 384
 Africanus, S. Julius 221
 al Antaki 1050-63
 al Bakri 1094
 Alexander the Monk 550
 al Mas'udi 943
 al Muqaddesi 985
 (Anastasius of Sinai) 650, 9th c.
 Andrew of Crete 740
 Anonymous works:
 Acts of Pilate 300

Against Marcion 325
Apocalypse of Baruch 70-100
Apophthegmata of the Fathers 475
Armenian Guide-book 715-1009
Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem 417-38
Babylonian Talmud 500
Barsauma, Hist. of 458
Beersheba Tax Edict 6th c.
 Bishops at: Nicaea 325
 Ephesus 431
Breviarium 6th c.
Chronicon Paschale 629
Churches in Jerusalem:
 (Armenian work) 12th c.

(Latin work) 808
Commemoratorium 808
De situ Urbis Ierusalem 1130
Didascalia (Doctrine) of Addai 370
 Epitome of Stephanus of Byzantium,
On Cities 600
Georgian Kanonarium 700-750
Gospel of the Hebrews 175
Infancy Story of Thomas 2nd c.
Jerusalem Talmud 425
L'Estat de la Cité de Iherusalem 1187
 Life of:
Amos the Patriarch 590
Barsauma 458
Chariton the Confessor 7th c.
Constantine 715-1009
the Fathers 6th c.
Melania the Younger 439
the Prophets 80
The Madaba Map 600
Memorandum (Commemoratorium) on the
Houses of God 808
Mishnah 200
Papyri 150
Passion of the Forty Martyrs 639
Peutinger Map 200-400
Protogospelium of James 150
Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions 3rd c.
Qualiter sita est Ierusalem 1100
Short Account (Breviarius) of Jerusalem 6th c.
Talmud 425, 500
Tabula Peutingeriana 200
 Tracts of 12th century: see 1100, 1111, 1170, 1175,
 1180, 1185
Travels from:
Bordeaux 333
Piacenza 570
Typicon of the Great Church
 mid-10th c., 1122
 Antiochus the Monk 620
 Antony of Chozoba 625-30
 (Artemidorus) 400
 Athanasius 358-9
 Augustine 413-26
 Aurelius Prudentius 403
 Aurelius Victor 360
 Baladuri 869
 Bakri, al 1094
 (Baruch) 70-100
 Basil of Caesarea 370-78
 Bede 702-3
 (Bede) 7th c.
 Bernard the Monk 870
 Bordeaux pilgrim 333
 Benjamin of Tudela 1173
 Cassian, John 419-26
 Christian Druthmar 870
 Chrysostom, John 386-97
 (Chrysostom, John) 10th c.
 Clement of Rome 95-96
 (Clement) early 3rd c.
 Cosmas Indicopleustes 547
 Cyril of Alexandria 429
 Cyril of Jerusalem 348-51
 Cyril of Scythopolis 557

Daniel the Abbot 1107
 Dicuil 825
 Dio Cassius 229
 Diodore of Tarsus 380
 Dionysius Exiguus 545
 (Dioscorus) 466
 Egeria or Etheria 384
 Eghise the Monk 7th c.
 Epiphanius the Monk a. 638-89; b. & c. 715-1009
 Epiphanius of Salamis 374-94
 (Epiphanius of Salamis) 80
 Eucherius before 449
 Eugesippus-Fretellus 1148
 Eusebius of Caesarea 303-39
 Eutychius of Alexandria 939-44
 Eutychius of Constantinople 575
 Evagrius Scholasticus 594-600

Faustinus and Marcellinus 378-79

George Cedrenus 1058
 George of Cyprus 606
 George Hamartolos 850
 George Syncellus 806-10
 Gregory of Nyssa 379-83
 Gregory of Tours 585
 Hegesippus 380
 Hesychius of Jerusalem 440
 Hierocles 535
 Hilary of Poitiers 365
 Hippolytus of Rome 210
 Hippolytus of Thebes 460-90
 Hrabanus Maurus 830
 Hugeburc 780

Ibn Abdi Rabbih 913
 Ibn al Faqih 903
 Ibn Haukal 978
 Ibn Khurdadbih 864
 Ibn Wadhih 874-91
 Irenaeus 178
 Isidore of Pelusium 410
 Istakhri 951

Jacinthus the Priest 750
 Jacob of Sarug 500
 (James) 150, 450
 Jerome 377-419
 (Jerome) 700
 John Cassian 419-26
 John Chrysostom 386-97
 (John Chrysostom) 10th c.
 John Damascene 725
 John the Deacon 872
 John Euchaita 1050
 John Malalas 575
 John Moschus 615
 John of Nikiu 700
 John Phocas 1177
 John Rufus 500
 John of Würzburg 1165
 Julius Africanus 221
 Justin Martyr 155
 Juvenius 330
 Latin Kingdom Maps 1150-1180
 Leo the Great 453
 Lucian the Priest 415

Malalas, John 575
 Marcellinus Comes 550
 Mark the Deacon 420
 Mas'udi, al 943
 (Matthew, the Hebrew) 8th or 9th c.
 Maximus Heracleensis 400
 Modestus, Abbot 625
 Moschus, John 615
 Muqaddesi, al 985

Nasir i Khosrau 1047
 (Nilus) 430

Optatus 367
 Origen 231-46
 (Origen) 400

Palladius 419
 Paulinus of Nola 403-9
 Peter the Deacon 1137
 Peter Helladicus 526
 Philostorgius 425-33
 Photius 870-95
 Piacenza pilgrim 570
 (Pilate) 300
 Procopius of Caesarea 550-8
 Procopius of Gaza 538
 Prudentius 403

Rabanus Maurus 830
 Rufinus 401-3
 (Rufinus) 454

Saewulf 1103

Said Ibn al Batriq 939-44
 Sebeos 670
 Sextus Julius Africanus 221
 Silvia or Egeria 384
 Simeon Metaphrastes 960
 Socrates 439-50
 Sophronius of Jerusalem c. 614
 Sozomen 439-50
 Spartianus, Aelius 300
 Stephanus of Byzantium 540 (600)
 Stephanus of Mar Saba 800
 Strategius 760
 Sulpicius Severus 403-5

Tertullian 192-213
 (Tertullian) 300
 Theoderic 1172
 Theodore Lector 6th c.
 Theodore of Petra 536-47
 Theodoret 445-53
 Theodosius 518
 Theophanes Isaurus 814-15
 (Thomas) end 2nd c.

Valerius the Abbot 7th c.
 Victor, S. Aurelius 360

William of Tyre 1143

Ya'kubi 874-91
 Yahya Ibn Said 1050-63

Zacharias of Jerusalem 614
 Zacharias Rhetor 525

C. Chronological list of sources

Where possible this chronological list of works gives under each entry the date of the work, the author's name, the title of the work, the edition to which references are made elsewhere in the book, and any English translation known to the compiler.

If an author is known to have spent any significant time in the Holy Land his name appears in capitals. An author whose name appears in brackets is one to whom a work has been wrongly ascribed.

In this work references are usually given as follows:

- (a) The Author's name; or
- (b) The year of writing assigned in the following list followed by a colon;
- (c) The chapter or section number followed by a dash;
- (d) The page-number in the edition here mentioned.

- A.D.
- 70-100 *Apocalypse of Baruch*, tr. R. H. Charles, (*Translations of Early Documents*, ser. 1, no. 9), London 1917.
- c. 80 *The Lives of the Prophets*, ed. and tr. C. C. Torrey (*J.B.L. Monograph Series* 1), Philadelphia, Pa. 1946.
- 95-96 Clement of Rome, *First Letter to the Corinthians*, ed. J. B. Lightfoot, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, Vol. I, London 1890; tr. in C. C. Richardson (ed.), *Early Church Fathers* (LCC 1, 1953).
- before 150 Papyrus Egerton 2, (tr. J. Jeremias), NTA 1, pp. 96f.
- c. 150 Papyrus Bodmer 5, *La Nativité de Marie*, ed. and Fr. tr. by M. Testuz, Coligny-Geneve 1938.
- c. 150 *Protogospel of James*, (tr. O. Cullmann) NTA 1, pp. 374-388.
- c. 155 JUSTIN MARTYR, (a) *First Apology* and (b) *Dialogue with Trypho*, ed. F. Martin, PG 6; tr. T. B. Falls, FC 6.
- before 175 *Gospel of the Hebrews*, (tr. P. Vielhauer), NTA 1, pp. 158-65.
- after 178 Irenaeus, *Against the Heresies*, ed. and Fr. tr. by A. Rousseau, SC 100, 1965 (Book IV); tr. J. Koble, LF, 1872; and A. Roberts and W. Rambaut, ANCL 5, 1858-9.
- end 2nd c. *Infancy Story of Thomas*, (tr. O. Cullmann), NTA 1, pp. 388-400.
- after 193 Tertullian, *Against the Jews*, ed. J. G. P. Borelles, CSL 2; tr. S. Thelwall et al., ANCL 18, 1870.
- c. 200 *The Mishnah*, tr. H. Danby, Oxford 1933.
- early 3rd c. Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*, ed. B. Rehm and F. Paschke, GCS II, Berlin 1965; tr. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, ANCL 1867.
- 200-400 *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ed. K. Müller, *Die Weltkarte des Caesarius genannt die Peutingerische Tafel*, Ravensburg 1888.
- c. 210 Hippolytus, *Works*, ed. G. N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis, GCS (I.2), Leipzig 1897.
- 213 Tertullian, *Scorpiae*, (ed. Borelles).
- c. 221 S. IULIUS AFRICANUS, *Chronicon*, ed. M. J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, 2nd ed., Vol. II, Oxford 1846.
- 229 Dio Cassius, *History of the Romans*, ed. U. P. Boissac, Berlin 1901; tr. E. Cary, Loeb, 1914-27.
- after 231 ORIGEN, *Commentary on St. John*, ed. G. Preussner, GCS (IV) 1903; Fr. tr. C. Blanc, SC 157, 1970.
- c. 240 ORIGEN, *On the Song of Songs*, ed. O. Rousseau, with Fr. tr., SC 37, 1953.
- after 244 ORIGEN, *Commentary on St. Matthew*, ed. E. Klostermann, GCS (X-XII), 1933-41.
- after 246 ORIGEN, *Against Celsus*, ed. M. Borret, SC 132/136, 1967/8; tr. H. Chadwick, Cambridge, England, 1965.
- fl. 300 Aelius Spartianus, *Life of Severus*, ed. H. Peter, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1884; tr. D. Magie, Loeb 189, 1969.
- after 300 *Acts of Pilate* (tr. F. Schickelweider) NTA 1, pp. 444-76.
- c. 303 EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA, *Chronicon*, ed. A. Schoene, Berlin 1866; tr. A. C. McGiffert and E. C. Richardson, NPNF 2.1 1890.
- after 311 EUSEBIUS, *The Martyrs of Palestine*, ed. T. Mommsen, GCS (II.2) 1908; tr. H. J. Lawlor and J. B. J. Oulton, London 1927-8.
- 313 EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. E. Schwartz and T. Mommsen, GCS (II.1.2) 1903, 1908; tr. H. J. Lawlor and J. B. J. Oulton, London 1927-8.
- after 314 EUSEBIUS, *Preparation of the Gospel*, ed. K. Murs, GCS (VII) Berlin 1954-6.
- 315-320 EUSEBIUS, *Demonstration of the Gospel*, ed. I. A. Heikel, GCS (VI) 1913; tr. A. C. McGiffert and E. C. Richardson, NPNF, 1890.
- after 323 EUSEBIUS, *The Theophany*, ed. H. Gressmann, GCS (III.2) 1904; tr. from Syriac S. Lee, London 1842.
- 325 *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina*, ed. H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeldt, and O. Cuntz, Leipzig 1898.
- c. 325 *Against Marcion* (in verse), ed. J. P. Migne, PL 2.
- before 331 EUSEBIUS, *Onomasticon*, ed. E. Klostermann, GCS (II.2), 1904.
- 333 BORDEAUX PILGRIM, *Travels*, ed. P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, CSL 175, pp. 1-26; part tr. J. Wilkinson, Eg. Tr. pp. 153-161.
- c. 330 Juvenius, *Gospel Histories*, ed. F. Arevalus, PL 19.
- 335 EUSEBIUS, *In Praise of Constantine*, ed. I. A. Heikel, GCS (VII) 1902; tr. E. C. Richardson, NPNF 2.1, 1890.
- after 337 EUSEBIUS, *Life of Constantine*, ed. I. A. Heikel, *ibid.*; tr. E. C. Richardson.
- c. 337 EUSEBIUS, *Commentary on Isaiah*, ed. B. de Montfaucon, PG 24.
- before 339 EUSEBIUS, *Exposition of Psalm 88*, ed. B. de Montfaucon, PG 23.
- before 348 CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Homily on the Paralytic*, ed. A. A. Toulet and P. Maran, PG 33.
- before 348 CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Catechetical Lectures*, ed. A. A. Toulet and P. Maran, PG 33. Note that the last five (Oxyptagical) lectures may belong to Cyril's successor John of Jerusalem, bishop 386-417 A.D.
- 351 CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, *Letter to Constantine*, ed. PG 33; tr. W. Telfer LCC (4) 1955.
- 358 Athanasius, *History of the Arians*, ed. N. A. Guistiniani, PG 25; tr. A. Robertson, NPNF 1893.
- 359 Athanasius, *On the Synods*, ed. N. A. Guistiniani, PG 26; tr. J. H. Newman, NPNF 2.4, 1892.
- c. 360 S. Aurelius Victor, *On the Caesars*, ed. B. Richlmayer, Leipzig 1911.
- c. 365 Hilary of Poitiers, *On the Psalms*, ed. A. Zingerle, CSEL 22, 1891.
- c. 367 Optatus, *On the Schism of the Donatists*, ed. L. E. F. Dupin, PL 11.
- 370-378 Basil of Caesarea, *Letters*, ed. I. Garnier and F. Maran, PG 32.
- 370-400 *The Didascalia of Adulph*, ed. P. de Lagarde, Leipzig 1854; Fr. tr. L. Nau, *La Didascalie des Douze Apôtres*, 2nd ed., Paris 1912, App. 1, pp. 223 ff.; Eng. tr. G. Phillips, London 1876.
- 374-377 EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS, *Against the Heresies*, ed. K. Holl, GCS (I.1-3) 1915-33.
- 377 Jerome, *Life of Paul the First Hermit*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 23; tr. W. H. Fremantle, NPNF 2.6, 1893.
- 377 Jerome, *Chronicle*, ed. R. Helm, GCS (Eus. VII) Berlin 1956.
- 378-379 FAUSTINUS AND MARCELLINUS, *Supplications to the Emperors*, ed. A. Gallandius, PL 13.
- 379 GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Life of Holy Macrina*, ed. F. Ducasius and J. Gretzer, PG 46; tr. H. O. Ogle, NPNF 2.5, 1893.
- c. 380 Diodore of Tarsus, *On Genesis*, ed. R. Corderius, PG 33.
- c. 380 Hegesippus, *History*, ed. V. Ussani and C. Mias, CSEL 66, 1932.
- c. 383 GREGORY OF NYSSA, *Letters 2 and 3*, ed. F. Ducasius and J. Gretzer, PG 46; tr. W. Moore and H. A. Wilson, (= *On Pilgrimages and Ep. 17*) NPNF 2.5, 1893.
- 384 EGERIA, *Travels*, ed. A. Franceschini and R. Weber, CSL 175, 1965, pp. 37-90 and parts of Appendix, pp. 93-103; tr. J. Wilkinson, London 1971, pp. 91-147 and 180-210; page references are to this translation.
- 386-419 JEROME, *Homily on (a) John 1.1-14, and (b) on the Nativity*, ed. G. Morin, CSL 78.
- 386-397 John Chrysostom's Homilies and Commentaries, ed. B. de Montfaucon, PG 47-64; selection tr. NPNF (9-14).
- 387 John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Statues: to the people of Antioch*, ed. B. de Montfaucon, PG 49; tr. NPNF 1.9.
- 387-389 JEROME, (a) *Commentary on Ephesians*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 26.
- JEROME, (b) *Questions on the Hebrew of Genesis*, ed.

- M. Adriaen, CSL 73.
- JEROME, (c) *Book of Places (Liber locorum)*, ed. E. Klostermann, GCS (Eus. III.1), 1904.
- JEROME, (d) *Life of Hilarius*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 23; tr. W. H. Fremantle, NPNF II.6, 1893.
- JEROME, (e) *Small Commentaries on the Psalter*, ed. G. Morin, CSL 72.
- JEROME, (f) *Treatises on Paulus 10-16*, ed. B. Capelle, CSL 78.
- JEROME, *Commentaries on (g) Micah, (h) Zephaniah, (i) Nahum, and (j) Habakkuk*, ed. M. Adriaen, CSL 76-76A.
- 392 EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS, *Treatise on Weights and Measures*, ed. and tr. J. E. Dean (*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 11) Chicago 1935.
- 392-393 JEROME, (a) *On Illustrious Men*, ed. and tr. E. C. Richardson, TU 14 (1896), pp. 1-56, and NPNF II.3, 1893.
- JEROME, *Letters (b) 46 and (c) 47*, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 54/55, 1910/1912; both tr. W. Fremantle, NPNF II.6, 1893, and *Ep. 46* as "The Letter of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella", tr. A. Stewart, Notes by C. W. Wilson, PPTS, London, 1889.
- JEROME, (d) *Against Iovinianus*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 23; tr. W. Fremantle, NPNF II.6, 1893.
- 393-394 EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS, *Letter to John of Jerusalem* (Lat. tr. by Jerome given as his Ep. 51), ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- 394 EPIPHANIUS OF SALAMIS, *On the Gerns*, ed. and tr. R. P. Blake and H. de Vis (*Studies and Documents* 2) London 1934.
- 394-395 JEROME, *Letter 48*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- 395 JEROME, *Letters (a) 53 and (b) 57*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- 396 JEROME, (a) *Against John of Jerusalem*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 23; tr. W. Fremantle, NPNF II.6, 1893.
- JEROME, (b) *Letter 82*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- JEROME, *Commentaries on (c) Jonah and (d) Obadiah*, ed. M. Adriaen, CSL 76.
- 397 JEROME, (a) *Letter 65*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- JEROME, (b) *Commentary on the Visions of Isaiah*, ed. M. Adriaen, CSL 73-73A.
- 397-400 JEROME, *Letter 147*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- 398 JEROME, (a) *Commentary on Matthew*, ed. D. Hurst and M. Adriaen, CSL 77.
- JEROME, *Letters (b) 66 and (c) 73*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- 399 JEROME, *Letters (a) 75 and (b) 84*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- 400 JEROME, *Letter 77*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- c. 400 (Origen), *Select comments on Ps 88.1*, ed. C. de la Rue, PG 12.
- c. 400 Maximus Heracleensis, *Epitome of the "Geography" of Artemidorus*, ed. C. Müller, G.G.M.
- 401 RUFINUS, *Apology*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 21; tr. B. Jackson, NPNF II.3, 1893.
- 402 JEROME, *Apology to Rufinus*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 23; tr. B. Jackson, NPNF II.5, 1893.
- before 403 Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Dittachaeum*, ed. F. Arevalus, PL 60, and M. P. Cunningham, CSL 126A; tr. H. J. Thomson, Loeb, 1949.
- 403 Paulinus of Nola, *Letter 31*, ed. W. Hartel, CSEL 29.
- 403 RUFINUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 21.
- c. 403 Sulpicius Severus, *Sacred History*, ed. H. de Ersto, PL 20; tr. E. C. Gibson, NPNF II.11, 1894.
- 404 JEROME, *Letter 108*, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 55, 1912; tr. W. Fremantle, NPNF II.6, and in part above, pp. 47/52.
- 404-405 JEROME, *Letter 114*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- c. 405 Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogue I*, ed. da Prato, tr. Gibson.
- 406 JEROME, (a) *Against Vigilantius*, ed. D. Vallarsi, PL 23; tr. W. Fremantle, NPNF II.6, 1893.
- JEROME, *Commentaries on (b) Zechariah, (c) Hosea, (d) Joel and (e) Amos*, ed. M. Adriaen, CSL 76.
- 407 JEROME, *Letters (a) 120 and (b) 122*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- JEROME, *Commentary on (c) Daniel*, ed. F. Glorie, CSL 75A;
- 408-410 JEROME, *Commentary on Isaiah*, ed. M. Adriaen, CSL 73.
- 409 Paulinus of Nola, *Letter 49*, ed. Hartel.
- c. 410 Isidore of Pelusium, *Letter 27*, ed. F. Possinus, PG 78.
- 410-414 JEROME, *Commentary on Ezekiel*, ed. F. Glorie, CSL 75.
- 413-426 Augustine, *The City of God*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CSL 47-8, 1935; tr. J. Healey (R.V.G. Tasker), London 1945.
- 414 JEROME, *Letter 129*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- 414-416 JEROME, *Commentary on Jeremiah*, ed. S. Reiter, CSL 74.
- 415 LUCIAN THE PRIEST, *Letter on the Discovery of Saint Stephen*, ed. J. P. Migne, PL 41.
- c. 415 Augustine, *Letter 155*, ed. J. Blampin et al., PL 33.
- c. 416 Augustine, *Treatises on John*, ed. R. Willems, CSL 36; tr. P. Schaaf, NPNF 1, 7, 1887.
- 417-439 *The Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem (Codex Arm. Jerusalem 121)*, ed. A. Rodoux, PO 35; English summary, J. Wilkinson, Eg. Tr. pp. 262-77.
- 419 JEROME, *Letters (a) 139 and (b) 143*, ed. Hilberg; tr. Fremantle.
- c. 419 PALLADIUS, *The Laetice History*, ed. C. Butler, TS 1/2, 1898/1904; tr. R. T. Meyer, ACW 1965.
- 419-426 JOLIN CASSIAN, *The Institutes*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17, 1888; E. C. S. Gibson, NPNF II.11, 1894.
- c. 420 JOHN CASSIAN, *The Conferences*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13, 1886; tr. Gibson.
- c. 420 MARK THE DEACON, *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*, ed. A. Krueger et al., Leipzig 1895; tr. G. P. Hill, Oxford 1913.
- c. 421 Augustine, *Against Julian the Pelagian*, ed. J. Blampin et al.; tr. P. Schaaf, NPNF 1.5.
- before 425 *The Jerusalem Talmud*, ed. Wilna 1922.
- 425-433 Philostorgius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez, GCS 1913.
- before 429 CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *Commentaries on (a) Isaiah, (b) Amos, (c) the Psalms, and (d) Zechariah*, ed. J. Aubert, PG 67, 70, 71, 72.
- after 430 (Nilus), *Narrations*, ed. P. Possinus, PG 79.
- 431 (Bishops present at the Council of Ephesus): E. Gerland and V. Laurent, *Corpus Notitiarum Episcopatum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae*, Vol. I, Istanbul 1936.
- 439-450 Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. H. Valoisius - W. Reading, PG 67; tr. A. C. Zeno, NPNF II.2.
- 439-450 SOZOMEN, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez - G. C. Hansen, GCS, Berlin 1960; tr. C. D. Hartman, NPNF II.2.
- after 439 *Life of Melania the Younger*, ed. and Fr. tr. D. Gorce, SC 90, 1962.
- c. 440 HESYCHIUS OF JERUSALEM, (a) *Problems and Answers* and (b) *Commentaries on the Psalms and Isaiah*, ed. M. Paulhaber, Freiburg-Br. 1900; (c) *Panegyric on St. Stephen*, ed. P. Devos, AR 86 (1968).
- c. 445 Theodoret, *Commentary on Ezekiel*, ed. J. Sirmond et al., PG 81.
- c. 447 Theodoret, *Commentary on Zechariah*, ed. Sirmond.
- c. 448 Theodoret, *Commentary on Isaiah*, ed. Sirmond.
- before 449 Eucherius, *Letter to Faustus on the Site of Jerusalem*, ed. I. Fraipont, CSL 175; tr. above pp. 53/55.
- c. 449 Theodoret, *Commentary on Jeremiah*, ed. Sirmond.
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Fuller bibliographies for the earlier of the sources translated above appear in *CSL* 175, ix/xiii, 31/4, 107, 128 (notes), 177/81 (notes), and 182; and in *CSL* 176, 852/3.

*Additional books on the sources translated***Jerome, Letter 108**

The translation above, pp. 47/52 was made from Hilberg's text in *CSEL* 55. The *PPTS* translation, which was published in 1887, was made by A. Stewart, with notes by C. W. Wilson. The Maurine text edited with some valuable notes by D. Vallarsi appears in *PL* 23, but the only full-scale edition with notes (which are in Latin) is the fine work by F. Stummer in his *Monumenta historiam et geographiam Terrae Sanctae illustrantia, (Florilegium Patristicum* 41), Bonn 1935, pp. 27/49.

Eucherius, Letter to Faustus

The translation on pp. 53/55 above was made from I. Fraipont's text in *CSL* 175, pp. 237/43. Apart from the other literature, which is mentioned in our notes above, there was a previous English translation by A. Stewart in the *PPTS* library, 1890, with notes by C. W. Wilson.

John Rufus, Life of Peter the Iberian

Despite its historical value this biography has been edited only once, by Richard Raabe, whose text and translation are generally agreed to need revision. The translation above was very kindly corrected from Raabe's Syriac text by the late Father F. L. Lemoine O.P.

Breviarius

The translation above, pp. 59/61, depends for its presentation on R. Weber's text in *CSL* 175, pp. 109/12. A. Stewart's translation for the *PPTS* appeared in 1890. Earlier studies of the *Breviarius*, like J. Gildemeister's *Theodosius de Situ Terrae Sanctae in ächten Text, und der Breviarius de Hierosolyma vervollständigt*, Bonn 1882, pp. 33/5, or A. Heisenberg's *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, pp. 111/22 need to be supplemented by A. Wilmart, "Un nouveau témoin du *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*", *R. B.* 1928, pp. 101/6.

Theodosius, The Topography of the Holy Land

Translated on pp. 63/71 above from Geyer's text in *CSL* 175, pp. 113/25; the most useful discussion of the text is that of Gildemeister, *op. cit.* A. Heisenberg, *op. cit.* pp. 106/10 analysed Theodosius' description of the buildings round Christ's Tomb.

Cosmas Indicopleustes

Since the best text, edited by E. O. Winstedt, in *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, Cambridge 1909, was not available when making the translation on p. 73 above, the text edited by B. de Montfaucon in *PG* 88 was used. See further Winstedt's articles in *JTS* 1905, 282/5; 1906, 626; 1907, 101, 607; and R. Devreesse in *R.B.* 49 (1940) 206.

Procopius of Caesarea

The Loeb edition of *The Buildings* contains excellent notes by G. Downey. A. Stewart's translation for *PPTS* (1896) was not as good as Downey's. The translation on pp. 75/77 above was made for this book.

The Piacenza Pilgrim

P. Geyer's edition, which is to be found both in *CSEL* 39, pp. 159 ff. and in *CSL* 175, pp. 127 ff, was used as the basis of the present translation on pp. 79/89 above. Some of Wilson's notes to the earlier *PPTS* translation (1887) are still valuable. Geyer presented a great deal of useful material in his *Kritische und sprachliche Erläuterungen zu Ant. Plac. Itin.*, Augsburg 1892. On both the Latinity and the ethos of the pilgrimage see G. F. M. Vermeer, *Observations sur le Vocabulaire du Pèlerinage chez Égérie et chez Antonin de Plaisance, (Latinitas Christianorum Primaeva* 19), Nijmegen 1965. The two articles by H. Grisar in *ZKT* 26 (1902) 760/70, and 27 (1903) 776/8 are still illuminating.

Sophronius, Anacreontica

Extracts are translated above, pp. 91/92.

For the Life of the author see, besides von Schönborn's work, the new article by H. Chadwick, "John Moschus and his friend Sophronius the Sophist", *JTS* 1974, 41/74, especially pp. 49/55.

Adomnan, On the Holy Places

Understanding of Adomnan's work was greatly advanced by P. Geyer's *Adamnanus, Abt von Jona*, I Teil, Augsburg 1895, which retains its interest, but needs to be read in conjunction with the retractions in the introduction to *CSEL* 39. The second part of *Adamnanus* has now been superseded by the work of L. Bieler: his new text appears both in *CSL* 175, pp. 175/234 (from which the present translation was made) and in Denis Meehan's *Adamnan, De Locis Sanctis, (Scriptores latini Hiberniae 3)*, Dublin 1958, which is a model of clear and helpful presentation. The translation above, pp. 93/116, was specially made for this book.

Epiphanius the Monk

Our translation on pp. 117/121 above is from the text edited by H. Donner in *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 66/82. A. M. Schneider, "Das *Itinerarium* des Epiphanius Hagiopolita", *ZDPV* 63 (1941) 143/54, made the first important analytical study of Epiphanius Monachus. His work should be read in conjunction with his article on the date of the *Life of Constantine*, *ZNTW* 40 (1941) 245/9.

Hugeburc, Life of Willibald

Both the *PPTS* translation by W.R.B. Brownlow and ours (pp. 125/135 above) are based on the fine edition of the text by O. Holder-Egger in *Monumenta Germanicae Historiae* XV (1), 1887, pp. 86/106. To this text A. Bauch provided a German translation and excellent notes and maps in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Diözese Eichstätt*, I, *Biographien der Gründungszeit*, Eichstätt 1962, pp. 11/122.

Dicuili, On the Measurement of the World

The best text is that of G. Parthey, *Dicuili liber de Mensura Orbis Terrae*, Berlin 1870, but the best notes are those of Letronne's text from which our translation was made (p. 139 above).

SOURCES FOR THE MAPS

Most maps of Palestine are traced from *Israel, 1: 500,000*, Survey of Israel, June 1970 and, for the surrounding areas, from the appropriate sheets of *The World, 1: 500,000*, Series 1404, ed. 3, GSGS, London, various dates. All grid references are to the Palestine grid. Among the other sources the most important are:

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INDEX OF PERSONS

Ap.	=	Apostle	M.	=	martyr
bp.	=	bishop	mon.	=	monastery
ch.	=	church	Mt.	=	Mount
Emp.	=	Emperor, Empress	pat.	=	patriarch
Jer.	=	Jerusalem	pr.	=	prophet
*	=	Jerusalem	St.	=	Saint

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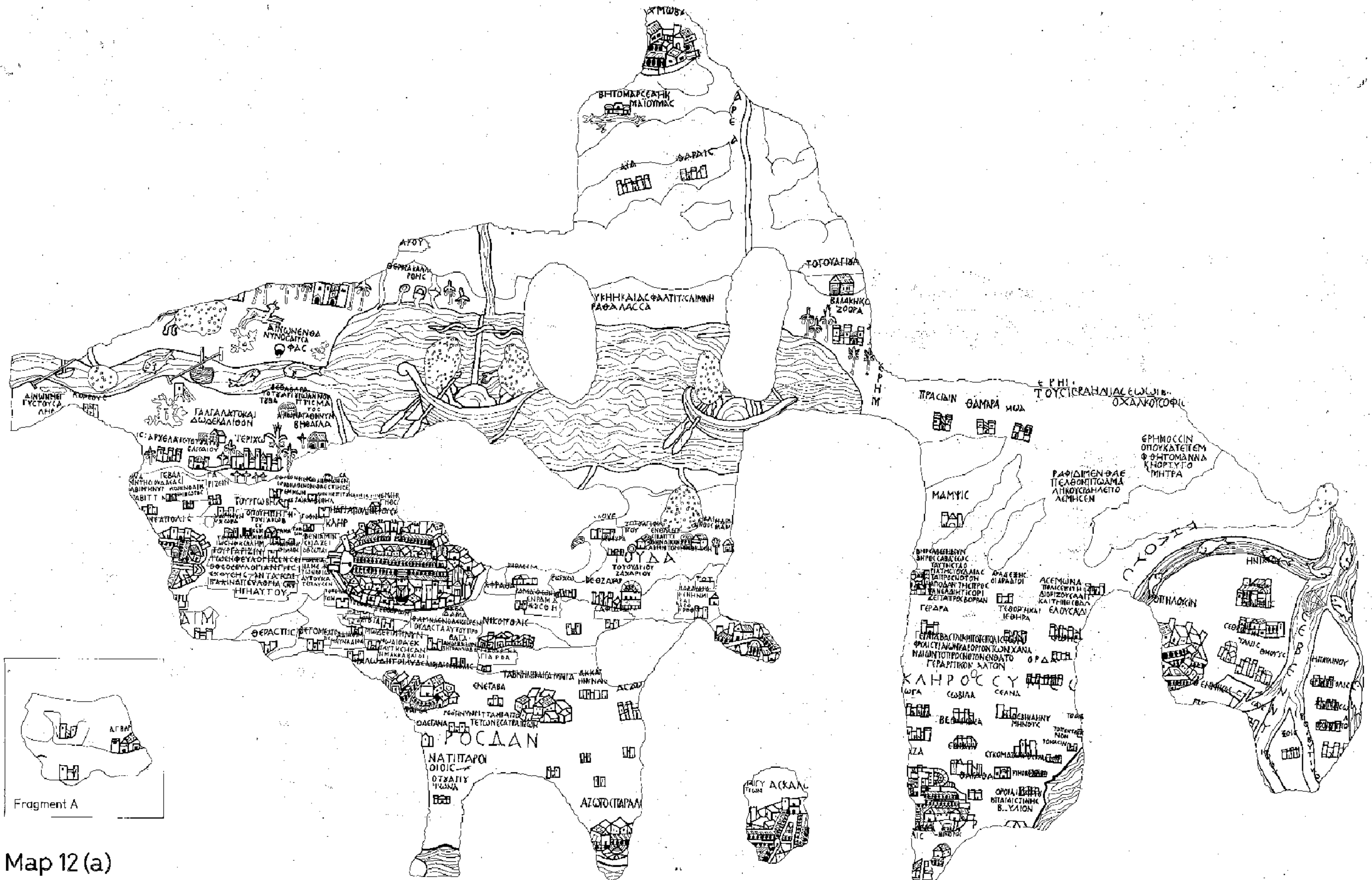
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THE MADABA MOSAIC MAP



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