Pilgrimage to Jerusalem
Journeys, Destinations, Experiences across Times and Cultures

Falko Daim · Johannes Pahlitzsch · Joseph Patrich
Claudia Rapp · Jon Seligman (eds)



Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus
Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident
Mainz / Frankfurt



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Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident | 19
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Proceedings of the Conference held in Jerusalem, 5th to 7th December 2017

Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums | Mainz | 2020



YAD IZHAK BEN-ZVI
Institute for Research on Eretz Israel

ISRAEL ANTIQUITIES AUTHORITY רשות העתיקות

ÖAW ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

FWF Der Wissenschaftsfonds.

Redaktion: Stefan Albrecht, Claudia Nickel (RGZM), Martin Dennert
Satz: Dieter Imhäuser, Hofheim a. T.
Umschlaggestaltung: Claudia Nickel (RGZM); Coverbild: View of Jerusalem (detail). From Bernhard von Breidenbach, Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam (Mainz 1486)

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über **http://dnb.d-nb.de** abrufbar.

ISBN 978-3-88467-327-0

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Druck: johnen-druck GmbH & Co. KG, Bernkastel-Kues
Printed in Germany.

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Introduction

Jerusalem is a city holy to three world religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. From the early Byzantine period, Christian pilgrimage here and to other holy sites became a »mass phenomenon« after Saint Helen was said to have miraculously discovered the »True Cross of Christ«, and her son Constantine the Great had built churches in this area. Thousands of Christian believers made their way to holy sites in Palestine, Egypt and other places in order to physically experience salvation history and seek divine intervention in their lives. Numerous travel reports, pilgrim guides and other written sources highlight important aspects of pilgrimage. In addition, many well-preserved churches, monasteries, hostels and other buildings, as well as rich archaeological findings, provide us with a vivid and synthetic picture of the history of pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In the course of these religiously motivated journeys, people of the three »religions of the book« came into contact and interacted in a multitude of ways.

The particular resonance of the phenomenon of pilgrimage was the topic of a large research project of the Leibniz ScienceCampus Mainz: Byzantium between Orient and Occident, entitled »For the sake of salvation and happiness in life: Studies on Byzantine pilgrimage and its origins«, which was conducted from 2013 until 2016 and concluded with a conference on Byzantine pilgrimage in Mainz in December of 2015[1]. The idea for an additional conference on pilgrimage arose in 2016 in the context of researching objects for the exhibition »Byzantium & the West. 1000 Forgotten Years (Byzanz & der Westen. 1000 vergessene Jahre)«, which was displayed in 2018 on the Schallaburg in cooperation with the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum[2]. The topic of the exhibition was mutual communication at various levels and with various media. For the transfer of information and wares, from the fourth century onwards travelers, especially pilgrims, as well as crusaders, played a crucial role. A significant component of the exhibition was thus devoted to pilgrimage and the crusaders, along with their consequences. Israeli colleagues and institutions supported the exhibition with numerous exhibits, so that the pilgrimage phenomenon could be exhaustively displayed.

In conversations of the curators of the exhibition, Falko Daim and Dominik Heher, with Benjamin Kedar, Gideon Avni, Jon Seligman and Joseph Patrich, it was then decided that a conference initially planned for Mainz would be more ideally held in Jerusalem. This led to another enlargement of the topic from that of the exhibition, since Jerusalem represents a particularly prominent pilgrimage destination for all three religions of the book. The conference was concerned not only with Christian, but also with Jewish and Muslim pilgrimage. The aspect of the movement, and convergence, of people and objects towards one particular site that was charged with multiple religious meanings also resonated with the work of Claudia Rapp's research team that investigates »Mobility, Microstructures and Personal Agency«[3].

The conference took place from December 5th to 7th, 2017, at the Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute for Research on Eretz Israel. It was financed by the Leibniz ScienceCampus Mainz (a cooperation of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum and the Johannes Gutenberg University), represented by Falko Daim and Johannes Pahlitzsch; the Israel Academy of Science, represented by Benjamin Kedar; the Israel Antiquities Authority, represented by Jon Seligman and Gideon Avni; the Hebrew University and the Israel Association of Byzantine Studies, each represented by Joseph Patrich; as well as the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences and its Institute for Medieval Research, Division of Byzantine Research, represented by Claudia Rapp.

The contributions stemming from this conference address the phenomenon of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem from very different approaches using written and material sources. On the one hand, they ask how pilgrims travelled to the Holy Land, what was the infrastructure that made pilgrimages possible, what did they see and what impressed them. On the other hand, they approach the pilgrims themselves, their origins, their motivations and their itineraries.

The first group of contributions addresses the infrastructure of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Andreas Külzer follows the traces of pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land from the Byzantine and early Post-Byzantine period, as documented in different pilgrims' accounts, and presents details on roads, routes and accommodations, especially focusing on the travels of John Phokas and Daniel of Ephesus.

1 Ariantzi/Eichner, Pilgerwesen.
2 Cat. Schallaburg 2018.
3 Wittgenstein-Award Project of the FWF Z288-G25, whose support is gratefully acknowledged:

Leah Di Segni, focusing on another aspect of the infrastructure for pilgrimage, looks for the identification of hospices for travellers on the routes leading to and from Jerusalem, collecting evidence from the literary sources as well as the scanty epigraphical evidence for hospices in the Holy Land, and examines the connection of the few occurrences to the network of pilgrimage routes.

Jon Seligman brings into focus the large economic capacity of the city which was necessary for pilgrimage to Jerusalem during the Byzantine period. The relatively small population of Jerusalem had to deal with large numbers of pilgrims. Nutrition and production capacity are discussed, focusing on the importance of olives, olive oil and associated products. The establishment of agricultural monasteries in the rural periphery of the city was one important aspect in order to cope with pilgrimage.

Basema Hamarneh, focusing on hagiographical sources and archaeological data, shows the strong relations between pilgrims and monks and monastic communities in the Holy Land. Monks were necessary as guides and for providing the infrastructure to the holy sites. Furthermore, many who came as pilgrims to the Holy Land stayed there as monks, attracted by various forms of monastic asceticism, especially the hermits.

The contributions in the second part of this volume address certain groups of pilgrims in various time periods. Claudia Rapp looks at the movement of manuscripts between the holy city of Jerusalem and the holy mountain of Sinai and vice versa as indicator of the movement of pious travellers, pilgrims and monks. Monks of very different origins, be they Greek, Arabic or Georgian, on their pilgrimage to Sinai were the decisive agents in the mediation of manuscripts, which they brought as gifts and donations to the Monastery on Sinai.

Emilio Bonfiglio and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller concentrate on the large group of pilgrims from Armenia, researching the literary and material sources from the fourth to seventh century. The contacts made by pilgrims, and other groups like scholars, mercenaries and merchants, led to the foundation of Armenian monasteries in the Holy Land, the production of Armenian texts and translations and a permanent Armenian community in Jerusalem, which culminated in the establishment of an Armenian Patriarchate in 1311.

Max Ritter addresses Christian pilgrimage from the Byzantine East and the West to Jerusalem in the early Muslim period. Drawing from a large number of travelogues, he analyses the date and travel routes of pilgrims in order to draw a picture of Jerusalem pilgrimage activity and its frequency over the centuries. Furthermore, he contextualises the travels with the political situation between Byzantium and the Muslim potentates ruling over the Holy Land, raising the question of which political conditions were considered critical for the pilgrims' decisions to travel.

Finally, Robert Schick tells the story of pilgrimage to Jerusalem from a very different angle. He examines the travel accounts of Muslim pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Ottoman period from the 16th to the early 20th century, mostly written by Arabic religious scholars.

The articles in the third section of this volume concentrate on specific places of pilgrimage. The paper by Rangar Cline deals with very particular places which are mentioned in the pilgrim accounts: springs and water sources. They are used to authenticate holy sites and demonstrate epiphanies. Water is seen as a part of the immersive sensory experience that allowed the pilgrim to gain blessings and transport the miraculous power of the Holy Land homeward.

The last two papers address the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, the central destination of all Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land. Joseph Patrich brings new light onto the complicated architectural history of the building. Analysing various sources, including the descriptions by several pilgrims, he is able to identify the oft-mentioned church of St. Mary Mother of the Lord with the pre-Crusader monastery of the *Spoudaioi*. Anastasia Keshman W. presents the tradition of the veneration of a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary kept in the church, mentioned by many pilgrims and still venerated in the church today. She tries to clarify certain difficulties relating to the placement of this icon, and at the same time illustrates how medieval traditions are still alive within the modern-day edifice.

We hope that the contributions gathered here will stimulate further discussion on the multifaceted theme of pilgrimage to Jerusalem over the centuries and in different religions.

We would like to express our appreciation to the presenters from the conference, especially to all those who prepared their contributions for publication in this volume. We would also like to thank Martin Dennert, who was responsible for the editorial work on the manuscripts, and the editorial office of the RGZM for bringing this volume to press.

Falko Daim, Johannes Pahlitzsch, Joseph Patrich,
Claudia Rapp, Jon Seligman

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Cat. Schallaburg 2018: F. Daim / D. Heher (eds), Byzanz & der Westen. 1000 vergessene Jahre [exhibition cat.] (Schallaburg 2018).

Infrastructure of Pilgrimage

Andreas Külzer

Pilgrims on their Way in the Holy Land: Roads and Routes According to Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Travel Accounts

Landscapes are influenced by several factors; continuous development and change are among their essential characteristics. Geomorphological and climatic factors such as coastal changes, fluctuating groundwater levels or salinization form the terrain, as do human interventions[1]. Towns and villages give structure to a natural space. Their importance and local influence differ due to their individual size and their administrative and economic function; central market towns and trading centers are located next to hamlets and rural production sites[2]. Keeping the factor »time« in mind, one has to consider the different phases of origin, development, climax, decline and eventually, even the disappearance of a settlement. The importance of roads might change due to the development or decline of cities and harbor places in their vicinity[3]. These aspects are important for a correct reconstruction of a former landscape and the living conditions of its inhabitants[4]. For a better understanding of the central concepts of landscape and space, Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991) developed a famous model consisting of *perceived space*, *conceived space*, and *lived social space*[5]. I will talk about this later.

Space can be divided into the categories *open* and *closed*, *public* and *private*, *secular* and *holy*. The origin of holy space, the emergence of a holy place is always connected with an appearance of divinity in a landscape. According to a common human idea, the place of revelation changes its character after the theophany and becomes holy in itself. It transforms into a sacred center, which allows its visitors to get into personal contact with divinity. Theological thinking connects this event mainly with mountains, caves and tombs or sepulchers[6]. If various theological, economic and political conditions are met, the holy place can develop into a center of pilgrimage. I have dealt with this subject elsewhere[7]; in this context, I just want to emphasize the importance of a pilgrimage center's connectivity with market centers and central places. A working connection with a regional and trans-regional communication system is essential for any pilgrimage center. An efficient road gives the travellers easy access; it guarantees the continuous supply of the place and its inhabitants with food, commodities and building materials for a permanent development[8]. Roads give structure and, in a sense, unity to a landscape (**fig. 1**), they are important for developing natural space. Their arrangement determines both the individual stages and the entire itinerary of pilgrimage. Their way of construction is responsible for the subdivision into main roads and side routes or tracks. However, the *way of construction* refers not only to the structure of the road and to the concrete building material the artisans used. It also takes into account the existence of bridges that facilitate the crossing of rivers and valleys and, most importantly, a sufficient number of inns and hospices, and of water points and supply stations for both human beings and animals[9].

In the Holy Land, the *Terra Sancta*, which according to common language use refers to landscapes in Western Syria and in Northern Egypt, as well as Israel/Palestine and the Sinai Peninsula[10], a large number of sources survive that belong to different categories. Sections of ancient roads, different in length, as well as bridges and milestones are archaeologically accessible. Together with the geographical conditions, they inform people about the *perceived space*[11]. Numerous itineraries, in turn, provide material for considering the *conceived space*. Some examples are the *Antonine Itinerary* from the third century, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* or *Bordeaux Itinerary* from 333, Egeria's *Itinerary* from 384/385 or the *Peutinger Map*, composed in its last ancient version around 435 (**fig. 2-3**)[12]. Furthermore, one can use the evidence by later

1 Geyer, Factors 31-35; Külzer, Reconstructing; Telelis, Fluctuations 167-207.
2 Koder, Geography 24-27; Koder, Land use 159-183.
3 Avramea, Communications 58-77; Külzer, Betrachtungen 187-194.
4 Külzer, Möglichkeiten 173-184; Külzer, Reconstructing.
5 Lefebvre, Production 38-41. 46. 220. 316. 361-362. 371-372 etc.
6 Eliade, Das Heilige 27-29; Eliade, Religionen 21-38. 423-428; Külzer, Peregrinatio 67-76; Külzer, Pilgerwege 177-179; Ladstätter/Sporn, Natur; Maraval, Lieux saints 137-151; Olshausen/Sauer, Landschaft.
7 Külzer, Handelsgüter 185-187; Külzer, Pilger 54; Külzer, Pilgerzentren 163; Külzer, Pilgrimage 151-152.
8 Külzer, Handelsgüter 185-196; Koder, Mönchtum 22-24; Maraval, Lieux saints 163-167; Reekmans, Siedlungsbildung 325-355.
9 For example, see Belke, Communications 295-308; Dimitroukas, Reisen I 308-411; Haldon, Issues; Kislinger, Reisen 341-387; McCormick, Origins 64-82; Miller, Itineraria; Schneider, Altstraßenforschung 24-45; Wilkinson, Pilgrims 20-32.
10 Halbwachs, Topographie; Wilken, Land called Holy; Maraval, Lieux saints 9-12. 23-60.
11 Lefebvre, Production esp. 40-42; Veikou, Reconstruction.
12 Sources: Itinerarium Antonini; Itinerarium Burdigalense; Egeria; Tabula Peutingeriana. For background information see French, Itineraria; Miller, Itineraria XIII-LXVII; Weber, Datierungen 229. 250-256.



Fig. 1 Judaean Desert, near modern Alon. – (Photo A. Külzer, December 2017).

authors, by ambassadors, hagiographers, historians, pilgrims and others. However, the interpretation of this material, our key to the *lived social space,* the reality of former societies, suffers from incomplete information[13]: the archaeological remains, the road sections, bridges or buildings, are in ruins. Many milestones survive only in fragments and without their geographical context; literary sources usually mention toponyms and place-names, but further details concerning traffic routing or structural road conditions, or space and landscapes in general, are unusual and rare.

The sources refer mostly to so-called *fixed-points*, to individual, precisely determinable points in a landscape with an island-like character. The course of the roads in the intervening *transport zones*, however, remains uncertain, the greater part of the historical communication system is missing. It is determinable to a certain degree by analyzing the geographical and political situation in former times. Computer programs like the *Digital Elevation Model* determine a *least-cost path*, an existing connection that theoretically allowed people to travel easily from one *fixed point* to another[14]. However, historical reality may differ from the model; therefore, we have to examine the concrete political and geographical situation in that area – was the easiest road available, were there springs and fountains, what about the presence of bandits and enemies? The late antique and medieval pilgrim routes to Mount Sinai testify to this point: coming from both Egypt and Judaea, the difficult structure of the terrain and the distribution of the existing waterholes forced travellers to deviate notably from the spatial racing line[15].

Numerous academic studies are dedicated to the historical road network in the *Terra Sancta*. Manuals and handbooks, along with a huge number of articles and essays, refer to single, sometimes very small road sections. Among these studies, the two volumes on *Roman Roads in Judaea* should

13 See Veikou, Reconstruction. Furthermore, Külzer, Möglichkeiten173-174; Popović, Geographie 25-26.

14 Gaffney/Gaffney, Routes 79-87; Külzer, Betrachtungen 189-190; Popović, Geographie 24-28.

15 See, for example, Pelagios, Digital Map (19.07.2018); Talbert, Atlas, Maps 70-74. 76; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea 21-22 and Map »Iudaea – Palaestina: Eretz Israel and Sinai during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods«.



Fig. 2 Peutinger Map VIII – IX *Terra Sancta*. – (From https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/50/TabulaPeutingeriana.jpg [30.11.2018]).

be mentioned first and foremost; the first volume was published by Benjamin Isaac and Israel Roll in 1982, the second by both them and Moshe Fischer more than a decade later[16]. Israel Roll published an article on »The Roman Road System in Judaea« as early as 1983, and three years later another one on »Roman Roads in Western Samaria«, together with Eitan Ayalon[17]. Michael Avi-Yonah did research on milestones and inscriptions from the 1930s. He published numerous articles, books and maps, including his »Map of Roman Palestine« in scale 1: 250,000 in 1940[18]. Albrecht Alt wrote an essay entitled »Stationen der römischen Hauptstraße von Ägypten nach Syrien« in 1954[19]. The roads from Jerusalem to Jericho were studied by Robert Beauvery in 1957 and again by John Wilkinson in 1975[20]. The detailed article »Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palästina«, published by Peter Thomsen as early as 1917, is a scientific milestone in itself[21]. This list, which is by no means exhaustive, should suffice to give a first impression of the extensive scholarship on the topic.

The communication system in the ancient Middle East has a long tradition; the so-called *Way of the Philistines* or *Via Maris* connecting Syria with Egypt dates back to the early Bronze Age. Some routes in the ancient kingdoms of Judah, Moab or Edom belong to the second or first millennium BC, and sections of different Iron Age roads are documented in Judaea and Samaria[22]. However, scientific statements are often difficult and ambiguous, because the sources are incomplete. Under Roman rule, there was a fundamental expansion of the road network, mainly for administrative and military reasons[23]. Depending on the terrain, the condition of the roads differs; uniform constructions of identical proportions all over the Levant did not exist. Pavement covers many, but not all roads; sometimes only gravel stones were spilled onto the subsoil[24]. Milestones were an important element for Roman roads; they served not only as guides and distance indicators, but also as visible signs of Roman power and domination.

According to one milestone, the section of the Levantine coastal road between Antiocheia and Ptolemais/Acre was reconstructed in the time of the Emperor Nero (54-68); this seems to be the oldest activity of the Romans[25]. Its connection with the First Jewish War 66-73 is obvious; ancient road construction was often connected with rule and dominance, with subjection of foreign space. The coastal road extended to the south, and finally reached the Nile delta. In the time of Emperor Caracalla (211-217), even Alexandreia was connected to that road[26]. It seems possible that the milestones refer only to measures of renovation and repair, as Michael Avi-Yonah mentioned some decades ago[27]; the whole road was probably constructed in the first century; it linked the

16 Isaac/Roll, Roman Roads I; Fischer/Isaac/Roll, Roman Roads II.
17 Roll, Judaea; Roll/Ayalon, Samaria.
18 Avi-Yonah, Map of Palestine. Also important in our context Avi-Yonah, Development; Avi-Yonah, Palaestina 436-443.
19 Alt, Stationen 154-166.
20 Beauvery, Route 72-101; Wilkinson, Way 10-24.
21 Thomsen, Meilensteine 1-103.
22 Dorsey, Roads; Dorsey, Shechem 57-69; Har-El, Israelite Roads 18-24; Isaac/Roll, Roman Roads I 3-7.
23 Avi-Yonah, Development; Har-El, Jerusalem & Judea 14; Isaac/Roll, Roman Roads I 7-14.
24 Roll, Judaea 148-153.
25 Thomsen, Meilensteine 15.
26 Alt, Stationen 154-156 etc.; Avi-Yonah, Palaestina 439-440; Thomsen, Meilensteine 15.
27 Avi-Yonah, Development 54-55.

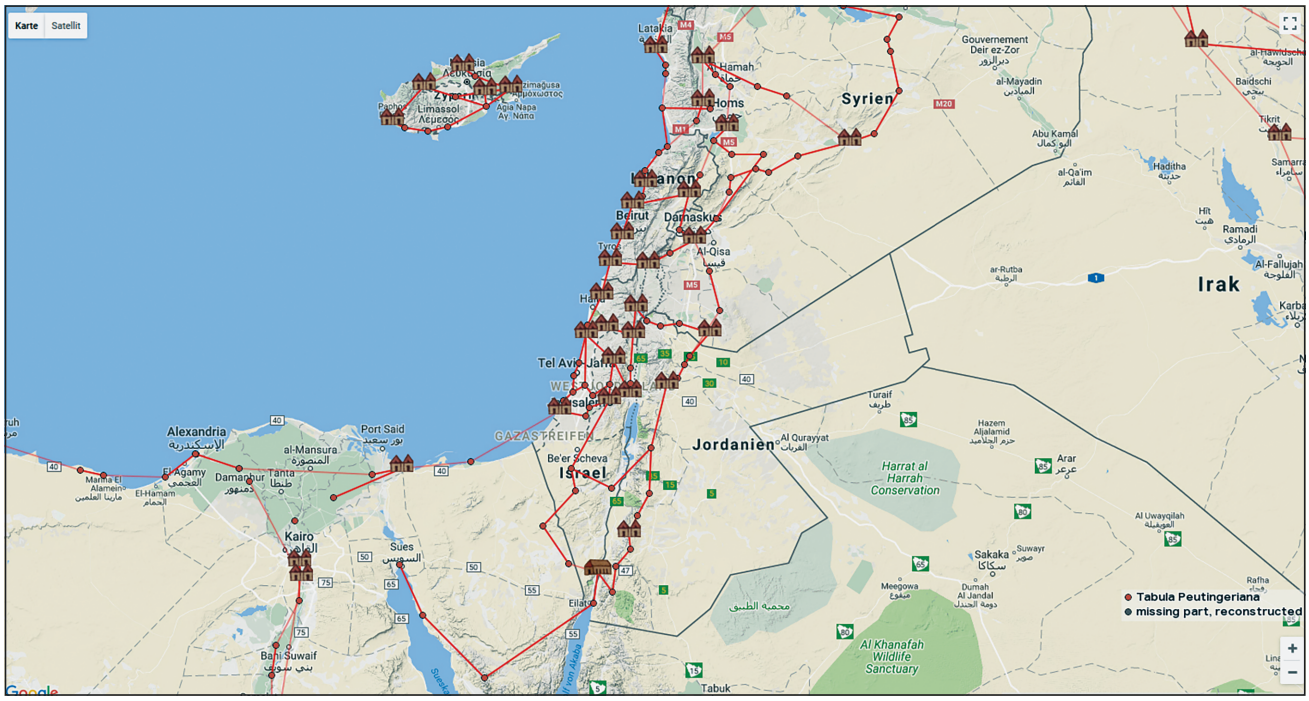


Fig. 3 The *Terra Sancta* on the Peutinger Map. – (From https://omnesviae.org/it/ [06.08.2018]).

important Roman military bases in Egypt and Syria. The road from Megiddo/Legio to Scythopolis, in former times a section of the *Via Maris*, was rebuilt in 69; the subsequent road section between Scythopolis, Pella and Gerasa was repaired in the time of Trajan (98-117) and therefore must have existed before this period[28]. In the time of the Emperor Hadrian (117-138), the communication network was expanded extensively, according to the milestone evidence[29]. This was mainly occasioned by measures against the revolt of Bar-Kokhba (132-135). Further important road construction phases belong to the time of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180) and to the Severan dynasty (193-235)[30]. The main interest of the Romans was an ongoing connection of administrative centers and market towns, including important harbors. One road, for example, started in Jaffa/Ioppē on the Mediterranean Sea, and led to Lydda/Diospolis. Here it split up into two main branches that led to Jerusalem, the northern one via Caphar Ruta and Beit Horon, the southern one via Emmaus/Nicopolis[31]. In the later middle ages, this road was one of the most important in all of Judaea, a major axis of pilgrimage. In general, we know about eight routes leading from Jaffa to Jerusalem; their distance is between 60 and 90 km[32].

Scholars debate whether Jerusalem, in the first centuries still known as Aelia Capitolina, was the center of the Roman traffic net from its early beginning or not: in later times, the city certainly held this function; in the time of Hadrian it was one of the legionary headquarters (besides Legio)[33]. In the third century, the network of major roads extended more than 1,500 km only in Judaea[34]. In the following centuries, extensions were made on a smaller scale. However, conservation and maintenance work continued; there is similar evidence also for the early Byzantine period[35].

According to literary sources, the roads were extensively used in late antiquity and during the middle ages; pilgrims were among the travellers[36]. Thanks to the localizations Eusebius of Caesarea worked out in his *Onomastikon* before 324, numerous places known from the Old or New Testament awaited them[37]. The monasteries near the river Jordan and the Dead Sea formed further destinations; most of these places were connected with the road system, also for matters of supply. In some cases, however, the access paths were poor and small or generally in bad condition.

In the early days of Arabic rule, the Roman road network continued to exist[38]; actually, we know about the restoration of road sections thanks to milestones written in Arabic. It was only in the middle of the eighth century that decline became obvious; the new ruling dynasty of the Abbasids was not interested in that area anymore[39]. After centuries of decline, a new period of conservation and re-establishment of different communication roads started in the high mid-

28 Avi-Yonah, Development 55; Thomsen, Meilensteine 13-14.
29 Avi-Yonah, Palaestina 436. 439; Isaac, Milestones 47-49.
30 Roll, Judaea 144; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea 21.
31 Fischer/Isaac/Roll, Roman Roads II; Avi-Yonah, Palaestina 440.
32 Har-El, Jerusalem & Judea 14.
33 Isaac, Bandits 187.
34 Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea 21.
35 Har-El, Jerusalem & Judea 14.
36 Roll, Judaea 147; Külzer, Pilgrimage 154-155.
37 Eusebios, Onomastikon 58,19-20; 74,17-18; Kislinger, Reisen 344; Klein, Entwicklung 145-181; Külzer, Pilger 54; Maraval, Lieux saints 251-310.
38 Isaac/Roll, Roman Roads I 14-16; Roll, Judaea 147.
39 Roll, Judaea 147.

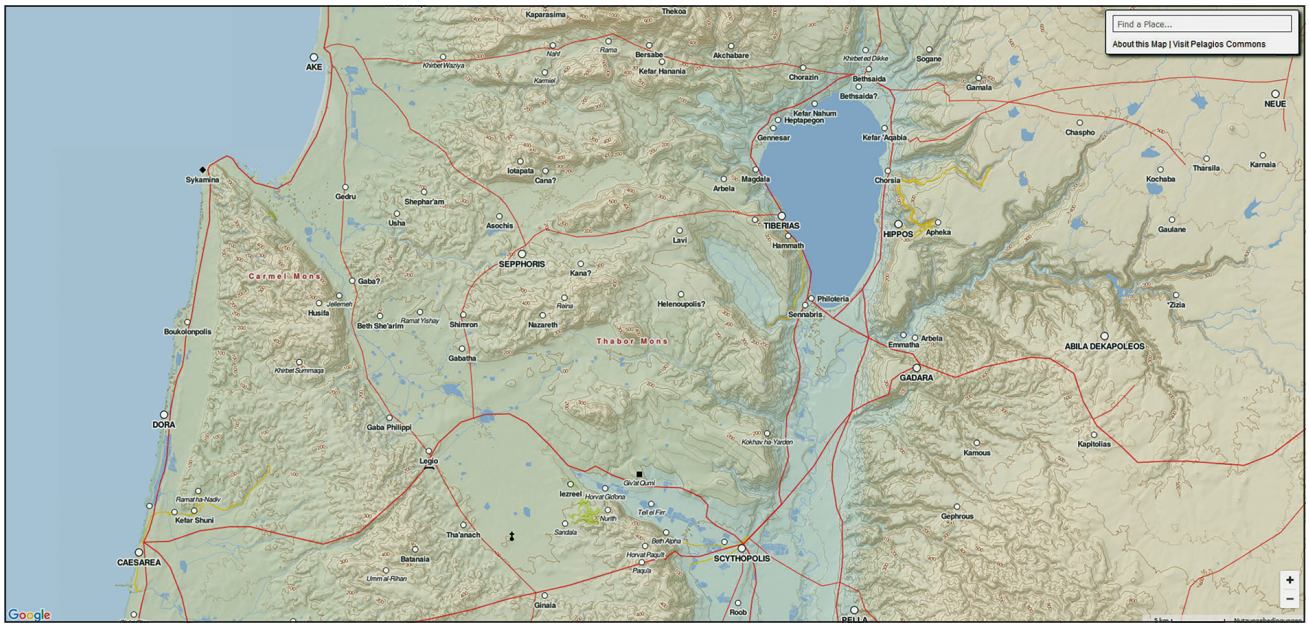


Fig. 4 Galilee, according to Pelagios, Digital Map (19.07.2018).

dle ages. Some roads continued to be preserved up to the Ottoman period.

Pilgrims on the Road: Following the Traces of John Phokas and Daniel of Ephesus in the *Terra Sancta*

Now it is time to look at the itineraries of two medieval Greek pilgrims who travelled on different routes to the holy places in Judaea. The routes they chose brought them into contact with various centers of worship. The texts they wrote render representative movement data for Byzantine and post-Byzantine pilgrims. First, I want to mention John Phokas. He was born in Crete and served as a soldier in the army of Emperor Manuel I (1153-1180). In his later years, he became a monk on the island of Patmos. Most probably, this was the starting point of his journey, which took place in the year 1177. Phokas's description is transmitted in only one manuscript, today in Rome at the Bibliotheca Vallicelliana[40].

After a short preface, Phokas begins his account in Antiocheia; most likely, he travelled from Patmos by ship and landed at the important harbor Portus Sancti Symeonis, located near the mouth of the river Orontēs. Phokas travelled southwards, using the coastal road, which was rebuilt in the time of Nero and already documented in the *Antonine Itinerary* and on the *Peutinger Map*[41]; inter alia, he passed Laodikeia and Tripolis. The journey led southwards to Ptolemais/Acre. He paid particular attention to the important harbor sites along the route. He highlighted the facilities in Beirut, Sidon and Tyros[42]. So many pilgrims visited the port of Acre that various diseases and epidemics spread; the air had a bad smell in general[43].

Maybe this was the reason why John Phokas left the coastal road in Acre and moved via another Roman road to the interior of Galilee, first to Sepphoris/Diokaisareia, and later to the nearby pilgrimage centers in Cana and Nazareth (**fig. 4**)[44]. He moved eastwards to Mount Tabor, where he mentions biblical events, but also the local monasteries and hermitages. After a reference to the Sea of Tiberias and the upper Jordan, Phokas turned to the south to visit Nain (Luke 7,11-17) and En-Dor, mentioned in Psalm 83,11. He then travelled on a road that is not clearly determinable but that possibly led via the Jewish village of Belemoth/Balamōn, the place of death of the prophet Hosea, to Sebastē, the seat of King Herod in Samaria[45]. Having recovered the connection to the trans-national road network there, John Phokas moved southeast to Neapolis in the north of Mount Gerizim. The road southwards to Jerusalem, which he used afterwards, was rebuilt and equipped with milestones by the Emperors Nerva (96-98) and Trajan (98-117). This was one of the oldest Roman roads in the whole area. According to the pilgrim, it

40 Text John Phokas; English translation Wilkinson, Pilgrimage 315-336; German translation Külzer, Peregrinatio 287-305; for background information see Külzer, Orientreisende 203-208; for a different approach, see Messis, Littérature 146-166.

41 Itinerarium Antonini 21,147-152; Tabula Peutingeriana IX; Miller, Itineraria 801-812; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea Map »Iudaea – Palaestina: Eretz Israel and Sinai«.

42 Külzer, Orientreisende 204; Külzer, Peregrinatio 144. 259-260. 274-275.

43 John Phokas 6, chapter 9; Külzer, Orientreisende 207; Külzer, Pilgerwege 186; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea 204-205; Wilkinson, Pilgrims 151. 168. 171. 178.

44 Avi-Yonah, Palaestina 440; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea Map »Iudaea – Palaestina: Eretz Israel and Sinai«.

45 Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea 78. 220-221; Maraval, Lieux saints 290.

was completely paved with stones; there were numerous trees and vineyards on both sides, despite the drought[46]. Therefore, its condition was immaculate in the twelfth century, at least in the perception of the traveller.

After a detailed description of Jerusalem with its pilgrimage centers known from the Old and New Testament, with its monasteries and places of worship, the text continues with the monastery of Hagios Sabbas, located in the Kidron Valley and founded in 483. John Phokas had probably used the so-called *Salt Route*, a pathway running south of the main road from Jerusalem to Jericho that had been constructed in pre-Roman times for economic reasons and was often taken by Christian and Muslim pilgrims during the middle ages[47]. Phokas gives a full description of the monastery's local saints, its ascetics and chapels. Afterwards he turned to the neighboring monasteries Hagios Theodosios and Hagios Euthymios, and then to the remote and hardly accessible monastery Choziba in Wādī el-Qelt. The road from the monastery to Jericho was characterized as »long, narrow« and »generally difficult« because of the lack of stone foundations; John Phokas complains that its course was difficult to see in the ground[48]. These phrases suggest that the traveller again did not use the main road to Jericho, which is documented by pavement sections, by milestones and a bridge near the last mentioned city, but a connected, likely unpaved branch road[49].

The reference to Sodom when talking about the Dead Sea and the mouth of the river Jordan refers to a transfer of memories that had taken place in early Byzantine times. Ancient sources such as the historian Flavius Josephus in his *Antiquities of the Jews* from 93/94 located Sodom and its neighboring cities Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim in the south of the Dead Sea[50]. The Piacenza pilgrim (ca. 570) is one of the first to describe them to the north of the Dead Sea[51]. The new destination was easier to reach for the pilgrims coming down from Jerusalem; it was not a concrete place but an area. Many pilgrim guides presented it next to the place where Jesus of Nazareth was baptized: thus, the believers found several places of interest and worship close together[52].

Having visited different monasteries, caves and stylites in the Jordan region and the Dead Sea area, John Phokas moved to Bethlehem. Maybe the road he used was built under Hadrian; under Marcus Aurelius, there is clear evidence for construction measures[53]. It is not sure if he continued on that road to Hebron. In any case, he returned to the Mediterranean coast, probably by the road via Eleutheropolis/Bet Jibrin[54]. When he passed Emmaus, he described it as a *polis megalē*, a big city[55]. The place he saw was for sure Nicopolis, modern Imwas, which received the status of a city from Emperor Heliogabalus (218-222). It remains doubtful if there really was a big settlement in the late twelfth century. Maybe the characterization was just a reference to local history. Due to its geographical location, Nicopolis prevailed over other villages that also claimed identification with the Biblical Emmaus (Abu Gosh, el Kubebe). The church in Lydda/Diospolis receives a precise description. The harbor of Caesarea Maritima finds the traveller's deep admiration. The text ends with the mention of Mount Carmel[56]. Phokas probably returned home from the neighboring Acre, perhaps to the island of Patmos.

In his pilgrimage description, John Phokas refers extensively to the landscapes north of Jerusalem, to pilgrimage sites in Galilee and Samaria. Our next author is Daniel of Ephesus[57]; his journey touched different landscapes, most of them in the south of Jerusalem. Daniel was metropolitan of Smyrna from 1470/1471 to 1481; afterwards he was metropolitan of Ephesus until 1488/1489. Between these two functions, he travelled to the Middle East on behalf of Patriarch Maximus III of Constantinople (1476-1482) who ordered him to discuss various ecclesiastical matters with the three Oriental patriarchates of Alexandreia, Jerusalem and Antiocheia[58]. Daniel's description is transmitted by only one manuscript now in Venice, the Marcianus gr. 105 (clas. II) from the sixteenth century.

In Attaleia/Antalya in southern Asia Minor, Daniel embarked to sail to Egypt. He landed at the delta of the Nile. Using a small boat (*meta ploiaríou*)[59], he sailed upstream and reached Fustat/Cairo, which was called Babylon (Babylonia) in ancient times, and Aegyptus in medieval Greek. Daniel obviously chose this starting point because of its political function. After describing several churches and places of worship, he mentions the pyramids of Giza. He refers to a tradition, documented already in the sixth century, in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium: the buildings were identified with the granaries of Joseph, mentioned in Genesis 41,46-49. However, Daniel rejects this idea and explains their function correctly as »graves of the Egyptian kings«[60]. Unfortunately, it is hard to decide whether this was his own idea because a *proskynētarion*, a pilgrims' guide transmitted in the codex Athous Dionysiou 301, contains the same argument[61]. Written before

46 John Phokas 11-12, chapter 14; Avi-Yonah, Palaestina 441; Thomsen, Meilensteine 73-75.
47 Har-El, Route 550-552.
48 John Phokas 19, chapter 20; Külzer, Peregrinatio 152; Maraval, Lieux saints 278.
49 Talbert, Atlas Map 70; Thomsen, Meilensteine 78-79. Also Külzer, Pilgerwege 186.
50 Flavius Josephus, Antiquitates I 11,4.
51 Antonini Placentini Itinerarium chapter 10 (p. 133); 24 (p. 142); Külzer, Pilgerwege 187; Wilkinson, Pilgrims 172.
52 Külzer, Peregrinatio 224-226; Külzer, Pilger 56.
53 Thomsen, Meilensteine 82.
54 Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea Map »Iudaea – Palaestina: Eretz Israel and Sinai«.
55 John Phokas 27, chapter 29; Külzer, Peregrinatio 155-156; Maraval, Lieux saints 298; Wilkinson, Pilgims 156.
56 John Phokas 31, chapter 31-32; Külzer, Peregrinatio 231-232.
57 Text Daniel of Ephesus; German translation Külzer, Peregrinatio 337-351; for background information see Külzer, Peregrinatio 28-29.
58 Daniel of Ephesus 2, chapter 2.
59 Daniel of Ephesus 2, chapter 2: μετὰ πλοιαρίου.
60 Daniel of Ephesus 3, chapter 3; Stephanus of Byzantium P 284 (540); Külzer, Peregrinatio 159-160.
61 Anonymos Athous Dionysiou 301 saec. XV 13-14, chapter 3; for background information, see Külzer, Peregrinatio 45-46.

the year 1481, that guide is older than Daniel's account and it is very similar in structure and phrasing to Daniel's description. Thus, there is a good change that the texts are interdependent.

From Cairo, Daniel moved on a caravan route towards Mount Sinai. After three days, he reached the area of Clysma/Kum el-Qolzum at the northern end of the Gulf of Suez, in those days still an important harbor[62]. The *Antonine Itinerary* and the *Peutinger Map* mention the place as well[63]. Here Daniel got access to a Roman road depicted on the *Peutinger Map*; it leads southeast to the Pharan oasis. The famous Egeria had used it in the fourth century, as well as the Piacenza pilgrim two hundred years later[64]. Various late antique and medieval pilgrims documented their journey throughout the Sinai Peninsula by inscriptions; many of these texts are preserved. Written in Arabic, Armenian, Greek and other languages[65], they serve as *fixed points* as well, presenting information of the various travellers' routes and their degree of utilization.

The first destination on the track starting in Clysma was Marah, modern Abu Mereir, the place with bitter waters mentioned in Exodus 15,22-25; in this road section the scarcity of drinking water was a big problem[66]. A three days journey away lies Raithu, an old coastal town on the Red Sea. Nearby was a monastery built in the sixth century but destroyed in the fifteenth century[67]; again, the phrases used by Daniel are almost identical with the sentences in the *proskynētarion* Athous Dionysiou 301[68]. In Exodus 15,27 the place-name is Elim; the current name Raithu is first documented in the *Christianikē topographia* written by Cosmas Indikopleustes in the middle of the sixth century. The source confirmed that the whole journey from Marah to Raithu was along the seaside[69]. Daniel's text gives the same impression[70]. However, this information can only be true if the travellers used unsecured paths through difficult terrain. The concrete geographical conditions contradict this; travelling there is impossible even on the back of a camel. A more believable assumption is that the travellers continued on the Roman road in the south of Marah[71]. However, this road runs largely in the interior of the peninsula; for more than 100 km, there is definitely no sea-view. Obviously, something must be wrong.

Only 30 km from Mount Sinai, the Roman road had its junction to et-Tur, the place where Raithu is located[72]. The specified itinerary Marah – Raithu – Sinai indicates that the traveller was close to the main attraction of that region, to the most important pilgrimage place of the whole peninsula, the place where God Himself appeared on earth (Exodus 3 f. 19 f.). Here, he decided not to continue his journey. Instead, he says that he travelled two days in each direction through a hostile, hot and dusty landscape just to visit a secondary place of remembrance. One cannot exclude this behavior in principle, but it is unlikely. A possible solution could be that the place both Kosmas Indikopleustes and Daniel were thinking about was not et-Tur, but another place near the coast of the Red Sea, easier to access. Which place that could have been remains speculative, due to possible landscape changes and a replacement of historical and oral traditions. One of several possible solutions could be the Wādī Gharandal, a place the nun Egeria knew as Arandara and the Piacenza Pilgrim as Surandela[73]. Anyway, one has to note that some scholars localize Raithu north of the Pharan oasis (**fig. 5**)[74], but others deep in the south of the mentioned oasis (**fig. 6**)[75]. Of course, there is also the possibility that the metropolitan's entire Sinai journey was nothing more than a literary device on the textual basis of the *proskynētarion* transmitted in Codex Athous Dionysiou 301, the pure result of imagination and spiritual desire.

After a detailed description of the monastery of Saint Catherine and the famous holy mountains, Daniel explains that he used the same travel route to go back to Cairo[76]. Whether this journey included Raithu, remains unclear. At the river Nile, Daniel started his journey to Judaea; and this part of the text is certainly authentic and from his own pen, due to his official mission. It was not necessary to see Mount Sinai for an inspection of the Oriental patriarchates (so his description of this part of his journey may be derivative), but it was definitely necessary for him to join Jerusalem. Describing his itinerary, Daniel tells us that he first joined »Gaza and other towns«[77]. He probably started his journey by boat and disembarked at the harbor of Gaza, the former Maiumas Gazae, modern el-Mine. The city itself was an important market place in the middle ages, mentioned in Greek and Latin *proskynētaria*[78]. Gaza was a crossroad, connected with several trans-regional roads, one of them leading to the Sinai Peninsula (and used by the Piacenza pilgrim around 570)[79]. Another one that led to Jerusalem was already documented

62 Daniel of Ephesus 4, chapter 4; Maraval, Lieux saints 306; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea 104-105.
63 Itinerarium Antonini 170,4; Tabula Peutingeriana VIII.
64 Tabula Peutingeriana VIII; Talbert, Atlas Map 76. Antonini Placentini Itinerarium 149-150 chapters 40-41; Egeria chapters 1-10; Mayerson, Pilgrim Routes 46-47. 55 fig. 4; Wilkinson, Pilgrims 17 Map 1; 86 Map 27.
65 Mayerson, Pilgrim Routes 44-45.
66 Daniel of Ephesus 4, chapter 4; Maraval, Lieux saints 306; Mayerson, Pilgrim Routes 54; Wilkinson, Pilgrims 164.
67 Daniel of Ephesus 5, chapter 4.
68 Anonymos Athous Dionysiou 301 saec. XV 14, chapter 7.
69 Cosmas Indikopleustes V 199 (tr. Wilkinson, Pilgrims 73).
70 Daniel of Ephesus 4, chapter 4; 5, chapter 5.
71 Talbert, Atlas Map 76; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea Map »Iudaea – Palaestina: Eretz Israel and Sinai«.
72 Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea 214, Map »Iudaea – Palaestina: Eretz Israel and Sinai«.
73 Wilkinson, Pilgrims 156.
74 Wilkinson, Pilgrims 17 Map 1.
75 Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea Map »Iudaea – Palaestina: Eretz Israel and Sinai«; Pelagios, Digital Map (19.07.2018).
76 Daniel of Ephesus 8, chapter 6.
77 Daniel of Ephesus 8, chapter 7: διὰ πόλεως τῆς Γάζης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων.
78 Külzer, Peregrinatio 157-158; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea 129-131; Wilkinson, Pilgrims 157.
79 Antonini Placentini Itinerarium 144-148, chapters 32-37. See Talbert, Atlas Map 70; Tsafrir/Di Segni/Green, TIR Iudaea Map »Iudaea – Palaestina: Eretz Israel and Sinai«.

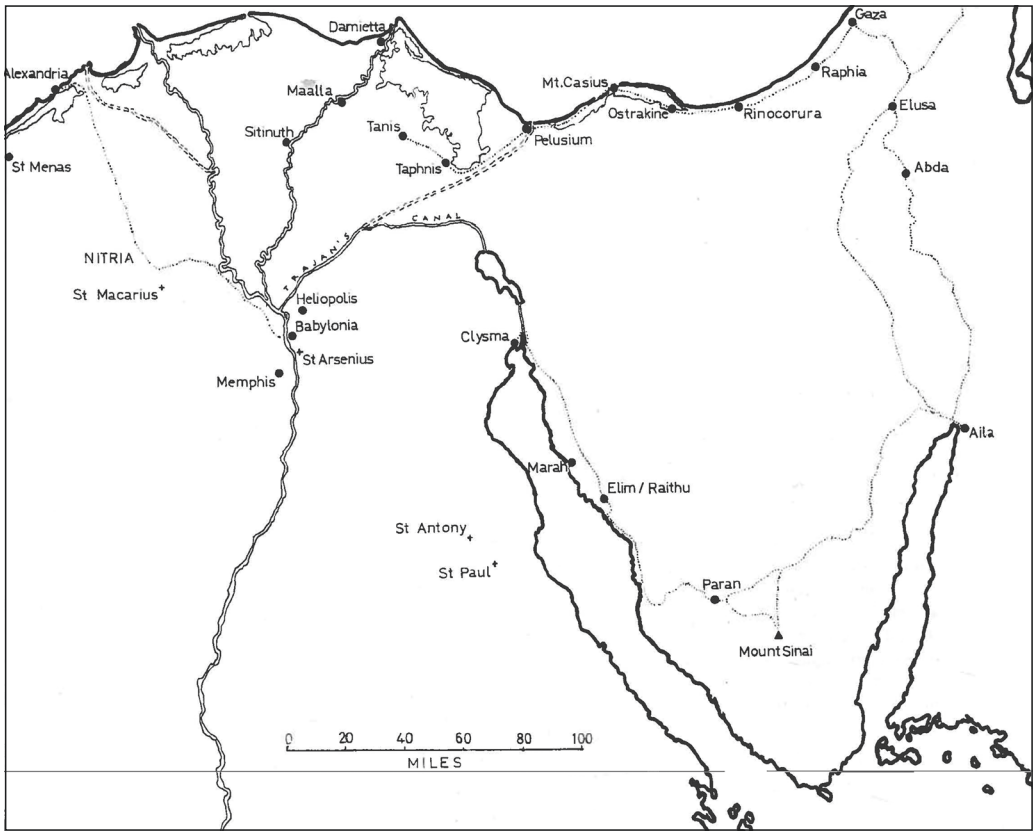


Fig. 5 Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula. – (From Wilkinson, Pilgrims 17 Map 1).

in the Acts of the Apostles 8,26. Among others, the *Topography of the Holy Land* written by Theodosius before 518[80] and the Piacenza Pilgrim around 570[81] refer to this connection.

Daniel spent some time in Jerusalem; then he went to Bethlehem. He used the Roman road, as John Phokas did three hundred years earlier. While the latter remained neutral on the state of the road, Daniel laments its rough and bad character, he speaks about a ὁδὸς τραχεῖα[82] – obviously, the condition of the road had changed for the worse. Afterwards, Daniel moved on the classical pilgrimage route of his days: he visited various monasteries near the river Jordan, among them the famous Lavra of Saint Sabbas, furthermore Jericho and the Dead Sea. In order to join the coast of the Mediterranean, he took the road via Lydda/Diospolis to Jaffa. It was there that he left the *Terra Sancta*.

Based on two pilgrimage texts in Byzantine tradition, a literary genre that is in general much rarer than its Latin counterpart, our paper has presented some important parts of the regional and trans-regional road system in the Holy Land. Both accounts mention numerous *fixed points*; sometimes they also refer to the concrete situation of roads in between. Archaeological remains enrich this information. It is obvious that several roads existed from the Roman period up to the middle Ages. Both travellers used similar routes to the pilgrims of late antiquity when the *network of worship* developed, a network that consisted of precisely located holy sites mentioned in the Old and New Testament, but also of more »modern« destinations, sites of hermits, stylites and monasteries. In general, the communication network constructed in antiquity continued during the middle ages. Nevertheless, the existence of such an extended network must not obscure the fact that, starting with the high middle ages, most pilgrims restricted the radius of their travel to a much smaller space. The *Terra Sancta* they saw was limited to Jerusalem and its hinterland, to Bethlehem, the lower Jordan and the northern parts of the Dead Sea. Their scope was concentrated on single places in Judaea. Far fewer people attended the centers of worship in Samaria and Galilee. The same applies to Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula; an extended use of the *network of worship*, as it is documented in many late antique itineraries, but also in both texts presented here, became an exception. A shorter stay in the *Terra Sancta* became the rule, perhaps for cost reasons; travel distances were reduced. Instead of an entire, all-encompassing viewing and worshipping experience, people reduced themselves to the spiritually essential and to a few curiosities. This attitude was responsible for the relocation of some places of holiness and remembrance; even in the past, economic efficiency could be stronger than pure theology.

80 Theodosius 116, chapter 3 (tr. Wilkinson, Pilgrims 65).
81 Antonini Placentini Itinerarium 144, chapter 31 (tr. Wilkinson, Pilgrims 85).
82 Daniel of Ephesus 18, chapter 15.



Fig. 6 Sinai Peninsula, southern part, according to Pelagios, Digital Map (19.07.2018).

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Pilger auf ihrem Weg ins Land: Straßen und Wege nach den byzantinischen und postbyzantinischen Reiseberichten

Pilgerstätten sind spirituelle Sehnsuchtsorte, aber auch Zentren wirtschaftlicher Aktivitäten. Sie veranlassen Menschen aus unterschiedlichen Beweggründen, sich zu ihnen zu bewegen, sei es, um dort zu beten, um einen Heilungswunsch auszudrücken, um Handel zu treiben oder einfach, um Neugierde zu befriedigen. Die Lebensdauer der Zentren hängt von verschiedenen Faktoren ab; ungeachtet religiöser Kriterien wie der durch Wundertaten bezeugten andauernden Attraktivität des vor Ort verehrten Heiligen sind günstige wirtschaftliche und politische Rahmenbedingungen wichtig. Maßgeblich ist die gute Erreichbarkeit, der problemlose Zugang zum Pilgerort durch den Anschluss an das überregionale Straßen- und Wegesystem.

Straßen gliedern die Landschaft, sie geben den Reisenden Wegetappen vor und bestimmen die Abfolge der Besichtigungen. Wird ein Pilgerort vom Wegesystem abgeschnitten, wird der Zugang schwierig, so verliert die Stätte schnell ihre Bedeutung. Mitunter wird die religiöse Tradition von einem derartigen Ort gelöst und auf einen anderen übertragen, der besser zu erreichen ist. Entsprechende Beispiele finden sich natürlich auch in der *Terra Sancta*, den weiten Landschaften zwischen Syrien und Unterägypten mit den Zentren in Israel/Palästina und auf der Halbinsel Sinai. Die griechischsprachigen Pilgerberichte des Johannes Phokas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert und des Daniel von Ephesus aus dem 15. Jahrhundert dienen exemplarisch der Beschreibung des dortigen ausgedehnten Wegenetzes zur Grundlage.

Pilgrims on their Way in the Holy Land: Roads and Routes According to Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Travel Accounts

Pilgrimage sites are places of spiritual desire, but also centers of economic activities. Since ancient times, people have been visiting these places for different reasons; these include worship and prayer, requests of healing and cure, but also trading activities and commodity exchange or simply the satisfaction of personal curiosity. The endurance of pilgrimage sites depends on various factors; some of them are religious, such as continuous miracles or the constant fragrance of holiness; both document the presence of the holy at a special site. Other parameters belong to the fields of politics and economics. Easy accessibility is one of the most important factors for continuity; a road connection or even a route between the venerated place and the national communication system is necessary.

Roads structure the landscape; they determine the stages as well as the complete itinerary of a pilgrimage. If a pilgrimage site is suddenly separated from the national communication system due to climatic, political or other reasons and the approach becomes too difficult for a common visitor, then the place usually loses its importance rather quickly. The religious tradition connected to this place will be forgotten, or in some cases transferred to another location that is situated in a more convenient landscape. Our paper follows the traces of Greek pilgrims from the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine period as documented in different travel accounts, and presents some interesting details on roads, routes and accommodations.

Les pèlerins en route pour la Terre sainte: routes et chemins d'après les récits de voyage byzantins et post-byzantins

Les lieux de pèlerinage sont des lieux de soif spirituelle et, aussi, des centres d'activité économique. Ils poussent les gens à les rejoindre, quelle que soit leur motivation, ne serait-ce que pour y prier, exprimer un souhait de guérison, y faire du commerce ou tout simplement satisfaire leur curiosité. La longévité de ces centres dépend de différents facteurs. Indépendamment des critères religieux et de l'attrait du saint vénéré sur place dont témoignent les miracles, ce sont des conditions économiques et politiques favorables qui importent. Un bon accès au lieu de pèlerinage depuis le réseau routier interrégional est également déterminant.

Les routes structurent le paysage, imposent des étapes aux voyageurs et déterminent l'ordre des visites. Si un lieu de pèlerinage est coupé des voies de communication, l'accès en deviendra alors difficile et cet endroit sombrera vite dans l'oubli. Parfois, la tradition religieuse d'un tel lieu est récupérée pour être transférée à un autre plus accessible. On en trouve naturellement aussi des exemples en *Terra Sancta*, dans les vastes territoires situés entre la Syrie et la Basse-Égypte avec des centres en Israël/Palestine et dans la péninsule du Sinaï. Les récits de pèlerins en grec de Jean Phokas au 12e siècle et de Daniel d'Éphèse au 15e siècle livrent de manière exemplaire les sources nécessaires à la description du vaste réseau routier de cette région. Traduction: Y. Gautier

Leah Di Segni

Epigraphical Evidence for Pilgrimage to the Holy Places

Like any movement of individuals outside their home space, pilgrimage leaves all kind of signs, from the ashes of bivouacs and sand trodden by many feet on paths leading to a solitary holy place, to travelogues and mementos of a sanctuary, themselves sanctified by proxy, that are discovered many miles from their source. A notable part of such signs falls within the realm of epigraphic evidence, and this in turn is split into diverse categories. The most prominent, and the largest, is that of graffiti, sometimes only names, often accompanied by a religious symbol, sometimes invocations, more rarely full sentences, left by visitors at a holy place as a *proskynema*, or by travellers on their way to one as a testimony of their passage. Another category is that of inscribed mementos obtained at sanctuaries – *ampullae*, lamps, *eulogiae* and tokens – whose contribution is double: the inscription on the artefact, often together with the image it features, identifies a sanctuary, and by studying the find spots of these objects we can trace routes of pilgrimages[1]. A third category consists of inscriptions that identify a complex as a hospice, namely, a house of shelter and rest for travellers. Of course, not all travellers were pilgrims. Officers and public servants travelling on official business, or traders accompanied by their merchandises, were offered different arrangements[2], which will not be discussed here. Private individuals compelled to move over distances by some personal motivation or external agency might turn to inns, or just rough it, as did the couple of Galilean travellers in Luke 2,7. But pilgrims naturally attracted the attention of religious foundations, which endeavoured to provide them with shelter not only at their destination but also along their journey. Hospitality was Abraham's virtue[3], and as such the Church inherited it from the Jews. Indeed, the oldest inscription attesting to the provision of hospitality in Jerusalem comes from the synagogue of Theodotus, a priest and third-generation *archisynagogos* from the Second Temple Period who built a synagogue »for the reading of the Law and teaching of the commandments«, with an attached hospice (ξενών), as well as »the rooms and the water installations«, perhaps to be understood as latrine and washing facilities, including a mikveh, »for the lodging of those who are in need of it from abroad«[4]. It is not unlikely that other similar foundations offered shelter to visitors in Second Temple Period Jerusalem, while during the yearly mass pilgrimages, especially that of Passover, many Jews obtained private hospitality or were content with staying outdoors[5]. Most of the available evidence, however, originates from Late Antiquity, when Jerusalem became the main focus of Christian pilgrimage, after Constantine's time.

Pilgrims who came to Jerusalem did not stay for just one or two days, in which case they might have been content with spending the night in the narthex or atrium of a church[6]. After a long journey, their stay was extended for weeks, sometimes for months, during which period they made trips to different parts of the Holy Land, like Egeria in the late fourth century or Theodosius in the early sixth[7]. Some, particularly monks, spent years in Jerusalem or its vicinity before going back to their homeland, like Rufinus in the late fourth cen-

1 For some studies of this general subject see Lambert/Pedemonte Demeglio, Ampolle devozionali; Sodini/Blanc/Pieri, Nouvelles eulogies; Vikan, Pilgrimage Art, and for lamps Loffreda, Lucerne.

2 See below n. 18. 41. 42.

3 Many Church Fathers praise Abraham's φιλοξενία. Here we give only a few examples: Clemens Romanus, Epistula I ad Corinthios 10,7 (116 Jaubert); Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata IV 17,105 (294 Stählin/Früchtel); Theodoretus, Historia religiosa 1,1 (II 1,160 Canivet/Leroy-Molinghen); Barsanuphius et Ioannes, Quaestiones et responsiones 457 (II 546 Neyt/de Angelis-Noach).

4 CIIP I/1 no. 9. The inscription was discovered in a cistern south of the Temple Mount.

5 As we learn from the Gospels, a week before Passover Jesus and his disciples came to Jerusalem and lodged near the city, in the village of Bethany on the Mount of Olives, possibly in the house of Simon the Leper: Matthew 21,17; 26,6-7; Mark 11,11-12; 14,3. Luke 21,37 simply says that Jesus taught in the Temple during the day and lodged at night on the Mount of Olives. The synoptic Gospels, according to which the Last Supper was the Passover sacrifice, have Jesus send Peter and John into Jerusalem to find a house that will host the meal (Matthew 26,17-19; Mark 14,12-16; Luke 22,7-13), and while the ready acceptance of their request by the house owner can be represented as his miraculous understanding of who was his prospective guest, a more prosaic explanation may be also suggested. Josephus, De bello Iudaico VI 423, explains that the Passover sacrifice could only be eaten in a company of not fewer than ten males, and on this occasion many companies gathered of double the number. One can surmise that not many households in Jerusalem counted the required number of males; therefore, playing host even to total strangers could be considered not only a good deed but one helpful to the host. Such hospitality could easily extend also to sleeping accommodations, though at the end of the meal Jesus with his disciples turns again to the Mount of Olives, »as was his custom« (Luke 22,39), apparently ready to spend the night in the open.

6 See the case of the holy man lying in the narthex of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem: Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Joannis Hesychatae 17 (214f. Schwartz).

7 Itinerarium Egeriae (35-90 Franceschini/Weber); Theodosius, TS (115-125 Geyer). Theodosius' itinerary does not necessarily reflect his own journey but it seems to be rather a guide for pilgrims. If so, it pointed them to this particular way of touring the Holy Land by separate trips.

tury, or Hilarion the Iberian in the ninth century, or moving on to a new destination like Cassianus[8]. Though remaining aliens, they became for a time part of the cultural and ethnic mosaic of the Holy City. However, if a funerary inscription identifies the deceased as Armenian, Bessian, German or any other nationality, it still cannot be regarded as evidence of pilgrimage; for how are we to know in what circumstances had the man or woman arrived here? Perhaps as a soldier, a merchant, a servant? Or was he or she perhaps a second or third generation national, but born here, with a domicile and a position in Jerusalem?

Reverting to »real pilgrims«, we know from the literary sources that they found a variety of accommodations in the Holy City. Some stayed as guests of fellow-countrymen, as young Theodosius did when he arrived in Jerusalem under Emperor Marcian (450-457) and was received by a fellow Cappadocian, Longinus, a *spoudaios* of the Anastasis who lived in a cell near David's Tower[9]. Young Sabas too on arrival was received by a fellow Cappadocian, who was a member of the monastery of Passarion[10], and young Cyriac, from Corinth, was received by Eustorgius in the monastery the latter had just founded near the Holy Sion; most likely Eustorgius was a fellow-countryman, as is indicated by the fact that he commended Cyriac to two Corinthian monks in Euthymius' monastery[11]. Travelling monks as a rule lodged in monasteries or in guesthouses belonging to monasteries, some of which were expressly reserved for them: so was one of the two hostelries Sabas acquired near the Tower of David[12]. From the Life of Porphyrius of Gaza we learn that also the ξενών, which Empress Eudoxia ordered to be built beside the church that superseded the Marneion at Gaza, was meant to receive travelling monks and give them free hospitality for three days[13]. Hospitality could also be obtained in charitable institutions, as in the case of John, bishop of Colonia, who stayed for some time in St. George's old-age home founded by Eudocia before Jerusalem[14]. Most likely alms-houses and hospitals were open to pilgrims, the latter at least for those who arrived sick or weakened by the hardships of the road. Hospitality in private dwellings was surely practiced too: strangers could find accommodation with acquaintances, as might have been the case of a businessman from Africa and his friend, a silversmith in Jerusalem[15]; but it is more likely that wealthy pilgrims who planned to spend time in the Holy City rented houses in the city itself or in its vicinity. This is perhaps the case of the »palace of Eudocia in Bethlehem« where citizens of Jerusalem came to protest against the outrages committed by Barsauma and his fanatic followers, if the chronological framework of the episode is Eudocia's first visit to Jerusalem in 438, when she could hardly have had already a palace of her own[16]. And last but not least, there were inns: we have indirect evidence of one in the Greek epitaph of John, an Armenian *stabularius* (inn-keeper)[17]. But even if we surmise that John's inn was in Jerusalem, inns would hardly have provided the kind of long-term accommodation a pilgrim to Jerusalem would require.

It is hardly surprising that, unlike literary evidence, no epigraphical evidence can be found of private hospitality, hospitality in charitable institutions and hospitality of single monks or laymen in monasteries or in the hostelries kept by the monasteries of the desert in Jerusalem, which surely offered only a limited number of beds and little stabling space within the walls of the crowded Holy City. If some epigraphical evidence may be found, it can only be in large ecclesiastical hospices, where the main function of the permanent residents (monks and/or lay servants) was serving the guests; that is, not monasteries with an attached hostel but rather hostels with an attached residence for the staff. This is sometimes visually apparent when a major portion of a complex can be identified as dedicated to the needs of guests: sleeping and dining halls, stabling space, a bathhouse, a cemeterial area for burial of persons with no family ties in the city.

There are several terms in literature to describe lodgings for travellers. The most frequently used are ξενοδοχεῖον and ξενών[18]. Ξενοδοχεῖον and ξενών are synonymous, as it appears from the fact that the same establishment can be called by

8 Rufinus lived in Jerusalem from 380 to 397, then he embarked for Rome, whence he returned to his home city, Aquileia. He left Aquileia ca. 408, because of the Visigothic invasion. John Cassianus arrived from Scythia to the Holy Land and stayed about three years in a monastery near Bethlehem in the early 380s; thence he moved in succession to the Egyptian desert, to Constantinople, Rome, and finally to Gaul where he founded a monastery near Marseilles; there he spent the last twenty years of his life, 415-435; see Amidon, Rufinus; Stewart, Cassian. Hilarion, the abbot of a monastery in Georgia, came to the Holy Land as a pilgrim in 847 and stayed until 854, spending seven years in a hermitage of the Laura of Saint Sabas; see Tchekhanovets, Early Georgian Pilgrimage 455 f.

9 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Theodosii 1 (236 Schwartz).

10 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 6 (90 Schwartz).

11 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Cyriaci 3 (224 Schwartz).

12 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 31 (116 Schwartz). Also one of the hostels in the coenobium of Theodosius was reserved for monks: Theodorus, Vita Theodosii 13 (34 Usener), and so was apparently the hostel built by Jerome beside his monastery in Bethlehem: Jerome, Ep. 66,14 (54,665 Hilberg). For evidence of hostels belonging to monasteries and destined especially for monks or postulants see Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 31 (116 Schwartz); id., Vita Jo. Hesychastae 20 (217 Schwartz); id., Vita Abramii 3 (245 Schwartz). However, there is also evidence that laymen too stopped at hostelries belonging to a monastery see Jo. Rufus, Vita Petri Iberi 66-67 (9699 Horn/Phenix); Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Euthymii 59 (81 f. Schwartz); id., Vita Sabae 46 (136 Schwartz).

13 Marcus Diaconus, Vita Porphyrii 53 (44 Gregoire/Kugener).

14 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Jo. Hesychastae 4 (204 Schwartz). It is likely that also the *ptocheion* founded by Passarion in the early fifth century outside the eastern gate of Jerusalem (Jo. Rufus, Vita Petri Iberi 53 [72-73 Horn/Phenix]) offered hospitality to stranger, since Cyril of Scythopolis calls Passarion »Abraham-like« (Vita Euthymii 16 [26-27 Schwartz]), and at the site, which was beside the church of St. Hesychius, *peregrini* as well as the poor were fed in the sixth century (An. of Piacenza 27 [143 Geyer]).

15 Vita Joannis Elemosinarii (48 Delehaye).

16 Histoire de Barsauma (122 f. Nau). For the chronology see Sivan, Palestine 215 f.; *contra* Holum, Theodosian Empresses 217 f., who dates the episode to the first years of Eudocia's exile in Jerusalem (ca. 443-460).

17 Tchekhanovets, Epitaph.

18 Καταγώγιον can also be found in this sense, but its meaning is general, »lodgings«, and can be understood in the sense of »hostel« only through the context; e. g. Gregory of Nazianzum, Or. 4,111 (648 Migne). Travellers could spend the night on the road in *burgi*, walled enclosures kept by public servants: on *burgi* and *burganin*, where merchants and caravans could stop in security, see Isaac, Limits of Empire 178-186. *Burgus* and βοῦργος appear also in inscriptions at Umm el-Jimal (in Latin: PAES IIIA no. 233) and at Caesarea (in Greek: CIIP II no. 1261), but its meaning is not clear: perhaps a military outpost at Umm el-Jimal, more likely a kind of khan at Caesarea. Πανδοχεῖα, μητᾶτα, ἀπαντητήρια were public hostels for travelling officials and do not belong to this discussion.

either name even in the same text[19]. The choice of one or the other term is left to the whim of the writer, though it may be significant that those writing on Palestine in Palestine – Cyril of Scythopolis, John Moschus, the Latin Anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza – always call the hospice ξενοδοχεῖον/*xenodochium* – except, of course, our good *Ciceronianus*, Jerome, who calls it *diversorium*[20] – while Procopius of Caesarea, mainly working in Constantinople, uses only ξενών, the preferred term also in Justinian's Novels.

Ξενῶνες/ξενοδοχεῖα, and other charitable foundations, were considered juridically and fiscally religious establishments like churches and monasteries, in Justinian's Novels; but this was no novelty, when we consider that Emperor Julian, in ordering to erect ξενοδοχεῖα in all the cities of Galatia, addressed the order to the high priest of the province and seemingly referred the management of those ξενοδοχεῖα to the pagan priests[21]. Julian's foundations were supposed not only to provide hospitality for travellers but also to feed beggars and the local poor, and most likely also hospices of the Byzantine period, especially those attached to monasteries, doubled as almshouses, at least in festive occasions. The classic example is the monastery of Theodosius south of Jerusalem, which had three hostelries (Theodosius' biographer, Theodore bishop of Petra, calls them καταγώγια): one was for foreign monks, one for laypeople of the upper and middle classes, one for the poor, who were provided with food, clothing and medical care. Local paupers were fed on a daily basis, and pilgrims on the great pilgrimage feasts, at tables that must have been set up in the dining room of the καταγώγιον of the poor[22]. Though he does not call these lodgings ξενοδοχεῖα, the hagiographer calls the function ξενοδοχία and the action ξενοδοχεῖν[23].

But feeding the poor was not the only additional function of the ξενοδοχεῖον or ξενών. John Chrysostom, in his *Adhortationes ad Stagirium,* urges Stagirius to visit a ξενών in order to observe the sick and become acquainted with all kind of diseases: clearly the ξενών was a hospital, or included one[24]. Procopius of Caesarea, in his description of the two ξενῶνες in front of the Nea Church in Jerusalem, explains that »one was a shelter for visiting strangers, while the other was a resting place for paupers suffering from diseases« (ἀναπαυστήριον νοσοῦσι πτωχοῖς)[25]. Also elsewhere in *De aedificiis* he uses ξενών sometimes for a poorhouse and hospital[26], sometimes for a public hostel[27].

A variant of ξενών, ξενεών, seems to be more specifically linked to the meaning of »hospital«[28]. In fact, the dictionary of Liddell and Scott sets down a clear distinction between the two. Ξενών is regarded as synonymous of ξενοδοχεῖον and translated »guest-chamber«, while ξενεών is assigned two different meanings: »guest-chamber«, based on a Hellenistic inscription from Delphi[29], and »alms house, hospital«, based on sixth-century papyri. The connection between ξενεών and a state of sickness is clear, for instance, in the seventh-century Life of Theodorus of Sykeon, where the context – expulsion of demons from possessed persons – points to an asylum for mental sickness[30]. An even clearer picture of the medical function of the ξενεών is revealed in the memorandum against Dioscorus addressed by Ischyrion, an Alexandrian deacon, to the Council of Chalcedon. The deacon complains of persecution suffered at the hands of Dioscurus, who had him imprisoned in a »hospice of the mutilated«, ἐν ἑνὶ ξενεῶνι τῶν λελωβημένων, a term referring particularly to persons maimed by leprosy[31]. This hospice is most likely the same described as πτωχεῖνυ τῶν λελωβημένων, or ὀσπίτιον, in Alexandria, by Palladius in Historia Lausiaca[32]; in a word, it was an establishment for paupers affected by leprosy. But the part it played in the episode of Ischyrion throws a shadow on this charitable foundation: it could be used also as a prison.

Summing up, in late antique usage ξενεών seems to mean »hospital« rather than »hospice«, but ξενών, »hospice«, can also mean »hospital«. Can ξενεών, in reverse, be used simply in the sense of hospice? The answer to this question is crucial to the understanding of the meagre epigraphical evidence for this institution in the Holy Land.

Literary sources and papyri name a number of *xenodochia* in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Caesarea, Ascalon, Gaza, Petra, Jericho, Hammath Gader, at the site of the Baptism on the Jordan and in the Negev and Sinai[33]. To my knowledge, however, neither ξενοδοχεῖον nor ξενών appear in inscriptions in the Holy Land[34] – only ξενεών does, and this in very few instances. One is on a block discovered in secondary use at Silwan, a squeeze of which was published in 1884 in the Jerusalem

19 The ξενοδοχεῖα whose foundation is ordered by Julian (Julian Caesar, Ep. 84 [145 Bidez]) are called καταγώγια καὶ ξενῶνες in Gregory of Nazianzum, Or. 4,111 (648 Migne). Ξενοδοχεῖον and ξενών are interchangeable also in Chron. Paschale (535 f. Dindorf) and in Justinian's Novels, where, moreover, the person in charge of a ξενών is called ξενοδόχος.

20 Jerome, Ep. 66,14 (54,665 Hilberg); Ep. 108,14 (55,325 Hilberg).

21 Julian Caesar, Ep. 84 (145 Bidez).

22 Theodorus, Vita Theodosii 13-15 (34-37. 39 Usener).

23 Theodorus, Vita Theodosii 13, 15, 40 (34,l.16; 39,l,21; 98,l,18 Usener).

24 Jo. Chrysostom, Ad Stagirium III,13 (490 Migne).

25 Procopius, De Aedificiis V,6 (165 Haury/Wirth).

26 Procopius, De Aedificiis I,2,14-17 (19 Haury/Wirth).

27 Procopius, De Aedificiis IV,10,20-21; V,4,17 (142,158 Haury/Wirth).

28 Note that ξενών has an acute accent, that is, it is not a contracted form of ξενεών.

29 FD III, 1 no. 358.

30 Vita Theodori Syceotae 161 (143 f. Festugière).

31 ACO II (I,2,19 Schwartz).

32 Palladius, Historia Lausiaca 6 (24 Butler).

33 For Jerusalem, see Procopius, De Aedificiis 5,6 (165 Haury/Wirth); Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 31 (116 Schwartz); id., Vita Abramii 3 (245 Schwartz); Anonymous of Piacenza 9 (133 f. Geyer); Vita Gregorii P. II, 52 (110 Migne); for Bethlehem, Jerome, Ep. 66,14 (54,665 Hilberg); Ep. 108,14 (55,325 Hilberg); for Ascalon, John Moschus 189 (3068 Migne); for Caesarea and Gaza Marcus Diaconus, Vita Porphyrii 14,53 (13,44 Gregoire/Kugener); for Petra PPetra 2, l. 21; for Jericho Procopius, De Aedificiis V,9,4 (169 Haury/Wirth); Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 46 (136 Schwartz); id., Vita Joannis Hesychastae 20 (217 Schwartz); John Moschus 6,101 (2857. 2960 Migne). *Xenodochia* are mentioned also at the medicinal waters of Hammath Gader (Anonymous of Piacenza 7 [132 Geyer]), at the site of Jesus' baptism, on the western bank of the Jordan (Anonymous of Piacenza 12 [136 Geyer]), and on the pilgrimage route to Sinai and between Sinai and Egypt, at Mizpe Shivta and in the oasis of Wadi Gharandal on the western coast of Sinai (Anonymous of Piacenza 35. 41 [146. 150 Geyer]).

34 At least not unless we extend the concept of Holy Land to the farthest boundaries of Provincia Arabia: but on this, see below.

volume of the Survey of Western Palestine. Several readings were suggested, but the relevant one, which also seems to me the correct one, was proposed by Mentzou-Meimaris almost a century later, in 1982[35]. She read:

Μνῆμ|α [ξ]ενεῶ|νος νέου | κὲ τοῦ ἐν | αὐτῷ νοσ|οκομίου | διακ[ειμένου]

»Tomb of the new hospice and of the hospital located therein«.

According to Mentzou-Meimaris, the epithet would indicate that the hospice belonged to the Nea Church; in other words, this ξενεών would be identical to the ξενῶνες described by Procopius, one of which was a hospital. The inscription would imply that they formed a unit under a single administration, and would also suggest a date in the mid-sixth century. The identification with the hospices of the Nea is not certain: any foundation can be dubbed »new« in comparison with a well-known older one. The important point, however, is that the ξενεών in this inscription, though including a hospital, was not identical to it but must have fulfilled the function implicit in its name, namely, the reception of guests, the ξενοδοχία. And being located in Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that it was mainly intended for pilgrims.

The second occurrence of the term ξενεών is in an inscription from Ma'in in Jordan, southwest of Madaba, published by Piccirillo in 1985 and included by Gatier in IGLJ II[36]. The inscription, set in the mosaic pavement of a room adjoining the Western Church – room and mosaic are lost – read: [Ἔγ]ένετο ὡ ξενεὼ[ν] ἔτι υϟγ' - -, »The hospice was built in year 493 [of the era of Arabia]«, corresponding to 598/599. Gatier ascribed the presence of a ξενεών there to the proximity of Ma'in to Mount Nebo and the transit of pilgrims, while Piccirillo explained it with the location of Ma'in on the ancient road from Madaba to the hot springs of Zerqa Ma'in, ancient Baaru, and of Callirhoe near the Dead Sea, both curative waters visited by sick people. The latter explanation seems more likely, for Ma'in is not on a pilgrim route. Already a very large village in the Late Roman period, and later an episcopal see, ancient Beelmaus, biblical Ba'al Ma'on, was important enough to have an ecclesiastical hostel for the receptions of travellers[37]. It is impossible to exclude, however, that pilgrims travelling on the Esbus–Livias road on their way to the Jordan and thence to Jerusalem, or vice-versa, might have made a detour southwards to Madaba and Ma'in to avail themselves of the healing properties of Baaru, if one of their company was sick. This was exactly what the party from Piacenza did elsewhere: coming back from visiting the sources of the Jordan along the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, on their way to Scythopolis, they crossed the Jordan south of the lake on the sole purpose of reaching the thermae at Hammath Gader, where one of their number died. Back on the western bank, after a journey through Samaria, they crossed the Jordan again at the place of the Baptism and visited more healing waters near the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Both at Hammath Gader and at the other places the Piacenza Pilgrim mentions *xenodochia* where the sick and lepers were hosted at public expenses[38]. The ξενεών of Ma'in may therefore have fulfilled a double function, as a hostel for people from the area going down to the hot springs of Baaru, and as a hospice for pilgrims detouring from the main route to recover from sickness and the hardships of the journey. If so, the ξενεών at Ma'in would probably have offered also some kind of medical care.

A third occurrence of the term ξενεών is in an inscription from Suweida (Dionysias) in the Hauran: [Ἐπὶ τοῦ] ὁσιωτ(άτου) Πέτρου ἐπισκ(όπου) κτίζεται ὁ ξενεὼν τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου, »Under the most holy bishop Petrus the hospice of Saint Theodorus is built«[39]. Here there is no reason to interpret ξενεών as anything but a house of rest for travellers, since Suweida was located on an important thoroughfare, the Roman road across the Trachon that connected Damascus to Bostra. The Hauran, and especially the Trachon, is rich in Late Roman inscriptions commemorating the building of πανδοχεῖα[40] and δημόσια or κοινά, or δημόσιοι or κοινοὶ οἶκοι by village officials[41]. It is at the northern end of the road crossing the Trachon, at Mismiye, ancient Phaene, that Julius Saturninus, governor of Arabia in 186-187, had his epistle to the people of Phaene set up in stone to proclaim that no soldier or civil servant could claim hospitality in the homes of the citizens, as they had built a ξενών for this purpose[42]. The need of resting places for travellers in that wild and inhospitable region could obviously prompt the Church to erect its own hostelries, but we can hardly view this road, so far to the east, as a main route for pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Yet Damascus was both a goal of pilgrimage and a station of the itinerary of those pilgrims who, on the way from Europe or Asia Minor to Palestine, or on the way back, chose the inland route across Syria rather than the coastal road. Even pilgrims from eastern Cappadocia, Armenia, Georgia, the upper and lower Euphrates, would pass through Damascus on their way to the Holy City. The Piacenza pilgrim went

35 Warren/Conder, Jerusalem 412. 427 no. 28; Mentzou-Meimaris, Ἐπαρχικά 284f. Full bibliography in CIIP I/2, no. 1008.

36 Piccirillo, Antichità 350; IGLJ II no. 163.

37 On Baaru, Beelmaus and Callirhoe see Avi-Yonah, Gazetteer 34-35. 45; Schmitt, Siedlungen 77f. 86f. 200f.

38 *Xenodochium* at Hammat Gader: Anonymous of Piacenza 7 (132 Geyer); near the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea Anonymous of Piacenza 9-10 (134 Geyer).

39 Waddington no. 2327; IGLS XVI no. 339.

40 IGLS XIV nos. 263-264 (Harran); XVI no. 59 (Busan). The building at Harran is dated 397/398, and because of its date Sartre considers it a Christian votive building, though it was erected by village officials. However, the inscriptions bear no Christian symbols and I see no reason to regard the building as any different from all other public hostels mainly intended for persons travelling on official business. The fact that it was in the vicinity of the church – if the inscriptions were in situ, which is not certain – is natural, for public buildings in a village would occupy a central spot. Moreover, the church may well be later than 397.

41 IGLS XIII/2 no. 9692; XV/1 no. 73, and see list at p. 126; XVI nos. 883. 1015. It is not clear, however, if these were hostels like the πανδοχεῖα, or meeting houses for the village administration.

42 IGLS XV/1 no. 13. A similar text, very fragmentary, was also found at Suweida: IGLS XVI no. 533a.

from Jerusalem through the Galilee, Damascus, Heliopolis, Emesa and Apamea to Antioch[43]. The Gallic bishop Arculfus too visited Damascus, where he arrived from Mount Thabor in only seven days, as he told his reporter, Abbot Adamnan. He must have taken the shortest route, up the Jordan Valley and joining the Tyre-Damascus road at Paneas[44]. This was the most likely route from northern Palestine to Damascus. Some pilgrims, on leaving Jerusalem, preferred to cross the Jordan before travelling north, probably choosing the ancient King's Highway, at that time a Roman road leading to Adraa (Dar'a), Naveh (Nawa) and Aire (eṣ-Ṣanamein), and hence to Damascus[45], rather than moving farther east to take the Via Traiana, a detour through Philadelphia and Bostra that would have prolonged the journey through areas of no religious interest, and then forced them to cross the Trachon or skirt its eastern border. In the northernmost portion of the Adraa–Damascus road we have epigraphical evidence of an inn and changing post (στάβλον καὶ ἀλλαγή) at Kafr Shams, erected by a member of the clergy[46]; at Mutbin, a village near the road, though not on it, a block above a door bears the inscription: Τοῦτο τὸ ξενοδόχιν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκλησίας[47].

Summing up, of the inscriptions pertaining to lodgings for travellers, only one, the ξενεὼν νέον in Jerusalem, is firm evidence of pilgrimage to the holy places. The two ξενεῶνες at Ma'in and Suweida are not located along pilgrimage routes, though the former may mark a detour towards a destination visited by pilgrims for reasons other than proper religious ones. The στάβλον at Kafr Shams and the ξενοδόχιον at Mutbin were indeed established by the Church along a route used by pilgrims, but there is no evidence that they were planned particularly for them.

Hostelries can be identified, at least tentatively, on archaeological grounds, especially when these are supported by literary sources. This is the case, for instance, of the complex excavated by Avi-Yonah at Sheikh Bader (today's Biniyané ha-Umah) in 1949. Not much was published about the excavation, but an invocation to Saint George in the mosaic floor of the chapel lead Avi-Yonah to identify the complex with the »*gerontocomium* with a chapel of St. George« founded by Eudocia before Jerusalem, where John bishop of Colonia stayed in 491 before joining the laura of Sabas. The inscription, however, disappoints us: it gives no hint of any specific function of the establishment and could fit any sacred place[48]. A little more help do we get when we consider the building excavated in the Nineties on the northern side of the Byzantine street leading out of the western gate of Byzantine Jerusalem towards Bethlehem and Hebron. The excavation has not yet been published, but the excavators tentatively identified the building as a hostel, as it was divided into rooms that seem to have been used as living quarters[49]. In this case, the epigraphic yield may support this identification. An Armenian inscription incised on a fragment of marble slab was found in the building; it contains an invocation for mercy and remembrance to the Lord and to the Holy Anastasis, and most likely points to the presence of a pilgrim from Armenia[50]. The mosaic floor of one large room bears quotations from the Psalms, some of them quite common in churches and monasteries (Ps. 45,8,12; 117,6-7; 120,8), but one is unique, a combination of Ps. 94,6 and Odes 14,6,10: »Come, let us worship and prostrate ourselves before him, Christ our king; come, let us worship«[51]. This text is suggestive of pilgrimage, and together with the Armenian inscription it strengthens the identification of the building as a hostel.

A recent find has raised the possibility that another hospice may have been located in Jerusalem, north of Damascus Gate, in an area where several remains of buildings have been tentatively identified by archaeologists as hostels. In the present case there are almost no architectural remains but only an expanse of white mosaic floor in which a six-line inscription was set within a tabula ansata. The inscription faced south and related to no wall, stylobate or threshold in its vicinity, both indications that it was not laid in a church. Yet the building belonged to a monastery, for the inscription reads: »In the time of our most pious emperor Flavius Justinian Constantine, the most God-loving priest and abbot, established and raised also this entire building, in the fourteenth indiction«. This was most like the hegumen of the Nea mentioned in a rather similar inscription on the southern wall of the great cistern in the foundations of the Nea Church, tentatively dated to 549/550. The newly discovered inscription is dated 550/551 and indicates that the abbot wished to enlarge the available hospitality and so the influence of his monastery – or perhaps that in 550/551 the hospice of the Nea on the cardo was not yet functional[52].

43 Anonymous of Piacenza 46-47 (152 f. Geyer). The pilgrimage of the Piacentine party took place ca. 570.

44 Adamnan, De locis sanctis 2,28-29 (220 f. Bieler). Arculfus' pilgrimage took place ca. 681-684 and was narrated by the Scottish abbot Adamnan at the end of the seventh century.

45 This was the route followed by Simeon, later nicknamed the Fool, his friend John and their families, on their way back to Emesa from a pilgrimage to the holy places: Leontius, Vita Symeonis Sali (58 f. Festugière/Rydén).

46 IGLS XIV/2 no. 534. The remains of an ancient paved road were observed between Kafr Shams and eṣ-Ṣanamein: Ewing, Journey 358. See also Isaac, Limits of Empire Maps III, IV.

47 IGLS XIV/2 no. 592a. I confess, however, that I do not have complete confidence on the genuine antiquity of this inscription, which Sartre had no opportunity to check properly but could only photograph from a distance.

48 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Joannis Hesychastae 4 (204 Schwartz). For the few available details and references on the excavation see Ovadiah, Corpus 81-82 no. 70a, and for the inscription CIIP I/2 no. 846.

49 Reich/Shukrun, Western Extramural Quarter.

50 CIIP I/2 no. 810a.

51 CIIP I/2 no. 810.

52 For the inscription of the Nea, see CIIP I/2 no. 800, and for the new discovery Di Segni/Gellman, Justinian Inscription.

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* My thanks go to Maurice Sartre for generously giving me access to the manuscript of this forthcoming volume.

Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Epigraphische Belege für die Pilgerfahrt zu den Heiligen Stätten

Dieser Beitrag befasst sich mit epigraphischen Belegen für die Pilgerfahrt zu den Heiligen Stätten, nämlich Inschriften, in denen Hospize für Reisende auf dem Weg nach und von Jerusalem genannt sind. Der erste Teil sammelt Belege aus literarischen Quellen, in denen Unterkünfte für Reisende entlang der Straßen und an den Reisezielen beschrieben werden. Die griechischen und lateinischen Begriffe, die von den Quellen für diese Unterkünfte verwendet werden, werden identifiziert und es werden einige Beobachtungen zu den von diesen Institutionen angebotenen Einrichtungen und den verschiedenen Funktionen, die sie erfüllen konnten, angestellt. Der zweite Teil stellt die epigraphischen Belege für Hospize im Heiligen Land vor, die im Gegensatz zu der Fülle der literarischen und papyrologischen Dokumentation spärlich sind, und untersucht die Verbindung der wenigen Belege mit dem Netz der Pilgerwege.

Epigraphical Evidence for Pilgrimage to the Holy Places

This paper deals with one particular type of epigraphical evidence for pilgrimage to the Holy Places, namely, inscriptions identifying hospices for travellers on the routes leading to and from Jerusalem. The first part of the article collects evidence from the literary sources describing lodgings for travellers along the roads and at their destinations. The Greek and Latin terms used by the sources for these accommodations are identified, and some observations are offered about the facilities provided by these institutions and the different functions they could fulfil. The second part of the paper presents the epigraphical evidence for hospices in the Holy Land – which is scanty, in contrast to the wealth of literary and papyrological documentation – and examines the connection of the few occurrences to the network of pilgrimage routes.

Témoins épigraphiques du pèlerinage aux Lieux saints

Cet article traite d'un type particulier de témoins épigraphiques du pèlerinage aux Lieux saints, c'est-à-dire des inscriptions mentionnant les hospices pour les voyageurs en route vers ou venant de Jérusalem. La première partie de cet article rassemble les témoignages de sources littéraires qui décrivent des gîtes sur la route et aux destinations respectives des voyageurs. On a identifié les termes grecs et latins utilisés pour ces gîtes et fait quelques observations sur les aménagements offerts par ces institutions et les différentes fonctions qu'elles pouvaient remplir. La deuxième partie présente les preuves épigraphiques de la présence d'hospices en Terre sainte, qui sont rares contrairement aux quantités de documents littéraires et papyrologiques, et examine les liens existant entre les quelques témoins et le réseau des chemins de pèlerinage. Traduction: Y. Gautier

Jon Seligman

Creating Economic Capacity for Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period

Discussion of the economy of pilgrimage during the Byzantine period can be approached from various directions. The significant cost of individual pilgrimage, whether the transportation, the accommodation, sustenance, guidance, indulgences or other expenses, had to be met by the pilgrims themselves[1]. While the wealthy had the means to cover their own costs, the less affluent, and probably often the more pious, would presumably have had to live off the land on their arduous journey to the Holy Land. This paper, however, will concentrate on a second aspect, that is the manner in which the economy of Jerusalem and its hinterland coped with the influx of pilgrims. The central issues to be addressed will be the economic capacity necessary to support an increasing population, including large numbers of pilgrims and what were the provisions made to handle the task, especially given the low economic capacity that characterised the hinterland of Jerusalem prior to Constantine's conversion and the subsequent injection of imperial funds into the region from the fourth century[2].

The Population of Jerusalem

Discussion of the economy of Jerusalem and its hinterland must start with demography. This contentious issue is the foundation of understanding the subsistence strategies in any period. As Broshi[3] and Geva[4] have summarised, the numbers of residents surmised for the Roman and Byzantine periods swings wildly. Given the limitations of space, I will not go into the various coefficients utilised to calculate ancient populations[5], but from a high population during the Herodian period for Jerusalem of anything between 20,000 to 90,000, the population of Aelia Capitolina would plunge to a low of only 4,000 according to Geva[6], a figure which may even be an over-estimate[7]. The following Byzantine period would be a period of major population growth, a fact demonstrated through the huge expansion of the urban area of the city, with Eudocia's new city wall now encompassing Mount Zion in addition to the earlier enclosed areas[8]. According to a series of coefficients, the Jerusalem would grow to around 36,000-50,000 people in the sixth century, with a further 60,000-100,000 living in the rural district[9]. After the expulsions that followed the two Jewish revolts, Jerusalem lacked an indigenous local population, Christian or otherwise, of any significance, so this population growth can only be accounted for by influx founded on pilgrimage.

Certainly, the wide spread of origin of the pilgrims is attested to by the range of accounts of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the holy sites in a multiplicity of languages. Some writers exhibited amazement at meeting Christians from the east who formed the largest ethnic group of pilgrims[10], but with little in the way of *itineraria* in Greek, Armenian, Syriac or Georgian, we can only rely on the third-party impressions of their pilgrimage or its scale. Egeria, for example, depicts the celebration of the dedication of the Holy Sepulchre as having been attended by believers from many lands, speaking different tongues, including up to fifty bishops with large retinue[11]. In the mid-fifth century we learn specifically of the group pilgrimage of 400 Armenian monks who visited the monastery of Euthymius on their voyage to Jericho to immerse themselves in the Jordan[12]. This was by no means an isolated case, evidence existing for many groups of Armenian pilgrims throughout the Byzantine period[13].

But this can only hint to the magnitude of pilgrimage, for every visitor had to be accommodated and fed. Beyond the provision for the residents of the area, the agricultural economy of the district had to be able to provide autarkic sustenance for the large visiting population of transient pilgrims and itinerant laborers. Furthermore, service opportunities arose to guide visitors, provide them with icons and souvenirs and even rob them of their possessions. For many modern nations tourism can form a major share of the economy, the

1 Sumption, Pilgrimage 185-192. 204-205; Limor, Holy 12-15; Bell/Dale, Medieval 619-622.
2 Seligman, Absence 112-113.
3 Broshi, Population; Broshi, Estimating; Broshi, Western Palestine; Broshi, Agriculture; Broshi, Methodology.
4 Geva, Estimating.
5 Broshi, Population 6; Broshi, Estimating 10; Broshi, Western Palestine 1; Packer, Housing 84-86; Frankfort, Town Planning 103-104; Wilkinson, Ancient Jerusalem 49; Gulick, Tripoli 190.
6 Geva, Estimating 59.
7 Seligman, Absence 112.
8 Broshi, Population 13; Broshi, Estimating 14-15; Tsafrir, Topography 285; Geva, Estimating 60.
9 Broshi, Western Palestine 3-6; McCown, Density 436.
10 Jerome, Epistolae 46,10; Itinerarium Egeriae 49; Arculf, Adamnani de locis sanctis 225.
11 Itinerarium Egeriae 47-49.
12 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Euthymii 17,27,8-10; Stone, Pilgrimage 95-97.
13 Stone, Pilgrimage 109-110.

impact in the Byzantine era probably being similar, if reduced in magnitude. Significant economic prospects were open to both the clerical and secular sections of Byzantine society, so assessing the scale of pilgrimage during this period is of major importance. Unfortunately, the *itineraria* are of little use as a source for judging the numbers of pilgrims, or their actual social composition. As the preservation of *itineraria* is sporadic at best, their content focusing on the journeys of the western literate elite, they can only hint at the general experience.

Though a small number of Christian pilgrims, mainly drawn from the clerical elite, had arrived in Jerusalem prior to 324, it was its metamorphosis into a Christian city and the building of imperially sponsored major shrines that would ignite a mass movement of pilgrims[14]. Partially because of the slow pace of conversion of the local population to Christianity, pilgrimage would become the main source of manpower for the monasteries of Palaestina and a fundamental factor for the Christianisation of the country[15]. While we learn of the existence of local clergy, such as Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyril of Jerusalem and Procopius of Caesarea, the vast majority of monastic leaders and monks were former pilgrims, who either through decisions prior to their arrival, or as a result of the spiritual impact of their visit, resolved to settle in the country. A disproportionate number of these immigrating pilgrims were drawn from the clerical and secular elite, some of whom found sanctuary in the Holy Land as refugees from the threat of Vandal attack in Italy or as political exiles from the court of Constantinople[16]. Many would establish their own institutions in Jerusalem, the hinterland and the Judean Desert, often exhausting huge personal funds in the process[17], monies that would be drawn into developing the local church and economy. Furthermore, the cosmopolitan nature of this migration is immediately apparent, with immigrating pilgrims drawn from the Latin speaking west, the Greek speaking Asia Minor and Syria, Armenia, Georgia, Mesopotamia and Arabia.

Though we have no real idea of actual statistics for pilgrimage, or immigration, to Jerusalem, there can be no doubt that the numbers were considerable, especially during the major festivals – Encaenia, the commemoration of the dedication of the Holy Sepulchre, Epiphany and the Holy Week of Easter. The flow of pilgrims increased into the fifth and sixth centuries, exemplified by the expanded capacity of Christian churches, hostels and monasteries through Eudocia's patronage of huge new basilicas for St. Stephen, north of Jerusalem's walls, on Mount Zion and at the Pool of Siloam and Justinian's construction of the Nea Church of the Theotokos, dedicated in 543.

Beyond the *itineraria* which clearly illustrate this phenomenon, it is the mass programme of church and monastery building, sponsored to a large degree by imperial and private donation[18], that further indicates the magnitude. Their size, close proximity to each other and concentration in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho etc. indicates that their congregation must have been drawn for populations far larger than local Christian communities could provide. Indeed, the architecture of the larger edifices, such as the Holy Sepulchre and the Nativity Church, was specifically designed to accommodate sizeable groups of pilgrims. This included expansive atriums in front of the churches in which groups could congregate. Inside substantial basilicas provided space for the celebration of mass, while the accepted actual locus of the celebrated event and its associated liturgical processions were a unique spectacle conceived to emotionally impress on the one-time visitor, religious exultation and spiritual euphoria.

Though withdrawal from the temptations of general society was a primary aim of monasticism, the hosting of travellers was also a basic tenant of faith[19]. Hostels, catering to the lodging requirements of pilgrims built and operated by monasteries beside places of worship, some of which have been excavated, epitomise the phenomena. By creating specialised accommodation, the pilgrim was placed in the spiritual environment deemed suitable for pilgrimage. The economic benefit reaped from this travel, through generous donations given by pilgrims, both for services offered and religious guidance, became a major source of income for the ecclesiastical establishment in the Holy Land. Furthermore, we can accept that the efforts and resources invested in setting up a service network of hostels would not have been executed without the demand created by mass pilgrimage. As the Byzantine period continued into the sixth and seventh centuries, the flow of pilgrims must have increased, a fact exhibited archaeologically through the dedication of hundreds of new churches[20] and the pilgrim's written narratives that emphasise the existence of many churches and monasteries[21]. Given these large numbers, Bar's assertion[22] that the economic importance of Pilgrimage in Palestine was secondary, and would not have influenced the countryside beyond the pilgrimage sites, could not have been true for Jerusalem and its hinterland.

It is also clear that it was not only pilgrims who were making Palaestina their home. The dearth of trained local manpower forced Constantine to import trained artisans, masons and master craftsmen to adorn his monuments[23]. Many would have settled permanently, enriching Jerusalem and its surroundings with technical know-how[24]. The influence of

14 Limor, Holy 6; Limor, Christian 395-398.
15 Geiger, Diffusion 231-232; Rubin, Diffusion 235-246; Perrone, Rejoice 150; Bitton-Ashklelony/Kofsky, Monasticism 264-265.
16 Avi-Yonah, Economics 43-45; Tsafrir/Di Segni, Ethnic.
17 Jerome, Epistle of Paula 15,30; Jerome, Epistolae 66,14; Vita Melaniae Iunioris 15,30,35; Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 25,109,10-15.
18 Avi-Yonah, Holy Land 101; Armstrong, Imperial; Hunt, Holy Land 221-248; Bar, Population 307.
19 Rom. 13,13; Benedicti regula 53.
20 Ovadiah, Corpus.
21 Limor, Holy 8.
22 Bar, Population 315.
23 Eusebius, Vita Constantini 3, 32; Binns, Ascetics 94.
24 Avi-Yonah, Economics 42.

their skills on future generations of builders and craftsmen can be clearly tracked through the construction of hundreds of churches throughout the Byzantine period.

Nutrition

The land of Canaan may have been the elysian »Land of Milk and Honey«, the land of the biblical nutritional triad of wine, olive oil and grain[25], but we should consider how this utopian vision matched up to the realities of the difficult topography of the hill country, the long rainless months and the oppressive insolation of the summer sun. Indeed, wine, olive oil and grain were the daily dietary staple of the classical world[26] in general and of Byzantine Palestine specifically[27]. Of the three, cereal was so important to the diet that its yields and consumption have formed the basis for much scholarly discussion of economy, society and population of the ancient world.

The seeming abundance of the agriculture of Byzantine Palestine was remarked upon by visitors. In the late sixth century the anonymous pilgrim from Piacenza expresses in euphoric terms his impression of the Galilee as a »paradise« with corn, fruit, wine, oil, apples and millet, superior to that grown in Egypt[28]. As this impression is probably overstated, we are better served by hagiographical sources that describe the sometimes strange, but probably well-balanced diet, of the desert monks[29], a diet probably also made available to passing pilgrims. The »Lives« of the monks of Cyril of Scythopolis and Leontius of Neapolis itemise the banqueting meal, which by definition is an isolated case, but does express the dietary potential of the monasteries and their ability to transport exotica to their often isolated locations[30]. The festive menu, often donated by devotees, included fresh white wheat bread, rye bread, wine, olive oil, cheese, eggs, honey, meatballs, pancakes, jam and even fish[31].

While bread was the monks and pilgrims staple we also learn from the sources of other foods that would have added protein and other essential nutrients to the diet. Vegetables, pulses and to a lesser degree fruit, were a common part of the menu that including lupine, peas, kidney beans, pumpkin, carobs, dates, figs and olives[32].

From a variety of sources we can assess the contribution of specific food stuffs to the diet. Roman and Byzantine peoples imbibed between half to one litre of wine daily[33]; around 50 to 100 grammes of olive oil, representing some 1000 calories[34]; and consumed a daily average of 550 grammes of grain, roughly half of the calorific intake[35]. It is more difficult to assess the calorific value of other food ingredients, such as meat, vegetables, pulses, fish and dairy products.

The Importance of Olives, Olive Oil and Associated Products

Given that this is a wide-ranging subject, let us look briefly at the economic possibilities provided by olive oil production in the hinterland of Jerusalem as an example. Olives are particularly suited to the dry farming typical of ancient Palestine. Furthermore, the fact that the resulting products were easily stored, made them an essential part of a diet, especially when the preservation of food during the less productive months was difficult. Furthermore, the use of olives and olive oil went beyond its nutritional value – oil was exploited for lighting, soap, cosmetics and perfumes, anointing and rituals such as the pouring of oil through reliquaries, bathing and personal hygiene; the amurca (lees) for manuring of fruit trees, as a weed killer, as an insecticide, to grease leather and hides, to treat and polish wood, to improve the health of cattle; and in the production of building plaster and the combustion of the olive pomace and olive wood for fuel.

Beyond the nutritional and economic value of olive oil, it also occupied an important place in the cultural, especially the ritual, traditions of the Byzantine world. The blessing of the oils, always olive oil, is a ceremony central to Christian faith, celebrated on the Holy Thursday of Easter in the Catholic and Orthodox churches[36]. These symbolically draw from the actual uses of olive oil; providing spiritual nourishment, curing spiritual ailments and diffusing spiritual light.

As the status of olive oil was so important to the economy, an understanding of the yields is crucial to understanding its place in Jerusalem's hinterland. Unfortunately, this proves both complex and elusive. Various attempts have been made to assess production, surplus, consumption and export, utilising the economic study of prices and quantities from the writings of Varro[37], Cato[38] and Pliny[39], who specifies the superiority of Syrian and Palestinian strains over those found in Italy[40],

25 Deuteronomium 28,51.
26 Foxhall/Forbes, Sitomereia.
27 Patlagean, Pauvreté 36-44; Kaplan, Hommes 28-30. 503-506.
28 Itinerarium Piacenza 5,162.
29 Hirschfeld, Judean 82.
30 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 58,160,2-7; Leontius of Neapolis, Vita Symeonis Sali 158,23-24; 159,1-2; 164,4-6.
31 Hirschfeld, Judean 90-91; Patrich, Judean 159. 172; Dauphin, Plenty 42; Di Segni, Cyril 68-69.
32 Vita Gerasimi 5,6; Vita Georgii Chozebitae 7,102; 12,107-108; 19,118; 43,336-337; Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Cyriaci 19,234,2; Theodore of Petra. Vita Theodosii 19,25-26; 74,3.
33 Cato the Elder, De Agricultura 57; West/Johnson, Byzantine Egypt 180-181. 225-229; White, Roman Farming 496 n. 55; Dar, Landscape 160; Tchernia, Vin 13-27; Thomas/Hero, Foundation Documents I 109-110; Talbot, Mealtime 115.
34 Dembinska, Diet 459 table V; Amouretti, Pain 181-183. 287; Mattingly, Olea 159; Frankel, Wine 44.
35 Broshi, Diet 41-43; Broshi, Methodology 421.
36 Sullivan, Externals 180-181.
37 Varro, De Re Rustica 1,24,3.
38 Cato the Elder, De Agricultura 10.
39 Plinius Secundus, Naturalis Historia XV 4,14-16; 15,6,23.
40 Frank, Notes; Mattingly, Megalithic 184-185; Thurmond, Handbook 102-103.

the price edict of Diocletian[41], the Mishnah[42] and Tosephta[43]; analysis of the archaeological evidence drawn from installations and land holdings[44] and anthropological research of traditional oleoculture.

Drawing on the demographic figures, Byzantine Jerusalem had a population of between 100,000 to 150,000 dwelled in Jerusalem and its region, though this does not take into consideration the additional requirement needed for visiting pilgrims. Calculated up, the stated population required some 20 to 25 million litres (18,000 tonnes) of olive oil per-annum, the requirement for the Jerusalem area alone being 2 to 3 million litres (1,800-2,700 tonnes). So without going into this too deeply, if this is the requirement, and if the average production, for a single press is a plausible 4,800 or 10,000 kg, then we would expect there to be 180 to 270 oil presses just to provide local needs, though only 119 have been discovered so far during excavations in the hinterland of Jerusalem. At 100 trees per hectare, producing an average of 400 kg of oil, each press required between 25 hectares or 2,500 trees to supply it for maximum function, while the total Jerusalem region was planted with 4,500 to 6,750 hectares of olive plantations. All these figures are entirely feasible and match similar estimates in North Africa and Spain where it is specified that the presses located by survey and excavation are probably only half or a third of the original amount[45]. Still the number of variables are great – the number of daily pressings, the efficiency of the pressing, the amount of olive pulp pressed in each processing, the number of trees per hectare, the volume of oil produced by a specific quantity or variety of olive etc. This renders the calculations educated estimates at best, that we will accept for want of other data. In a similar fashion we can calculate wine production and the requirement for other food stuffs.

How Much Land is Required for the Subsistence of Jerusalem, its Hinterland and Pilgrimage?

Utilising individual consumption, calculated through demographic statistics we can extrapolate up to assess land requirements for individual crops. This can be compared with regional resources and the capacity of Jerusalem's hinterland to supply food for the city, the surrounding region and for pilgrims. Was there, for instance, the necessary agricultural land, or was the import of food an obligation? Two tables are presented, the first (**table 1**) pools the available land, and based on the percentage judged as used for terraced agriculture that characterised the Jerusalem hills, gives an assessment of the potential land area exploitable for cropping. The second table (**table 2**) collates the nutritional information for oil, wine, grain, meat and milk, to gauge if there is sufficient land to reach the subsistence level essential to supply Jerusalem and its hinterland[46].

While none of the quoted figures should be viewed as absolutes, they do provide us with a generalized picture that serves as a framework for consumption, necessities and potentials. From the tables we learn that approximately half or less of the cultivatable area (118,694 hectares) was actually needed for agriculture (41,737 to 65,212 hectares) and that plenty of land was vacant for pasture. Jerusalem was able to feed itself from its own hinterland without recourse to imported products, even from adjacent regions.

We should mention that these calculations have dealt only with providing food for the local population. However Jerusalem was also a magnet for a large transient group of pilgrims of unknown numbers. While we have no way to assess the supplement necessary to feed pilgrims; the actual numbers, and the potential agricultural surplus, probably indicates that the city and region had no problem to cover the additional requirement.

Elsewhere I have shown that the expected village settlement pattern did not formulated in the Jerusalem area after the removal of the village population during the Jewish revolts[47]. Of the 37 villages identified in the sources as village settlements, only eight have remains that can be unambiguously accepted as belonging to a village. Even if we accept the fickleness of archaeological and survey methods, we would still expect, based on the quantity and quality of the data, for many more villages to have been found in the field.

Still, a number of villages did formulate. The village remains of Jerusalem that developed all occupy the same topographical and geographical niche, on the eastern edge of the cultivated band of the central highlands, right up against the margins of the Judaean Desert. Not only were these the only villages in the Jerusalem area, they are also the only villages specifically referenced in the »Lives« of Cyril of Scythopolis. Still, the area west of the line of desert margin villages was not void of settlement. Here crown lands were granted to private individuals and to especially to ecclesiastical institutions. The areas between Jerusalem and the Shephelah became the domain of agricultural coenobia and farms. To bridge the economic gap in agricultural production, the authorities would turn to the monasteries. Monasteries would soon become major land owners, exploiting land not only directly, but also through tenants who farmed the land for the monastic institutions.

41 Duncan-Jones, Economy 366-369.
42 Mishna, Tractate Kettubot 5,8; Mishna, Tractate Shevi'it 4,9; 5,7; Mishna, Tractate Pe'ah 8,5.
43 Safrai, Economic 121.
44 Amouretti et al., Pressoir; Dar, Landscape 182-187; Mattingly, Megalithic; Mattingly, Olive Boom; Mattingly, Maximum; Mattingly, Regional; Ben David, Olive Presses; Seligman, Mikva'ot 149-154. 164-165.
45 Mattingly, Olive Boom 38.
46 F or detailed discussion see Seligman, Rural Hinterland 414-421.
47 Seligman, Villages.

Potential land resource	area – hectares	terrace cover – hectares	source
Jerusalem Hills (inside Green Line, incl. City)	31,600	17,822	Israel CBS
Jerusalem District (outside Green Line)	27,450	15,482	Palestinian Authority CBS
Ramallah District	85,500	48,322	Palestinian Authority CBS
Bethlehem District	65,900	37,168	Palestinian Authority CBS
Total	**219,450**	**118,694**	

Table 1 Land Resource Potential for the Jerusalem Hinterland.

Product	(a) potential demand for 100,000	(b) potential demand for 150,000	(c) yield hectare/year	(d) land requirement for 100,000 – hectare	(e) land requirement for 150,000 – hectare
Grain	20,000 kg	30,000 kg	600 kg	33,500	50,250
Olive Oil	1,800,000 kg	2,700,000 kg	400 kg	4,500	6,750
Wine (litres)	27,375,000 l	41,062,500 l	5,000-10,000 l	2,737-5,475	4,106-8,212
Meat	c. 365,000 kg (10 gm/p/day)	c. 550,000 kg (10 gm/p/day)	7 kg	c. 52,500	c. 78,700
Milk (litres)	7,300,000 l	10,950,000 l	123.2 l		
		Total (including pasture)		94,237 to 96,975	139,806 to 143,912
		Cultivated Total		41,737 to 44,475	61,105 to 65,212

Table 2 Potential Land Resource Requirement for Agriculture and Herding for the Jerusalem Hinterland.
(a) potential annual demand for product for regional population of 100,000
(b) potential annual demand for product for regional population of 150,000
(c) annual yield of product per hectare
(d) annual hectare land requirement for product for population of 100,000
(e) annual hectare land requirement for product for population of 150,000

Bridging the Sustenance Gap

While desert monasticism relied greatly on limited local resources, but largely on the patronage of society's elite and donations given by passing pilgrims, then it would be what I denote as the Agricultural Coenobia that would generate the agricultural surplus that could feed and maintain the unproductive residents of Jerusalem and the many pilgrims who passed through the city and the holy sites. In this regard, and contrary to Bar's view[48], these monasteries were, in my opinion, the harbingers of economic expansion and not an economic consequence.

If we rely only on the hagiographic sources, then the agricultural monasteries were only of marginal importance[49]. Given the plethora of writings concerning the daily lives of the monks of the desert, those of the arable areas have left us with little more than a murmur. However, the archaeological evidence seems to exhibit the significance of monasteries and their associated farms not only in the environs of Jerusalem, but also in other regions of Palestine. Certainly, many of these establishments would have had multiple purposes, marking holy sites in the countryside, tending services to passing pilgrims along the roads, and even operating as outposts of state and ecclesiastical power. However, these functions were never secondary to their economic *raison d'être*, as the main source of agricultural produce for the entire region[50]. The designation of rural or agricultural monastery applies to monasteries that display the following features:

1) Monasteries located in the sown or desert fringe regions, in areas of agricultural settlement. For Palestine this includes the Galilee, Beth Shean valley, the Samarian highland, the coastal plain, Gaza and north-western Negev, the Judaean Shephelah and the Judaean Hills up to the line of settlements along the margin of the desert[51].
2) Monasteries situated outside urban centres and villages, on level areas or moderate slopes.
3) Monasteries that small or medium in size, few larger than 3,000 m².
4) Monasteries that relied on cultivation for their livelihood, containing agricultural production installations and/or animal pens within their walls, or in the adjacent countryside.

48 Bar, Pilgrimage 316.
49 Wipszycka, Monachisme 3; Perrone, Monasticism 90-91; Di Segni, Monks 35-36; Bar, Rural 50.
50 Bar, Rural; Taxel, Rural Monasticism; Taxel, Khirbet es-Suyyagh 194-198; Seligman, Rural Hinterland.
51 Taxel, Khirbet es-Suyyagh 196-197.

These monasteries functioned as estate farms, continuing the tradition of such farms that existed in previous periods.

While the desert monasteries used donations, and a limited amount from their own economic activity to support their livelihood, the agricultural monasteries were the major producers in the countryside around Jerusalem, producing wine, olive oil and probably grain in large quantities. Almost all the large wine and oil production facilities operating in the hinterland of Jerusalem were associated with monasteries, or probably operated on their estates. The scale of production went far beyond self-sufficiency, showing that these monasteries were involved in industrial production of commodities for sale in the region, especially to the large »non-productive« population in Jerusalem, liturgically requirements and for pilgrims.

Discussing the agricultural *coenobium* at Bir el-Qutt, Brenk makes the assertion that: »[…] only monasteries that were financially poorly-endowed engaged in agricultural production and kept animals actually inside the monastery walls. Bleating goats and spiritual exercises side-by-side cannot have been inspiring«[52].

However, Bir el-Qutt was no less able to mobilise resources than other monasteries in the region. It was blessed with a well appointed church and unusual cloister decorated with mosaics, oil and wine presses and lands. Moreover, the *coenobia* belonged to the Georgian community, drawing pilgrims from Georgia to visit it and presumably they would have preferred to offer their donations to their »own« monastery. The construction of Bir el-Qutt was of no lesser quality than other monasteries in the nearby countryside, or for that matter in the adjacent urban monasteries of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. In my opinion, the Byzantine agricultural *coenobia* were consciously the replacement of the estate farm of the Roman elite, in many cases physically set within the ruins of earlier agricultural settlements. This monastic settlement form was no default, for this was the premier foundation of the agrarian economy, with the ability to provide the surpluses needed to feed a city in a region where village life had been reduced to only a few villages along the desert edge.

Conclusion

The influx of large groups of pilgrims to Jerusalem would have challenged the local economy to supply the goods and services required. Jerusalem and the surrounding region had failed to fully recover from the expulsion of its population after the two Jewish revolts. The agricultural sector was especially limited in scope, with few villages and a small number of farms. Village life failed to socialise through much of the Byzantine period, leading the ecclesiastical authorities to turn to the monastic organisation to fill the sustenance gap. Given the relatively small indigenous Christian population in Jerusalem and its district, it was most probably the pilgrims themselves who provided the manpower to populate these new monasteries. While this immigration is clearly documented for the monasteries of the Judean Desert, there is no reason to suspect that this was different for the agricultural monasteries. Utilising this economic strategy, the region of Jerusalem could remain autarkic, providing for both permanent residents and for the many, many thousands of pilgrims drawn to the city.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Bereitstellung von ökonomischen Kapazitäten für die Pilgerfahrt nach Jerusalem in der byzantinischen Zeit

Jerusalem war in der byzantinischen Zeit eine relativ isolierte Stadt mit nur wenigen Einwohnern, die für große Zahlen von Pilgern sorgen musste. Dieser Beitrag diskutiert das Ausmaß der Pilgerreisen nach Jerusalem und die Strategien, die genutzt wurden, um dieses Phänomen zu bewältigen. Dabei liegt der Fokus auf den Produktions- und Ernährungskapazitäten der Stadt sowie auf den Versuchen, die Lücke in der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion zu füllen, die durch die Aufgabe vieler Dörfer infolge der Jüdischen Revolten im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert entstanden war. Tatsächlich verbesserte die Gründung von Landwirtschaft betreibenden Klöstern in der Peripherie der Stadt die Situation maßgeblich. Die Klöster beschäftigten die Arbeitskräfte, die durch den Pilgerbetrieb selbst nach Jerusalem kamen, und sorgten so dafür, dass die Stadt in der byzantinischen Zeit meist von einer autarken landwirtschaftlichen Produktion leben konnte.

Creating Economic Capacity for Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period

Through the Byzantine period, Jerusalem was a relatively isolated and lightly populated city that was required to cope with large numbers of pilgrims who all needed to be provided for. This article discusses the scale of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the strategies used to manage this process. It focuses on nutrition and production capacities, and the approaches adopted to bridge the gap in agricultural production that was a consequence of the abandonment of villages that followed the Jewish revolts of the first and second centuries. This situation was alleviated through the establishment of agricultural monasteries in the rural periphery of the city that were founded on the manpower provided by pilgrimage itself and allowed Jerusalem to rely mostly on autarkic agricultural production through the Byzantine period.

Création à l'époque byzantine de capacités économiques pour le pèlerinage à Jérusalem

A l'époque byzantine, Jérusalem était une ville relativement isolée avec peu d'habitants, mais qui devait accueillir de très nombreux pèlerins. Cet article aborde l'ampleur des pèlerinages à Jérusalem et les stratégies mises en œuvre pour contrôler ce phénomène. L'attention se porte particulièrement sur les capacités de production et d'approvisionnement de la ville, et sur les tentatives de combler les déficits de la production agricole dus à l'abandon d'un grand nombre de villages suite aux révoltes juives des 1er et 2ème siècles. La fondation de monastères, à la périphérie de la ville, qui pratiquaient l'agriculture ont effectivement amélioré la situation. Les monastères occupaient de la main d'œuvre attirée à Jérusalem par les activités liées aux pèlerinages et assuraient ainsi à la ville une existence basée sur une production agricole autarcique.

Traduction: Y. Gautier

Basema Hamarneh

Between Hagiography and Archaeology: Pilgrimage and Monastic Communities on the Banks of the River Jordan

It is more or less impossible to imagine the Holy land without calling upon the collective association of monastic and pilgrim movements[1]. The desert along the banks of the River Jordan has formed the ideal backdrop for the development over time of a strong collective mutual interaction[2]. Written sources and pilgrim accounts, from the second half of the fourth century onwards, designate complex spatial and temporal settings. In spatial terms the earliest monastic settlements in *Arabia* and *Palaestina* were those of ascetic monks who dwelt in natural caves adapted to their use along the Jordan River Valley, the Judean Desert and the Dead Sea, in the Lisan peninsula, Uyun Mousa Valley and the Arnon (**fig. 1**)[3]. They settled following rocky spurs and *wadi* beds privileging a territorial radius of several hundred meters around sites that enjoyed a strong Biblical association[4]. These secluded spaces contributed to modelling sacred geography, creating a religious hinterland and shaping a new mentality of a close and direct association between monk and holy site.

Thus, the need to root the biblical event in the landscape was achieved by monks retrieving the historicity of the episodes, and putting forward, in a very systematic way, the enactment of the narratives that were at the centre of their daily life[5]. To obtain such association they called upon vague traditions, supernatural events or on pure inventions that were widely accepted as genuine. Hagiographic accounts contributed to creating a sacral aura reinforced by a repetition of *topoi,* according to which visions inspired monks to detect sites and burials of the most venerated biblical figures[6], a method that had great success at that time, starting with Eusebius affirming how divine inspiration guided Constantine in his search of the tomb of Christ[7].

A good example of this mediation with the holy is the story narrated in the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus in which an elder from the monastery of Eustorgios wanted to travel to Mount Sinai to pray there. While crossing the Jordan he was struck by fever to such an extent that he was unable to walk, thus he was forced to take refuge in a little cave. He then had a dream in which he saw John the Baptist who said to him: »I warn you, don't go anywhere, for this narrow cave is greater than Mount Sinai. For the Lord Jesus quite often used to come into this cave when he was visiting me«. Hearing this the old man stayed and »made that cave into a church and gathered a brotherhood together there«[8].

Again, John Moschus refers to another prodigious revelation to a monk who: »was once passing by the banks of the Jordan and began thinking and wondering what had happened to the stones which Joshua had set in the middle for those whom he was leading through it. And as he was thinking, suddenly the waters divided this way and that, and he saw the twelve stones. He prostrated himself on the ground, gave thanks to the Lord and went his way«[9].

The most significant chrono-spatial development of the area was strictly connected to *coenobitic* monasticism that appeared to be a natural response to the need of providing a proper administration of the holy shrines, especially since the practice of pilgrimage gained ground and popular favour[10]. Complex interests were at play. While the early imperial patronage focused on sites with a long Biblical tradition as expression of devotion and *pietas*, monasticism gave instead shape to more popular expectations[11], especially to the desire to experience the holy and have direct contact with it, beyond the boundaries of the holy city of Jerusalem.

Thus devotees (*spoudaioi*) of the most varied social backgrounds literally poured to the Holy Land, generously contributing to the transformation of the venerated sanctuaries

1 See Walker, Holy City; Perrone, Holy Places 6-7; Külzer, Pilgrimage 154-155; Hamarneh, Monasteries 275.
2 A good example of the close connection of the idea and the ideal of pilgrimage with holy sites is represented by the Madaba Mosaic Map dated to the second half of the sixth century. See Brubaker, Conquest 248-249.
3 Piccirillo, Luoghi 78-79; Hamarneh, Fenomeno 361-362; Piccirillo, Arabia 81.
4 Hamarneh, Monasteries 275.
5 Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims 33-35. Egeria's visit to each of the holy sites included the reading of the appropriate passages from the Bible, reciting psalms, prayers and blessings.
6 Maraval, Lieux saints 43-47.
7 Eusebius, Vita Constantini 3,26,6 (96,5-6); Maraval, Lieux saints 41; Perrone, Jerusalem 11; Peters, One City 21.
8 John Moschus 1 (66 Maisano; trans. Wortley 4-5).
9 John Moschus 11 (71 Maisano; trans. Wortley 9-10).
10 See discussion in Hamarneh, Monastic Estates.
11 Ashkenazi points to the fact that the holy man was mostly a product of hagiographic literature while the monk had a socially established role as part of the human landscape in the country side. Ashkenazi, Holy Man 748.



Fig. 1 Hermit cells near Mount Nebo. – (Photo D. Bianchi).

and triggering the growth of the built infrastructure of local monasteries[12]. Most narratives emphasize that pilgrimage was only a prelude to the monastic experience, mentioning how pilgrims of different ethnic compositions joined desert communities as novices in the sixth to eighth centuries[13].

Pilgrims diligently recorded how monks regulated the access to the *loca sancta*, offered hospitality, *eulogiae*, and religious services. The detailed account of the pilgrimage of Egeria bears vivid witness to the direct contact with monks in several destinations, who often *showed* her the places of Biblical memories or clearly conveyed the sacredness of the sites with stories of prodigious revelations[14].

Few emblematic cases stand out as the Baptism site at Ainun-Sapsaphas; St. Elijah at Mar Elyas, of St. Lot in Ain Abata, the memorial of Moses at Mount Nebo and that of Aaron at Jabal Harun near Petra. These monastic shrines located on the eastern side of the Jordan River, allow us to trace this homogeneous phenomenon in which the relation between biblical site, monk and pilgrim is evident (**fig. 2**).

The site of the Baptism at Ainun-Safsaphas shows holy *memoriae* of the Old and the New Testament located on both sides of the Jordan (**fig. 3**), as the baptism site and cave of the Forerunner, the spot of Christ's baptism and Saint Elijah's ascension.

Egeria, escorted by monks, visited in Ennon-Ainun »a pleasant orchard with a spring of excellent and pure water«. She mentions that the spring had a sort of a pool where the Forerunner fulfilled his ministry, there she received *eulogiae* from holy men living there[15], yet she does not mention the site of the baptism of Jesus. The Bordeaux Pilgrim in 333, places the baptism site five miles from the Dead Sea although he does not cross the Jordan to visit it[16].

12 Several pilgrims from *Pars Occidentis* of the empire came from the aristocracy or were retired officials, see Di Segni/Tsafrir, Ethnic Composition 413-417. 453. On pilgrims joining monastic communities in the Judaean desert see Hamarneh, Roma.

13 Such were Elia who came from Provincia Arabia and became Patriarch of the Holy City in 494 (Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Euthymii 32 [Schwartz 51]); and Stephen the Arab, abbot of St. Euthymios monastery in 513 (Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Euthymii 47 [Schwartz 68]).

14 Egeria travelled with monks as well as a military escort, Wilkinson, Egeria 115-116.

15 Egeria 15 (188-190 Maraval; 127 trans. Wilkinson, Egeria 127).

16 Bordeaux Pilgrim 598,1.2 (19 Geyer/Cuntz).

Theodosius, travelling around 518, gives historical evidence of the transformation of the site, when he mentions a church constructed by the Emperor Anastasius and a community of monks that received five *solidi* a year from the imperial treasury for their livelihood[17]. The *coenobium*, set on the spot, reinforced the traditional link with ascetics, as the Piacenza Pilgrim states that the valley running from the Baptism site to St. Elijah's ascension is studded with hermit cells[18], he also mentions that Saint John's monastery included two *xenodochia*[19].

The extant *coenobium* is recorded by Arculf in the seventh century[20]; while Willibald, who visited it in the eighth century, recalls that a community of twenty monks was dwelling there[21]. These figures seem slightly different in the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei*, dated between 808 and 814, with ten monks living in the monastery of John the Baptist, and thirty-five recorded in the nearby church[22]. In the twelfth century, the site is visited on the day of the Epiphany by the Russian Abbot Daniel[23]. The Arab geographer Al-Idrisi in the eleventh century, locates in the Jordan Valley, not far from the sea of Sodom and Gomorrah, the monastery of St. John and its population of Greek monks[24]; while other historians are informed of the tradition of the baptism in the river Jordan without giving further details.

The archaeological investigations carried out in Bethany beyond the Jordan, west of the village of el-Kafrayn (Ainun-Sapsaphas), identified a church (**fig. 4**) and a monastery built by Rhetorius the Abbot at the western edge of the *wadi* according to the Greek inscription, a second church in the same area uses a cave to form the absidal curve[25]. Several rectangular pools alimented by channels attest to the use of natural springs reinforcing the baptismal purpose of the sanctuary[26], which clearly corresponds to what pilgrims have recorded from the sixth century and at least until the twelfth and thirteenth century (**fig. 5**).

Moving northwards along the Jordan to Tishbeh, birthplace of prophet Elijah, we have solely an indication from Egeria, who sees a cave where the saint took refuge: »we suddenly saw the city of the holy prophet Elijah, that is Thesbe, whence he had the name of Elijah the Tishbite. There, to this day, is a cave wherein the holy man sat; there too is the tomb of holy Getha, whose name we read in the books of the Judges«[27].

The monastic shrine related to the Biblical memory of the prophet, set on the summit of Tall Mar Elyas[28], features a complex of monumental proportions as if it were built

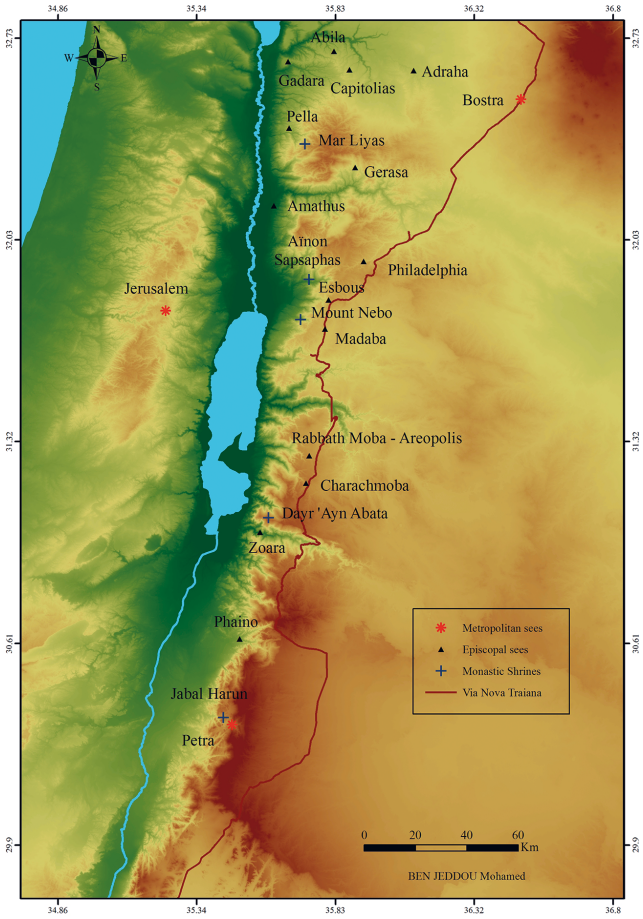


Fig. 2 Map indicating monasteries linked to Biblical sites to the East of the Jordan. – (Map M. Ben Jeddou).

according to a developed pilgrimage cult. It consists of two churches, a burial area, a baptistery and monk's cells on the slope of the hill (**fig. 6**)[29]. The main church shows three naves concluded by a presbytery flanked by two side rooms set on a lower level. Each of the two side aisles is equipped with an additional apse, a unique architectural feature in the ecclesiastical architecture of the provinces to the east of the Jordan[30]. The complex was preceded by a wide oval atrium and accessed by a monumental stair, while the surviving internal decoration showed an elegant mosaic floor consisting of geometric decoration (**fig. 7**)[31]. The Greek inscription in the south nave bears the name of the priest Saba, an invocation of Christ through prayer to Elijah and has the date of 623/624[32]. A second Greek inscription dated to 775/776, set

17 Theodosius, Topography 20 (121 Geyer; 15 trans. Bernard).
18 Antonini Placentini, Itinerarium 9 (134 Geyer; 81 trans. Wilkinson).
19 Antonini Placentini, Itinerarium 12 (136 Geyer; 82 trans. Wilkinson).
20 »While on the higher ground, overhanging it, a great monastery of monks is built on the brow of the opposite hill. There is also enclosed within the same wall as the monastery, a church in honour of St. John the Baptist, built of squared stones«. Adamnan, De locis sanctis II 16,8 (214 Bieler; 38 trans. MacPherson); Piccirillo, Ainon Sapsaphas 219.
21 Willibald, Hodoeporicon 16 (96 Holder-Egger; 18 trans. Brownlow); Mkhjian, Rhetorius Monastery 403.
22 Commemoratorium de Casis Dei 33-34 (210 McCormick; 138 trans. Wilkinson).
23 Daniel, Pilgrimage 29 (ed. Wilson).
24 Al-Idrisi, Opus Geographicum IV 361-362.
25 Waheeb, Betania 57.
26 Waheeb, Betania 48-52.
27 Egeria 16,1-2 (184 Maraval; 128 trans. Wilkinson).
28 See the identification in Augustinović/Bagatti, Escursioni 279-285; Augustinović, El Khader; Piccirillo, Chiese 17; Piccirillo, Archeologia 99-100.
29 Macdonald, Pilgrimage 74-80.
30 Piccirillo, Archeologia 99. The main Church had probably a second reconstruction phase that included its trasformation to a five-aisled basilica instead of three.
31 Nassar/Sabbagh, Mosaic 531-540.
32 Piccirillo, Archeologia 100.



Fig. 3 The Jordan river. – (Photo B. Hamarneh).

in one of the rooms of the monastic complex, mentions the hegoumen, a pulse merchant and his wife[33].

A second church to the south-west, was built in an earlier date, its structure is much smaller in size, it shows a triconch apse carved into a cave. The church had probably devotional importance, as it hosted four tombs that could be hypothetically considered as privileged burials[34]. In fact, small niches were carved in the apse to fit oil lamps or candles, as traces of burning can still be seen (**fig. 8**)[35]. It is easy to speculate that these tombs enjoyed particular status, perhaps because they housed the remains of local holy men or monastic leaders. It is also worth pointing out that the lack of descriptions of pilgrims regarding the church may suggest a later development of the sanctuary, which clearly fits the two dates registered in the mosaic inscriptions[36] and the typology of the geometric patterns used in the mosaic floor[37]. The architectural setting of cave, burial and church is not casual, it may point to pilgrimage that might have united the devotion to the Biblical figure of Elijah with that to a local holy man.

Ain Abata consists of a monastery linked to the veneration of St. Lot[38]. The site finds its way in the account of Abbot Daniel, the Russian pilgrim in the twelfth century[39], while the Arab writers Yaqut al-Hamawi and Ibn-Abbas in the tenth century mention the story of Lot, adding the names of his two daughters as being Rubbah and Saghur, and identify the two traditional springs by which each woman was supposed to have been buried in the nearby area of the Ghor[40].

The church is also organized around a cave in which tradition locates the refuge of Lot and his daughters. It has a mosaic pavement with three Greek inscriptions. The first attests the renovation of the pavement in 573. It lies in the chancel of the church and consists of a medallion surrounded by grape vines, birds, a lamb and a peacock[41]. In the centre, at the spot where the altar once stood, is a stylised depiction of a chalice and below it an encircled cross inscribed with

33 Di Segni, Variae Arabica 579-580.
34 On burials in churches see Eger, Necropolis 161-167.
35 Macdonald, Pilgrimage 75.
36 The addition of a baptistery is an important indication of the pilgrimage practices as in the case of the Mount Nebo Basilica. Saller, Memorial of Moses 84-91; Piccirillo/Alliata, Mount Nebo 168-173; Piccirillo, Archeologia 100.
37 The reliance on geometric decoration and the technical features of the layout of the *tesserae* suggest a repaving in the late Umayyad period.
38 The site is listed in the Madaba Mosaic map dated to the second half of the sixth century. Politis, Aghios Lot 1-3.
39 Daniel, Pilgrimage 47 (Wilson).
40 Le Strange, Palestine 291-292; Politis, Aghios Lot 21-22.
41 Meimaris/Kritikakou-Nikolaroupulou, Greek Inscriptions 393-400.



Fig. 4 The Baptism church on the eastern shore of the Jordan. – (Photo B. Hamarneh).

the Greek words ΤΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΝ (literally: Good End). The second inscription is in the north aisle, leading to the cave enclosed within a tabula ansata. It names the Bishop Iakovos, the Abbot Sozomenos and gives a construction date of 605/607[42]. Two further mosaic floors were probably of the same early seventh century date.

The last mosaic inscription, located in the nave of the church and set in 691/692, describes the site as a Holy Place[43]. Other inscriptions carved on stone or painted on plaster mention invocations of Lot. On the south side of the entrance of Lot's cave scratched designs, crosses and graffiti can be seen on the plaster. One in Greek named a local Christian woman as Zenobia daughter of Anastasios[44], while another is an invocation in Kufic Arabic[45]. Several oil lamps dated to the eighth to ninth centuries attest to the continuity of the pilgrim devotional tradition.

The monastery of Mount Nebo (**fig. 9**) established on the site connected to the memory of Moses also developed



Fig. 5 Pilgrim graffiti on the lower part of the pillars near the Jordan River. – (Photo B. Hamarneh).

42 Meimaris/Kritikakou-Nikolaroupulou, Greek Inscriptions 401-403.
43 Meimaris/Kritikakou-Nikolaroupulou, Greek Inscriptions 403-407.
44 The graffito is scratched on the plastered south-eastern wall of the north aisle, before the entrance to the cave. Meimaris/Kritikakou-Nikolaroupulou, Greek Inscriptions 414-415.
45 Macdonald, Graffito 417.



Fig. 6 Aerial photo of Mar Elijas. – (Courtesy Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East APAAME_20060911_RHB-0033 R. H. Bewley).



Fig. 7 The monastic church of Mar Elijas. – (Photo F. Sciorilli).



Fig. 8 The lower church of Mar Elijas. – (Photo B. Hamarneh).



Fig. 9 The memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo. – (Photo F. Sciorilli).



Fig. 10 The tomb in the main nave of the monastic church of Mount Nebo. – (Photo D. Bianchi).

over time a monumental aspect. It had with a large atrium that allowed the access to the sanctuary through a flight of stairs. Admittedly, pilgrim records are extremely limited; we only have the visit of Egeria, who mentions monk's cells in the valley below the mountain[46], and later two visits of Peter the Iberian in 430 and in 477. He, in addition to Moses, mentions seeing a holy man from Skete in Egypt, »an ascetic and prophet, and full of the grace of God« who dwelt in solitude in one of the monastic cells for 40 years without crossing the threshold[47]. He also calls upon a popular tradition according to which the whereabouts of the tomb of Moses was shown »as in a vision to a humble shepherd«, who described »a very large cave, filled with much light, pleasing odour and splendour« and »saw a venerable old man whose face was brilliant and beaming with kindness, reposing on a luminous bed resplendent with glory and grace«[48].

The anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza in 570 relates that the spot where Moses died is not far from Segor, near the Dead sea[49]; while Magister Thetmarus in 1217 declares to have climbed up and down the Mountain of Abarim (Nebo), but without giving any description of the aspect of the site[50].

Recent archaeological excavations conduced in the basilica suggest that the shrine has developed around a tomb set along the axis of the nave, exactly on the summit of the mountain. The burial place, though found completely empty, was embellished with much care by reused architectural marbles, coated with red plaster and only later covered by a mosaic floor (**fig. 10**)[51]. This particular *amenagement* may suggest that the burial had a purely symbolic value and could have served as a cenotaph at a very early stage. Several chapels were added in the sixth century as the new tri-apsidal presbytery and the *diakonikon*-baptistery[52]. At the end of the sixth century, a new mosaic floor replaced the previous one in the *diakonikon* under the patronage of bishop Sergius of Madaba and *hegoumenos* Martyrios and a new chapel with a baptismal font on the southern side of the basilica was added in 597/598[53]. Finally, in the first decade of the seventh century, bishop Leontius of Madaba and *hegoumenoi* Martyrios and Theodoros promoted the construction of a chapel in honour of the Theotokos (**fig. 11**)[54]. The building works produced an imposing monumental effect (**fig. 12**), while the monastery that developed around the memorial church,

46 Egeria 10,8 (170 Maraval; 121 trans. Wilkinson).
47 John Rufus, Vita Petri Iberi (76 trans. Piccirillo).
48 John Rufus, Vita Petri Iberi (77-78 trans. Piccirillo)
49 Anonymous of Piacenza 10 (134 Geyer; 82 trans. Wilkinson); Piccirillo, Pilgrims' Texts 79.
50 Thetmarus, Iter 30 (Tobler; 79 trans. Piccirillo, Pilgrims' Texts).
51 Bianchi, Sepolture 39-41.
52 Di Segni, Greek Inscriptions 429-431. Fragments of plaster with graffiti (letters and one bearing a cross) were discovered during the excavation of the *diakonikon*-baptistery. Some were painted in red or grey, others written with coal.
53 Di Segni, Greek Inscriptions 431-433.
54 Piccirillo, Monastic Presence 196-198; Di Segni, Greek Inscriptions 434.

according to material culture finds, was inhabited also in the eight to ninth centuries.

The survey must now turn to the Sanctuary of Aaron and the adjacent monastery located not far from the city of Petra (**fig. 13**)[55]. Unlike the sanctuaries discussed earlier, the monastery of Aaron does not appear in any report of the Byzantine pilgrims' journey, though it is not set far from the route taken by those travelling to the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai[56].

Monasteries in Petra are attested in the acts of the Church Councils of Jerusalem and Constantinople in the sixth century, however none has a specific indication concerning the monastery of Jabal Hārūn. The Petra papyri n. 6a, recovered in the excavation of the church of Petra, mentions a donation by Obodianus, son of Obodianus, on June 15, 573 to the »Holy House of our Lord the High Priest Aaron« (ἅγιος οἶκος τοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγίου ἀρχιερέως Ἀαρών) situated outside the city of Petra[57]. The monastery is represented by Cyricus, son of Petrus presbyter and *hegoumenos*. At any rate, the site was well known not only among the population of Petra, but also among local monastic communities, as the *Life of St. Stephen the Sabaite*, written by Leontius of Damascus in the eighth century, mentions how monks during Lent used to go to the caves around the Dead Sea and to Mar Lot and Mar Aaron[58].

The Arab historian al-Mas'ūdī (d. 957) recalls in his *Murūj al-Dhahab* that Aaron died on Mount Moab, and according to some, was buried, according to others just placed inside a natural cave that was well-known at his time[59]. In his last work, *al-Tanbīh wa l-ashrāf*, he states that Jabal Hārūn was a holy mountain in the possession of Chalcedonian Christians[60].

The site appears more often in various Crusader Chronicles in the twelfth century. Fulcher of Chartres in his *Historia Hierosolymitana* describing Baldwin's expedition of the year 1100 in Wādī Mūsā, mentions the monastery of Aaron[61]. Although no description follows, we may safely presume that the *monasterium* was recognizable in its functional and architectural capacity[62]. By contrast, the contemporary account of the Benedictine Abbot Guibert of Nogent in his *Gesta Dei per Francos* simply refers to a church on the summit of Mount Hor, a mention that he clearly confuses with Mount Sinai[63]. Despite these attestations, the site is not included in Crusader period pilgrimages[64].

Archaeological excavations and surveys have evidenced that the sites above developed a very strong connection to ascetic monks and hermits settled on the spot or within a very limited spatial radius from the holy *memoriae*[65].

Pilgrimage was in fact triggered also by a strong physical attraction towards charismatic holy men or Desert Fathers, dwelling in isolated cells or in monastic settlements set along routes leading to the venerated holy sites. This inhabited space contributed to giving material shape to tangible holiness and caused not only significant transformations of the landscape, but also a dispersion of urban functions to other types of habitat, namely the rural monastery. This is the case of all the sanctuaries discussed above. The combination of evidence from written sources and archaeological data enables us to evaluate the manner and the extent to which monasticism and pilgrimage interacted, and how both contributed to the shaping of the society of the Byzantine Holy Land, both urban and rural.

Written accounts of *Lives* and *Miracles* of monks and holy men were most often linked to a region, and even to a smaller area, which could be considered as the primary area of circulation of such narratives. The collection of edifying stories, by contrast, is set most often in the place were an ascetic lived, any change in spatial conditions is connected to a detailed and well-grounded demonstration of ascetic virtues. This is well mirrored in the stories of Cyril of Scythopolis, Moschus, and those of the monk Antony of Choziba[66] just to mention few. Thus the progressive expansion of monasticism in rural contexts provides evidence of the multiplying of thaumaturgic and therapeutic episodes performed by local monks and ascetics, attesting the dissemination of the narratives among the humble members of the society[67].

Despite the continuous archaeological occupation of our sites, a chronological gap regarding pilgrimage exists: the Sanctuaries of Lot, Moses, Aaron and Elijah are hardly visited by the pilgrim of Bordeaux, Theodosius and the Piacenza pilgrim, as if the sixth century western pilgrimage exclusively targeted the sites connected to the New Testament events and to martyrs mostly to the West of the Jordan.

It is worth of note that some of the above-mentioned monastic churches englobed caves in its architecture, as in

55 Eusebius, Onomastikon s. v. Or mentions Mount Hor near Petra »Or the Mountain on which Aaron died near the city of Petra«. Alliata, Pilgrimage Routes 122.
56 Frösén/Miettunen, Aaron 11.
57 The term »holy house« refers most probably to the monastic institution; Frösén/Miettunen, Aaron 12.
58 Leontius of Damascus, Vita 96-97.
59 al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab I 54-55.
60 al-Mas'ūdī, al-Tanbīh wa l-ashrāf 133-134.
61 Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana II 5,9 (381 Hagenmeyer).
62 According to Gilbert the Abbot, chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne, the King entered the *ecclesia* to pray which may suggest that the monastic church was visibile. Guibert of Nogent, Gesta 7,40 (255).
63 Guibert of Nogent, Gesta 7,40 (255).
64 Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 55; Frösén/Miettunen, Aaron 13.
65 One must keep in mind the closeness of monastic sites to rural communities. See discussion in Ashkenazi, Holy Man 748. 751.
66 In the *Life of Saint George of Choziba* and the *Miracles of the Most Holy Mother of God at Ghoziba* written around the year 635. See Di Segni, Nel deserto 93-94. 99-100.
67 Moschus, Pratum Spirituale 56 (100 Maisano) recounts a story regarding the disciple of great elder who resided in the village of Parasema near Ptolemais in Phoenicia. »The disciple, named John who excelled in obedience, had a vision from God which said to him: ›Whatever you lay your hand on, it shall be healed.‹ When morning came, by the providence of God a man arrived, bringing his wife who had a cancer of the breast. The man besought to heal his wife. The brother replied: ›am a sinful man and unworthy of such an undertaking.‹ The woman's husband continued to beg him to accede to his request and to have pity on his wife. So the brother laid his hand on the diseased part and sealed it with the sign of the cross and she was immediately healed. From that time on God performed many signs through him, not only in his time, but also after his death« (trans. Wortley 44-45).



Fig. 11 The Chapel of the Theotokos at Mount Nebo. – (Photo F. Sciorilli).



Fig. 12 The Monastic Church of Mount Nebo. – (Photo F. Sciorilli).

Ainun-Safsaphas, Mar Elijas, Deir Ain Abata. In other cases, oral tradition established a connection with burials set in caves as in Mount Nebo and Jabal Harun.

These sanctuaries may have developed at the same time as a local veneration towards ascetics or holy men, according to the definition of that time, who dwelt on the spot before the transformation of the site into a *coenobium* or in the monastery itself, as stated in several cases by John Moschus, or as described by Peter the Iberian who is aware not only of the Biblical tradition, but also of the holiness and righteousness of the elder from Skete.

To some extent, hermits dwelling in and around Biblical sites embodied a real and tangible holiness, and became after their death subject to veneration as can be evinced from the *Pratum Spiritual* of John Moschus and from Cyril of Scythopolis and other *Lives*.

The continuity of various forms of monastic asceticism, or at least of the hermitic tradition in the Umayyad period, is documented in the inscriptions of the small monastery of the Theotokos in the Wadi ʻAyn al-Kanisah not far from Mount Nebo. A Greek inscription dated to 762 mentions the jurisdic-



Fig. 13 The monastery of Jabal Haroun near Petra. – (Photo Courtesy Aerial Photographic Archive for Archaeology in the Middle East APAAME_20171001_REB-0642 by R. E. Banks).

tion of the »archimandrite of the whole desert«, George the recluse (Γεωργίος ἐγκλιστος) and a Stylite monk[68].

An important issue is the chronology, especially the inscriptions that attest building or other substantial works carried out in churches after the Arab conquest[69]. In St. Lot and in Mar Elijas, Greek inscriptions register a rather late date of the mosaic repaving of the monastic churches, which is the second half of the seventh and the first decades of the eighth centuries[70]. This legitimately raises the question of the revival or the continuity of devotion to Biblical figures after the Islamic take-over.

A possible answer can be the fact that in Islamic theology twenty-five prophets *anbiya'* are mentioned. These prophets, most of whom are Biblical in origin, form the most respected group of Islamic saints. As Muslims shared in the devotion to Biblical figures, this veneration in a way probably formed the ground for a further enhancement of monastic shrines, or at least provided local authorities with the necessary acceptance as places of local Muslim veneration. Another aspect is the well rooted tradition and story of Baḥīrā, or at least of Muḥammad's alleged encounters with a monk or monks, of which there are several in the Prophet's biography[71].

Under the Umayyads, being People of Book, Christian communities flourished as subjects of the Commander of the Believers (*amīr al-muʾinīn*[72]), at least during the seventh century[73]. The early concept of »Believers« was significant: it probably meant that the Umayyads considered Christians and other monotheists to be Believers and incorporated them into the government more or less as equal partners, thus allowing the continuity of independent religious and artistic identities.

In this regard the church of St. Lot is significant. On the south side of the entrance to Lot's cave, the plastered wall had a number of scratched designs, crosses and graffiti. Among these, one is in Kufic that states: »In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. O God forgive Ǧarīr his sin, [that which?] is past and is to come---- and {provide sustenance for him} out of your bounty. Lord, you are the

68 The inscriptions give the name of the monastery, or at least the name that was given to it after its reconstruction in the eighth century. The date was calculated according to the Byzantine era of creation. See the discussion in Di Segni, Inscriptions 448-450.

69 A chapel dedicated to the Theotokos was built on Mount Nebo in 603-608 (Di Segni, Inscriptions 432-433 no. 11a-b). In St. Lot Monastery the repaving of the church at the time of Abbot Sozomenos is dated to April 605-607 (Meimaris/Kritikakou-Nikolaroupulou, Greek Inscriptions 401-403 no. 4). See also Gatier, Inscriptions 146-151; Gatier, Livias 67-71.

70 Piccirillo, Archeologia 96-101.

71 Gero, Legend; Griffith, Monk Bahīra 148.

72 The Greek inscription of Hammet Gader, which attests the restoration of the hot water system in 662, reflects this ideal: Mu'awiya is mentioned as *amīr al-muʾminīn* and not as Caliph. Di Segni, Hammet Gader 237-240.

73 Borrut/Donner, Introduction 1-10.

best of sustainers«[74]. This invocation that quotes the Qur'an shows awareness of the religious destination of the place.

Many ceramic oil lamps dated to the mid-eighth to early ninth centuries were found inside Lot's cave. These Umayyad/Abbasid types, which were also found on the church floors[75], date to the last period of occupation at the site and are a common feature in all the five excavated monasteries.

Additional information is provided by Arab writers who mention the Biblical stories and seem conscious of the location of the sites and of their traditions. In most cases Arab historians refer to monastic realities in Egypt, Syria, and the middle Euphrates. Al-Waquidi (d. 822) in *Futuh Bilad esh-Sham*[76] and Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani (d. 967) in *Kitab al-Aghani* report stories involving monks[77], while the geographers al-Bakri (*Muʾjam ma istʾjam*), Yaqut al-Hamawi (*Muʾjam al-Buldan*) and especially al-'Umari (*Masalik al-Absar*) in the fourteenth century mention few monastic structures in the Ghor around Jericho[78]. Some accounts do not focus on monasteries as Christian religious structures, but rather as places of affable and generous hospitality, others give detailed information on monastic possessions. Though the east of the Jordan is not included in these narratives, one may argue that monastic organisation was had common features in the whole area under Arab domain[79].

The question of when the central authority began to consider itself one of Muslims, distinct from Christians, Jews, and other monotheists, is still much debated. According to some Syriac sources, anti-Christian legislation was promulgated by ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz II (717-720). Although in the *Chronicle of 846*, the Caliph is described as being merciful, more so than others before him[80]. By contrast, Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) referring to an edict of ʿUmar II writes: »Umar, as soon as he took up the rule over the Arabs, began to mistreat the Christians and that for two reasons: firstly, because he wanted to honour and to affirm the laws of the Muslims; secondly, because of Constantinople, which the Arabs were unable to capture and before which many of them died [with loss of much] wealth. Rancour filled in his heart and he was very opposed to Christians in every way. He was declared to be a zealot for their laws and was considered to be God-fearing and he was averse to evil. He ordered oppression of the Christians in every way to make them become Muslims. He legislated that every Christian who became a Muslim would not pay poll tax and many converted. He also decreed that Christians should not testify against Muslims, act as governors, raise their voices for prayer, strike the sounding-board (to call people to prayer), wear the overcoat, or ride in a saddle and (that) if an Arab killed a Christian he could not be executed for it, but just paid compensation of 5,000 silver coins. He forbade and terminated the exactions from dwellings, inheritances, and portions of the revenues from lands [, which were taken from] churches, monasteries, and poor people«[81].

According to the *Life of St. Stephen the Sabaite* written by Leontius of Damascus around 807, local Christians suffered having to pay *kharaj* (the property tax) and the *jiziah* (annual tax per capita) to the central authority[82]. Some tax collectors even oppressed the monastery of Mar Saba[83], while Muslim officials, by order of the Caliph, confiscated the property of any pilgrim who died in Jerusalem[84].

These restrictions probably did not directly affect the monasteries linked to Biblical sites that enjoyed a longer period of continuity, as stated above. This did not depend solely on the economy of a self-sufficient structure, but mostly was due to the devotional nature of the monastic shrines that attracted local pilgrimage of Christians and Muslims alike.

The analysis of the monastic communities around the ninth century, based on the *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei*, illustrates the drop in the number of monks in local monasteries[85] at least to the west of the Jordan[86]. According to Hirschfeld almost 72 % of the monasteries in the Judean desert was abandoned during the seventh century, shortly after the Arab conquest[87]. However, monasteries specifically related to devotional pilgrimage and to theological purposes seem to have had a longer life. Some examples are the monasteries of Theodore and Cyriacus, active at the beginning of the ninth century, the monasteries of Euthymius, Kastellion, Chariton, Choziba, Gerasimus, John the Baptist and especially of San Saba which, despite the attacks in 797-809 and 813 continued to be active until the twelfth century[88]. Although Biblical monasteries on the eastern banks of the Jordan relied on alternative local devotional paths they probably shared the same destiny.

74 Macdonald, Graffito 417.
75 da Costa, Lamps 258-278. 288-291.
76 Al-Waqidi, Conquest 33.
77 Isfahani's general work on monasteries, the *Kitab al-Diyarat*, is known only from quotations by other authors. Some information on monasteries is included in his other work *Kitab al-Aghani*; see also Shahid, Byzantium 159-160.
78 Shahid, Byzantium 157.
79 Hamarneh, Monastic Estates with the Arabic sources.
80 Chronicon AD 846, 177; Schick, Christian Communities 89; Reynolds, Monasticism 379.
81 Yarbrough, Umar 180.
82 According to the *Life of St. Stephen* the Sabaite local Christians had to pay large amounts of taxes to Muslim authorities. See Leontius of Damascus, Vita ch. 39 and 64 (203, 309-311 Pirone); Piccirillo, Arabia 224.
83 Schick, Christian Communities 98. The *Commemoratorium de Casis Dei* mentions that the Patriarch paid the sum of 580 dirham annually to the Saracens (60, 216 McCormick; 138 trans. Wilkison).
84 Leontius of Damascus, Vita ch. 64 (309 Pirone).
85 McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 44 n. 62.
86 The only monastery to the east of the Jordan included in the list is that of the St. John the Forerunner and »another church where pilgrims go down to the River« (Commemoratorium de Casis Dei 33, 210 McCormick; 138 trans. Wilkinson).
87 Hirschfeld, Monasteries 16-17.
88 Tobler/Molinier, Itinera I 301-305; Patrich, Impact 212.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Zwischen Hagiographie und Archäologie: Pilgerfahrt und monastische Gemeinschaften an den Ufern des Jordan

Die Wüste am Ufer des Jordan war mit Klostergemeinschaften besetzt, wie schriftliche Quellen und Pilgerberichte aus der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts belegen. Das Mönchtum war eine natürliche Antwort auf die Notwendigkeit einer ordnungsgemäßen Verwaltung und eines ständigen liturgischen Gottesdienstes an den Heiligen Stätten, insbesondere im Zusammenhang mit der Verbreitung der Pilgerfahrt.

Anhänger (*Spoudaioi*) mit den unterschiedlichsten sozialen Hintergründen strömten buchstäblich in das Heilige Land, trugen großzügig zur Verwandlung der verehrten Heiligtümer bei und lösten die wachsende Infrastruktur lokaler Klöster aus. Pilgerfahrt und Mönchtum entwickelten im Laufe der Zeit eine äußerst komplexe Interaktion, die sich in der hagiographischen Literatur gut widerspiegelt. Die meisten Erzählungen betonen, dass die Pilgerfahrt nur ein Auftakt für die Erfahrung des Klosters war, und erwähnen, wie Pilger verschiedener ethnischer Herkunft Wüstengemeinschaften im 6.-8. Jahrhundert als Novizen in die Wüstengemeinschaften aufgenommen wurden.

Auf einer anderen Ebene wurde eine zweite Form der Pilgerfahrt durch eine starke körperliche Anziehungskraft auf charismatische Wüstenväter ausgelöst, die in klösterlichen Siedlungen lebten, welche entlang der Wege zu den verehrten heiligen Stätten lagen. Dieses religiöse Hinterland trug dazu bei, der greifbaren Heiligkeit eine materielle Form zu geben, und verursachte nicht nur bedeutende Veränderungen der Landschaft, sondern auch eine Zerstreuung der städtischen Funktionen auf andere Arten von Lebensraum, nämlich das ländliche Kloster. Die Kombination von Beweisen aus der hagiographischen Literatur und archäologischen Daten hat es uns ermöglicht zu diskutieren, auf welche Weise Mönchtum und Pilgerfahrt miteinander interagieren und wie beide dazu beigetragen haben, dass die Gesellschaft des byzantinischen Heiligen Landes – sowohl im städtischen als auch im ländlichen Raum – geformt wurde.

Between Hagiography and Archaeology: Pilgrimage and Monastic Communities on the Banks of the River Jordan

The desert along the banks of the River Jordan was studded with monastic communities, as attested by written sources and pilgrim accounts from the second half of the fourth century onwards. Monasticism provided a natural response to the need for a proper administration and perpetual liturgical service at the Holy shrines, especially as the practice of pilgrimage spread.

Devotees (*Spoudaioi*), of the most varied social backgrounds, literally poured into the Holy Land, generously contributing to the transformation of the venerated sanctuaries and triggering the growth of the built infrastructure of local monasteries. Pilgrimage and monasticism developed over time an extremely complex interaction, well reflected in hagiographic literature. Most narratives emphasize that pilgrimage was only a prelude to the monastic experience, mentioning how pilgrims of different ethnic origins joined desert communities as novices in the sixth to eighth centuries.

On a different level, a second form of pilgrimage was triggered by a strong physical attraction towards charismatic Desert Fathers, dwelling in monastic settlements set along routes leading to the venerated holy sites. This religious hinterland contributed to giving a material shape to tangible holiness and caused not only significant transformations of landscape, but also a dispersion of urban functions to other types of habitat, namely the rural monastery. The combination of evidence from hagiographic literature and archaeological data, has enabled us to discuss the manner and the extent to which monasticism and pilgrimage interacted, and how both contributed to the shaping of the society of the Byzantine Holy Land, both urban and rural.

Entre l'hagiographie et l'archéologie: le pèlerinage et les communautés monastiques sur les rives du Jourdain

Comme le confirment des écrits et des récits de pèlerins de la deuxième moitié du 4e siècle, des communautés monastiques étaient établies dans le désert bordant le Jourdain. Le monachisme offrait une réponse naturelle aux nécessités d'une administration correcte et d'un service liturgique régulier dans les Lieux saints, particulièrement avec la propagation des pèlerinages. Des croyants (*spoudaioi*) venant de milieux sociaux les plus divers se déversaient littéralement sur la Terre sainte, contribuant ainsi à la métamorphose des sanctuaires vénérés et déclenchant la croissance des infrastructures de monastères locaux. Les pèlerinages et le monachisme développèrent au fil du temps une interaction excessivement complexe qui se reflète bien dans la littérature hagiographique. La plupart des récits insistent sur le fait que le pèlerinage n'était que le prélude de l'expérience du monastère et relatent comment des pèlerins d'origines très diverses furent acceptés comme novices dans les communautés du désert.

A un autre niveau, une deuxième forme de pèlerinage fut déclenchée par la forte attirance physique exercée par des Pères du désert charismatiques qui vivaient dans des villages monastiques le long des routes vers les Lieux saints. Cet arrière-pays religieux contribua à rendre la sainteté encore plus tangible en lui conférant une forme matérielle, entraînant ainsi non seulement de profonds changements dans le paysage, mais encore une dispersion des fonctions urbaines sur d'autres types de milieux, à savoir les monastères ruraux. La combinaison de preuves issues de la littérature hagiographique et des données archéologiques nous a permis de discuter de la manière dont le monachisme et les pèlerinages interagissent et ont contribué à la formation de la société en Terre sainte byzantine, urbaine et rurale.

Traduction: Y. Gautier

Groups of Pilgrims

Claudia Rapp

From the Holy City to the Holy Mountain: The Movement of Monks and Manuscripts to the Sinai

The Holy City Jerusalem and the Holy Mountain in the Southern Sinai are both evocative concepts as well as geographical realities. Although ca. 500 km apart, they were similar *Sehnsuchtsorte* – places where one longs to be – for Christian pilgrims, the former associated with the New Covenant in Christ, the latter with the Old Covenant of Moses[1]. This close nexus between Jerusalem and the Sinai is the focus of the following investigation that aims to establish a plausible context for the movement of manuscripts from Jerusalem and it surrounding monasteries, including Mar Saba, to the Monastery in the Sinai, by suggesting that is was particularly the travel of monks – and more particularly, book-carrying monks – that connected the two sites. This would go a long way to explain how the library in the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine came to be one of the largest depositories of manuscripts from the medieval Christian world, the vast majority of them liturgical.

Pathways of Travel

The travel from Jerusalem to the Mt. Sinai followed the routes of communication that had been established since Roman times. The first Holy Land pilgrim who came from Bordeaux in 333 only visited Jerusalem. In 383-384, Egeria was the first pious traveller to the Holy Land who also included the Sinai in her itinerary for a combined visit to the sites associated with Moses and the Exodus and the ascetics who were beginning to settle there. Egeria took the route along the Mediterranean coast (*via maris*) and then along the western side of the peninsula, the same route as that outlined in the Peutinger Table: Jerusalem, Pelusion, Clysma, Pharan (and then on to Mount Sinai) and from there back to Jerusalem[2]. Along the road, she stopped at 22 stations that were placed, on average, 20 miles apart. A second option was the route taken by the Piacenza Pilgrim who travelled in the 550s. Taking the southeastern inland route via Elusa, and then via Aila to the eastern side of the peninsula, he made the journey from Jerusalem to Mt. Sinai in 18 days[3]. Traders, monks and pilgrims that set out from Jerusalem could also use yet another option to reach Aila, via the Negev, also with 18 stations, from where they continued along the eastern side of the peninsula.

The people who travelled the eastern route on the Sinai peninsula that leads from Aila through the Wadi Haggag to the site that was fortified and adorned with a large basilica by the Emperor Justinian sometimes inscribed their names and perhaps added an invocation. These graffiti in Syriac, Ethiopic, Georgian and Armenian, as well as in Greek, are located on the rock surfaces that face the north-east, i. e. the shaded areas where the travellers would have found rest during the day. They attest to the popularity of this route, but they are difficult to date[4]. An Armenian inscription in Wadi Leja, probably of the 12th century or later, can be read as »I saw Jer(usalem)«[5] – confirmation that pilgrimage to Jerusalem could include a visit to the Sinai.

The continued use of the north-south routes in the late sixth or early seventh century is documented in a Nessana Papyrus (P. Ness. 3.89) and others in that collection. It chronicles the financial transactions in the course of a caravan journey from the Negev desert to Sinai and back. In addition to the purchase of camels and slave boys and girls, it also mentions that a donation from the community (*koinotês*) of the town in the amount of 10 *solidi* was given to the monastery and a further donation of 7 *solidi* by an individual. The local guide, who was paid 3.5 *solidi*, was not a monk, but is described as »Saracen«. As the papyrus demonstrates, it was possible to

1 I would like to extend my gratitude to the conference participants for their comments and suggestions when I first presented this research. In the preparation of the written version, I have further benefited from the input of several colleagues: I am grateful to Tinatin Chronz for valuable information, Daniel Galadza for his feedback, Georgi Parpulov for his insights, Giulia Rossetto for her comments, and Paraskevi Sykopetritou for her editorial assistance. – Hunt, Holy Land; Sivan, Pilgrimage 54-65. See also Bitton-Ashkelony, Encountering the Sacred 159-160.

2 The surviving part of her account begins with her description of the »mons sanctus Dei Syna«, Egeria, Itinerarium 1.1 (120 Maraval). See also Finkelstein, Byzantine Monastic Remains 39-75; Ovadiah, Greek Inscriptions 77-79; Solzbacher, Mönche 122-143.

3 Dahari et al., Monastic Settlements 10. On the Piacenza pilgrim's account of his visit to Sinai, see also Solzbacher, Mönche 142-153.

4 Jacoby, Christian Pilgrimage 80-83. For Armenian inscriptions of the seventh to 15th centuries on the summit of Jebel Musa, see Kalopissi-Verti/Panayotidi, Excavations 103; Dahari et al., Monastic Settlements 10. For the road system in Greek and Roman times, see Graf, Les circulations; for the roads linking Jerusalem with Mount Sinai the Negev, see Sodini, Les routes; Stone, Armenian Inscriptions 49-51.

5 Stone, Armenian Inscriptions 92-93. Mayerson, Pilgrim Routes 44 n. 1 mentions that, in addition to the 64 Armenian graffiti published by Michael Stone, a further 23 have been identified later. For the Armenian presence in the Holy Land, see also the contribution by Emilio Bonfiglio and Johannes Preiser-Kapeller in this volume.

convey pious donations and conduct financial transactions in the course of the same journey. The business of caravans was transport, regardless of its purpose and intent. The Nessana papyrus is a reminder that, in practical terms, pilgrimage is indistinguishable from travel for business[6].

With the increase of monastic settlements at the foot of the Holy Mountain since the late fourth century, a visit to the Sinai promised to the pious traveller not just the experience of the Biblical site of Moses' encounter with God, but also a personal encounter with the hermits who harnessed and increased their spiritual power by living in the harsh desert conditions[7]. Egeria derived great spiritual joy from her encounter with the Sinai hermits, who also made it their business to act as local guides to the Biblical sites of the Exodus around the Holy Mountain.

Justinian's construction of the fortification walls and the large basilica at the foot of the Mountain of Moses in the middle of the sixth century was probably a reflection of an increase in pilgrim traffic to the Sinai. In later centuries, pilgrimage to the Holy Land often included an option to extend the journey to the Sinai, inasfar as local and political circumstances permitted. This is suggested by the Byzantine and post-Byzantine texts composed for the use of Holy Land pilgrims studied by Andreas Külzer[8]. Formally, they can be divided into two categories, travel accounts and pilgrim guides. Four of the ten travel accounts studied by Külzer include the Sinai in their narration, the earliest from the ninth century, the remaining three from the 15th or 16th century. In the pilgrim guides, the pattern of coverage is similar. These range in date from the 13th to the 17th century. The Sinai is included in 13 of the 25 pilgrim guides either in the text itself, or under a separate title in the same manuscript. Even if we cannot always be sure that travel accounts and pilgrim guides were based on actual journeys conducted by their authors, they indicate a certain awareness of the Sinai and its Holy Mountain as a potential destination for Jerusalem pilgrims.

David Jacoby's overview of pilgrims who came to the Sinai from different points of origin and across the centuries confirms that such travel remained possible during different periods of Fatimid, Mamluk and Crusader rule, even if this entailed greater logistical or administrative challenges[9].

Monks Travelling from Jerusalem to the Sinai

The edifying literature that was generated in the context of the rise of monasticism in the fourth to seventh centuries testifies to great mobility among the monks, with Jerusalem and Mount Sinai among the major destinations[10]. This is illustrated in a story recorded in the Syriac version of the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*. The text was compiled in the sixth century, but may well relate to earlier events: »There was a certain holy man who used to see visions, and he told the following story, saying: ›Once when I was standing up in prayer, I heard a devil complaining in the presence of his companion, saying, 'I am [suffering] great labour and trouble'.‹ And when the other devil asked him so that he might learn from him the cause of his trouble, he said to him, ›This is the work which hath been handed over to me. When I have carried these monks, who are in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, to Mount Sinai I have to bring those who are in Mount Sinai to Jerusalem, and I have no rest whatsoever‹ «[11].

Desert-dwelling ascetics who lived in the desert areas around Jerusalem preferred the Holy Mountain to the Holy City as a destination of their pious travel. This is the impression given by four stories in the *Spiritual Meadow*, composed in the early seventh century. The author, John Moschus, originally perhaps from Antioch, had been himself been a monk in Jerusalem and at Mar Saba, before traveling to Egypt, including the Sinai.

In his first chapter, John Moschus explains how the Archbishop of Jerusalem had plans to appoint a pious monk as abbot of the Monastery of Abba Eustorgios (located in Jerusalem, but not otherwise known). The monk, however, refused, because »I prefer prayer on Mount Sinai«. But then a violent fever seized him after he crossed the river Jordan, accompanied by a vision of John the Baptist, who commanded him to remain in the cave where he had found shelter because this is where he, John, had lived and where Jesus had come to see him: »For this little cave is greater than Mount Sinai«. The elder then converted the cave into a church and gathered a community around him. This tale of a monk seeking tranquility is a hagiographical topos, of course. Still, it is interesting to see what the desirable places were for a monk who lived the region of Jerusalem: first and foremost the Sinai, although the functional equivalent could be found in the immediate vicinity, across the Jordan[12]. The attraction is the desert landscape and the journey there, as a pathway to an encounter with God.

A second story in the *Spiritual Meadow* tells of Peter, originally from the Pontus region, who lived in Palestine but felt a desire to go on pilgrimage to Sinai. On their return journey, Peter and his travel companions also passed through Abu Mena near Alexandria, an important healing sanctuary with long roots in the pagan past[13]. The point of this story is to extol the remarkable asceticism of Peter, who managed to go without food between the individual stops of his journey.

6 Kraemer, Excavations 251-260.
7 Solzbacher, Mönche 75-121.
8 Külzer, Peregrinatio.
9 Jacoby, Christian Pilgrimage.
10 For the movement of anchorites between the Sinai and other locations in Egypt, Palestine and Syria, see also Flusin, Ermitages et monastère 134-135; Malamut, Sur la route. See also Mobilités monastiques.
11 Wallis Budge, Paradise 239 no. 420. Cf. Caner et al. (eds), History and Hagiography 31.
12 John Moschos, Pratum Spirituale c. 1 (PG 2852C-2853B; trans. Wortley 4-5).
13 John Moschos, Pratum Spirituale c. 100 (PG 2957D-2960B; trans. Wortley 80-81).

The third story emphasizes the paradisiacal remoteness of the desert where life and death, male and female, are elided to the point of irrelevance. Again the protagonists are local: two monks from the monastery of Sampson, about 20 miles from Jerusalem, who made a pilgrimage to the Sinai. On their way back through the desert, they lost their way. Noticing a cave with a little garden around it, they entered just as the cave dweller passed away. As they prepared the body for burial, they discovered that she was a woman[14]. Again, it is during the approach, not at the site of Sinai itself, that such marvels occur that make one see the world with different eyes.

The fourth story mentions the Sinai in connection with the miracle of a lamp that continued to burn in front of an icon of the Mother of God. The flame never went out, no matter how long Abba John, the owner of the cave that was located about 20 miles from Jerusalem, was away. His absences could last from one to six months. »Sometimes this elder would decide to go somewhere on a journey; maybe a great distance into the wilderness, or to Jerusalem to reverence the Holy Cross and the Holy Places, or to pray at Mount Sinai, or to visit martyrs shrines many a long day's travel from Jerusalem. He was greatly devoted to the martyrs, this elder. Now he would visit Saint John at Ephesos; another time, Saint Theodore at Euchaita or Saint Thecla the Isaurian at Seleucia or Saint Sergios at Saphas«[15]. Jerusalem and Mount Sinai are among the destinations of choice of Abba John, but equally as important are the martyrs' shrines. For Abba John, *peregrinatio* had become a way of life, and the Sinai was one destination among many.

These stories in the *Spiritual Meadow* of monastics from the area around Jerusalem all emphasise the desert location along with the approach through the desert as the main distinctive feature of monastic pilgrimage to the Sinai. The monks who were attracted to this destination were themselves hardened in the desert way of life and had found spiritual solace in its tranquility. In all these stories, there is a subtle, but important distinction in the function of geographical settings. While monastics go to the Holy City »to worship« and commemorate Christ's passion and resurrection, they go to the Sinai »to pray« and to seek a personal encounter with God, as Moses had done. What matters in the pilgrimage to the Holy Mountain is getting there, while visits to the Holy City are all about being there.

In subsequent centuries, there is a constant trickle of evidence for pious and monastic travel that includes both Jerusalem and the Sinai. This is confirmed by several stories set in the eighth and ninth centuries: The *Life of Stephen the Sabaite* (d. 794), composed by Leontius of Damascus shortly after 807, reports that his aunt and her female companion often made the pilgrimage from Damascus to Jerusalem and on to Mt. Sinai by themselves[16].

A hagiographical tale of the early ninth century recounts how the nephew of the caliph of Syria converted to Christianity after experiencing a vision in the church of St. George in Diospolis. According to one version of the tale, he was sent to the patriarch of Jerusalem for baptism, who then recommended that he enter the monastic life at Mount Sinai. According to the only other version, he went to Sinai directly[17]. Another story of the ninth century features »one of the greatest travellers of the period« Elias the Younger[18]. A native of Sicily, he was captured by Arabs and sold as a slave in North Africa. Once he had secured his freedom, he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, probably in 878. After Jerusalem and the Jordan valley, his itinerary included a visit to the Sinai where he remained for three years. His purpose, according to his hagiographer, was to experience the landscape of Moses and the Exodus and to grow in virtue under the guidance of the local monastic fathers. Later in his life, Elias returned to Sicily and continued to make several journeys in Italy and Greece, in the course of which he founded several monasteries[19].

The Arabic account of the martyrdom of Abd al-Masih, who died in the 860s was composed in the following decade. Originally from Najran, he spent his early years as a Muslim raider, then made a sudden conversion to Christianity in Baalbek. After a visit to Jerusalem, Abd al-Masih joined the Monastery of Mar Saba for five years, and then retreated to Mount Sinai, where he became *oikonomos* and, eventually, abbot. His desire for martyrdom was fulfilled when he was denounced by his former companions to the governor of Ramla, where he had gone to attend to some fiscal business on behalf of the Monastery[20].

These hagiographical narratives suggest that, for pious and monastic travellers of the late eighth and ninth century, there was a close connection between Jerusalem and its surrounding regions, on the one hand, and the Sinai, on the other. This is also the period when there is the first evidence for the movement of manuscripts from the Holy City to the Holy Mountain.

In later centuries, the Sinai continued to be a destination for Orthodox monks[21]. In the first half of the fourteenth century, Neilos Hierychiotes and Sabas Tzikos each spent an extended period of time in the Sinai in conjunction with their visits to Jerusalem[22]. In the tenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Western pilgrims to Jerusalem travelled the same paths and sometimes included the Sinai in their itinerary[23].

14 John Moschos, Pratum Spirituale c. 170 (PG 3036D-3037B; trans. Wortley 139).
15 John Moschos, Pratum Spirituale c. 180 (PG 3052A-C; trans. Wortley 149-150).
16 Leontios of St Sabas, Life of Stephen the Sabaite col. 586-587. See also Mango, Greek Culture 151.
17 Hoyland, Seeing Islam 383-384.
18 Malamut, Sur la route 256-258, quote at 258.
19 Vita di sant'Elia il Giovane 17-20 (24-31 Taibbi).
20 Hoyland, Seeing Islam 382-383.
21 In the political circumstances of the 11th and 12th century, travel by Byzantine monks to the Holy Land regained new attraction, but was fraught with danger and did not include a visit to the Sinai: Pahlitzsch, Byzantine Monasticism, see Pahlitzsch, Networks 136.
22 See Pahlitzsch, Networks 136.
23 Morris, Sepulchre 107. 138. 304-305. 321.

Monastic Travel to Jerusalem and its Environs Originating at the Holy Mountain

There is little information about the reverse direction of travel. The monks of Sinai apparently did not to visit the Holy City. A well-known exception is Anastasius of Sinai, who originally hailed from Cyprus. After some years at Mount Sinai, he went to Alexandria, Clysma, Damascus and Jerusalem, before returning to the Sinai in ca. 680 and devoting the remaining two decades of his life to the composition of instructional and edifying works[24].

A spectacular and exceptional case are Symeon and Cosmas whose story is recorded in Latin. They left the Sinai in 1025, travelled to Belgrade and Rome and eventually arrived in Rouen, where they were received with great honors. While Cosmas returned to the East, Symeon remained in Gaul for several years, enjoying the support of the nobleman Goscelinus. As a sign of gratitude, Symeon gave him relics of Saint Catherine. He subsequently spent time in Verdun and Trier, then accompanied Bishop Poppo of Trier on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and returned to Trier where he lived for the last two years of his life until his death in 1034 or 1035 as a hermit in the old Roman city gate known as Porta Nigra[25].

These references about monastic travel that joins the Holy Land and the Holy Mountain prove the possibility of travel between Palestine and the Sinai. They are too scattered across time, however, to offer any indication of the frequency or intensity of such movement. Still, they provide helpful historical background to lend plausibility to the idea that it was largely in the context of this kind of movement of pious travellers, whether pilgrims or monks (or both), that manuscripts came to the Sinai.

Objects that Travel: Manuscripts

Egeria wanted to experience her pilgrimage to the Sinai within the framework of the Old Testament, and this involved actual books. After visiting Mount Horeb, where the Prophet Elijah conversed with God, she explains: »We celebrated the Eucharist (literally: we made an oblation) and a very intense prayer, and the very passage from the Book of Kings was read. For this is what I always wanted for us, that wherever we went, every time the passage from the book should be read«[26]. Whether these books belonged to the local monk-guides or to Egeria, we cannot know. Still, we may safely assume that Egeria was not the only pilgrim for whom books of Scripture were essential during their journey. Some of the monks and other pious travellers of later centuries who travelled the roads from the Holy Land to Mount Sinai would have carried with them objects that were both valuable and useful: manuscripts that were of relevance to their spiritual life and liturgical practice.

The exceptional riches of the manuscript collection of the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine have given rise to research into the provenance of the manuscripts in its library. At issue is the question whether these were locally produced, on the one hand, or brought there by purchase or left as a gift, on the other. First, it must be established to what degree copying occurred at the Sinai. This will form the necessary backdrop to the presentation that follows next of the 27 manuscripts in the Sinai collection, from the ninth to the fourteenth century that were produced in the Holy Land in Arabic, Georgian and Greek, i. e. by the most active manuscript-producing communities of the time.

Arabic: While some copying activity in Arabic occurred at Mount Sinai in the tenth century, the largest source of Arabic manuscripts in the ninth and tenth centuries that are now at Saint Catherine's seems to have been the lauras of Saint Sabas and of Saint Chariton in Palestine[27].

Georgian: Georgian scribes tended to leave colophons, subscriptions recording their name and the place and date of their activity – a habit that offers a mine of information to historians[28]. We are thus informed that of the 19 Georgian manuscripts in the Old Collection and New Finds that carry a date and location of their production within a 100-year time span, from 974 to 1074, 13 were copied in the Sinai and six in or near Jerusalem. Those that were copied in the Holy Land date from the period 864 to 1031[29]. Georgian manuscripts now in the monastery's possession were produced in the Holy Land, either at monasteries in Jerusalem or at the Monastery of Saint Sabas. In the tenth century, the Georgian scribe Iovane Zosime was particularly active, as is known from the large number of colophons from his pen. He is a fine example of the movement not only of manuscripts, but also of the people involved in their production. Iovane Zosime first worked at Mar Saba, and then moved to Sinai some time before 973. He was involved in the entire process of manuscript production, not only as a scribe, but also in the (re-) binding of manuscripts[30]. His lifetime fits into the timeframe of the migration of large numbers of monks of different language groups, who during the ninth and tenth century moved from the Holy Land to the Sinai.

24 Hoyland, Seeing Islam 92-103.
25 Poncelet, Sanctae Catharinae 423-438. See also Hofmann, Sinai 225.
26 Egeria, Itinerarium 4.3 (138 Maraval), my translation. For the history of the manuscripts at Saint Catherine's Monastery, see now Rossetto, Three Euchologia.
27 According to Géhin, La bibliothèque 159, the copyist Antoun al-Baghdadi Daoud ibn Suleyman at Mar Saba produced in 885/886 for Sinai monks two manuscripts that are no longer in the Sinai: ms. Strasbourg 4226 for Anba Ishaq, and ms. Vat. ar. 71 for the monk Isaac. At the Laura of Saint Chariton, Stephen of Ramlah copied ms. Sin. ar. 72.
28 See now also Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology 201-211.
29 Husmann, Sinai-Handschriften 143-144; Géhin, La bibliothèque 159; Thomson, Manuscripts 55.
30 Thomson, Manuscripts; Brock, Sinai 484. For the different locations of Iovane Zosime's activity, see also Van Esbroeck, Les manuscrits.

Greek: There are a total of 189 Greek manuscripts from the ninth to the sixteenth century that carry a date. 34 of these (18 %) were copied in the Sinai and its dependencies in Raithou and Crete, while 38 (20 %) were copied elsewhere. There is no information about the place of copying for the remaining 117 (62 %)[31].

The same observation has been made with regard to illuminated manuscripts now in the Library at St. Catherine's. When Kurt Weitzmann, with the assistance of George Galavaris, studied the 69 illuminated manuscripts from the ninth to the twelfth century now at the monastery, he was hoping for evidence of a Sinai *scriptorium* as a place of production, which – by extension – might also suggest the possibility of a Sinai *atélier* for the creation of its rich (and still barely explored) holding of icons. But as it turns out, the 69 illuminated manuscripts included in Weitzmann's study have a very diverse provenance, including Constantinople, Patmos, Crete, as well as Palestine. Only in some instances do they hail from the Sinai itself. All of this points to a uni-directional travel of goods: the vast majority of manuscripts and icons must have reached the Holy Mountain as donations, bequests and gifts. The benefits that the donors expected to receive in return were of an intangible, spiritual nature.

Monks Travelling with Manuscripts

The oldest dated manuscript in Greek at Saint Catherine's is a Gospel Lectionary that was copied in majuscule in 861/862 by someone who was a deacon at a church of the Holy Apostles. The end of his subscription »This was copied in the monastery of our Holy Father…«, indicates that he was probably active at the Laura of Saint Sabas[32]. The Sinai and Jerusalem formed one liturgical *koine*, especially in the period before the influence of Constantinopolitan practices, the process of so-called »Byzantinization« of the liturgy in the tenth century, recently studied by Daniel Galadza. This is especially true for the private recital of the Psalms, their sequence and frequency, by hermits who lived in their cells, as Georgi Parpulov has demonstrated[33]. Each hermit would have his own manuscript of the Psalter for this purpose, although sometimes it is noted that he would be joined in the recital by a disciple or a spiritual brother. Based on this observation of the shared monastic practice of Psalmody between the Holy City and the Holy Mountain, it seems plausible that it was through the movement of monks that the manuscripts that were produced in Palestine reached the Sinai. This is supported by the large number of Psalters among the ninth and tenth century manuscripts of Palestinian origin now at the Sinai. Could it be that monks who travelled with their own Psalters left them at Mount Sinai as a pious donation? Or was it simply the case that some of the monks that came to Mount Sinai remained there until their death, at which time their belongings – including manuscripts – would pass into the possession of the Monastery?

Overall, the content of the Sinai manuscripts that originated from the Holy Land is largely liturgical or monastic, and the manuscripts were made for use, not for display. This adds to the impression that it was monks and perhaps other pious pilgrims who were responsible for this traffic in books. Only one luxury object of Holy Land origin in the Sinai library can be associated with costly elite production, a gospel lectionary copied by Basil the *notarios* at the Monastery of the Cells in Bethlehem in 1167 (Sin. gr. 220)[34].

Manuscripts that Travelled from Jerusalem to the Sinai

Thus far, we have established connectivity between Jerusalem and the Sinai with regard to the pathways of travel, the existence of monastic travel and the role that manuscripts may have played in this context. It is now time to offer concrete examples.

Manuscripts have been associated with Palestine on the basis of three criteria.

(1) Colophons and other scribal notes that mention Palestine as the place of copying or the place of use offer incontrovertible evidence.

(2) More difficult is the establishment of a geographical place of origin based on palaeographical or codicological characteristics. It is possible to identify script styles and binding practices that are shared by manuscripts that once were (and occasionally still are) present in the geographical region of Palestine, the Sinai and Cyprus. But given the close connection between Jerusalem and the Sinai especially in the eighth and ninth centuries, including the travel of monks who, like Iovane Zosime, may also have acted as scribes, it is often impossible to pin down the exact place of copying of an individual manuscript.

(3) The same applies to the content of liturgical manuscripts that reflect the Jerusalem traditions that were also used in the Sinai. Daniel Galadza has recently shown the prevalence of the hagiopolite liturgical tradition in the entire region that was under the administrative sway of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. This included the Sinai peninsula until it gained autonomy in 1575. For his study of the impact of the Constantinopolitan tradition on the Jerusalem liturgy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Galadza considered 36 original manuscript units. Nowadays they are sometimes divided up into more than one piece and preserved in more than one location. The vast majority of

31 Husmann, Sinai-Handschriften 166; Géhin/Froyshov, Nouvelles découvertes.
32 Sin. gr. 210, plus four folios now in St. Petersburg: Géhin, La bibliothèque 159.
33 Galadza, Liturgy; Parpulov, Psalters 78-85.
34 Gardthausen, Catalogus 44; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery 9. 174-175.

these, 29 to be exact, copied in Greek Arabic, Georgian and Syriac, are now preserved in the Sinai. Although their actual provenance remains unknown in most cases, the fate of these manuscripts confirms the close liturgical ties between the Holy City and the Holy Mountain[35].

Arabic: A recent study by André Binggeli has drawn attention to two generations of Christian Arabic copyists that were active between 885 and 925. Anthony David copied five manuscripts at Mar Saba in second half of the ninth century. They contain Christian texts in Arabic, or in Greek and Arabic. Four of them went to Sinai, although not all of them remained there. Three of these manuscripts were apparently commissioned by the monk Anba Ishaq, who wished to obtain for the Sinai a representative collection, in multiple volumes, of ascetical texts, based on the Arabic translations that were produced at that time in Mar Saba[36].

The colophon of the manuscript Vat. ar. 71 copied by Anthony David in August-September 885 reads in translation: »The poor sinner, Anthony David the son of Sulayman of Baghdad, copied this volume in the *laura* of the holy Mar Saba. The monk Abba Isaac asked him to copy it for the monastery of the hallowed Mt. Sinai. I, the weak sinner who has copied it, ask and beseech everyone who reads of the holy fathers and others in it to beseech and ask Jesus Christ, our god and saviour, to forgive my many sins and offenses. By the intercession of the honorable Lady Mary, and of our father Saba and all his pious holy ones, may God have mercy on the ones who have produced, copied, asked for a copy, read, heard or said ›Amen‹ to [this work]. It was copied in the month Rabiʿ al-Awwal, of the year 272«[37].

Part of this copying activity in Christian Arabic is Sinaiticus arabicus NF 66. It was copied probably shortly after 903 by David of Homs »the carpenter« at Mar Saba. It contains hagiographical texts of particular interest to Mar Saba, including the Arabic version of the hagiographical oeuvre by Cyril of Scythopolis, plus the *Life of Saint Stephen the Sabaite*. Part of it is copied on palimpsest, with the erased layer containing fragments of a previously unknown classical Greek text in hexameters, copied in the fifth or sixth century. Giulia Rossetto has identified the mythological content of the surviving passages as relating to the childhood of Dionysos, suggesting that the original text may have its origin in an Orphic epic, possibly of the Homeric period[38]. The origin of the palimpsested writing material for this manuscript must have been a very learned environment indeed. The manuscript later reached the Sinai under unknown circumstances, further attesting to the close connection between the two monasteries[39].

Georgian: As has been noted above, Georgian scribes were the most locally active producers among all the language groups that are represented in the Library of Saint Catherine's. Five Georgian manuscripts of the Old Collection total of 86 originate in the Holy Land. Among the Georgian New Finds, which amount to 99 items in total, there is one manuscript that was copied in Mar Saba in 864 and then explicitly given to Saint Catherine's as a gift, by the Hieromonk Makari Leteteli. Those items in the New Finds that have colophons which reveal their place of copying mention predominantly the Sinai itself, although a few manuscripts were copied in Cyprus or at the Black Mountain near Antioch[40]. Sebastian Brock has drawn attention to the Georgian manuscript production at Mar Saba, in Jerusalem and at the Sinai that shows strong links with Syriac (and to a lesser degree, Christian Palestinian Aramaic) manuscripts, their use and their re-use in palimpsested form or as binding material. This leads him to suggest that »Georgian- and Syriac-speaking monks lived together in the same monastery, both at St Sabas (and perhaps also at St Chariton) in the Judean Desert and on Sinai for a considerable period«[41].

Greek: In Greek palaeographical studies, it has become common to speak of a distinctive writing style dubbed »sinaitico-palestinense«, shared by manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries that can be attributed to the same region based on their provenance[42]. What this means for their precise place of production, whether in Palestine or in the Sinai, remains an open question. Our current state of knowledge affirms only that books travel with people from north to south, from the Holy Land to the Sinai, but not in the reverse. Whatever codices can be securely assigned a place of production in the Sinai (and that number, as has been noted above, is surprisingly small for the Greek manuscripts)[43] either remained there or, over time, made their way to other collections, but they were not brought from the Sinai to Jerusalem or Mar Saba.

The **appendix**, based on a consultation of a wide range of publications, lists 27 manuscripts from the ninth to the fourteenth century which are (or at one point were) in the Monastery of Saint Catherine and which carry a firm written indication of their origin in Palestine, including Jerusalem or Mar Saba. To establish an expanded list of manuscripts that can be assigned Palestinian origin based on palaeographical or codicological features or on the liturgical material they contain, would be a further and future *desideratum* of scholarship. Especially the transmission of Melkite Syriac manuscripts, which could not be addressed within the limitations of the present study, would merit further investigation.

35 Galadza, Liturgy.
36 Binggeli, Les trois David 96. 113.
37 Griffith, Monks 8. At least one other scribe contributed to the manuscript, which has been in the Vatican Library since at least the 18th century.
38 Rossetto, Greek Under Arabic.
39 See Binggeli, Les trois David 101-104.
40 Aleksidze et al., Catalogue.
41 Brock, Sinai 493.
42 See now Crisci/Degni, La scrittura 148-151, with further references, especially to the seminal work of Lidia Perria.
43 Ševčenko, Manuscript Production.

Century	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
ms no.	Arabic: 4, 5, 6, Georgian: 11, 12 Greek: 15, 16, 17, 27	Arabic: 1, 2, 3, 7, Georgian: 8, 9, 10, 13, 14	Greek: 22, 26	Greek: 18, 19	Greek: 20, 21, 23	Greek: 24, 25
total mss	9	9	2	2	3	2

Table 1 Distribution of Manuscripts by Century of Copying.

Text	Hagiographica, Ascetica	Gospel Lectionary	Psalter	Triodion	Stichearion	Exapostei-larion	Tetraevangelion	Apostolos	Horologion	Liturgical unspecified
ms no.	Arabic: 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, Georgian: 10, 11, 12, 14, Greek: 21	Arabic: 7, Greek: 17, 18, 19, 20	Greek: 15, 16, 27	Greek: 22, 23	Greek: 26	Greek: 24	Georgian: 8	Arabic: 2	Greek: 25	Georgian: 9
total mss[1]	10	5	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1

Table 2 Distribution of Texts. – [1] The total number of manuscripts listed here is 26, since no. 13 is a colophon only.

Place	Mar Saba	Jerusalem	Lavra of Chariton	Bethlehem	Prodromos Monastery (near Jericho)
ms no.	Arabic: 1, 4?, 5, 6, Georgian: 9, 10, 11, 12, Greek: 15, 16, 17?, 22	Arabic: 2, 3, Georgian: 8, Greek: 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27	Arabic: 7, Georgian: 13, 14	Greek: 18, 19	26
total mss	12	9	3	2	1

Table 3 Places of Copying.

The chronological distribution of the manuscripts shows a noticeable spike in the ninth and tenth century, with a steep drop in the eleventh century (**table 1**).

The eighth and ninth centuries were a period of a great flourishing of learning and manuscript production in Palestine, a phenomenon in which monasteries such as Mar Saba played a large role[44]. That this should occur under Muslim rule, and at least a century before the so-called »Macedonian Renaissance« in Constantinople, is particularly remarkable. Did the large number of Sinai manuscripts that were produced in ninth-century Palestine also indicate an increase in traffic to the Sinai? The hagiographical narratives of monastic travel from the Holy Land to the Holy Mountain presented above would at least not contradict this impression.

Further support for the idea that these manuscripts may have been copied specifically with a monastic context in mind comes from the distribution of texts contained in these manuscripts (**table 2**).

The largest number of manuscripts contain hagiographical, ascetical or other edifying works that would be suitable for monastic reading, whether in groups or in private. Next after that in frequency are the Gospel Lectionary and the Psalter. This could be augmented by other liturgical and hymnographical material which is present in smaller numbers. These kinds of texts amount to the basic toolkit of individual monks and monastic communities.

The place of copying is indicated in most cases, as listed in **table 3**.

44 Mango, Greek Culture; Griffith, Monks.

The multi-lingual monastery Mar Saba, famed for its *scriptorium* and long considered a stronghold of learning, generated the majority of the manuscripts in all three languages. If we consider only the Greek production, however, it is Jerusalem (six manuscripts) rather than Mar Saba (four manuscripts) where most the manuscripts of Holy Land provenance now at the Sinai were produced. Is this simply due to the chances of textual transmission? Or are these findings sufficiently significant to encourage greater scholarly attention to Jerusalem as a center for scribal activity? At the very least, they point to the importance of placing future studies of manuscript production at Mar Saba in a larger geographical context.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this study: The Sinai retained its close connection to Palestine throughout the centuries. This is not only reflected in the established pathways that connect the two regions, but in the constant trickle of pious travellers, monks and pilgrims who are reported as moving from north to south. Among the things they must have brought as their personal possessions and as gifts and donations for the Monastery in the Sinai were manuscripts: not precious objects as status symbols for display, but utilitarian codices that could be used daily by the monks. If one counted on spiritual recompense for such a pious gift, this was surely the wiser option, as the frequent use of a manuscript would each time elicit a prayer from the lips of the monastic fathers who had received it and those who later used it. The manuscripts that we can now identify as gifts began to be produced in large quantities in the second half of the ninth century, the time when the iconoclastic debate was receding and when the media change from majuscule to minuscule script known as *metacharaktêrismos* went hand in hand with an increased volume of manuscript production. If the statistics presented here can be taken as a reliable guide, they suggest that the Monastery in the Sinai stood in close connection not only with Mar Saba, but also with Jerusalem and the surrounding monasteries. In this way, the Holy Land and the Holy City provided the cultural hinterland for the Holy Mountain.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Von der Heiligen Stadt auf den heiligen Berg: Die Bewegung von Mönchen und Handschriften zum Sinai

Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Bewegung von Mönchen und anderen frommen Pilgern vom Heiligen Land zum Heiligen Berg Sinai. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass diese Reisenden häufig auch dafür verantwortlich sind, dass Manuskripte, die im Heiligen Land (sowohl in Jerusalem und Umgebung als auch im Sabas-Kloster) hergestellt wurden, ihren Weg in die Bibliothek des Katharinen-Klosters gefunden haben. Vier Tabellen verdeutlichen dies anhand von 27 arabischen, georgischen und griechischen Manuskripten des 9.-14. Jahrhunderts.

From the Holy City to the Holy Mountain: The Movement of Monks and Manuscripts to the Sinai

This contribution aims to establish a plausible context for the movement of manuscripts from Jerusalem and its surrounding monasteries, including Mar Saba, to the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai, by suggesting that is was particularly the travel of monks – and more particularly, book-carrying monks – that connected the two sites. This would go a long way to explain how the library in the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine came to be one of the largest depositories of manuscripts from the medieval Christian world, the vast majority of them liturgical. Four tables illustrate this, based on 27 manuscripts of the ninth to fourteenth centuries of Holy Land provenance in Arabic, Georgian and Greek that are now in the Sinai.

De la Ville sainte à la montagne sainte: le déplacement de moines et de manuscrits vers le Sinaï

Cet article examine le déplacement de moines et d'autres pèlerins pieux de la Terre sainte vers la montagne sainte du Sinaï. Il est probable que des manuscrits réalisés en Terre sainte (à Jérusalem et environs, comme au monastère de Sabas) sont souvent arrivés à la bibliothèque du monastère de Sainte-Catherine par l'entremise de voyageurs. Quatre tableaux le démontrent à l'aide de 27 manuscrits arabes, géorgiens et grecs datant du 9e au 14e siècle. Traduction: Y. Gautier

	Signature	Date	Writing support	Scribe	Place of Copying
	ARABIC				
1	Leipzig, UB gr. 2 + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia gr. 26 + Sin. ar. NF 66	shortly after 903	parchment, palimpsest[1]	David of Homs	Mar Saba
2	Sin. ar. 73 + Paris, BNF ar. 6725. III and V	918-919	parchment	David of Ascalon	Jerusalem, Church of the Anastasis
3	Sin. ar. 309	924-925	oriental paper	David of Ascalon	Jerusalem, Church of the Anastasis
4	Sin. ar. 428 + Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Arab. Chr. 132 + Munich, BSB ar. 1069	late IX	parchment	Anthony David, based on script	Mar Saba?
5	Strasbourg, BNU 42 + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia ar. N. S. 263 + Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, Mingana Chr. Ar. 93 and 136	885/886	parchment	Anthony David	Mar Saba
6	Vatican, BAV ar. 71	885	parchment	Anthony David	Mar Saba
7	Sin. NF Ar. M 7	901	parchment		Lavra of Chariton
	GEORGIAN				
8	Sin. geo. 16	992	parchment	Daniel	Jerusalem, Monastery of the Holy Cross
9	Sin. geo. 34 + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia Syr. 16 + Sin. geo. 67	965/969	parchment	Iovane Zosime	Mar Saba
	Sin. geo. 35	907	parchment		Mar Saba
10	Sin. geo. 36	925	parchment		Mar Saba
11	Sin. geo. 97	IX-X	parchment	Georgius	Mar Saba
12	Sin. geo. N. 89 + Sin. geo. O. 32-57-33 (»Sinai Homiliary«)	864	parchment	Makari Leteteli, hieromonk	Mar Saba
13	Sin. geo. N. 93	X	parchment		Lavra of Chariton
14	Tblisi H 2124	968	parchment		Lavra of Chariton
	GREEK				
	Sin. gr. 28	*IX*	*parchment*		*Jerusalem, Anastasis*
	Sin. gr. 30 [D58405]	*IX*	*parchment*		*Jerusalem or Sinai?*
	Sin. gr. 32 [D58407]	*IX*	*parchment*		*Jerusalem or Sinai?*
15	Sin. gr. 34	IX	parchment		Mar Saba
16	Sin. gr. 35 [D58410] + Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana L 120 sup.	second half IX	parchment, partially palimpsest[4]	Anthony David	Mar Saba
	Sin. gr. 180 [D58555]	1186	parchment	George, anagnostes, commissioned by Priest Michael, during reign of Emperor Isaac Angelos	Jerusalem?

Appendix Sinai Manuscripts of Holy Land Origin. – The table is minimalist and positivistic, rather than speculative. I have counted only those manuscripts for which the place of copying in the Holy Land is without doubt. Manuscripts where the place of copying may be either the Holy Land or the Sinai are included in a smaller font. Manuscripts which contain the liturgy as it was celebrated in Jerusalem, but whose location of copying is uncertain, are included in a smaller font and in italics, for the sake of reference and completeness. – Diktyon numbers for Greek manuscripts, if available, are indicated in square brackets, where additional bibliographical information can be found. – The bibliographical references are arranged to reflect the development in scholarship, hence in chronological order of publication, rather than in alphabetical order. In order to keep the references manageable, only the most recent or the most relevant publications are listed, where further bibliographical information can be found.

Content	Location history	References
hagiographical texts related to Mar Saba, by Cyril of Scythopolis and others		Binggeli, Les trois David 100-106[2].
Apostolos (lectionary of the Pauline Epistles)		Binggeli, Les trois David 106-108.
Cyril of Jerusalem, Baptismal Catecheseis; John II of Jerusalem, Mystagogic Catecheseis	if not written for Sinai, it reached there quickly: Bücherfluch of last quarter of the 10th c. by Salomon, bishop of Sinai	Binggeli, Les trois David 108-109.
hagiographical and ascetic texts	date of arrival at Sinai unknown	Binggeli, Les trois David 85-87.
hagiographic, ascetic and homiletic texts	copied for Sinai at request of monk Isaac; still at Sinai in XIV, sold in Cairo 1895	Brock, Sinai 486; Binggeli, Les trois David 80-82.
hagiographic and ascetic texts	copied for Sinai; in Vatican since early XVIII	Binggeli, Les trois David 82-83.
Gospel Lectionary		Brock, Sinai 486.
Tetraevangelion		Garitte, Catalogue 49-53; Brock, Sinai 487.
»encyclopédie liturgique«		Brock, Sinai 487.
Paterikon		Brock, Sinai 486, probably based on Aleksidze, Catalogue 433. But according to Garitte, Catalogue 97-122: no notes of copyist, no colophon.
John Chrysostom	scribal colophon (name missing)	Garitte, Catalogue 122-144; Brock, Sinai 486.
edifying texts for monastic use	date of reaching Sinai unknown	Garitte, Catalogue 282-292.
Homilies of Cyril of Jerusalem and Hesychius of Jerusalem	copied at Mar Saba by the Georgian monks Pimen Kakhi and Amon, under the supervision of Macarius Leteteli, and donated by him »to the holiest of holies, the mountain of Sinai«	Garitte, Catalogue 72-97; Aleksidze, Catalogue 432-433; Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology 206.
Colophon only		Aleksidze, Catalogue 435.
Life of John Chrysostom		Brock, Sinai 487.
Psalter	*f. 117v: »as we chant in the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God«*	*Gardthausen, Catalogus 8; Parpulov, Psalters 81 n. 91.*
Psalter	*fol. 368r: »as we chant in the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God«*	*Gardthausen, Catalogus 9; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery no. 1; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 48.*
Psalter	*note by scribe, fol. 374v: »as we chant at the Holy Mount Sinai«[3]; made at St. Catherine (Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts); made for St. Catherine (Perria, Scritture)*	*Gardthausen, Catalogus 9; Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts 119; Perria, Scritture 70.*
Psalter		Gardthausen, Catalogus 10; Parpulov, Psalters 79.
bilingual Greek-Arabic Psalter		Gardthausen, Catalogus 10; Binggeli, Les trois David 88-89.
Gospel Lectionary	script characteristic of Palestine-Cyprus (Specimina, Stefec[5])	Gardthausen, Catalogus 35; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 34; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery no. 69; Perria, Repertorio no. 48; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 19.

1 The *scriptio inferior* contains passages from the Old Testament, copied in two columns, copied in a Greek hand of the seventh or eighth c.
2 On this manuscript and its *scriptio inferior*, see Rossetto, Greek Under Arabic.
3 Harlfinger, Beispiele 461-478, especially 469.
4 The text copied by Anthony David is found in the *scriptio inferior* of fol. 125/132 and fol. 139/134, which were palimpsested in the 11th c.
5 Stefec, Anmerkungen 109-137, especially 114.

	Signature	Date	Writing support	Scribe	Place of Copying
17	Sin. gr. 210 (188 ff) [D58585] + Sin. gr. NF MG 12 (31 ff) + St. Petersburg, Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople (BAN) 194 (4 ff) + Sin. gr. Harris Appendix 16.22 (3 ff.)	861/ 862	parchment	colophon in Sin. gr. NF MG 12 mentions scribe: monk and deacon »of the Church of the Holy Apostles in the Monastery of our Holy Father …«	Mar Saba? (Politis, Nouveaux manuscrits)
	Sin. gr. 213 [D58588] + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia Φ 906 (gr.) 283	967	parchment	priest Eustathios	Sinai or Palestine/Jerusalem? (Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery); Southern Italy? (Harlfinger, Specimina)[7]
18	Sin. gr. 220 [D58595]	1167	parchment, illuminated	Basil Skenouris, notarios	Bethlehem, Monastery of the Cells
19	Sin. gr. 232 [D58607]	1174 or 1175	parchment	Basil Skenouris, notarios	Bethlehem, Monastery of the Cells
20	Sin. gr. 254 [D58629]	before 1235	parchment	Athanasios, Patriarch	Jerusalem
	Sin. gr. 274 [D58649] + St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia gr. 439	1235/ 1236	parchment	subscription of Neophytos, hieromonachos at Monastery *tôn Kellibarôn* at Mt. Latros, at the time of Athanasius, Patriarch of Jerusalem[9]	Jerusalem?
	Sin. gr. 595 + Sin. gr. 624	1048/ 1049	parchment	Photios/Philotheos Manoelites of Jerusalem, hieromonachos, with the assistance of Nikolaos, »tou Askepastou«, monk and presbyter »of Sinai and Calabria«	Jerusalem (Perria, Repertorio; Perria, Scritture); Sinai (Harlfinger, Specimina)
21	Sin. gr. 660 (254)	before 1231	parchment	Athanasios, archimandrite (later Patriarch of Jerusalem)	Jerusalem
22	Sin. gr. 741+742	1099	parchment	Gerasimos of Antioch	Mar Saba
23	Sin. gr. 756 [D59131]	1204/ 1205	parchment	Michael of Jerusalem »ek tou genous Syropôlôn«	Jerusalem, Taphos?
24	Sin. gr. 837	1382/ 1383	parchment	Dorotheos I, Patriarch	Jerusalem, Taphos
25	Sin. gr. 883	1392	paper	Jacob Hagiosabaites	Jerusalem (suggested by scribe's name)
26	Sin. gr. 1214 (272)	XI-XII	parchment	Stephanos domestikos? (Pahlitzsch, Graeci)	Prodromos Monastery (near Jericho)?
27	St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia gr. 216 (»Uspenskij Psalter«)	878[11]	parchment	Theodore, deacon at the Anastasis Church, Jerusalem	Jerusalem, Anastasis
	Sin. gr. NF M 153	X-XI	parchment		Palestine or Sinai

Appendix (continued)

Content	Location history	References
Gospel Lectionary	made for Sinai (Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts)	Gardthausen, Catalogus 41-42; Politis, Nouveaux manuscrits 10-11; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 1; Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts 121; Nicolopoulos, New Finds 144; Perria, Repertorio no. 5[6]; Perria, Scritture 70; Brock, Sinai 484; Galadza, Sources 79; Binggeli, Les trois David 91; Galadza, Liturgy 361-363.
Gospel Lectionary	fol. 240v (later hand than colophon, probably early XIII): »the present holy gospel of the most Holy Theotokos of the Holy Mount Horeb was dedicated by the hand of Macarios[8] the most holy archbishop of the Holy Mount Sinai«	Gardthausen, Catalogus 42; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 2; Galavaris, Sinaitic Manuscripts 122-123; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery no. 14; Perria, Scritture 72; Galadza, Liturgy 71.
Gospel Lectionary	given to the monastery by Masud on 18 January 1290 (according to an Arabic entry on fol. 354v)	Gardthausen, Catalogus 44; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 28; Weitzmann/Galavaris, Monastery no. 62; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 16; Perria, Repertorio no. 44.
Gospel Lectionary	commissioned by Paul, hieromonachos, *ktêtor* of a church or a monastery of Saint George	Gardthausen, Catalogus 48; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 29; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 18; Perria, Scritture 78.
Gospel Lectionary		Gardthausen, Catalogus 52; Perria, Scritture 79.
Sticherarion		Prato, La produzione 39; Perria, Scritture 79.
Menaion	patron: Nikolaos Askepastos, hieromonachos at Sinai (originally from Calabria)[10]	Gardthausen, Catalogus 140, 145; Harlfinger, Specimina no. 11; Perria, Repertorio no. 36; Perria, Scritture 77.
Akolouthiai of Saints Anastasios, Gregorios		Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 23.
Triodion	copied for the Church of St. George in Askalon, locally known as »Chadra«; commisioned by monk John, second priest of that church; at the time of bishop Antonios	Harlfinger, Specimina 37-39 no. 18; Perria, Repertorio no. 39; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 10; Galadza, Liturgy 374-375.
Triodion, Pentekostarion		Prato, Produzione 35; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 22.
Exaposteilarion		Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 29.
Horologion		Gardthausen, Catalogus 190; Husmann, Sinai-Handschriften 167; Anderson/Parenti, Office 336.
Sticherarion	XII-XII: donated by Stephanos domestikos to Prodromos Monastery, place of copying unknown (Harlfinger, Specimina)	Harlfinger, Specimina 61 no. 40; Pahlitzsch, Graeci no. 92.
Psalter[12]	patron: Noah, bishop of Tiberias; fol. 308r, fol. 348r: »as we chant in the Holy Resurrection of Christ our God«	Perria, Repertorio no. 6; Pahlitzsch, Graeci, no. 1; Perria, Scritture 70; Parpulov, Psalters 81 n. 91[13].
Ecloga aucta, Procheiros nomos, Appendix Eclogae	donor note and Bücherfluch by Sa'id ibn Daniel ibn Bishr for Sinai Monastery	Perria, Repertorio no. 32.

6 See also most recently Galadza, Liturgy 361-362.
7 The place of copying in Southern Italy or Epiros was re-affirmed by Harlfinger, Beispiele 461-478, especially 465.
8 Galadza, Liturgy 71 with n. 265 identifies this Makarios as the Bishop of Pharan and Sinai who died in 1224.
9 Ten years later, in 1241/1242, the same copyist was at work in the diocese of Damascus, copying the Sticherarion Athos, Vatop. 1492, cf. Stefec, Anmerkungen 126.
10 Other manuscripts that belong to this collection of Menaia for the whole year: Sin. gr. 579, 563, 570, 578, 595, 610, 614, 624, 631.
11 I follow Morozov, Alexandrian Era, who has shown the traditional dating of the colophon (861/862 or 862/863) to be incorrect.
12 The Sinai preserves quires 1, 2 and 16 of the Uspenskij Psalter.
13 According to Georgi Parpulov, the Uspenskij Psalter is complete, *pace* Harlfinger, Beispiele 469.

Emilio Bonfiglio · Johannes Preiser-Kapeller

From Ararat to Mount Zion: Armenian Pilgrimage and Presence in the Holy Land, Fourth to Seventh Century

Since the Christianisation of the Arsacid Kingdom of Armenia in ca. 314[1], Jerusalem and the Holy Land became central points of reference in the »mental maps« of Armenian Christians[2]. The remarkable mobility of Armenians, not only of pilgrims, but also of noblemen, mercenaries, merchants or scholars, across the Mediterranean and the Near East soon also included the sites of veneration in and around Jerusalem. Even the turbulent history of the Armenian homelands, which saw the rise and fall of indigenous kingdoms, partitions between the neighbouring great powers and foreign domination, did not impede frequent travel between »Ararat and Mount Zion«[3]. These contacts became manifest in the foundation of monasteries and the emergence of a permanent Armenian community in Jerusalem, which formed the basis for the establishment of an Armenian Patriarchate in 1311; this institution in turn is a telling example for the processes of interactions and negotiation between the Armenians and other religious communities in the city. For the period between the fifth century and the crusades, Yana Tchekhanovets most recently provided a magisterial survey on the written and material evidence of the presence of individuals and groups coming from Armenia as well as from the neighbouring countries of Caucasian Albania and of Georgia in the Holy Land[4].

Mobility of Individuals and Groups between Armenia and the Holy Land, fourth to seventh Century

We will focus in this paper on relations between Armenia and the Holy Land in the period before the Arab conquest, when both regions were (at least partially) integrated into the Roman Empire. An early example for the mobilising effects of this imperial framework is the installation of Aristobulos (**fig. 1**), descendant of the Herodian royal family of Judaea and husband to the »infamous« Salome, as King of Armenia minor by Emperor Nero in 54[5]. From even before that time dates the establishment of the first Jewish communities in Greater Armenia during the reign of King Tigran the Great (95-55 BCE), whose short-living empire also claimed suzerainty over the Hasmonean Kingdom of Judaea. These Jewish communities then also played an important role as points of contact for early Christian mission to the Caucasian lands[6].

Also from the beginning of the establishment of an Armenian ecclesiastical hierarchy in the fourth century, its representatives were closely connected with neighbouring churches and church provinces. Until the end of the fourth century, the Senior Bishop (later »Katholikos«) of Armenia was ordained by the metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia; Armenian hierarchs took part in the Ecclesiastical Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries in Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon. The Armenian clergy communicated also with ecclesiastics in Syria and Mesopotamia, in Georgia and Caucasian Albania and in Persia. These exchanges on doctrine and praxis of faith intensified in the period of Christological disputes between the fifth and the seventh century, when the Armenian church ultimately repudiated both the teaching of Nestorius (whose followers became most prominent in Persia) and of the Council of Chalcedon (the dogma of the Byzantine and later also of the Georgian Church) and sided with the miaphysite Churches of Egypt and Syria, with the latter of the two contacts strengthened. Many of these communications have been collected in the so-called »Book of letters« (Girkʻ Tʻłtʻocʻ)[7]. From these letters and other sources we also learn that despite the rift between the churches in the sixth and seventh century and the Arab conquest of Armenia, contacts with the Byzantine church did not break down in the eighth and ninth centuries. In general, the picture of a united anti-Chalcedonian Christianity produced in the Armenian historiography does not withstand closer inspection; the number

1 The first section on »Mobility of individuals and groups between Armenia and the Holy Land« and part of the introduction of this paper have been written by Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, the rest by Emilio Bonfiglio. This study was undertaken within the framework of the project »Moving Byzantium: Mobility, Microstructures and Personal Agency« (Principal Investigator: Claudia Rapp), funded by the Austrian Science Funds FWF at the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences. Emilio Bonfiglio completed the revision of his sections while holding the »Gulbenkian Fellowship in Armenian History« at the Department of History of Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. – On this date see Seibt, Hintergrund.

2 On this concept, cf. Downs /Stea, Maps in Minds; Gould/White, Mental Maps.

3 Garsoïan, Aršakuni Dynasty; Garsoïan, Marzpanate; Preiser-Kapeller, Vom Bosporus zum Ararat.

4 Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology. See also the edited volume of Stone/Ervine/Stone, Armenians in Jerusalem.

5 Wilcken, Aristobulos.

6 Topchyan, Jews.

7 Cf. for an overview on these issues and all sources Garsoïan, Grand schism.



Fig. 1 Coin of Aristobulos, descendant of the Herodian royal family of Judaea, as King of Armenia minor from the year 61/62. – (From Künker, Auction 273, 2016, no. 669 [www.kuenker.de/de/archiv/stueck/124275]).

of Armenian clergymen and laymen, who (and not only under Byzantine pressure) also in the seventh and eighth century and later on had sympathies for the Chalcedonian creed was not insignificant. The Holy Land may have been one of the regions where this phenomenon was visible[8].

In general, clerics and monks found their way to Palestine before and after the Arab conquest, where we encounter a vivid Armenian community in and around Jerusalem. We also possess several Armenian mosaic inscriptions from the fifth to seventh century, which are among the oldest epigraphic testimonies in Armenian language at all[9]. A text attributed to a Vardapet Anastas and dated between in the sixth to seventh century lists – for sure exaggerating – 70 churches and monasteries, which had been build or bought by Armenians in Jerusalem between the fourth and seventh century[10]. At least several churches are mentioned in the exchange of letters between Modestos, the head of the Armenian community in at this time Persian-ruled Jerusalem, and Katholikos Komitas in Armenia from the year 617, included in the history attributed to Sebēos[11]. In his answer to Modestos, the Katholikos also explains the motivation and spiritual value of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem and beyond: »But know this, O beloved brother, no little consolation was conveyed to our people by the coming and going of those journeys. First, because they forgot all the troubles and sadness of this country. Secondly, because they cleansed their sins through repentance, fasts and mercy, through sleepless and unresting travelling by day and night. Thirdly, because they baptized their bodies in the water of holiness, in the fiery currents of the Jordan, whence the divine grace flowed to the entire universe. For in the desire of their heart [the pilgrims] travelled around Mount Sinai, which in the times of Moses was close to God, [repeating] friend to friend the prophetic saying: »Come let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob«[12]. The presence of Armenian pilgrims and monks at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai is equally documented by Armenian inscriptions and manuscripts[13] as well as in hagiographic sources: in the *Narrationes de patribus Sinaïtis* we find for the seventh century an Armenian *monachos* named Elissaios who saw a vision of fire above the altar almost every night[14]. In addition, later, the *Narrationes* mention a group of not less than 800 Armenians, who, together with a large number of Arabs, became witnesses of a fire vision on Mt. Sinai[15].

Yet, mobility from Armenian lands towards the Holy Land was not only motivated by religious zeal, but, as mentioned above, also initiated within the framework of imperial politics when both regions were, in the case of Armenia at least partly, under Roman rule[16]. A telling example is the career of Aratios, an Armenian nobleman from the Persian part of the country, who in ca. 530 together with his brothers Narses and Isaak defected to the Roman side across the frontier near Theodosiupolis (modern-day Erzurum in Eastern Turkey) during wartime[17]. The three brothers may have come from the well-known aristocratic family of Kamsarakan; but Roman authorities considered it wise to separate the three of them and to send them to various commands and administrative posts all over the empire during the next two decades, as we

8 See most recently Garsoïan, Interregnum 55-104 (with references), and Garsoïan, Problem 104-109. Cf. also Redgate, Myth and Reality.
9 Greenwood, Inscriptions 89-91, and esp. now Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology.
10 Sanjian, Anastas Vardapet; Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims 16-17. 166-168; Terian, Anastas Vardapet; Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology 20-21. Cf. also McCormick, Charlemagne´s Survey 57-59.
11 Sebēos c. 35-36: 116-121 (Abgaryan; tr. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, Sebeos I 70-76). Cf. also Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology 13-14.
12 Sebēos c. 36: 119 (Abgaryan; tr. Thomson/Howard-Johnston, Sebeos I 74)
13 Stone, Armenian Inscriptions; Stone, Greek Background 194-202; Vaux, Linguistic manifestations. See also Redgate, Myth and Reality 285.
14 PmbZ 1508; Narrationes de patribus Sinaïtis cap. XXXVII, 81.
15 Anonymi (PmbZ 10204); Narrationes de patribus Sinaïtis cap. XXXVIII, 81-82.
16 Adontz, Armenia; Ayvazyan, Armenian Military; Preiser-Kapeller, Vom Bosporus zum Ararat.
17 Prokop, Bella I, 15, 31 (Dewing I 139). Cf. Preiser-Kapeller, Aristocrats, mercenaries, clergymen and refugees. The presence of Aratios in the Holy Land is surprisingly absent from the above-mentioned recent survey of Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology.



Fig. 2 Insignia of the *Dux Palaestinae*, an office held by the Armenian Aratios in ca. 535/536, from the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 117r). – (From https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Notitia_Dignitatum_-_Dux_Palestinae.jpg [public domain]).

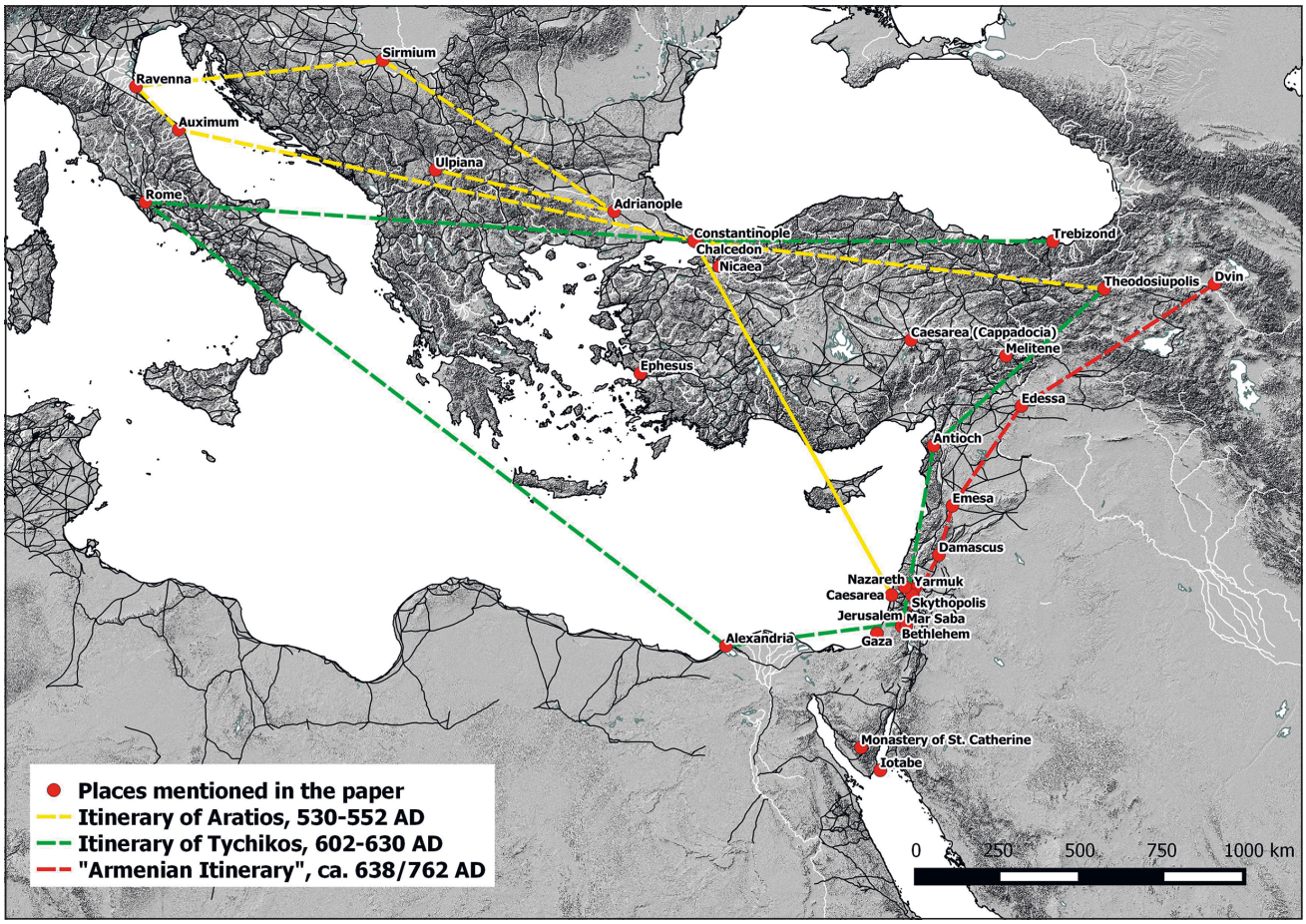


Fig. 3 Map of localities and itineraries in the Eastern Mediterranean mentioned in the paper. – (J. Preiser Kapeller, 2018).

learn from occasional references in the history of Procopius and other sources[18]. For Aratios this also included a period of service as *Dux Palaestinae* in ca. 535/536 (**fig. 2**), when he was addressed in a panegyrical text by the famous orator Chorikios of Gaza together with a certain Stephanus, the civil governor of the province. The deeds of Aratios praised by Chorikios include his nonviolent oppression of an uprising of »heretics« near Caesarea and some daring military operations against Arab tribes, during which he re-conquered the island of Iotabe (modern-day Tiran) in the Red Sea. We may assume that Aratios brought with him also some Armenian retainers as we know for other Armenian aristocrats in Roman services. His tenure of office in Palestine ended before 538, when he was transferred to Italy to fight the Ostrogoths together with Belisarios. Finally, Aratios died in 552 in a battle against the enemies of the empire in the Balkans as last of the three brothers, who all had found a violent death in the military service of Rome (**fig. 3** and **fig. 4**)[19].

Another example of partly empire-directed mobility between Armenia and Jerusalem is Tychikos, the teacher of mathematics the famous seventh century scholar Anania of Širak mentions in his so-called »autobiography«. As Ananias learnt from Tychikos, he had served in the Roman army in Armenia under the Emperors Tiberios (578-582) and Maurikios (582-602) at the end of the sixth century, where he had also learned the Armenian language. After a battlefield injury, Tychikos left the army and started studies of philosophy and science, which led him to Antioch and to Jerusalem, from where (presumably due to the advance of the Sasanian armies in 614) he moved on to Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople. Eventually, he settled down in Trebizond at the Black Sea, where Anania became his student (**fig. 3** and **fig. 4**)[20].

Equally, the last Byzantine military commander in the Holy Land, the *magister militum* Baanes or Vahan, was of Armenian origin; he replaced Theodoros, the brother of Emperor Herakleios, after a first defeat against the Arabs in ca. 634.

18 PLRE III 103-104s. v. Aratius; PLRE III s. v. Isaaces 1; PLRE III 928-929 s. v. Narses 2, with sources and further references.

19 Litsas, Choricius of Gaza; Penella, Choricius. Preiser-Kapeller, Aristocrats, mercenaries, clergymen and refugees.

20 Greenwood, Anania Širakac'i 131-186. See also Hewsen, Ananias 32-45.

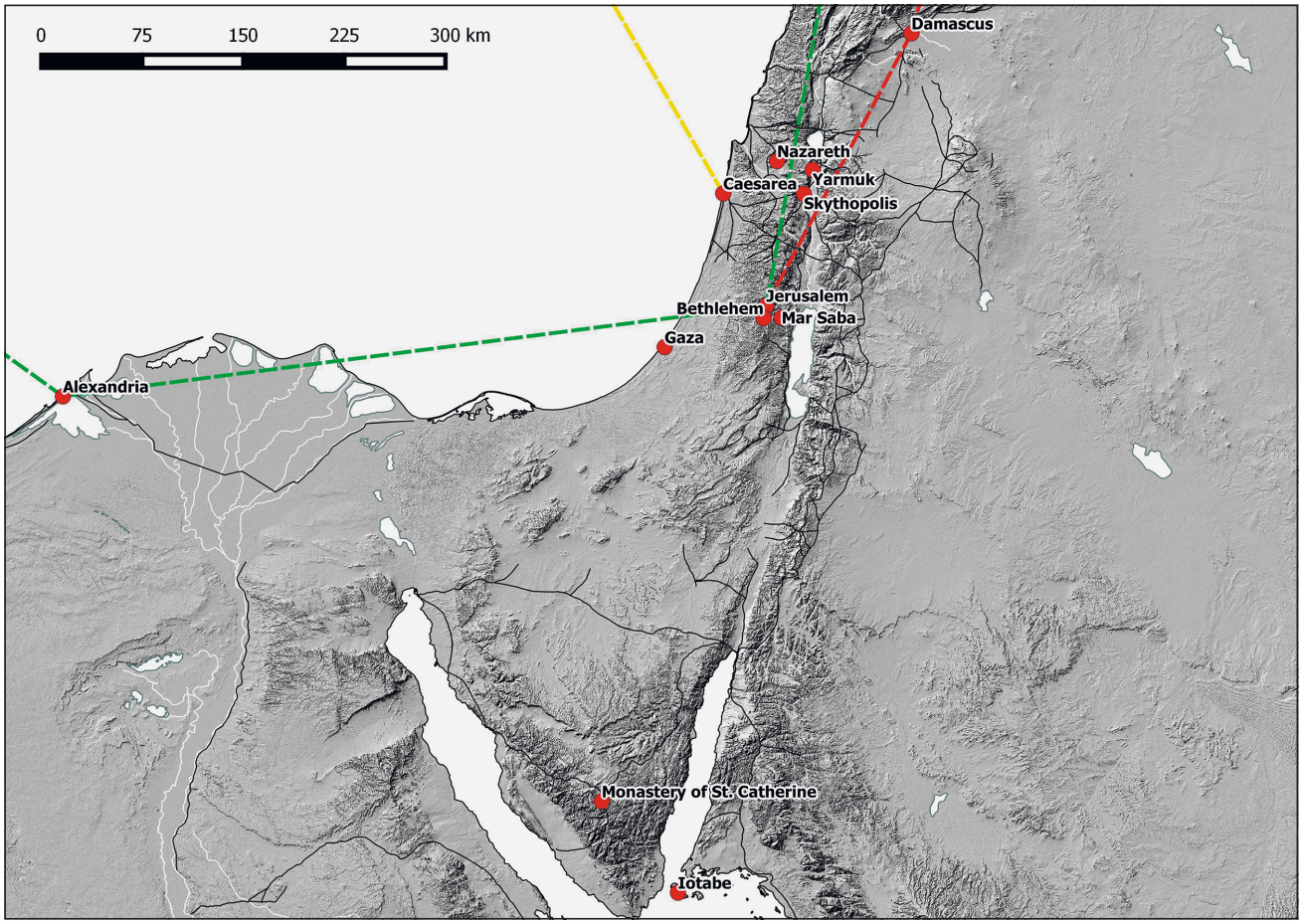


Fig. 4 Map of localities and itineraries in the Holy Land and in Egypt mentioned in the paper. – (J. Preiser-Kapeller, 2018).

After some partly successful operations between Damascus and Emesa, Vahan was one of the generals of the Byzantine forces, which also included considerable Armenian troops, in the decisive Battle at the river Yarmuk in August 636. This defeat led to the eventual loss of the province to the Arabs[21].

From shortly afterwards that period, we possess another text sometimes attributed to Anania of Širak, the »Armenian Itinerary« (*Młonač'ap'k*), which can be dated in the years between 638 and 762. It contains descriptions and distances for six routes from the Armenian capital of Dvin leading into different parts of the world, from the Persian Gulf to the Caucasus, from Eastern Iran to Rome and the Atlantic Ocean. Some central axes of long distance Armenian mobility in Late Antiquity, which we can also trace in other sources, become visible – and one of these led from Dvin via Edessa, Emesa and Damascus to Jerusalem, and from there onwards to Egypt and even the »far West« of the Mediterranean (where we also find Armenian commanders and soldiers in the sixth and seventh century in North Africa) (**fig. 3** and **fig. 4**)[22]. By this period, Jerusalem had become a fixed point in the »mental map« of the Armenians[23].

The Earliest Literary Evidence

In spite of the fact that the »received« account of the evangelization of Armenia as provided in Agat'angełos' *History of the Armenians* claims an official adoption of Christianity in Armenia at the time of Gregory the Illuminator's conversion of King Trdat IV (314, see also above)[24], other late antique literary sources suggest an ever earlier date for the introduction of Christianity in Armenia, offering alternative evidence for long-existing connections between Jerusalem, the Holy Land, and Armenia. Indeed, these texts would give the impression of an uninterrupted movement of people and ideas in both directions as early as the apostolic age and lasting through the entire late antique period[25].

21 PLRE III 161-162 s. v. Baanes; Kaegi, Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests 130-135; Howard-Johnston, World Crisis 295-297.

22 Edited and translated in Armenian Geography (Hewsen) 320-321. On Armenian presence in the »far west« of the Mediterranean cf. Kaegi, Muslim Expansion 101-103; Preiser-Kapeller, Aristocrats, mercenaries, clergymen and refugees.

23 See also Preiser-Kapeller, Between New Jerusalem.

24 For the date of the conversion: Ananian, La data. Also Chaumont, Recherches. Agat'angełos, History of the Armenians (Thomson).

25 On the processes of Christianization in Armenia, see Thomson, Mission.

While the *New Testament* books are altogether silent about an Armenian presence in Jerusalem both at the time of Jesus' ministry and in the long list of people and languages heard on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:8-11), a passage in Tertullian's *Against the Jews*, VII 4 (written in 196) explicitly mentions Armenia among the countries of provenance of the people that were present at that event[26]. This particular alternative version of the story of Pentecost is also witnessed by a reading of Acts 2:9 in the *Codex Bezae*[27].

Next to these references, there exist two Armenian texts (respectively of the fifth and eighth century) belonging to the large file of *New Testament Apocrypha* that describe the missionary travels to Armenia of the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew[28]. The first of these texts, the *Martyrdom of Thaddeus*, narrates the mission of its eponymous hero who, having received the task of evangelizing Armenia at Pentecost, reaches the country under king Sanatruk, after completing various other missionary duties in Edessa, at the court of king Abgar V. Essentially building on the activity already begun by Thaddeus in Armenia, the second text, the *Martyrdom of Bartholomew*, recounts the travels and missions of the apostle Bartholomew, who reached Armenia after a long journey begun in India (i. e. Arabia Felix) and continued through the regions of Commagene, Coele-Syria, and Persia[29].

Despite the literary and legendary character of these two narratives, these texts emphasise two facts: they confirm the affiliation of part of the Armenian Church to the Christianity of Edessa, but also witness an established early itinerary that connected Jerusalem and Armenia, a route passing through Mesopotamia and Edessa that was well-known to, and easily recognizable by both Armenian late antique readers and travellers to Jerusalem. Most likely, this southern route was the same followed by the Syriac missionaries and clergymen whose accomplishments are narrated in a later historiographical work known under the title of *Epic Histories* (c. 470)[30].

If for the first three centuries of the Christian era, the evidence of Christian connections and travels between Armenia and Jerusalem can be reconstructed only tentatively, from the fourth century the presence of Armenians traveling to the Holy Land is firmly attested. Indeed, just two decades after the official conversion to Christianity of the kingdom of Armenia, a document known as *Letter to the Armenians* witnesses Armenians visiting and worshipping in Jerusalem in both private and official capacity. Previously dated to the sixth century, in 2008 Abraham Terian reassessed the *Letter to the Armenians*, establishing bishop Macarius as its rightful author and 335 as the year of its composition[31]. Originally composed in Greek and now existing only in an Armenian translation executed before 451, the *Letter to the Armenians* represents the earliest full-length document concerning instructions on the theology and the liturgical practises of the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist as performed in Jerusalem in the first half of the fourth century. The letter was written by Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem between 314 and 335/336, and addressed to Vrt'anēs, the elder son and second successor of Gregory the Illuminator as bishop of Armenia. The circumstance that prompted the letter was an official delegation of Armenian priests to Jerusalem, probably sent by Vrt'anēs himself on the occasion of the dedication of the church of the Holy Sepulchre for the Encaenia of September 335.

Half a century later, an explicit mention of the Armenian presence in the Holy Land is found among the Latin sources in a letter that Jerome addressed to Marcella in the year 386. Written in Bethlehem, Jerome's *Letter* 46 mentions the Armenians within the multi-ethnic group of pilgrims who flocked to Palestine from all over the world: Gallia, Britannia, Persia, India, Arabia, Egypt, Pontus, Cappadocia, Coele-Syria, and Mesopotamia[32].

Further literary evidence comes from Cyril of Skythopolis (c. 525-559) who informs us that towards the end of the fifth century Armenian monks were living in the Holy Land both in isolated and mixed communities. In the *Life of Sabas*, for instance, Cyril, attests the presence of Armenian monks in the monastery of Mar Saba, where they were allowed to pray in their own language while living in a mixed community[33]. A similar scenario is depicted in the *Life of Euthymius*, where Cyril narrates that in one occasion a considerable number of Armenian pilgrims (some 400 men) came from Jerusalem to visit and settle in the monastery founded by Euthymius (himself a native Armenian from Melitene, in Armenia Minor). Due to its convenient position in the Judean desert, not far from the Holy City and in the vicinity of the Jordan River[34], Armenians monks could easily access the monastery, living and worshipping together with their Greek brothers within the same walls.

The Material Evidence

The material evidence for the Armenian presence in Jerusalem and the Holy Land is varied and well documented. The ensemble of the available data has recently been magisterially examined by Yana Tchekhanovets in a ground-breaking book that appeared in 2018[35]. There, the author has methodically gathered and examined the literary, archaeological, and manuscript evidence of the three Caucasian communities present in late antique Palestine: Armenians, Georgians, and Caucasian Albanians.

26 Tertullian, Against the Jews (251 Menzies/Clark).
27 Codex Bezae (Scrivener). Also, with further references, Parker, Codex.
28 Martyrdom of Thaddaeus (27-49 Calzolari).
29 Martyrdom of Thaddaeus (*passim* Calzolari).
30 P'awstos Buzand: Epic Histories (Garsoïan).
31 Macarius, Letter (Terian).
32 Jerome, Letters XLVI 10 (187-196 Fremantle/Lewis/Martley).
33 Armenian monks came from both Armenia Minor and Greater Armenia. See Patrich, Sabas 46-47. Cyril of Skythopolis, Life of Sabas (*infra*, Schwartz).
34 Cyril of Skythopolis, Life of Euthymius XVII (27-28 Schwartz).
35 Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology.

As far as the Armenians are concerned, their presence is revealed by the architectural remains of, and the mosaics, inscriptions, and graffiti discovered in a great number of monastic complexes and sites scattered in Jerusalem and the Holy Land, from Nazareth in the north, to the Judean desert in the east, down to the Sinai in the south. Among the most remarkable sites are the Armenian monastic complexes on the Mount of Olives, in East Jerusalem, and in the Musrara Quarter of the city, just outside of Damascus Gate. These findings were first uncovered during archaeological excavations carried out in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and have been exploited to confirm that at least a dozen of Armenian monasteries was in operation in late antique Jerusalem. A significant number of high-quality mosaic floors dated to as early as the fifth century offers clear witness to a wealthy Armenian presence in Jerusalem and validate medieval historical sources concerning the active role played by members of the royal and aristocratic Armenian families in sponsoring monastic activity in the Holy Land[36]. A number of these mosaics include inscriptions that represent some of the earliest evidence for the Armenian script, which was invented by Mesrop Maštoc' only a few decades earlier (c. 404)[37]. In one case (Tomb of Abbess Charate), the uncovered inscription has been of great value to attest the presence of a monastery of Armenian women[38].

Aspects of Armenian Cultural Activity in Jerusalem

The presence of an established and well-organized Armenian community in late antique Jerusalem is reflected also in the diverse cultural output and activities that were pursued there by the Armenians. One of the most significant achievements is the Armenian translation of the so-called *Jerusalem Lectionary*. Translated into Armenian from the original Greek shortly after 417, the »Armenian« *Jerusalem Lectionary* is an invaluable document for the reconstruction of the sequence of the stational liturgy that was performed in and around Jerusalem in the first half of the fifth century (in particular, between 417 and 439), as well as for the recovery of the list of scriptural passages read at the divine services[39]. Of all the extant Armenian manuscripts (c. 31.000), almost 350 are lectionaries[40]. While these can be grouped into various recensions, they are virtually all adaptations of the same early Jerusalemite type. Because of the loss of the Greek original, the Armenian translation represents, together with its Georgian counterpart[41], an exceptional witness to this specific liturgical tradition[42].

Another notable example of the Jerusalemite Armenians' cultural activity is represented by the so-called Armenian »Jerusalem School« or »Scriptorium«. By this terminology, scholars refer to certain stylistic features that are common to a group of Armenian texts of liturgical and hagiographical type[43]. Evidence for this scriptorium has been gathered thanks to, among others, a colophon appended to a 1403 manuscript transmitting the Armenian translation of Athanasius' *Life of Antony*, which reads »this book was translated in the holy city of Jerusalem in the year 450«, as well as through a ninth century colophon, in which the scribe claims that the *Autobiography* of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite copied in that manuscript was translated in Jerusalem[44]. Although the bulk of the Armenian translations of the Areopagite were actually executed on Greek exemplars in Constantinople, it is remarkable that the *Autobiography* was rendered into Armenian from Georgian in the city of Jerusalem[45]. Taking into consideration the rarity of medieval Armenian translations from Georgian, this case is a clear witness of the liveliness of the cross-cultural dialogue between Armenians and other confessions of the Holy Land, and also of the fact that over the time Jerusalem came to be seen by the Armenians as a centre of authoritative teaching, especially from the second half of the sixth century, when conflicts between Armenians, Greeks, and Georgians over questions of theology and liturgy significantly increased[46].

South Palestine: Sinai and Beyond

Further material evidence of the Armenian presence in the Holy Land has been uncovered by Michael Stone in a great number of Armenian inscriptions discovered on Mount Sinai[47]. These inscriptions count to some more than one hundred and bear witness of the Armenian pilgrimage activity in the Sinai region throughout the Middle Ages. The oldest inscriptions have been dated, on palaeographical ground, to the fifth century, showing the Armenians as one of the earliest groups of Christian pilgrims to the Sinai[48].

The material evidence offered by the Sinai Armenian graffiti together with the inscriptions on the mosaic pavements in Jerusalem provides some of the very first attestations of the

36 Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology *passim*.
37 For the invention of the Armenian script: Koriwn, Life of Maštoc' (17-155 Mahé).
38 Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology 107-108.
39 Armenian Jerusalem Lectionary (Renoux); Renoux, Liturgie; Renoux, Un manuscrit. For the medieval Armenian liturgical calendar Adontz, Les fêtes.
40 For a concise introduction to Armenian manuscripts, with further references Kouymjian, Manuscripts; Kouymjian, Codicology; Kouymjian, Palaeography.
41 Georgian Jerusalem Lectionary (Tarchnishvili).
42 For later developments of the Jerusalemite liturgy with further references Galadza, Liturgy.
43 The bibliography on the Armenian translations from Greek and Syriac is vast and there is no comprehensive survey. For a synthetic, yet clear overview Nichanian, Âges 91-97. Further references Thomson, Bibliography 29-88; Thomson, Supplement 169-179.
44 Thomson, Jerusalem 80.
45 Thomson, Armenian Version of Ps.-Dionysius; Armenian Ps.-Dionysius (Thomson).
46 Garsoïan, Grand schism; Garsoïan, Interregnum; Aleksidze, Narrative.
47 Stone, Armenian Inscriptions; Stone, Footprints.
48 Tchekhanovets, Caucasian Archaeology 132-136.

Armenian script. Indeed, if Armenian literacy begun in Armenia, it is however in late antique Palestine that the earliest specimens of the Armenian script are preserved. This evidence is further confirmed through the manuscript collection of St Catherine Monastery. Here, in 1975, several new manuscript palimpsest fragments were discovered. One of these (Syriac NF frg. 12) presents, under a Syriac upper layer, an Armenian *scriptio inferior* that has been dated to the sixth (or also to the seventh/eighth) century and identified as the Armenian translation of John Chrysostom's *Commentary on the Psalms*, de facto suggesting that these fragments are among the oldest attestations of the Armenian script on parchment outside Armenia[49].

The impact of the Armenians' activity in the Holy Land went far beyond the boundaries of late antique Palestine and cannot be overestimated. As an example, one could take the influence that the Armenian Christians of Jerusalem exerted on the Ethiopians and their literature, which remembers the figure of Gregory the Illuminator, as well as on the country itself, where an island of Lake Tana is named after St Hṙip'simē[50]. While the first Armenian colonies in Ethiopia date to the seventh century, being the result of the Arab invasions of Palestine, the most spectacular material evidence of the strong ties that were built in Jerusalem between the Armenians and the Ethiopians is highlighted by the striking parallels of the *Canon Tables* frames found in the *Garima Gospels* (sixth/seventh century) and the Ēǰmiacin Gospels (ninth/tenth century)[51].

The evidence discussed in this paper shows a documented continuity in both the presence of Armenians in the Jerusalem and the Holy Land and the mobility of pilgrims, scholars, mercenaries, and merchants in a period roughly comprised between the fourth century and the mid seventh century. Material and written evidence attests the growing establishment of an Armenian community in Jerusalem that resulted in the construction of monasteries, production of texts and translations, and interaction with other local Christian communities. In time, the foundation of this Jerusalemite community made possible further exchange between the Armenians from the Caucasus and those in Palestine, with Jerusalem becoming at the same time both the terminus of travels to the Holy Land and a crossroad for scholarly, military, and religious business that furthered travels to locations far beyond Palestine.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Vom Ararat zum Sionsberg. Armenische Pilgerfahrt und Gegenwart im Heiligen Land, 4. bis 7. Jahrhundert
Seit der Christianisierung Armeniens im frühen 4. Jahrhundert wurden Jerusalem und das Heilige Land zu zentralen Anziehungspunkten für die Mobilität armenischer Christen. Dies galt nicht nur für Pilger, sondern auch für Adlige, Söldner, Kaufleute oder Gelehrte. Selbst die turbulente Geschichte der armenischen Heimatländer hat die häufigen Reisen zwischen Armenien und dem »Heiligen Land« nicht behindert. Diese Kontakte manifestierten sich in der Gründung von Klöstern und der Entstehung einer ständigen armenischen Gemeinschaft in Jerusalem. Der vorliegende Aufsatz untersucht verschiedene Aspekte und Schichten dieser Bewegungen und Migrationen auf der Grundlage schriftlicher und materieller Belege für den Zeitraum zwischen dem 4. Jahrhundert und der arabischen Eroberung des 7. Jahrhunderts.

From Ararat to Mount Zion. Armenian Pilgrimage and Presence in the Holy Land, Fourth to Seventh Century
Since the Christianisation of Armenia in the early fourth century, Jerusalem and the Holy Land became central points of attraction for the mobility of Armenian Christians. This was not only true for pilgrims, but also for noblemen, mercenaries, merchants, and scholars. Even the turbulent history of the Armenian homelands did not impede frequent travel between Armenia and the »Holy Land«. These contacts became manifest in the foundation of monasteries and the emergence of a permanent Armenian community in Jerusalem. The present paper surveys various aspects and layers of these movements and migrations on the basis of written and material evidence for the period between the fourth century and the Arab conquest of the seventh century.

De l'Ararat au mont Sion. Les pèlerinages et la présence des Arméniens en Terre sainte du 4e au 7e siècle
Jérusalem et la Terre sainte ont attiré les chrétiens d'Arménie dès le début du 4e siècle, quand le pays fut christianisé. Ce mouvement touchait non seulement les pèlerins, mais également les nobles, les mercenaires, les commerçants ou les érudits. Même l'histoire turbulente des régions arméniennes n'a pas empêché les déplacements fréquents entre l'Arménie et la « Terre sainte ». Ces contacts se manifestèrent à travers la création de monastères et l'établissement d'une communauté arménienne permanente à Jérusalem. Cet article examine divers aspects et niveaux de ces mouvements et migrations à partir d'écrits et d'autres témoins matériels datant du 4e siècle à la conquête arabe au 7e siècle. Traduction: Y. Gautier

Max Ritter

A Desire against all Odds and Difficulties? The Presence of Christian Pilgrims in Early Muslim Jerusalem, Seventh to Tenth Century

This contribution attempts to investigate Christian pilgrimage activity to Jerusalem during the first 400 years of Arab-Muslim rule over the city[1]. The pilgrims' progress to Jerusalem was neither stable nor invariable; indeed, it was affected by various temporal factors. Two factors are generally accepted as key:

1) the political relations between the place of origin or point of departure of the pilgrims and the Muslim authorities controlling Jerusalem.
2) the Palestinian Melkite Christians' relationship with the Muslim authorities, which changed frequently from cordial to hostile and vice-versa.

In order to determine the relationship between the two factors, we have to analyse in how far pilgrimages to Jerusalem depended on these two factors, and which of the factors had a larger influence on the pilgrims' endeavours.

To this purpose, I will study both Byzantine and Latin pilgrimage activities, since the Muslim authorities in Jerusalem generally perceived all pilgrims from the Christian states of the Mediterranean basin as one group, whom they called *ar-Rūm* (»Romans«). It was only in the eleventh century – when the share of Western and Central European pilgrims substantially increased in comparison to those coming from Byzantium – that the former were usually perceived as a group of their own, *al-Jfiranǧ* (»Franks«).

Sources and Methodology

Before we delve further into the subject, it is worthwhile to define the term pilgrim in detail. It is common knowledge that there was no defined image or nomenclature for pilgrims in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In Byzantium, pilgrims could be grasped by three lemmata, each related to one of their main features. The first is ξένος, the stranger; the second, the ὁδοιπόρος is someone who travels long distances; and finally, the προσκυνητής makes a great effort to venerate a place or object. All three terms do not necessarily point to pilgrimage, but depending on the context, they can designate a pilgrim. In Latin, however, *peregrinus* was the dominant relevant term as early as Late Antiquity, which makes it easier to assemble the evidence of Latin pilgrimage[2]. Most scholars take for granted what a pilgrim is supposed to be, although the category was floating in medieval languages, and even nowadays the exact definition of a pilgrim remains unclear.

I will therefore use Jas Elsner's theorem as a point of departure[3], though I would like to specify some points that are important for the period under discussion. In my opinion, a traveller in the Middle Ages had to fulfil four main prerequisites to be coined as a pilgrim: first, his main motivation to travel had to lie in his belief or religion and the journey had to be a physical one. His destination had to be a sacred site outside of his everyday reach and at the same time accepted as a common religious site. Moreover, he had to make the journey on his own initiative and without a clear professional obligation. Finally, he performed no rituals on the way, but he did so at the destination.

Due to the biased source transmission on pilgrimage activity, we have a strong preponderance of Latin reports in regard to Jerusalem pilgrims in comparison to pilgrims speaking other languages. Consequently, we are confronted with a huge distortion of medieval realities, because it is evident that Latin pilgrims were in fact a small minority in Palestine before the eleventh century.

This fact can be highlighted by a look at the *Commemoratium de casis Dei vel monasteriis* compiled in the year 808 on behalf of Charlemagne. According to this inventory list of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, only five of the 35 hermits in Jerusalem at the time used Latin as language of prayer (ca. 14 % share)[4]. These hermits had certainly come as pilgrims to the Holy Land and had stayed there, just like many pilgrims in the Middle Ages.

1 This study evolved from my Ph.D. thesis on the economy of Byzantine pilgrimage at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, which was supervised by Johannes Pahlitzsch and Claudia Sode and funded by the Leibniz-Gemeinschaft at the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz, see Ritter, Zwischen Glaube und Geld. – The paper covers the period up to al-Ḥākim's demolition of the Holy Sepulchre, not so much because this is perceived as a major rupture in Jerusalem pilgrimage (the event is certainly exaggerated in retrospective: a matter discussed on p. 27), but because the most relevant developments in pilgrimage appeared during this period.

2 Dietz, Wandering Monks 27-35, ignores the Greek component when defining pilgrimage.

3 Elsner, Introduction, *passim*.

4 Commemoratorium de casis Dei 19-21 (207 McCormick); McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 56-58.

During Easter 1047, Nāṣer-e Khoshraw, a Persian visitor to Jerusalem, noted the huge mass of religious travellers (ziyāra) in Jerusalem who came from *ar-Rūm* (i. e., the Byzantine empire). He even claims that the emperor himself had accomplished a Jerusalem pilgrimage in disguise[5]. There can be no doubt that apart from pilgrims from within the Caliphate, more than half of the foreign pilgrims in Jerusalem came from Byzantium. Some reached the Holy Land from the South Caucasus and only a tangible minority from Latin Europe. Moshe Gil and David Jacoby have calculated the latter at about 10 % of all pilgrims in the eleventh century[6]. Yet, the Latin pilgrims boasted of their accomplished pilgrimages that took much more effort than their eastern counterparts. Furthermore, the ways of transmission and the preservation of many monastic archives in the West lead to the distorted impression that Jerusalem pilgrimage was a rather Western and Central European phenomenon. We need to keep in mind, though, that the information on many Jerusalem pilgrims covers only their name, approximate date and place of origin. Elaborate reports about the route or the political conditions in Palestine are scarce. Nonetheless, the mere enumeration of pilgrims reveals at what times pilgrimage activities became less or more intense. This information can then be correlated with political events in the Levant.

One way to balance the picture is to draw more attention to the known Byzantine pilgrims. Alice-Mary Talbot has presented 30 religious travellers to Jerusalem, of which only 14 lived in the seventh to tenth centuries[7]. Élisabeth Malamut partly studied the same individuals in more depth, but she did not focus on the topic of Jerusalem pilgrimage in her study of saints' itineraries[8]. Taking a closer look at the Byzantine evidence, Andreas Külzer worked on one of the texts, the itinerary of Epiphanius Hagiopolites[9]. For certain periods, there are no recorded Byzantine pilgrims at all, a fact which led Joseph Patrich to assume an entire disruption of pilgrimage activity from Byzantium[10]. However, it is not possible to redraw the outlines of Byzantine pilgrimage to Jerusalem on the basis of the very few testimonies we actually have of genuine Byzantine pilgrims.

To overcome this deficit, different paths may be pursued. One might include indirect evidence of Jerusalem pilgrimage activity like the circulation of manuscripts, relic collections assembled in Palestine, or church architecture modelled after the Holy Sepulchre. However, there is also another way to tackle the problem which I want to follow here. Instead of relying on the very scarce evidence of Byzantine pilgrims in the seventh to tenth centuries, the patterns of Latin pilgrims of the period should be accounted for, since they resembled Byzantine pilgrimage patterns as soon as they reached the Byzantine orbit during their travel. There are two main deliberations for pursuing such a venture.

Firstly, almost all the Latin pilgrims up to the eleventh century had to cross Byzantine territory and waters. As a consequence, they received information about travel conditions and the prevalent political situation in Palestine from Byzantine subjects who were much more familiar with the region. The Jerusalem pilgrimage from Western Europe therefore developed using Byzantine perceptions. Experiences gathered by either Byzantine pilgrims or by the Byzantine populace in the border area affected both the travel time and the routes the Latin pilgrims took. Jerusalem pilgrimages could be deterred because Byzantines considered travels or border crossings too dangerous; this is also reflected in some pilgrimage reports. For instance, the Burggrave Meginfred of Waldeck (in 1040)[11] and the Abbot Thierry of Saint-Évroult (in 1058)[12] changed their routes and travel plans on Byzantine territory because Byzantines advised them not to cross overland to Palestine due to the conditions at the frontier.

There is another good reason to consider Latin and Byzantine pilgrims jointly for the issue raised here. Western European pilgrims entering Palestine came under the supervision of the Patriarch of Jerusalem who had the responsibility from the Muslim authorities to administrate and adjudicate all Chalcedonian Christians[13]. The Latins possessed some monasteries (especially the one on the Mount of Olives), yet they did not have a Church organisation of their own in Palestine up to the First Crusade (1099).

At the same time, the Jerusalemite clergy were received at the Byzantine court not as envoys, but as subjects[14]. Steven Runciman put it this way: »The Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem might head the Orthodox community in practical dealings with the Caliph; but above them was the Emperor, whose representatives they were *in partibus infidelium*«[15]. This relationship should not be conflated with political ideology but was borne out of late antique tradition[16]. In fact, the Jerusalemite patriarchs were usually very loyal to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in matters of Christian doctrine[17]. This is relevant considering that Jerusalem stuck with Constantinople in the Filioque controversy that arose in Bethlehem in 807[18], and in the controversy about the azymes at a later date.

As a consequence of this situation, Latin pilgrims were under the juridical supervision of the Patriarch of Jerusalem who in turn usually entertained close relations to Byzantium.

5 Nāṣer-e Khoshraw, Itinerarium (106-107 and 13 Thackston).
6 Gil, Palestine 483; Jacoby, Gunther of Bamberg 273-285.
7 Talbot, Pilgrimage 97-110.
8 Malamut, Route.
9 Külzer, Peregrinatio graeca 14-17.
10 Patrich, Impact 210.
11 Vita Haimeradi, cap. 32 (606 Koepke).
12 Orderici Vitalis Historia ecclesiastica III (2, 68-74 Chibnall); Gazeau, Normannia II 243-244, 42.
13 For the crucial role of Jerusalem in forming the Melkite Church, see Griffith, Church of Jerusalem 175-204.
14 Ikonomopoulos, Byzantium 9-10. Overview by Krönung, Employment 71-83.
15 Runciman, Protectorate 212-213
16 Runciman, Protectorate 207-215.
17 For a list of patriarchs of Jerusalem, see Fedalto, Hierarchia II 1001-1003.
18 Grumel, Jerusalem 104-117; McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 59.

The precedence of the Byzantine Church for Jerusalem was also acknowledged in vague terms by a Western source very much occupied with Jerusalem pilgrimage, Rodulfus Glaber, who writes: »Just as Rome bears the primacy over all the Latin lands, so Constantinople is the head not only of the Greeks, but of all the other peoples who live in the Eastern lands beyond the sea.«[19]

Consequently, the treatment of the Melkite Church[20] by the Muslim authorities and by the populace in Palestine depended indirectly on the Caliphate's political relations to the Byzantine empire.

The topic of Jerusalem pilgrimage is of paramount importance for the study of the Melkite Church of Palestine, not least because it effected the Jerusalem Patriarchate's inner organisation. Church organisation completely changed in the early Muslim period, at least since the ninth century, insofar as the late antique bishoprics overwhelmingly turned into titular bishoprics and a new order of autocephalous archbishoprics was established from scratch. The pattern investigated by Levy-Rubin shows that at least four of the 25 dioceses of the Jerusalemite patriarchate were in fact centred on pilgrimage shrines without any considerable flock: Mount Tabor, Mount Sinai, Nazareth, and the archbishopric of the »Holy river Jordan«[21]. She rightly coined those dioceses »the archbishoprics of the holy places« and assigns them the protection of the assets and the shrine as their main function[22]. One might surmise that the reception and care for pilgrims was another task of these bishoprics.

Pilgrims to Umayyad Jerusalem (661-750)

Between the Arab conquest of Jerusalem (638) and Muʿāwiya's rise to the Caliphate (661), we have no recorded pilgrims from either Byzantium or the West. Yet, in 667/668, in other words, simultaneously with the first siege of Constantinople[23], Muʿāwiya approved John IV as ordained Patriarch of Jerusalem, the first such recognition after the Arab conquest. We know of only three pilgrims from this period:

The first is rather a legendary figure: Abbot **Cathal** of Lismore in Ireland, who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the years around 670. On his return journey, he was shipwrecked off the Apulian coast and ended up as bishop of Taranto, still revered in the city as Saint Cataldo[24].

Another pilgrim is the Gallic Bishop **Arculf** whose well-known pilgrimage was written down by Abbot Adomnán of Iona. He entered the Caliphate in 679. Having sojourned in Bethlehem, Hebron, Jericho and some Galilean sites, he also turned towards Damascus and Tyre. He visited Alexandria in order to head for Constantinople, entering the empire by sea via Crete[25]. His travelogue is not arranged according to the route taken, but according to exegetical considerations. Consequently, he may also have first visited Constantinople and entered the Caliphate in Alexandria. At any rate, the author Adomnán did not pay attention to the practical conduct of the pilgrimage.

The last pilgrimage to be mentioned is virtually absent in the scholarly discourse on Jerusalem pilgrimages. It is the travel of the then priest and future abbot of the Farfa abbey to the north of Rome, **Thomas of Maurienne**, which took place in around 675 to 682. This native of Savoy travelled to Rome and turned towards Fermo (Firmium) on the Adriatic Sea in order to embark on a ship to Jerusalem and the »alia loca sancta« which usually imply Bethlehem and the Jordan river. He stayed in the region for three years until he supposedly received a vision of the Mother of God, urging him to turn home. Interestingly, he returned via Ephesus, where he venerated John the Evangelist, and then sailed to Sabinium (Savinense, i. e. Latium), until he finally reached Rome[26]. This return journey took three years according to the report transmitted by an anonymous mid-ninth century chronicler monk of Farfa abbey.

These pilgrims had left the Caliphate in the early 680s. There was a period of relative peace between the Caliphate and the empire in the years of Emperor Constantine IV (668-685), which came to an abrupt end with the accession of his son Justinian II, who immediately attacked the Caliphate in Armenia and launched navy operations against Acre and Caesarea in 686[27]. Pilgrimage traffic halted. Only after around 705 did relations improve again, attested also by the then-approved nomination of John V as Patriarch of Jerusalem. The eminent presbyter, theologian and author John of Damascus served that very patriarch[28]. Although the war between the empire and the Caliphate continued also after 705, small-scale pilgrimage activity can be detected in the period:

First of all, the monk **Stephen of Chenolakkon** travelled to Jerusalem, the Jordan river and the monasteries of the Judean desert in the period between 700 and 720[29]. He returned to Constantinople.

The famous pilgrimage of the Anglo-Saxon **Willibald**, later bishop of Eichstätt, took place from 721 to 729. He entered the Caliphate at Tortosa in 723 after traversing the empire by

19 Radulphi Glabri Historia I 16 (France 30): »Constat igitur ab anterioribus illud principale totius orbis imperium fuisse diuisum, scilicet ut quemadmodum uniuersae Latinitatis Roma gerere deberet principatum, ita Constantinopolis tam Grecorum speciale caput in transmarinis orientis partibus quam ceterorum«.

20 The Melkites (*Syriac malka; literally, the ones adhering to the emperor of Constantinople) were those Christians of the Near East who followed the Chalcedonian doctrine. They fell under Muslim rule in the conquest period and would eventually adopt Arabic as their language of discourse. This and other cultural characteristics differentiated them from other Chalcedonian Christians.

21 Levy-Rubin, Reorganisation 203-206.

22 Levy-Rubin, Reorganisation 214.

23 Jankowiak, Arab Siege 237-320.

24 Iorio, Itinerari 179-181.

25 Adamnani De locis sanctis (Bieler). The main study for our purpose is Hoyland/Waidler, Adomnán 787-807.

26 Constructio monasterii Farfensis, cap. 1-3 (Balzani 3-5); about him with refs. McCormick, Origins 172 n. 70.

27 Gil, Palestine 80-81.

28 New study: Kontouma, John of Damascus.

29 Vita Stephani Chenolaccensi (AASS Nov. prop. 392-394).

sea from Naples via Reggio, Syracuse, Monemvasia, Ephesus, Attaleia and Cyprus. When he had concluded an exhausting pilgrimage journey in Palestine and Syria, he left the Caliphate from Tyre in 726, and returned via Constantinople[30]. By the same time, in approximately 725, the Gallic monk **Silvinus** crossed the Mediterranean Sea (*transmare*) in order to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and visited also the Jordan river. He returned to the Merovingian kingdom[31].

Another much more peculiar pilgrimage is supposed to have taken place in the year 723/724. The **70 Byzantine lay pilgrims** are said to have travelled to Jerusalem, Bethlehem and the Jordan river when there was a truce between the empire and the Caliphate. According to the hagiographic text known as *Passio of the Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem* composed in Syriac in the mid-eighth century (translated into Greek in the same century by a monk John[32] and again in the tenth century by a priest Symeon[33]), those pilgrims were arrested by a Muslim authority when war broke out and were forced to convert to Islam under threat of death. Seven of them succumbed, three more died before execution and the remaining 60 are supposed to have been executed as martyrs in Jerusalem. The story resembles a hagiographic text about the martyrdom of 60 soldiers which took place in Gaza in 639[34]. Therefore, George Huxley out-rightly rejects the authenticity of the story of the pilgrim-martyrs[35]. It is quite clear that the eighth-century pro-Byzantine author wanted to entice the empire to attack the Muslims by reflecting on Arab atrocities. Nonetheless, the narrative mirrors historical realities of the eighth century[36] as it reports that »[…] many come to the veneration of the Holy Land – I mean venerating the sacred sites of our Lord Christ with pious intentions – as wild animals swiftly run to the water sources«[37]. In 725/726, war erupted again. After this event, there is no more evidence for pilgrimage activities until the end of Umayyad rule.

Pilgrims to the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate (750-868)

At first, Abbasid rule over Palestine did not herald significant changes for the Melkite Christians. The Caliphs now visited Jerusalem more rarely and therefore each visit was recorded in the sources (758 and 771 al-Manṣūr; 780 al-Mahdi). Palestine faded into a backwater province[38], although the prominence of Jerusalem as an Islamic pilgrimage destination increased at the same time[39].

One pilgrim of this period was **John of Gotthia**, who later became bishop on the Crimea. In 755, John travelled from Anatolia to Jerusalem, where he stayed for three years and became a monk. He left around 758 and returned via Iberia (i. e. Georgia), where he received ordination as bishop by the Catholikos of Mcʻḫetʻa, after which he arrived at his see[40].

Second to be mentioned is the later Bishop **Maldeveus** of Verdun. Maldeveus visited Rome and continued his journey via an Apulian port to Constantinople in 772-773. From there, he passed by Ephesus, reached Jaffa and then completed his journey to Jerusalem[41].

Gregory Acritas from Crete travelled by sea to Seleucia Pieria[42], where he dwelled as a hermit until around 780, when he departed to Jerusalem. He stayed there for twelve years. According to his Life, he suffered terribly on the hands of both Jews and Muslims, though the source gives no further specifications. We may conclude that Gregory began his pilgrimage in the 780s and left Palestine around 792.

The Irish monk **Fidelis**, who is mentioned by the geographer Dicuil, took the opposite direction. Fidelis served as an eye-witness for Dicuil's description of Egypt because he had conducted a pilgrimage that took place at the turn of the eighth to the ninth century. He went via Italy and made his entry into the Caliphate at Alexandria in a larger group of laymen and clergymen. After a visit to Fusṭāṭ, they headed towards Mount Sinai before going to Jerusalem[43].

A first and very serious insurrection against the Melkites of Palestine by local Arab tribes occurred in 786. The Arabs attacked both the monasteries of Mar Saba and Chariton[44]. In 787, a presbyter called John joined the council of Nicaea as acknowledged representative of Patriarch Elias II of Jerusalem who had been taken into exile to Iraq; he reported on the events[45]. Elias would return later, dying in about 797. We have four kontakia ascribed to a Patriarch Elias who is most likely the same person[46].

30 Vita Willibaldi episcopi Eichstetensis, cap. 3-4 (38 Bauch). A comparison between the travel descriptions of Adomnán and Hugeburc was recently conducted by Limor, Pilgrims 235-275.
31 Vita Silvini episcopi Tolosani, cap. 1 (AASS Feb. III 30). Hen, Pilgrims 293; McCormick, Origins 865.
32 Ioannis monachi Passio 60 martyrum Hierosolymitanis, cap. 5-7 (3-4 Papadopoulos-Kerameus).
33 Symeonis monachi Hierosolymitanis Passio 63 martyrum Hierosolymitanis, cap. 2-6 (137-141 Papadopoulos-Kerameus). PmbZ 10231; CMR I 327-329 (S. Efthymiadis).
34 CMR I 190-192 (D. Woods).
35 Huxley, Sixty Martyrs 369-374. Based on him Schick, Communities 172-173. Galadza, Liturgy 86 disagrees (though with incorrect date).
36 Talbot, Pilgrimage 100: »the tale must reflect a reality that at certain periods of time Byzantine travel to the Holy Land for purposes of pilgrimage and commerce was restricted, that periodic truces permitted free access, and that on occasion Byzantine pilgrims were arrested and killed«. Hoyland, Seeing Islam 360-363.
37 Ioannis monachi Passio 60 martyrum Hierosolymitanis, cap. 5 (3,28-30 Papadopoulos-Kerameus): »[…] καὶ πολλοὶ εἰς προσκύνησιν τῆς Ἁγίας Γῆς, λέγω δὴ τῶν σεπτῶν Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν τόπων, εὐπροαιρέτως προσήρχοντο καὶ δίκην ἐλάφων ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πηγὰς ὀξέως ἔτρεχον«.
38 Griffith, Palestine 182.
39 Duri, Jerusalem 105-129, esp. 112.
40 Vita Ioannis episcopi Gothiae, cap. 2 (79 Auzépy). PmbZ 3118; Huxley, John of Gotthia 161-169. For his pilgrimage Auzépy, Vie de Jean 75.
41 Gesta episcoporum Virdunensium, cap. 12 (43-44 Pertz); Vita Magdalvei episcopi Virdunensis, cap. 5-6 (AASS Oct. II 513-519). McCormick, Origins 876.
42 Vita Gregorii monachi Acritensis (AASS Nov. prop. 372-374). PmbZ 2404; McCormick, Origins 197-198 (identifying Seleucia with Seleucia ad Calycadnum).
43 Dicuilis Hibernici Liber de mensura orbis terrae VI 12-18 (62 Tierney / Bieler). Wilkinson, Pilgrims 139; McCormick, Origins 911.
44 Gil, Palestine 283.
45 Vita Tarasii archiepiscopi Constantinopolitanis, cap. 28 (103 Efthymiadis).
46 Bertoniere, Canons 89-149.

During the years 792-793, a tribal war affected the area[47]. In March 797, Mar Saba was attacked a second time, allegedly producing 20 martyr monks including Theoctistus[48]. These events, which are also reflected in the repressions described in the Vita of Stephen Sabaites[49], enticed Christianized Europe into paying more attention to the pilgrimage sites of Palestine.

In the years 796 to 811, Charlemagne supported the Patriarchate of Jerusalem by donating a lot of money both for the reconstruction of damaged buildings and for the erection of new buildings for the benefit of both monks and pilgrims[50], activities that were overseen by Patriarch George (797-807). In 807, the Abbot George and the monk Felix from the Mount of Olives travelled as envoys to Pope Leo III on behalf of Patriarch Thomas (807-819), although by this time the main objective was to report on the outbreak of the Filioque controversy[51]. In order to attract support for the patriarchate, an inventory list of the religious houses in Jerusalem was drawn up in 808 by another embassy. From then on, the list formed the basis of the subsidies that flowed into the Holy Land[52]. Although there is no mention of Charlemagne's activities in Oriental sources, Byzantine sources register his support[53], and overall there is no doubt about the impact of his interference in recent scholarship[54]. Since maritime connections in this period were slow, Patriarch Thomas I sent two more envoys to Charlemagne, called Agamus and Roculphus. Both were Frankish subjects who happened to be in Jerusalem, most probably for religious reasons (pilgrimage, as Michael Borgolte plausibly assumed)[55]. However, there are no other pilgrims recorded in this period and immediately thereafter, which is surprising considering the fact that the conditions should have improved or at least remained the same as before 796.

This lack of pilgrimage activity may be explained by the civil war which had erupted after Hārūn ar-Rašīd's death, which lasted from 809-813 and resulted in security issues, highway-robbery[56], and numerous attacks on Christians in Palestine. Byzantine sources record a mass flight of monks to Byzantium[57]. Laymen also escaped, e. g. the later Saint Anthony the Younger who settled in Attaleia, then still a young man[58]. Another case is **Leontius**, who was a Jerusalem pilgrim from Athens. His Life – preserved only in Karamanlıca – reports that he travelled by ship to Palestine and lived as a monk in the monastery of Theodosius. Due to repressions by the infidels he fled to Byzantium with his mentor Barnabas, and disembarked at Patara (Parassam)[59]. Soon after, he founded a monastery on Mount Kontobakion close to Attaleia[60].

The written sources reflect the official requests for help from Palestine. The Jerusalemite Syncellus Michael went to secure help in Constantinople in 813[61], and was ordered to proceed to Rome for the same reason, but was not able to realise the journey[62]. According to his Life, he travelled to Constantinople via Diospolis and a certain Seleucia. Another traveller from around 818 to ca. 820 was the Studite monk **Dionysius** who delivered letters from the Abbot Theodore Studites to various recipients around Jerusalem: the patriarch, and the abbots of Mar Saba and Chariton[63]. By the same time, the eventually successful pretender al-Maʾmūn (813-833) allowed the reconstruction of the damaged churches[64] which apparently also included the dome of the Holy Sepulchre since it was repaired under Patriarch Thomas I (807-819)[65].

In summer 826, the Abbot Domenicus of the monastery on the Mount of Olives appealed for help to Emperor Louis II the Pious in Ingelheim[66]. Only one counter-embassy is recorded from Louis II to Jerusalem in the 830s. It was conducted by the monk Raganarius[67]. Another monk called

47 Gil, Palestine 283-284; litterally in the Passio 20 martyrum Laurae Sabae, cap. 2 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 2): »[…] συνεκροτήθη ἐν τῇ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν χώρᾳ μέγας ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος τῶν Σαρακηνικῶν φυλῶν«.

48 Passio 20 martyrum Laurae Sabae (Papadopoulos-Kerameus and Blake); Graboïs, Pèlerin 178; Gil, Palestine 284. 474; Kennedy, Melkite Church 332; CMR I 393-396 (D. H. Vila); Auzépy, Palestine à Constantinople 223-231.

49 Auzépy, Palestine à Constantinople 221-233.

50 Gil, Palestine 285-287.

51 Borgolte, Filioque-Streit 406; see also Borgolte, Gesandtenaustausch.

52 McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 165-176.

53 Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De administrando imperio, cap. 26 (108 Moravcsik/Jenkins). McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 79

54 For this, see Borgolte, Filioque-Streit 403-427.

55 Borgolte, Filioque-Streit 417.

56 Abû l'-Fatḥ, Kitāb al-ta'rīkh 219-221 (68-71 Levy-Rubin).

57 Theophanis Chronographia, sub an. 6305 (499 de Boor; 683 Mango/Scott); Gil, Palestine 292-294. 474-475; Todt/Vest, Syria 39 (flight of monks to Byzantium); McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 161-162; Griffith, Anthony David 16; for the district of the Palestinians in Constantinople see Gouillard, Quartier 73-76. The newest, valuable study that gives also a wider context of migration is Auzépy, Rôle 475-503, esp. 494; Galadza, Liturgy 108. For the monastery, see Galadza, Liturgy 151-152.

58 Vita Antonii iunioris, cap. 3 (188 Papadopoulos-Kerameus).

59 Vita Leontii in monte Contobacio (Jacob). Hild/Hellenkemper, Lykien und Pamphylien 2, 651-652 (without my suggested identification with Patara); for the historical context, see Hild/Hellenkemper, Lykien und Pamphylien 1, 300-302; Janin, Centres 335-336. With seventy monks, the Theodosius monastery was still flourishing in the first decade of the 9th c.: Commemoratorium de casis Dei 27-29 (209 McCormick). Patrich, Impact 212.

60 The Theodosius monastery was attacked several times in the years 809-14 and was finally abandoned, see Theophanis Chronographia, sub an. 6301 (484 de Boor; 665 Mango/Scott). Gil, Palestine 474-475. Only sometime before the 11th c., a new community formed there again: Pringle, Churches 271.

61 Vita Michaelis syncelli, cap. 6 (54 Cunningham). Sode, Michael Synkellos 161-162. 299; at 201-207, Sode proposes that Michael was a mere pilgrim to Constantinople (and Rome), although we have evidence for extractions from the Jerusalemite Church which may have instigated the need for external subsidies. Auzépy, Palestine à Constantinople 248-252.

62 Mango, Palestine 154-157.

63 For letters to the patriarchs and to the abbots of Chariton and Choziba, see Theodori Studitae epistolae 276-278 (409-418 Fatouros). Their names were not known to Theodore who sought support for his ecclesiastical policy in the area and was not familiar with the actual office holders. Further studies: Talbot, Pilgrimage 102; PmbZ 1346; Todt/Vest, Syria 336.

64 Fattal, Statut 188.

65 Gil, Palestine 459; Galadza, Liturgy 106.

66 Borgolte, Gesandtenaustausch 108.

67 McCormick, Origins 903; Borgolte, Gesandtenaustausch 110-111.

Domenicus from Comacchio/Venice also belongs to this period. After having completed his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he happened to be in Alexandria in 827 or 828[68], where he waited for a vessel to take him home[69]. Domenicus embarked on one of the ten Venetian merchant ships that took St Mark's relics to Venice, via a stop on the Aegean island of Astypalaia (Stroalia insula)[70]. A further, though improbable pilgrim mentioned in relation with these events is the future Doge John I of Venice, who is said to have visited Jerusalem, where he received the inspiration for the building scheme of the church of San Marco which was built to house the relics of St Mark[71].

The rebel chieftain Abū Ḥarb (»father of war«, revolt 842-847[72]) brought Jerusalem under his control in the years 842-844 and blackmailed the patriarch to release Church properties[73]. As a consequence, Patriarch John VI (838-852) fled into exile[74]. The Sabaite monk George was sent to Ifrīqiyā in order to raise funds for the Jerusalemite patriarchate, but unable to do so due to the lack of resources in the region, he went to al-ʾAndalus to complete his objective (in vain, though, as he was martyred in Córdoba in 852)[75].

In those troubling years, a resurgent Byzantine empire went on the offensive, with a surprise naval attack on Damietta in 853[76]. It was the time of Abbasid decline, especially after the death of al-Mutawakkil (861) which led to widespread anarchy in the Caliphate[77], and an imminent threat of Byzantine conquest was tangible in the Levant. The situation of the Melkite Church was apparently uneasy in these times, and we can supplement this impression with the fact that there are no pilgrims recorded in that period. This is not just a matter of mute sources or transmission problems, because a lot of Byzantine pilgrims actually turned elsewhere for spiritual travel. Based on the exigences of the time on how to achieve sainthood, they should have travelled to Jerusalem, but they did not.

To give some examples: a certain **Ioannicius**, who deserted the army in battle against the Bulgars in 807 and wanted to become a monk[78], visited Ephesus and maybe Myra instead of going to Palestine[79]. Stephen of Sugdaia on the Crimea in turn stemmed from Cappadocia but visited Athens and Constantinople instead of crossing the border in approx. 810[80]. Thirdly, Peter of Atroa sojourned within Anatolia instead of going to Palestine at around 820[81]. Furthermore, Gregory Decapolites, although born and raised in Cilicia, and therefore in the border zone to the Caliphate, pursued his wandering ascetism within the Balkans and the Anatolian and Italian parts of the empire in the years 829-831[82]. The same pattern is observable with Constantine the Jew from central Anatolia who, according to his Life, travelled through the entire empire in the years around 850, even to Cyprus, but did not cross over to Palestine[83]. Lastly, the pilgrimage of Euthymius the Younger stretched from Galatia across Anatolia and the Balkans in the years around 860[84].

In summary, the hagiographic testimonies indicate that Byzantine pilgrims between 810/820 and 850/860 by and large avoided travels to Palestine altogether and instead chose to circulate within the empire and Italy. This lack of Greek influx to Palestine led to an alienation between the Palestinian monastic communities and the Byzantine world. For the communities in Palestine, Arabic became the standard language during that time and as a result, Greek-speaking Byzantines could no longer integrate as easily into those monastic communities. Nevertheless, the desert monasteries remained a point of reference for Byzantine pilgrims. Sidney Griffith states that Byzantine pilgrims did not visit these monasteries up to the Crusader period anymore but turned to the Holy sites instead[85]. However, pilgrims started visiting Palestine again after about 860:

Hilarion the Iberian from Kakheti travelled to Jerusalem, the Jordan river, Mount Tabor, and Mar Saba in approx. 850[86]. **Frodomund of Coutance** started his pilgrimage in 855 in Lothringia via Rome and turned towards Alexandria in order to reach Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and Galilee[87]. He left Palestine in around 860 and after a sojourn in Armenia was back in Francia in approx. 863. **Bernard** the Monk took the same route in 867, though at this time, the Arabs had advanced

68 More likely is the former date: the ships returned to Venice in the spring of the following year.

69 Translatio Marci Evangelistae ad Venetiam (104 Dennig-Zettler): »Erat etiam ibi monachus Domenicus nomine Comiacliensis, qui fultus amore divino eodem tempore fuerat Iherosolimis et expleta oration revertebatur, qui et ipse ascendit cum illis. Cum ergo ab Alexandria recessisent…« (»There, also the monk Domenicus from Comacchio was present, who, filled by a love to God, had been in Jerusalem and after the completion of his prayers had returned. He joined them to return from Alexandria«). Taken account of in McCormick, Origins 913-914.

70 Translatio Marci Evangelistae in Venetiam (106 Dennig-Zettler).

71 Translatio Marci Evangelistae ad Venetiam (110 Dennig-Zettler): »[Iohannes] Construxit namque iuxta palatium elegantissime forme basilicam ad eam similitudinem, quam supra domini tumulum viderat Iherosolimis« (»Iohannes erected a church in the most admirable form next to the palace, similar to what he had seen above the Tomb of the Lord in Jerusalem«). McCormick, Origins 914.

72 Most detailed: Abû l'-Faṭḥ, Kitāb al-ta'rīkh 233-238 (85-89 Levy-Rubin).

73 Gil, Palestine 295-296; Jotischky, Christians 54.

74 Gil, Palestine 460.

75 Eulogii presbyteri Passio Georgii diaconi (546 Jiménez Pedrajas). Levy-Rubin/Kedar, Spanish Source 63-72.

76 Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes 276. 315-316.

77 Kennedy, Prophet 310.

78 Mango, Ioannikios 401.

79 Sabae Vita Ioannicii, cap. 10-12 (AASS Nov. II/1, 341-343) and Petri Vita Ioannicii, cap. 10 (AASS Nov. II/1, 389; 265 Sullivan). PmbZ 3389; Dimitroukas, Reisen 378-379.

80 Vita Stephani episcopi Sudacensis (73-75 Vasilevsky). Kaldellis, Christian Parthenon 69-70. Regarding historicity and date: PmbZ 6997 (there the journey is erroneously termed a trip for educational purposes).

81 Vita Petri Atroënsis, cap. 8 (87-88 Laurent). PmbZ 6022; Malamut, Route 124.

82 Vita Gregorii Decapolitae, cap. 22 (86 Makris). PmbZ 2486; Malamut, Route 248.

83 Vita Constantini Iudaei (AASS Nov. IV 628-656). PmbZ 4003; Malamut, Route 252.

84 Vita Euthymii iunioris Thessalonicensi (Alexakis; Talbot). PmbZ 21912; Malamut, Route 254.

85 Griffith, Anthony David 16-19.

86 Vita Hilarionis Hiberi (Martin-Hisard). Martin-Hisard, Pérégrination 101-138; Tchkoidze, Ilariōn 91-96; PmbZ 2583; McCormick, Origins 930. Roughly at the same time, the Georgian pilgrim Demetrius passed away on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in Emesa as the *Life* of Grigol Khandzteli reports: Vita Gregorii abbatis Khandzatis, cap. 41 (60 Martin-Hisard).

87 Vita Fromundi episcopi Constantiensis, cap. 15 (AASS Oct. X 847-848); Gesta Sanctorum Rotonensium III 8 (209-213 Brett). McCormick, Origins 931.

into Apulia. After visiting Rome, Bernard turned towards Monte Gargano and Bari, where he had to pay for a letter of safe-conduct in order to embark on a ship to Alexandria in Taranto. On entering the Caliphate, and again in Fusṭāṭ, he had to obtain new documents. In the latter town, he also met the Melkite Patriarch Michael I of Alexandria (859-870)[88]. In Jerusalem, Bernard was received by Patriarch Theodosius (ca. 865-878)[89], and visited the surrounding shrines, but neither Galilee nor Mount Sinai. Although Bernard's report does not hint at the reasons for his rather short journey, it may be explained by the political situation prevalent in Palestine in the years 866 to 868: Bedouins had taken over control in large parts of the country and security had deteriorated.

Elias the Younger (of Enna) was taken captive by Saracen conquerors of his Sicilian hometown in 859 and brought to Tunis. After his manumission, he headed to Jerusalem, where he visited the surrounding shrines, and Galilee and Mount Sinai[90]. He met Patriarch Elias III and adopted a homonymous monastic name. He returned to Sicily before Syracuse fell to the Muslims (878).

In the light of these testimonies, we may newly evaluate two spurious pilgrimages that are usually connected to the period in question. The first account is of a certain **Giovanni Arbanese,** who is mentioned in a 17th-century Ragusan chronicle that reports him travelling from Ragusa to Jerusalem via Alexandria in 843 aboard a Venetian galley[91]. Although this journey is not entirely impossible, it appears to be anachronistic. Considering the pilgrimages of the period, it is very unlikely to have happened. The second account is by one **Iacinthus** from Léon in Castile, who left a description of the Holy Sepulchre and Bethlehem in an Old-Castilian manuscript written sometime between 800 and 1100. His pilgrimage must be placed sometime between the eighth and eleventh centuries. The only textual indication that allows to narrow down this time span is Iacinthus' notice of the Nativity church in Bethlehem lying in ruins (without giving the reason for that condition)[92]. Wilkinson's date of around 750[93] is too early on linguistic and historical grounds. Due to the churches' and aedicula's measurements given in the account, Michael McCormick and Martin Biddle assign it to the mid-eleventh century, after the destruction of al-Ḥākim[94]. The above-mentioned context of pilgrimage traffic confirms the later dating.

Tulunid Overlordship in Palestine (878-905)

In 868, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn took over the administration of Egypt[95]. Although he acknowledged Abbasid supremacy and supported the Abbasid regime with contributions, he largely followed his own political agenda[96]. At first, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn was not able to extend his dominion to Palestine, where ʿĪsā ibn al-Sẖaykẖ al-Shaybani ruled independently from 867-871. In this period (869), Patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem sent a letter to Patriarch Ignatius of Constantinople on the occasion of the Anti-Photian Council of Constantinople, in which he praised his ruler (ἀμηρᾶς, scil. ibn al-Sẖaykẖ)[97].

Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn entered Ramla only in June 878. The Abbasid regent al-Muwaffaq tried to overthrow him, but failed, and Aḥmad was able to establish firm control over the area by 880[98]. After a successful battle against the Abbasids in 885, his successor Abūʾl-Jaysh Khumārawayh (884-896) finally extended his dominion even to northern Syria, and to the frontier zone adjacent to the Byzantine empire (Tarsus 885-890).

It is generally supposed in modern scholarship that Tulunid Syria enjoyed a period of prosperity and peace that facilitated travelling[99]. Even though this assumption may be unfounded[100], we can detect an increase in trade and pilgrimage traffic, not least because the Syrian ports were opened for merchants from the west. Immediately after seizing control in Syria (878), Aḥmad fortified Akko[101] and Tyre[102] and improved both ports.

The Tulunids entertained cordial relations with the Copts[103], and apparently also with the Melkites. This is suggested by events that took place under Theodosius' successor, Patriarch Elias III (878-907). Elias III sent the two monks Gispertus and Rainardus to Emperor Charles III the Fat in 881, with a letter that has not received much attention in scholarship[104]. According to the letter, Elias had been able to repair churches due to the greatly improved relations with an unnamed local potentate (princeps, scil. ibn Ṭūlūn), a fact that he assumed was known in the west thanks to the many travellers between Jerusalem and the west (»per multos hinc illus venientes cognoscitis«). However, Elias was running out of money and needed subsidies from the west. McCormick has convincingly stressed that Elias' request is not at all surprising, since the Melkite patriarch had to maintain also the Latin monasteries

88 Itinerarium Bernardi monachi, cap. 6-7 (117-118 Ackermann). Ibid. is also provided the basic study on the text. Previous studies: Halevi, Explorer 24-50; Kislinger, Making 123.
89 Itinerarium Bernardi monachi, cap. 11 (121 Ackermann).
90 Vita Eliae iunioris Ennensi, cap. 18-22 (26-32 Rossi Taibbi). Malamut, Route 256-258; Re, Greek Southern Italy 173-174; von Falkenhausen, Rolle 33; PmbZ 21639 (with a diverging opinion on the date of his stay in Palestine).
91 Giugno Restič, Chronicon Ragusae (21 Nodilo). Ladić, Pilgrims 95-111.
92 Hyacinthi presbyteri Descriptio Terrae Sanctae (79-82 Campos; 123 Wilkinson). Campos dated the manuscript to the 10th c., Biddle to the 11th c.
93 Wilkinson, Pilgrims 11.
94 McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 96 n. 14; Biddle, Tomb 140 n. 14.
95 Standard work on the Tulunids: Hasan, Tulunides.
96 Kennedy, Prophet 311-312.
97 Concilium Constantinopolitanum IV, actio I (Mansi XVI 313-316). Gil, Palestine 461.
98 Gil, Palestine 307.
99 Kennedy, Prophet 312.
100 Levy-Rubin, Continuatio 37-38.
101 Muḥammad Ibn-Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī, Kitāb Aḥsan at-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm (162-163 de Goeje; 269 Ranking/Azoo)
102 Bramoullé, Activités navales 265.
103 Bianquis, Egypt 100.
104 Eliae III patriarchae Hierosolymitanis epistola ad Carolum III imperatorem (363-364 d'Achery). McCormick, Origins 956-957; McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 87; Gil, Palestine 461.

and Charlemagne's hostel. Another embassy consisting of the three Palestinian monks named Theodosius, David and Sabas personally appealed to Pope John VIII (872-882) for funding for the restoration of churches in 878/879[105], and indicated pilgrimage as the reason for their stay in Rome.

As Jonathan Harris has convincingly shown, Elias III had also exchanged letters with King Alfred I the Great[106]. Although there is no detailed information, we may safely assume that this was most likely for the same purpose and based on the same circular letter which Emperor Charles III had answered. Harris surmises that Alfred responded favourably by sending alms. Later, in about 900/903, Elias III sent yet a further letter of request to the pope, this time in order to raise funds for ransoming monks from Turkish captivity in the diocese of the Iberian (i. e. East-Georgian) Bishop Malacenus. Malacenus even travelled to Rome himself and received the support of Pope Benedict IV for this venture[107].

According to the evidence presented, we may infer increased contacts between the Churches of the Holy Land and Rome and an improvement of conditions for Chalcedonian pilgrims. The evidence on pilgrimage activity confirms this impression. The first pilgrim to be mentioned is **Peter** the Miracle-Worker from Galatia. A former officer under Emperor Theophilus, he settled as a monk on the Bithynian Olympus after his retirement and decided to go to Jerusalem in the early 880s. According to his Life, his pilgrimage included various destinations in Palestine, that are, however, not individually mentioned. He is said to have suffered from unspecified Muslim maltreatment. After his stay, he returned via Cyprus and Attaleia to Constantinople[108].

Meingold of Hui in present-day Belgium accomplished a penitential pilgrimage most probably to Jerusalem in the 880s[109]. The journey took him seven years. After his return, he died in 892. Further pilgrimage activity is reflected in the so-called proskynetarion of **Epiphanius** Hagiopolites which most likely belongs to the same period. Epiphanius apparently was a Byzantine pilgrim who had become familiar with the region and was bestowed with the cognomen of Jerusalemite. His description lists Near Eastern pilgrimage shrines that attracted pilgrims who came from the Byzantine empire (Ῥωμανία)[110], and who usually embarked to Palestine via Cyprus, landed in Tyre[111], and then headed to Jerusalem and its surroundings. Galilean destinations are listed at a later point in the text, possibly because Epiphanius wanted to begin his treatise with Jerusalem. Thereafter, the reader is introduced to Diospolis, the Levantine coastline and taken further towards Alexandria including Abu Mina. The mention of the latter led scholars to believe in an earlier dating of the text than the ninth century, but there are Coptic testimonies for the functioning of the shrine during this period. After places around Fusṭāṭ and on Mount Sinai, even Thebes is enlisted as a pilgrimage site. The ports of call and the selection of destinations which include much of Egypt point to the Tulunid era.

A further Byzantine pilgrim of the period was **Germanus** of Kosinitza in Macedonia. From his unknown place of origin within the empire, he had accomplished a pilgrimage to Palestine and the monasteries in the Judean desert and the monastery of John the Baptist at the Jordan river; he had the latter entered as a monk. Due to a vision, as the Life states, he returned to Christopolis[112] where he pursued his further monastic career, and founded a monastic community at Mount Matikia, called Kosinitza/Kušnica (in East Macedonia, near Drama). Since the foundation occurred in the last third of the ninth century, his pilgrimage must have taken place in the early second half of the ninth century.

One of the few known women pilgrims is Countess **Adellinda** of Nordgau who went to Palestine in 902/903. She visited also other, unnamed places (alia loca sancta)[113]. Another testimony comes from the Life of **Lucas Steiriotes.** In his childhood (ca. 900), he met two monks at the Parthenon church of the Virgin in Athens who talked about their travels. The monks – apparently Greek-speaking individuals – reported that they had come from Rome and were on their way to Jerusalem[114]. Even less clear are testimonies related to Trebizond: according to the 14th-century miracle collection of Saint Eugenius, a certain monk[115] and a group of **elderly men**[116] passed by that city on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem in around 900.

Finally, the monk **Theodore** went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem that is mentioned in the legend of the miracle-working icon of the Mother of God in the Melkite convent of Ṣaydnāyā close to Damascus. The legend records that when Theodore was taking a rest in Ṣaydnāyā, a certain nun Marina ordered him to purchase an icon for the monastery in Jerusalem. After the completion of his pilgrimage in 900/901, Theodore wanted to return directly to Byzantium by ship from Acre because he wanted to keep the icon for himself, since it had saved him from bandits and lions. However, after a sea storm, he changed his mind and handed over the icon to the Ṣaydnāyā convent[117]. It might be noted in passing that this was certainly not the only icon which left Jerusalem for Byzantium in those years. During the reign of Emperor Leo VI (886-912), the miraculous icon of the Mother of God from the Holy Sepulchre (known as »The Icon Who Spoke to Saint

105 Ioannis VIII papae epistola 178 (143 Elm). McCormick, Origins 953.
106 Harris, Wars 37-39.
107 Zimmermann, Papsturkunden I 23 no. 12; Mabillon, Vetera Analecta III 428.
108 Vita Petri in Galatia (AASS Nov. prop. 121-124 and 125-126). PmbZ 26426.
109 Vita Meyngoldi Huensis, cap. 4 (AASS Feb. II 195).
110 Epiphanii Hagiopolitae Descriptio Terrae Sanctae 247,7 (81 Donner). PmbZ 1577.
111 Epiphanii Hagiopolitae Descriptio Terrae Sanctae 241,5-7 (66 Donner).
112 Vita Germani Cosinitrae, cap. 1 (AASS Mai III 8*). For the date, PmbZ 22285.
113 Herimanni Augiensis Chronicon, sub an. 902 (111 Pertz).
114 Vita Lucae iunioris Stirensis, cap. 9 (16-18 Connor). PmbZ 24762; Kaldellis, Parthenon 96.
115 Ioannis Lazaropuli Miracula Eugenii. 1009-1014 (302 Rosenqvist). Talbot, Pilgrimage 109.
116 Ioannis Lazaropuli Miracula Eugenii 625-628 (280 Rosenqvist). Talbot, Pilgrimage 109.
117 Abou Samra, Pilgrimage 648-650; Todt, Dukat und Patriarchat 600-601.

Mary of Egypt«) was brought to Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, under unknown circumstances[118].

Renewed Direct Control by the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate (905-936)

Abbasid control of Palestine and Egypt was re-established in the years 905-936. In 905-906, the Qarmaṭī movement spread to Palestine and led to widespread disturbances there[119].We have no pilgrim's reports belonging to this period, which probably does not come as a surprise, if we consider the chaotic situation in Palestine at the time.

However, in about 920-922, probably the Metropolitan Archbishop Arethas of Caesarea wrote a letter that, according to its title, was addressed to a certain Qarmatian emir of Damascus. Arethas wrote in response to a letter which is now lost but may have been compiled in ca. 919 in Emesa/Ḥimṣ by Takin, who ruled Damascus from 915-919[120], or in about 905 by another Qarmatian emir[121]. In fact, both the exact date and the addressee of Arethas' letter are unclear, and even its character as a letter designed for an addressee in Emesa may be contested; it may have been written solely for a Byzantine audience. Although it is essentially a polemic against Islam, it contains a passage of relevance for our purpose. Arethas mentions the Holy Fire miracle at the Holy Sepulchre that occurred on the Great Sunday of Easter as a matter of fact, without any concern for its occurrence, tradition, and connection to pilgrimage activity[122]. Consequently, the Holy Fire was already a well-established institution in this period, well-known also to Byzantine pilgrims.

In autumn 923, the local Muslim populace destroyed churches in various Palestinian cities such as Ascalon, Ramla, and Caesarea, but apparently not in Jerusalem[123]. Caliph al-Muqtadir allowed the rebuilding of the respective churches. However, serious disturbances of pilgrimage traffic should be assumed, and we actually have no pilgrim reports for these thirty years of Abbasid rule over Jerusalem. The situation of the Melkites was rather grim in those years. In 932, the Venetian Doge Peter II Candianus together with Patriarch Marinus of Grado sent a letter to Emperor Henry I and Archbishop Hildibert of Mainz. They elaborated on the current situation in Jerusalem making use of news gathered in Constantinople, where Emperor Romanus I had received an envoy from the Jerusalemite patriarchate. The doge reported that with Arab permission, the Jews had converted the Holy Sepulchre into a synagogue[124]. Although this was fake news, forced conversions of Jews promptly occurred in Byzantium in 932[125].

Ikhshīd Regime (936-969)

Muḥammad ibn Ṭughj al-Ikhshīd was appointed governor of Egypt in 936 and exerted authority on an autonomous scale just as the Tulunids had done before. From 936 on, Jerusalem was under his control. The Ikhshidids are usually regarded as being much more favourable towards the Melkites than the former Abbasid administrators. Steven Runciman expressed it thus: »In the east [in the tenth century, MR] the Abbasid caliphate was declining. Its viceroys in Palestine were ready to welcome visitors who brought money into the country and who could be taxed; and when the Ikhshidids, and after them the Fatimids, succeeded to the possession of Palestine, the appearance of good-will increased«.[126]

However, there are some significant differences between the two regimes. Only at the very beginning of their rule, the Ikhshidids had the frontier districts to Byzantium («al-thugūr») under their control, while the Fatimids always shared a border with Byzantium. In autumn 937, Muhammad responded to an embassy (936/937) from Emperor Romanus I with a letter that is transmitted by ibn Saʿīd[127]. Although the letter deals mainly with an exchange of prisoners-of-war, Canard surmised that it led to the establishment of an effective peaceful neutrality between the empire and the Ikhshidid ruler for the years to come[128]. In contrast to the Tulunids, the Ikhshīdids did not gain permanent control over northern Syria, because the competing Ḥamdānids repelled them finally between 943-945[129]. Thereafter, they shared no border with the Byzantine empire and entertained cordial relations with Byzantium out of common hostility towards the Ḥamdānids and Fatimids. For these reasons, incoming pilgrims from the Byzantine empire predominantly chose a route heading directly to Ikhshidid territory in order to circumvent northern Syria, that is they traversed the sea via Cyprus.

However, the situation for the Melkites on the ground may have been less easy. On 26 March 937, the Holy Sepulchre was attacked and burnt during Patriarch Christophorus' term of office[130] (who is recorded under this name in Arabic, but

118 Lidov, Leo the Wise 1-30, esp. 6-9.
119 Gil, Palestine 312-313.
120 Identification by Karlin-Hayter, Arethas' Letter 281-302; Förstel, Schriften 11. For the context, without a ruler's name, see Bianquis, Damas 16.
121 Sahas, Arethas' Letter 69-81.
122 Arethae episcopi Caesarensis epistola ad amirum Damascenum 191-200 (32-34 Förstel). The literature on the Holy fire miracle at Easter is vast: Biddle, Tomb 136-137; Canard, Destruction 27-41; Peters, Jerusalem 261-267. 523-524. 571-578. A useful yet rather unreliable compendium is Sklarakides, Holy Fire. For a survey on the reception of the phenomenon, see: Lidov, Holy Fire 241-249. Bernard the Monk had first mentioned the Holy fire miracle in 867.
123 Fattal, Statut 190; Linder, Communites 140; Kennedy, Melkite Church 328; Gil, Palestine 475.
124 Petri II ducis Venetiarum epistola (158 Dümmler). Dümmler, Gesta Berengarii 74-75; Ikonomopoulos, Byzantium 16.
125 This is also recorded by Hebrew and Arabic sources: Holo, Jewry 48-49; Starr, Jews 151-154; Rotman, Converts in Byzantine Italy 914. For the political background, see Bonfil, Continuity 94-95.
126 Runciman, Pilgrimage 73.
127 Gil, Palestine 469-470; Beihammer, König 13, 29; PmbZ 25443.
128 Canard, Lettre 190.
129 Felix, Byzanz 45.
130 Riant, Donation 164; Eutychii patriarchae Alexandriensis Annales (II 529-530 Pococke); Gil, Palestine 324. 475-476.

under the name of Christodulus in Greek sources, in office 937-950). Emperor Constantine VII sent an embassy loaded with money to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 947[131]. A report, written on this occasion by his envoy Nicetas, a cleric of the churches in the palace, contains an interesting piece of information on pilgrimage activity, although Nicetas was certainly not a pilgrim[132]. He gives the reason for why the local emir wanted to forbid the Holy fire miracle at Easter: »Through this evil magic, this fabled miracle has made Syria fill up with Christians and turned it into a little Romanía, toppling our values«[133]. Although the report allows us only a glimpse on the subject that is distorted by many mirrors of transmission, it seems as if pilgrimage activity in those decades had increased to a tangible size, and the Muslim authorities in the region therefore considered it as a threat. Ikonomopoulos interprets the report as pointing to an increase of Christian population in these regions, but from my point of view it is much more plausible that the complaint was induced by a tangible increase of pilgrimage traffic. What where the points of interest for pilgrims at that time? We get a glimpse of the destinations from the *Liber demonstrationis* written by the Melkite Patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria (ibn Baṭrīq) in the 930s[134]. Eutychius mainly refers to the sites of the life and passion of Christ, complemented by sites of the early Church, interestingly including Tyre and Justinian's Jerusalemite Nea Church.

The pilgrim accounts of that period are the following: The later Abbot **John** from Parma was a layman at the start of his voyage but became a monk during his stay in Jerusalem at around 940[135]. His travel route is unknown. The Mozarab nobleman **Dunale** from Cadiz travelled to Rome with his entourage of fifty servants. Having been received by Pope Agapetus II, he continued his travels to Constantinople accompanied by only five servants and was received at the imperial court. From there, he headed to Jerusalem, was received by Patriarch Christodulus (937-951), and visited Galilee with the prospect to travel also to Egypt, but he was arrested in Galilee, and died in prison[136]. His journey took place between ca. 945 and 951.

Another likely pilgrim from the Iberian Peninsula was Abbot **Jaufred**/Laufred of Besalú who departed on a pilgrimage in 955. His destination is unstated, but in later sources it is always identified as Jerusalem[137]. He did not return. Abbot **Gausmarus** of Savigny near Lyons accomplished an apparently rather concise pilgrimage to Jerusalem in order to acquire relics. His journey must have taken place in the years around 960[138]. The monk and custodian **Adalpertus** of St Emmeram in Regensburg went on a pilgrimage in around 965. Arnold of St Emmeram gives no details of his journey[139].

Additionally, a Byzantine pilgrim is recorded for this period, the monk **Paul**, who has a short entry in the synaxarion of Constantinople. From an unknown place in the empire, he travelled to Jerusalem via Cyprus and returned by the very same route to Constantinople[140]. Unfortunately, the date of this journey can only be inferred from his very entry into the synaxarion which points to either the ninth or the tenth century. His travel route via Cyprus points to the desire to avoid travelling overland through northern Syria. This most likely fits into the time frame presented here.

Three further testimonies highlight the increased pilgrimage traffic from Byzantium. The tenth-century Life of the fictive **Theodore of Edessa** reports that the protagonist had conducted a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Mar Saba in his youth before becoming bishop of Edessa. Although the story is unreliable regarding the time it is supposed to have taken place (early ninth century), it mirrors the pilgrimage activities of the time of its compilation (tenth century)[141]. The same observation holds true for a certain **Gregory** who is mentioned in the spiritually beneficial tales of Paul of Monemvasia (second half of tenth century) as having undertaken a journey from the empire to Jerusalem[142]. The Anti-Bogomilian treatise of **Kozma** Presviter admonishes Bulgarian monks not to go to either Jerusalem or Rome because it would deter them from their spiritual duties. Apparently, this had become a common habit in the time of its compilation in the last third of the tenth century[143].

Towards the end of the Ikhshidid regime, the Egyptian-based navy attacked the Byzantine empire and was defeated in 960. Next, in 961 the Byzantine forces were able to conquer Antioch, and in 962 even the city of Aleppo (but not its citadel)[144]. During this period of imminent threat of a Byzantine conquest of Syria, tensions were high and so were sentiments instigated by parts of the Muslim populace against the Melkites[145]. In May 966, the governor of Jerusalem, Muḥammad bin Ismāʾīl al-Ṣināǰī, attempted to seize Church property in Jerusalem forcefully. The Christian resistance to this measure led to anti-Christian riots that culminated in the partial destruction of the Holy Sepulchre and the Sion church on 28 May 966. During the riots, Patriarch John VII was killed, either due to his collaboration with Emperor Nicephorus II

131 Riant, Lettre 375-382; Pratsch, Grabeskirche 62-64; CMR II 263-265 (Th. Pratsch); PmbZ 25746.
132 And moreover, »Basilikos« does not designate a cognomen, *pace* Ikonomopoulos, Byzantium 16-18.
133 »Διὰ γὰρ μαγικῆς κακοτεχνίας τὸ θρυλλούμενον θαῦμα ποιῶν τὴν Συρίαν πᾶσαν τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπλήρωσας θρησκείας καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν ‘Ρωμανίαν ἀπετελέσας, τὰ ἡμῶν ἔθη ἀνατρέπων«.
134 Eutychii patriarchae Alexandriensis Libri demonstrationis, cap. 311-359 (166-192 Cachia/Montgomery Watt).
135 Vita Ioannis abbatis Parmensis, cap. 1 (AASS Mai V 180).
136 Vita Dunalis (AASS Nov. prop. 317-320). PmbZ 21610; Pratsch, Grabeskirche 60-61.
137 Jaspert, Pilgrimage 32.
138 Regesta chartarum monasterii Saviniacensis, no. 126 (I 87 Bernard).
139 Miracula Emmerami I 8 (552 Waitz). Röhricht, Deutsche 3.
140 Vita Pauli monachi (AASS Nov. prop., 283-288).
141 Vita Theodori archiepiscopi Edessenis, cap. 7-9 (7-8 Pomjalovskij). For the date, Griffith, Life of Theodore of Edessa 157.
142 Pauli episcopi Monembasiae Narrationes animae utiles, no. 10 cap. 1 (BHG 1449h; 81 Wortley).
143 Cosmae presbyteri Tractatus adversus Bogomilos (351 Begunov). Podskalsky, Literatur 243-246. 514.
144 Gil, Palestine 323.
145 Bianquis, Egypt 116.

(as Scylitzes reports)[146] or because he did not succumb to the governor's tax extractions (Yahya's explanation)[147]. Although the Ikhshidid ruler offered to rebuild the churches, Emperor Romanus II rejected the gesture of goodwill and threatened him with an attack instead[148]. We may expect that pilgrimage activity was affected by these events and also by the subsequent Fatimid attack on Palestine in 970. We have four pilgrims who may be related to this period:

Count **Guillermus of Vienne** and his companion Iocelinus travelled from the Provençal area to Jerusalem by a maritime route in around 960. They did not stay there for long, though, and went to Constantinople instead, where they purportedly received relics of St Anthony from the emperor himself. They returned by ship[149].

Athanasius Athonites wanted to go to Jerusalem but was deterred from continuing his journey on to Cyprus because the route was closed (ἄβατος) and because he had received reports about the pillage and destruction of »the holy church« and the burning of the patriarch, who remains unnamed[150]. The source clearly refers to the events of 966.

Countess **Iudita of Bavaria**, sister in-law of Emperor Otto I and mother of Henry II, left Bavaria in 966 when her son reached adulthood and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem – apparently not yet informed about the 966 riots. She must have returned by 973, the year she signed documents in Lower Bavaria[151], and she brought back relics which she donated to Niedermünster in Regensburg. It is said that she had seen warfare with many victims, most likely the Fatimid onslaught.

Hidda of Ostfalia (mother of Markgrave Gero, widow of Markgrave Christian I) went to Jerusalem in the early 960s but died there sometime between 965 and 970 from natural causes. However, her entourage returned immediately, as Thietmar of Merseburg reports, as »if they would have known that the invaders will leave nothing to the defeated ones«[152]. This description also fits the Fatimid advance into Palestine very well.

It seems as if those pilgrims who came from the West received news about a deterioration of safety for Christians in Palestine only when they had already arrived in the Eastern Mediterranean, and were no longer able to postpone their pilgrimage altogether. This is somewhat surprising, as news usually flew sufficiently fast to the west via merchants and returning pilgrims in the Early Middle Ages, since sailing ships (like the one on which Bernard the Monk travelled) usually accomplished the journey from Palestine to Italy within two months[153].

Interregnum in Palestine (968-979)

In August 969, the Fatimid Caliph al-Muʾizz finally subdued Egypt after his general Jaʾfar ibn al-Fallāḥ had launched a successful attack. Palestine was his next objective, in order to have a buffer zone against an eventual attack from the east. He took over Ramla in May 970, but in the end, the Fatimids were not able to gain firm control of Palestine and central Syria until 978, because they were repelled repeatedly. As a consequence, the area suffered from unceasing warfare[154]. The Melkites and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem were rather hostile to the Fatimid expansion and supported the Bedouin adversaries in Palestine instead; the Bedouins were also on good terms with Byzantium. In this time of insecurity, Patriarch Thomas II rebuilt the Holy Sepulchre[155] with the help of Jacobite and presumably also Byzantine funding. The Georgians strengthened their presence in Jerusalem in the same period, as the Monastery of the Cross was (re)founded[156].

Emperor John I Tzimiskes conducted anti-Fatimid offensives in 972 and 975. The emperor presented them as a religious war to liberate Palestine, at least towards the Byzantine client king Ašot III of Armenia (952-977)[157]. Actually, the scope of these campaigns was limited to central Syria, with no effective effort in directing the army towards Jerusalem. Most probably Tzimiskes used this propaganda in order to secure the continuing support of Ašot's troops by exhorting him to fight »for a common Christian purpose«.

This decade represents a period rather favourable for the Melkites in Palestine although it was characterised by politically unstable conditions on the ground. How did it affect pilgrimage activity?

Bishop **Conrad of Constance** travelled to Jerusalem three times according to his Life, which is likely to be an exaggeration. Possibly, the source implies that he had had to abandon his journey two times before he accomplished his pilgrimage. At any rate, we do not know the route he chose. He died at his see in 976[158]. The priest **Ervigius**/Erovigius of the Church of Barcelona and his companion Seniofred travelled to Jerusalem in 971[159]. The former died there. The abbot of Cuxà, **Guarin de Lézat**, conducted two pilgrimages to Jerusalem. His first voyage took place in 978[160]. At first, conditions were

146 Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum (278-279 Thurn).
147 Bianquis, Egypt 105; Fattal, Statut 228; Gil, Palestine 325-326; Kennedy, Melkite Church 330; Ikonomopoulos, Byzantium 20-21 with n. 64.
148 Gil, Palestine 326.
149 Translatio reliquis Antonii, cap. 1-2 (AASS Ian. II 152-154).
150 Vita Athanasii Athonitae prima, cap. 95 (45,19-23 Noret); Vita secunda, cap. 32 (162 Noret; 225 Talbot). Talbot, Pilgrimage 100; PmbZ 20670 (diverging date of the pilgrimage).
151 Vita Erhardi episcopi Bavarici, cap. 4-6 (19-20 Levison), *periculum* at cap. 6. Schmid, Judith 397.
152 Thietmari episcopi Merseburgensis Chronicon II 25 (69-70 Holtzmann).
153 McCormick, Origins 489.
154 Gil, Palestine 336; Walker, Crusade 305-307.
155 Yahyâ Ibn Sa'îd al-Antâkî, Historia (PO 18, 799-803). Linder, Communities 133; Kennedy, Melkite Church 330.
156 Linder, Communities 148-149.
157 Gil, Palestine 344-346; Walker, Crusade 301-327; Felix, Byzanz 45-46; Ikonomopoulos, Byzantium 21. The letter is transmitted in Matthew of Edessa's chronicle: Matthaei Edesseni Chronicon, cap. 19-20 (29-33 Dostourian). Todt, Dukat und Patriarchat 20-21.
158 Vita Conradi episcopi Constantiensis, cap. 4 and 16-18 (431 and 439 Pertz).
159 Jaspert, Pilgrimage 13-14.
160 Ioannis diaconi Historia Veneticorum IV 18 (166 Berto), see also Berto's note 34.

favourable, as noted above, but in 978/979, the Fatimids finally took control of Palestine by force. Apparently, Guarin had to cut his pilgrimage short[161]. This would explain his second pilgrimage, this time via Italy, where he received a donation on behalf of the Jerusalemite patriarchate from Marquis Hugh of Tuscany[162]. He presumably landed in Egypt in 993 and stayed in the Near East for three years until 996[163].

Fatimid Domination (979-1009)

After Fatimid power over Palestine was firmly established in 979[164], pilgrims from the west travelling to Jerusalem now preferably used the route via Alexandria and Egypt to reach their destination. This is evident not only from Guarin's journeys, but also from other pilgrimages of the period until 995. That year constitutes a watershed for pilgrimage activity. The reason for seaborne travel is easy to understand: the almost uninterrupted warfare between Byzantium and the Fatimids in northern Syria made travels on land a risky matter, especially in the early 990s[165].

To this period belongs the future Abbot **John III** of Monte Cassino, who was only an ordinary monk when he began his travels. John departed from Campania in 987, arrived in Jerusalem in about 988 and stayed at the Mount Sinai monastery for six years. He departed from there in around 995, which is certainly no coincidence, and went to Mount Athos, to the monastery of the Amalfitans[166]. Another pilgrim, Abbot **Adso** of Montier-en-Der, travelled between ca. 985-987. He departed the Champagne and reached Alexandria (Babylon, i. e. Egypt) by sea voyage. After the completion of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he returned from Alexandria by ship via the passage of Karpathos since he passed by the islet of Astypalaia (Astilia), in other words, he sailed through the southern Sporades in the Aegean Sea[167].

Abbot **Gunterius** of St Aubin in Angers left in 988, and went first to Rome, and then to Jerusalem[168]. In March 989, the priest **Vives** of Barcelona left for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, from which he never returned, as he died soon after his arrival[169]. The nobleman **Hugo** from Aquitaine conducted a pilgrimage at the end of the tenth century. He first visited Rome and Monte Gargano before heading to Jerusalem[170].

Bononius of Bologna undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem via Alexandria sometime between 980 and 990 according to his Life. After his departure from the Caliphate, he returned to Italy via Constantinople[171]. It is uncertain whether **Adalpertus,** the so-called apostle of the Slavs, was able to fulfil his desire to undertake a Jerusalem pilgrimage while he was staying at Monte Cassino in 989/990[172].

Moreover, two Byzantine pilgrims are supposed to have travelled around 980-995. Saint **Paraskeue** of Epibatai visited Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Jericho, and the Jordan river during her pilgrimage and returned from Jaffa to Thrace by ship, as her twelfth-century Life reports[173]. The other pilgrim is the Athonite monk **Gerasimus** who travelled to Jerusalem at the end of the tenth century[174].

The relations between the Byzantine empire and the Fatimid Caliphate were usually hostile because of their intense struggle over Syria and Sicily. In around 995, the Fatimid navy was burned in Cairo. Due to suspicions of a Christian sabotage act, there were anti-Christian riots[175], and relations remained tense. The empire's armies reached the environs of Beirut, and Byzantium exercised tangible influence on the Christians of Palestine. However, due to other objectives, the Fatimids concluded a ten-year-truce with Byzantium and repairs on the Melkite churches of Jerusalem were conducted under Byzantine supervision. This truce had been mediated by Patriarch Orestes of Jerusalem (uncle of the Caliph's daughter) in the spring of 1001 who had travelled to Constantinople and stayed there, deceasing in 1005/1006[176], and Byzantine-Fatimid relations improved[177]. During his absence and after his death, the patriarchate was administered by his natural brother Patriarch Arsenius of Alexandria (1000-1010) *in commendam*[178]. Only in 1012, a new patriarch, Theophilus, was ordained and approved.

As the political situation improved, we should expect an increase of pilgrimage activity by the turn of the millennium. This is indeed the case: the period saw many pilgrims. The priest **Centullo** from Manresa in Catalonia, for example, first headed to Rome in 1002 planning to travel thereafter to Jerusalem, as he had declared in his testament[179]. The Deacon **Alderard** of Troyes had gone to Salerno via Rome in order to take a ship to Egypt or Palestine in around 1000. According to his Life, he was taken captive by Saracen pirates but was

161 This in turn may have elicited a letter of the »Church of Jerusalem« to the West, transmitted in Gerbert of Aurilliac's letter corpus: Gerberti episcopi Remensis epistolae 28 (50-52 Weigle). The letter draws a grim picture of the situation Jerusalem's Christians found themselves in.
162 Riant, Donation 183; Jaspert, Pilgrimage 32; McCormick, Charlemagne's Survey 89-90 (with ref. to the unsolved issue of Hugh's donation).
163 Vita Romualdi abbatis, cap. 15 (37-39 Tabacco).
164 Gil, Palestine 350-351.
165 Farag, Aleppo 49-50.
166 Chronica Casinensis II 12 (190-191 Hoffmann).
167 Miracula Bercharii abbatis Dervensis, cap. 2 (AASS Oct. VII 1022-1023). Micheau, Itinéraires 84.
168 Regesta chartarum monasterii Albini Andecavensis, no. 23 (1, 41-42 Lolong/Bertrand de Broussillon).
169 Jaspert, Pilgrimage 14.
170 Vita Abbonis, cap. 10 (PL 139, 398-399). Hen, Pilgrims 293; Webb, Pilgrimage 26.
171 Vita Bononii abbatis Locediensis, cap. 3-9 (1026-1028 Schwartz/Hofmeister). Micheau, Itinéraires 82-83; PmbZ 21993.
172 Chronica Casinensis II 17 (200 Hoffmann).
173 Vita Parasceuae iunioris, cap. 6-9 (206-215 Mineva). PmbZ 26262; Külzer, Ostthrakien 350.
174 Vita Athanasii Athonitae secunda, cap. 60 lin. 1-21 (196 Noret). PmbZ 22281.
175 Kennedy, Prophet 327.
176 Gil, Palestine 371; Felix, Byzanz 49; Galadza, Liturgy 109. Superseding previous studies is Plank, Orestes 13-35.
177 Beihammer, Byzanz 173-194.
178 Felix, Byzanz 61 n. 37.
179 Jaspert, Pilgrimage 32-33; Bonnassie, Catalogne 938-942.

Periods	Reported Latin pilgrims	Reported Byzantine pilgrims	Total ratio years/pilgrims
Umayyad (661-750)	5	2	12,9
ʿAbbāsid I (750-810)	3	3	10,2
ʿAbbāsid II (810-860)	0	0	-
ʿAbbāsid III (860-878)	2	2	4,8
Tulunid (878-905)	2	4	4,7
ʿAbbāsid IV (905-936)	0	0	-
Ikhshīd (936-969)	8	2	3,4
Interregnum (968-979)	3	0	4
Fatimid (979-1009)	19	3	1,4

Table 1 Statistics of Jerusalem pilgrimage reports recorded for the respective periods.

eventually able to conclude his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and Bethlehem[180]. Roughly at the same time in 999, roundabout **40 Norman pilgrims** returning from Jerusalem were passing by Salerno when the city was threatened by a Saracen attack. The pilgrims helped to counter the attack, and Count Guaimar III of Salerno (ca. 983-1027) asked them to stay in the city thereafter[181]. Whether these episodes are related is uncertain.

Countess **Hademund** of Ebersberg, widow of Markgrave Markwart III of Carinthia, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem at the turn of the eleventh century[182]. No details are known to us. A similar case is the ministerial **Makko** who donated money to the monastery of Petershausen near Constance when departing to Jerusalem in ca. 1000[183]. Count **Fulco III** of Anjou is said to have accomplished multiple pilgrimages. His first voyage had a penitential character and led him via Rome and Bari to Constantinople where he received an escort and finally reached Jerusalem in 1004. A second pilgrimage conducted by a sea route is said to have led him to Myra where he was forced to land because of a storm in 1008[184]. He may serve as an example for a pilgrim who profited from the now cordial relations between Byzantium and the Fatimid Caliphate since he was able to cross the borders twice.

Pilgrimage in this period originated not only in Anjou, but also in the Périgord, in the Limousin and in Loiret. Bishop **Radulf**/Raoul of Périgueux travelled to Jerusalem sometime between 1000 and 1010 and returned to his see[185]; Bishop **Alduin**/Hilduin of Limoges headed to Jerusalem with his brother, Viscount Wido of Limoges, in around 1000, and definitely returned before 1009[186]. Abbot **Gauzlin** of Fleury, the later archbishop of Bourges, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1004[187]. Unfortunately, the pilgrimage of **Poppo** of Stavelot cannot be as well dated. From the Brabantian abbey, he reached Jerusalem at the very beginning of the eleventh century and visited Rome on his return journey[188].

In 1003, Count **Ottwin** of Lurn and the Pusterthal (Carinthia) began his voyage to Jerusalem, and most likely went aboard ship in Venice. He stayed in Jerusalem for some time and returned most probably via the Byzantine empire, since he was accompanied by a Greek priest when he came back home[189].

At the order of Caliph al-Ḥākim (996-1021), the demolition of the Holy Sepulchre began on 27 September 1009[190]. However, the destruction was less complete than imagined in former scholarship[191]. In contrast to the very few mentions in Byzantine sources, Latin chroniclers elaborate on these events and stress their impact[192]. These actions did not lead to open hostilities between Byzantium and the Caliphate[193]. However, we may surmise that this event and the policy relating to it may have inclined pilgrims to leave Palestine and those on their way to interrupt their voyage to Jerusalem. Evidence for this is very slight, though. We have only three candidates for supporting this assumption.

The first, **Guido** of Anderlecht, had begun his pilgrimage in Brabant and travelled to Jerusalem where he stayed at least until 1009/1010. This is evident because he died during his return journey in Rome in 1012[194]. Then there is Stephen from Agde (Languedoc). He was ordained as Bishop **Stephen II** of Apt (1010-1046) on his return from a journey to Jerusalem during which he had learned basic Greek. We may assume that he had been unable to finish his pilgrimage, because he headed again to Jerusalem during his tenure in 1032-1038[195].

180 Vita Aderaldi archidiaconi Trecensis (AASS Oct. VIII 992-993). Micheau, Itinéraires 85-86.
181 Amati Casinensis Historia Normannorum I 17-18 (249-250 Guéret-Laferté). Loud, Norman Italy 53.
182 Chronicon Eberspergense (12 Arndt). Röhricht, Deutsche 2.
183 Casus monasterii Petrishusensis I 35 (635 Abel/Weiland). Röhricht, Deutsche 3.
184 Radulphi Glabri Historia II 4 (61 France); Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis (273 Marchegay/Mabille); Gesta consulum Andegavorum (100-117 Marchegay/Salmon). Bachrach, Pilgrimages; PmbZ 22013.
185 Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon III 48 (167 Bourgain), with note.
186 Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon III 40 (160 Bourgain).
187 Vita Gauzlini abbatis Floriacensis monasterii, cap. 3 (353 Ewald).
188 Vita Popponis abbatis Stabulensis, cap. 3-4 (295-296 Wattenbach).
189 Landi, Stifterfamilie 259.
190 The dating is not clear, see the discussion in Gil, Palestine 373-374; Canard, Destruction 16-26.
191 An overview of the state of research is to be found in Krönung, Al-Hākim 139-157; Galadza, Liturgy 117-119; Felix, Byzanz 57-58.
192 Fried, Zerstörung 97-136.
193 Felix, Byzanz 59; Beihammer, Byzanz 191-193.
194 Vita Guidonis Anderlechtensis, cap. 1 (AASS Sep. IV 43).
195 De Sainte-Marthe, Gallia 355-356; Didier/Dubled/Barruol, Cartulaire 20.

Another, much more well-known case is the Byzantine monk **Lazarus Galesiotes**. He came to Jerusalem via Chonai, Attaleia and Antioch in around 991/993 and became a monk at Mar Saba. Lazarus left the Caliphate by a wide itinerary through Galilee and coastal Syria in 1009 after he had witnessed the Holy Sepulchre's destruction and the killing of many Christians, as the Life states[196]. He then visited some pilgrimage shrines within the Byzantine empire and finally settled near Ephesus as a stylite monk (**table 1**).

Concluding Remarks

The scarcity and the bias of the sources limit our possibilities to present a coherent picture of pilgrimage activity to Jerusalem, and detailed statistics would be ill-judged; therefore, we may reach only tentative conclusions. The table reflects the steadily improving stock of source material; however, it also reveals complete gaps for certain periods.

At the beginning of this paper, I considered two factors as having a large impact on pilgrimage activity to Muslim-ruled Jerusalem:

1) the situation of the Melkite community in Palestine in regard to their Arab masters;
2) the diplomatic relations between Byzantium and its Muslim counterpart.

Regarding the first factor, there may have been a correlation of pilgrimage activity and the situation of the Melkites in Palestine in the early Muslim period of Jerusalem. In times of persecutions, turmoil and disorder, pilgrimage traffic from both the Byzantine empire and the West decreased noticeably, while in periods of convivencia it ran rather smoothly. These periods were usually also times of peace between Byzantium and the Muslim overlords of Palestine.

The survey has shown that the second factor had a much larger impact on the number and scale of pilgrimages, than the first. When Byzantium and the Muslim masters of Palestine were at war, crossing the frontier became very difficult and dangerous because pilgrims were suspected of espionage, and hostility flared up against foreign Christians. We have proof of pilgrims leaving Palestine when diplomatic relations with Byzantium collapsed. Pilgrims from the West received information about the prevailing conditions from Byzantine subjects and used the same routes as Byzantine pilgrims when they entered the Eastern Mediterranean orbit. This enabled them to either cut their journey short, by stopping at the frontier and returning home, or to bypass hostile territory like e. g. the Hamdanid emirate.

Steven Runciman was certainly right to assume an easing of pilgrimage traffic in the Tulunid and Ikhshidid periods. It has to be stressed, however, that an unprecedented general upsurge of pilgrimage can also be detected in the Qarmatian and Early Fatimid periods (969-1009). It can be explained by following the pattern of peace and war with Byzantium. Apocalyptic considerations are a less convincing explanation, especially as these could only have been prominent immediately before the turn of the millennium. Johannes Fried has rightly cast doubt on their alleged significance for other reasons[197].

A surprising find of this survey is that pilgrimage activity halted between ca. 810 and 860. In an important article, Cyril Mango has remarked on the sharp decline of Palestinian Christian culture and scholarship during the ninth century, for reasons which rather elude us so far[198]. Recently, Sidney Griffith has expressed the same observation[199]. Turmoil and Byzantine-Arab warfare led to the internalization and the isolation of Christian communities in Palestine, and in turn promoted their adoption of Arabic. This process eventually gave rise to the development of a distinct Melkite Christian identity. One component of this development may have been a decreasing recruitment of foreign monks into the Palestine monastic communities. At any rate, pilgrimage activity clearly had a strong impact on Christianity in Palestine in all periods and needs to be accounted for as one of the cultural developments in the Levant, as well.

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196 Pilgrimage: Gregorii monachi Vita Lazari Galesiotae, cap. 14-31 (AASS Nov. III 513-519; 92-117 Greenfield). PmbZ 24285; Malamut, Route 40-43; Shepard, Holy Land 524-525. 528. On the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre and the persecutions, see Gregorii monachi Vita Lazari Galesiotae, cap. 19-20 (AASS Nov. III 514-515; 101-103 Greenfield). Talbot, Pilgrimage 101.

197 Fried, Zerstörung 97-138.

198 Mango, Palestine 149-150.

199 Griffith, Palestine 181.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Eine Sehnsucht allen Widrigkeiten und Schwierigkeiten zum Trotz? Die Anwesenheit christlicher Pilger im frühmuslimischen Jerusalem, 7. bis 10. Jahrhundert

Die Stadt Jerusalem ist mit dem Pilgerwesen seit der Antike auf das Engste verwoben. Im 6. Jahrhundert war das auf Jerusalem zielende christliche Pilgerwesen aus dem gesamten Mittelmeerraum zu einem Massenphänomen geworden. Auch wenn die Bezeugungen von Pilgern nach der arabischen Eroberung (638) und den anschließenden Jahrhunderten deutlich abnehmen, besteht kein Zweifel, dass die Stadt im frühen und hohen Mittelalter weiterhin das wichtigste Pilgerziel für die gesamte Christenheit blieb.

Die Studie versammelt Pilgerbezeugungen und analysiert die Zeitpunkte und Reiserouten der einzelnen Wallfahrten, um Aussagen zum Charakter und der Häufigkeit der Pilgeraktivitäten über die Jahrhunderte nachzuzeichnen. Begleitet wird dies durch eine Kontextualisierung der berichteten Reisen mit den politischen Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und den muslimischen Oberherren von Palästina. Dabei wird der Frage nachgegangen, welche politischen Rahmenbedingungen als entscheidend von den Pilgern im Hinblick auf ihre Routenwahl und den Zeitpunkt ihrer Pilgerreise angesehen wurden.

A Desire against all Odds and Difficulties? The Presence of Christian Pilgrims in Early Muslim Jerusalem, Seventh to Tenth Century

The city of Jerusalem has been associated with Christian pilgrimage since antiquity. By the sixth century, Christian pilgrimage from all over the Mediterranean toward the city had become a mass-phenomenon. However, testimonies for pilgrims become sparser after the Arab conquest in 638 and in the centuries of Muslim rule over Palestine. Yet there can be no doubt that Jerusalem remained the most desired pilgrimage destination of the entire Christendom in the Early and High Middle Ages.

The paper gathers pilgrimage testimonies and analyses the dates and travel routes of individual pilgrims in order to draw a picture of Jerusalem pilgrimage activity and its frequency over the centuries. A contextualisation of the reported travels within the political situation between Byzantium and the Muslim potentates ruling over Palestine accompanies the analysis. It raises the question which of the political conditions we can consider as critical for the pilgrims' decisions regarding their travel route and the date of departure.

Un désir intense malgré toutes les adversités et difficultés? La présence de pèlerins chrétiens à Jérusalem au début de l'époque musulmane du 7e-10e siècle

La ville de Jérusalem est dès l'Antiquité étroitement liée aux pèlerinages. Au 6e siècle, les pèlerinages chrétiens de tout le bassin méditerranéen vers Jérusalem étaient devenus un phénomène de masse. Même si les témoignages de pèlerins diminuent nettement après la conquête arabe (638) et durant les siècles suivants, la ville resta sans aucun doute la destination la plus importante pour toute la chrétienté aux haut Moyen Âge et Moyen Âge central.

Cette étude réunit des témoignages de pèlerins et analyse les dates et les routes des différents pèlerinages pour livrer des éléments d'interprétation sur le caractère et la fréquence des activités des pèlerins au cours des siècles. A ceci s'ajoute une contextualisation des voyages documentés avec les relations politiques entre Byzance et les seigneurs musulmans de la Palestine. On aborde ainsi également la question des conditions politiques considérées comme décisives par les pèlerins pour le choix de la route et de la date de leur pèlerinage.

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Muslim Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period

Since the start of Muslim history countless Muslims have come to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. But those Muslim pilgrims are much less well known than the Christian pilgrims who came from Western Europe. Comparatively fewer Muslim pilgrims wrote accounts of their travels and only some of those accounts have been published, while even fewer have been translated into a Western language. This article seeks to present some information about a number of Muslim travelers who came to Jerusalem in the Ottoman period for religious reasons and who wrote first-person accounts of their travels in Arabic – accounts written in Turkish or other languages are not considered here. Also included is coverage of a couple of cases where an author wrote a third-person account of someone else's trip to Jerusalem. The article will summarize the activities of some of those travelers and conclude with some general observations about the nature of Muslim pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

There is a moderate amount of scholarship that can be drawn upon: ʿAbdul-Karim Rafeq has summarized some Ottoman travel accounts into English[1]. In addition, other modern authors writing in Arabic have provided summaries and excerpts of Arabic travel accounts to Jerusalem: Bashri ʿAli Khayr Bak[2], Kamil al-ʿAsali[3], ʿAbd al-Hadi al-Tazi[4], and ʿAbd Allah al-abashi[5]. Recent publications by Nabil Matar also provide information about a number of Muslim pilgrims in the Ottoman period, including an English translation of al-Miknasi's travel account[6].

1) al-Ḥamawī, Muḥibb al-Dīn (1571)

Al-Hamawi (949-1016/1542-1608) was a Hanafi legal scholar and judge (*qadi*) in Syria, who wrote an account of a trip from Damascus to Egypt in 978/1571 that he took in the company of the Chief Judge of Syria. Al-Hamawi's account of the trip is written in a flowery style interspersed with poetry[7].

A report had reached the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul that the Christians in Jerusalem had illegally renewed their church and demolished a nearby mosque. The Chief Judge of Syria, Muhammad ibn Muhammad, known as Juwizadeh, was charged with looking into the matter, and so he arranged to stop over in Jerusalem during a previously scheduled trip to Egypt.

Along the way to Jerusalem the travel group visited the shrine (*mashhad*) of Zakariah and John the Baptist in Sebastiya and the *mashhad* of Maʿadh ibn Jabal, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad, and »the other famous places of enlightenment«. When the group arrived in Jerusalem, they stayed the first night in al-Madrasah al-Ashrafiyah, the prominent madrasah along the west edge of the Haram. On 7 Ramadan / 11 February 1571 the chief judge, accompanied by a large crowd of Muslim religious figures, notables and common people, went to investigate the matter of the church. The church is not identified in the travel account, but clearly was the Monastery of the Cross to the west of the Old City. The chief judge noted the recent renovations and the nearby mosque whose walls the infidels had demolished. He ordered the renovations to be demolished and the mosque walls rebuilt, which was carried out on the spot, while the crowd cried out praises to God.

After thus putting the infidels in their place, the group went to the Nebi Musa shrine near Jericho for two days. The group was in Jerusalem for a total of ten days; on one Friday they performed the noon prayers in the Dome of the Rock and on the second Friday in the al-Aqsa Mosque. Then they went to Hebron, where they spent two days, before proceeding on to Gaza and Egypt.

2) al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (1620 and 1628)

Al-Maqqari (986-1041/1577-1632) was a North African scholar who went on the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1028/1618 and afterwards remained in Cairo. He visited Jerusalem in 1029/1620 and again in 1037/1628. His voluminous historical work provides biographies of many Muslims from Spain who traveled to Jerusalem throughout the centuries, as well as details about the Muslim scholars in Jerusalem of his own day[8].

1 Rafeq, Ottoman.
2 Khayr Bak, Filasṭīn.
3 al-ʿAsalī, Bayt.
4 al-Tāzī, Al-Quds.
5 al-Ḥabashī, al-Raḥḥālah.
6 Matar, Arab; Matar, Two; Hayden/Matar, Through.
7 al-Ḥamawī, Ḥādī. See Yerasimos, Voyageurs 290-291; al-ʿAsalī, Bayt 82-83.
8 al-Maqqarī, Nafḥ: see al-ʿAsalī, Bayt 84-85. 207-208.

3) al-ʿAyyāshī, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad (1633)

Al-ʿAyyashi (1037-1091/1628-1679) was a religious scholar from Morocco, who went on the pilgrimage to Mecca three times. The account of his travels is found in a short and a long version[9]. He spent a week in Jerusalem in 1074/1663. As a prominent Islamic scholar, when he presented a letter of introduction to the administrators of the Haram, they offered him accommodations as their guest. His description of Jerusalem concentrated on the Haram, where he observed the ignorance of the leading Muslim figures. He especially had encounters with an Egyptian who had recently started teaching Islamic studies on the Haram compound, but whom al-ʿAyyashi was able to expose as unqualified; the Jerusalemites themselves were so poorly educated that they had not recognized that fact themselves.

One interesting incident occurred on his way from Gaza to Jerusalem with a group of other Muslim travelers. It was a hot summer day, and so they cut off fronds of a palm tree to hold over their heads and get a little shade. But as they continued on their way, they soon noticed a group ahead who were shouting curses at them. Puzzled, al-Ayyashi asked his donkey driver what was going on, and he replied that those people were going to rob them, because they thought that al-Ayyashi's group were Christians, since holding palm branches in their hands was something that Christians did as they entered Jerusalem. The story ends at that point[10], but one assumes that by demonstrating that they were Muslims the group escaped being robbed Those robbers apparently were from the village of Abu Ghosh, notorious for extorting money from travelers.

4) al-Khiyārī, Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Madanī (1670)

Al-Khiyari (1037-1083/1628-1672) was a Shafiʿi religious scholar who traveled from Medina to Istanbul and back in 1080-1081/1669-1670. In the course of that trip he passed through Jerusalem for a hurried couple of days on 26-28 Rajab 1081 / 9-11 December 1670. The portion of his travel account about Jerusalem concentrates on the sites that he visited on the Haram, where he spent most of his time[11].

5) al-Nābulusī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī (1050-1143/1640-1731)

The most important author of a Muslim travel account to Jerusalem in the Ottoman period, al-Nabulusi was a prominent Hanafi religious scholar, prolific author and sufi of the Qadiriyah order. He was born in Damascus, where he spent most of his life. In the 1100s/1690s he made a number of journeys throughout Syria-Palestine, Egypt and the Hijaz.

His journey in 1101/1690 was to Jerusalem, where he spent 18 days in Rajab/April as a VIP guest, meeting Muslim scholars and visiting shrines, including a trip to the Nebi Musa shrine near Jericho and to Hebron. His account of that journey, *al-Ḥaḍrah al-Unsīyah*, written that same year, is extraordinarily informative[12].

Another journey in 1101/1690 was to Syria-Palestine, Egypt and the Hijaz, in the course of which he spent 17 days in Jerusalem in Rabiʿ I 1105 / November-December 1694, including a trip to the Nebi Musa shrine near Jericho and to Hebron. His account of that journey written in 1109-1110/1697-1698, *al-Ḥaqīqah*, is shorter and less informative than *al-Ḥaḍrah al-Unsīyah*[13].

In his travel accounts, which are filled with poetry, al-Nabulusi concentrated on his meetings with other Muslim religious leaders and scholars and his visits to shrines and graves of Islamic figures. He used the history of the famous 15th-century author Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl fi Tarīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* as a major source of information. His first travel account *al-Ḥaḍrah al-Unsīyah* was of critical importance in cementing the Muslim localization of the tomb of Moses at the Nebi Musa shrine near Jericho. Al-Nabulusi also made the odd accusation that the Crusaders were the ones who had built the Dome of the Rock. He argued that only infidels like the Crusaders would have wanted to cover up the Rock with a dome and so obscure from view the fact that the Rock floats miraculously in the air, last clearly seen by the traveler Ibn al-ʿArabi just a few years before the Crusaders arrived.

9 al-'Ayyāshī, Riḥlat 85-89. 209-214; al-'Ayyāshī, Laqṭ 233-247; al-Tāzī, al-Quds 22-23; Matar, Two.
10 al-'Ayyāshī, Riḥlat; al-'Ayyāshī, Laqṭ 236.
11 al-Khiyārī, Tuḥfat 2. 175-196. See Khayr Bak, Filasṭīn 31-36. 75-95; al-'Asalī, Bayt 89-93. 215-221; Rafeq, Ottoman 45. 64-65.
12 al-Nābulusī, Riḥlatī; al-Nābulusī, al-Ḥaḍrah 1990; al-Nābulusī, al-Ḥaḍrah 1994. See al-'Asalī, Bayt 253-275; al-Nimr, al-Mukhtār.
13 al-Nābulusī, al-Ḥaqīqah. See al-'Asalī, Bayt 277-288.

Al-Nabulusi was such a prominent figure that quite a few scholars have written studies of him and his journeys, especially in the past few years[14].

6) al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, Muṣṭafā ibn Kamāl al-Dīn (1710s)

Al-Bakri al-Siddiqi (1099-1163/1688-1749) was a prominent religious scholar and sufi of the Khalwati order. He was born in Damascus, but starting in the 1120s/1710s, he made numerous journeys throughout Syria-Palestine, Turkey, Egypt, Iraq and the Hijaz.

His first trip to Jerusalem was in 1122/1710. His account of that journey is entitled *al-Khamrah al-Ḥasīyah fī al-Riḥlah al-Qudsīyah*. His second trip to Jerusalem was in 1126/1714. His account of that journey is entitled *al-Khaṭrah al-Thānīyah al-Unsīyah lil-Rawḍah al-Dānīyah al-Qudsīyah* His third journey to Jerusalem was in 1128/1716. His account of that journey is entitled *al-Ḥillah al-Dhahabīyah fī al-Riḥlah al-Ḥalabīyah*. None of the texts have been fully published yet[15].

He returned to Jerusalem in 1131/1719, where he resided between his numerous other later trips.

In his travel accounts, al-Bakri al-Siddiqi concentrated on visits to shrines and graves of Islamic figures.

7) Rajab Pasha (1714-1716)

Rajab Pasha, an Ottoman wazir who was the governor of Jerusalem between December 1714 and March 1716, was the subject of a lengthy panegyric, written by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sharaf al-Dīn al-Khalīlī (late 1000s-1147/late 1600s-1734), the most prominent Muslim religious figure in Jerusalem in the early 18th century[16]. Al-Khalili's panegyric has the title *The History of Jerusalem and Hebron*, which is misleading since he covered only the events of Rajab Pasha's term in office. Al-Khalili emphasized the religious activities of the governor; from his account, one gets the impression that Rajab Pasha did little else besides visit Islamic shrines during his year and a half as governor.

When Rajab Pasha arrived in Jerusalem, the first thing he did was to visit (*zīyārah*) the prophets (*anbiyāʾ*) and the messengers (*rusul*) and to visit the saints (*awliyāʾ*) and the righteous ones (*ṣāliḥīn*), done to seek the pleasure of God. Early on, Muhammad al-Khalili had a meeting with Rajab Pasha, in which he explained the religious importance of Jerusalem, how Solomon had prayed after completed his construction of the temple and how the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius had come to Jerusalem humbly.

Rajab Pasha did not know of any place where there was a prophet or a saint (*wali*) or that was famous for prayers being answered, without going there and having the Quran recited and saying prayers and proclamations of God's unity, beyond description.

He first held a large session in the Dome of the Rock, filled beyond capacity without parallel for the recitation of the Quran and the 99 divine names, prayers and praise, after the Friday noon prayers. He did the same thing in Hebron for Abraham, his wife Sarah, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph. He went to Hebron at the time of the arrival of the Hajj pilgrimage caravan for no other purpose than for prayer and supplication for 15 days, doing nothing except praying day and night.

He then went to visit Esau in the village of Siʿir, where he prayed for the sultan and the chief minister, then Lot in the village of Bani Nuʿaym, where he did the same thing, and Jonah in the village of Halhul, where he did the same thing. He then returned to Jerusalem passing by the birthplace of Jesus, stopping there for an hour only because his guide mentioned it.

He returned to Jerusalem and then went to Nebi Musa, where he stayed for three days with an unmentionable amount of petitionary prayers, submission, humility, and slaughtering of sacrifices and supplication to the Lord of the Worlds in the presence of the scholars and the righteous and the sufis and the possessed, with everyone praying for the victory of the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims and that the word of the ones proclaiming the unity of God would be raised and then the infidels and polytheists would be humbled and that ʿAli Pasha, the one who was the greatest of the administrating ministers, would undertake the organization of religion. He repeated his visit a number of times and each time he did what was mentioned and more. He also went to Nebi Samwil for the first time, returning to Jerusalem that same day. When he returned a second time, he prayed a great deal for the sultan and the minister.

Rajab Pasha went on a second trip to Hebron for ten days for visitation. On his way back to Jerusalem, he asked Muhammad al-Khalili whether he should visit Bethlehem. Muhammad al-Khalili said yes. But Rajab Pasha commented that it is said that the idols of the infidels are there. Al-Khalili replied that that was true, but that he as the governor could have them removed. When Rajab Pasha asked whether there was a guide to accompany him to Bethlehem, al-Khalili replied yes, the Messenger of God, on the night of the Night Journey.

Al-Khalili noted that the distribution of food to the poor in Hebron, as well as at the shrines of Lot, Jonah and Esau, had collapsed due to four factors: 1) illegitimate changes to the endowments, 2) corrupt government officials, 3) lack

14 Gildemeister, Abd al-Ghanī; Sirriyyah, Journeys; Sirriyah, Mystical; Khayr Bak, Filasṭīn 36-54. 96-147; al-ʻAsalī, Bayt 100-108. 277-288; Rafeq, Ottoman 65-68; Akkach, Poetics; Sirriyeh, Sufi; Matar, Sufi.

15 See al-Nuʻaymāt, Tarājim 158-171; Khayr Bak, Filasṭīn 54-60. 148-161; al-ʻAsalī, Bayt 108-115. 289-295. 297-302; Weigert, Eighteenth; Rafeq, Ottoman 68-69.

16 al-Khalīlī, Tārīkh.

of administrative oversight, 4) an increase of the number of claimants to the endowment, so that there was less for the poor. He noted that the Mosque of Abraham was in ruins, as were ovens, mills, springs of water, ablution places, and *ribāṭs* in Hebron, so that few people were able to stay; the shrine of Lot, Mahall Yaqin (a shrine south of Bani Nuʿaym), and the shrine of Jonah were also in ruins. Supplies and funds sent for repairs were dissipated without benefit. The state of the al-Aqsa Mosque was similar, so what was the state of the other Islamic buildings outside of Jerusalem and Hebron? Meanwhile the Christians were taking care for their buildings, churches and monasteries, and even expanding them, such as at Ein Kerem. Al-Khalili praised at length Rajab Pasha's efforts to set the food distribution back on a proper footing. He washed the noble mosque, the shrines of the prophets and the cave, perfumed it and ordered the renovation of the three pots of the prophets that were used to feed the poor. He also built a market in Hebron that had been in ruins, renovated the Mosque of Abraham in Hebron, as well as the Masjid al-Aqsa, Nebi Musa, Hebron, ʿUzayr, Nebi Samwil and Nebi Daʾud and he reestablished the endowments for the soup kitchens.

8) al-Luqaymī, Muṣṭafā Asʿad (1731)

Al-Luqaymi (1105-1178/1693-1765) was a sufi of the Khalwati order, born in Damiatta, Egypt although his ancestors were prominent Jerusalemites. He moved to Damascus, where he died.

He first traveled to Syria/Palestine in 1143-1144/1731, in the course of which he visited Jerusalem from 21 Dhu al-Qaʿdah / 28 May to 1 Safar / 5 August. While there he spent much time with fellow sufis, including al-Bakri al-Siddiqi. His account of his trip, written in 1164/1751, focuses on the Haram compound and Islamic shrines, and quotes from al-Suyuti, Mujir al-Din, al-Bakri al-Siddiqi and al-Nabulusi[17]. He also wrote a book about the merits of Jerusalem, with excerpts from al-Suyuti and Mujir al-Din[18].

9) al-Miknāsī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿUthmān (1788)

Al-Miknasi, commonly known as Ibn ʿUthman (mid-12th century-1214/mid-18th century-1800) was a diplomat from Morocco. He went on a diplomatic mission to Istanbul in 1201/1787, during the reign of Sultan ʿAbd al-Hamid, after which he went on the Hajj pilgrimage, before returning to Morocco after a journey of almost three years[19].

On the way back after the Hajj, he reached Damascus and then travelled on to Akko in 1788. While waiting for a ship to make preparations for a trip west, he took the opportunity to visit (*ziyārah*) Jerusalem and gain blessings by seeing (*mushāhidah*) it, the Masjid al-Aqsa and the prophets who are there.

Al-Miknasi visited a number of shrines along the way. He noted the tomb of the Prophet Salih just outside of Akko and stayed the first night near the *turbah* (tomb shrine) of Shaykh Ibrahim al-Zuʿbi. Just outside of Nablus he saw the graves of the sons of Jacob and was blessed by visiting them. Just north of Jerusalem he visited Nebi Samwil. Or rather, due to time constraints, he performed his visitation by stopping along the road at the foot of the hill where the shrine is; he faced the direction of the shrine as he recited the *fatihah* and prayed (*daʿwatnā allāh*).

In Jerusalem he stayed at the Abu Midyan al-Ghawth hospice for North Africans. For his time in Jerusalem, he included stories that the guides told him. He saw the sights of the Haram – the Dome of the Rock and the cave, the al-Aqsa Mosque where he prayed for blessings, the madrasahs along the western perimeter, the Mihrab of Mary and the Cradle of Jesus, the Turbah of Sulayman, and the Dome of the Chain. He also mentioned the Turbah of David outside the city walls and the tethering hole of al-Buraq. He also went to the Mount of Olives, visiting the graves of the two Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, ʿUbadah ibn al-Samit and Shaddad ibn Aws, along the way. He visited the Tomb of Mary, noting with consternation that the keys were in the hands of Christians. He also noted the Turbah of Mujir al-Din in front of the Tomb of Mary. On the Mount of Olives he visited the grave of Shaykh Muhammad al-ʿAlami and the adjacent mosque and zawiyah, and then the place of the Ascension of Jesus; it had earlier been in the hands of the Christians, but Shaykh al-ʿAlami had rescued it. He then visited the Turbah of Nebi ʿAzir. He mentioned that the Nebi Musa shrine was four hours distant; he was advised that the road was dangerous, so, also facing time constraints, he did not go there. He next went to Nebi Ayyub and the Silwan spring south of the city. He noted, as other Muslim authors do, that the water of the four Rivers of Paradise flows out from below the Dome of the Rock and so there is a connection between the Silwan spring and the Zamzam spring in Mecca. He told the story of a Muslim pilgrim from India who had dropped his water jar by accident into the Zamzam spring. When he came to Jerusalem some months later, he found his water jug bobbing on the surface of the Silwan spring; al-Miknasi saw the water jug on display in the al-Aqsa Mosque. Al-Miknasi returned to the Haram compound, mentioning this time the Dome of the Miʿraj and the Old Masjid al-Aqsa where there were two mihrabs.

He then went to Hebron, passing by Rachel's Tomb and the birthplace of Jesus in Bethlehem, in the hands of the

17 The manuscript remains unedited. See al-ʿAsalī, Bayt 303-310.

18 al-Luqaymī, Laṭāʾif. See Khayr Bak, Filasṭīn 61-64. 162-177; al-ʿAsalī, Bayt 115-119. 303-310; Rafeq, Ottoman 69-70.

19 al-Miknāsī, Riḥlat, translated as Matar, Arab. See al-Tāzī, al-Quds; Benaboud, Spiritual; al-ʿAsalī, Bayt 119-120.

Christians; he performed his visitation by facing the direction of Bethlehem and praying, and then continued on to Jonah in Halhul.

In Hebron he visited the tombs of Abraham and the other prophets. At first he was reluctant to go into the shrine, because by doing so he would step on the graves of the people buried there under the floor. In the Malaki school of Islamic law there is a special sensitivity about walking on the graves of Muslims, let alone Prophets, so some Maliki jurists had ruled that it is forbidden for Muslims to enter. But he went in anyway, because he noted that the building was a mosque, where Muslims had been worshipping for centuries, so how could it be forbidden for a Muslim to enter a mosque? The next day he left early so that he could be back in Jerusalem in time for the Friday noon prayers in the al-Aqsa Mosque. In his travel account, al-Miknasi then digressed with a summary of Jerusalem's history and the virtues of Jerusalem, before recording his return journey to Akko in time to catch his ship.

As a career diplomat, he was a VIP with an entourage of servants, and parts of his itinerary differed from that of the religious scholars; he met the ruler of Akko, Ahmad al-Jazzar, for example, and in Hebron he spent the night as the guest of the mayor of Hebron.

10) al-Zayyānī, Abū al-Qāsim (around 1791)

Al-Zayyani (1147-1249/1734-1833) was a North African who visited Jerusalem in conjunction with the Ḥajj, apparently around 1791. In his travel account, the first part of his description of Jerusalem is an abbreviated copy of al-Balawi's account from the Mamluk period, while the second part copies al-Miknasi's account, and so his account has no independent value, contrary to Rafeq's favorable evaluation[20].

11) al-Qāyātī, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Jawād (1885)

Al-Qayati (1254-1320/1838-1902) was born in Egypt and was exiled to Syria for three years in 1300/1883 in the aftermath of the ʿUrabi rebellion. In the course of his exile he visited Jerusalem in 1302/1885. In his account of his exile, his description of Jerusalem is especially interesting for his description of the annual festival at the Nebi Musa shrine[21].

12) al-Qāsimī, Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd (1903)

Al-Qasimi (1283-1332/1866-1914) was a prominent Islamic scholar from Damascus, known to the locals whom he met along the way during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1903. The account of his travels was first published in a Jordanian newspaper in 1981 and in full in 2010[22].

At dawn on 29 Muharram 1321 / 27 April 1903 he left Damascus by train to Muzayrib, where he arrived at noon. He continued on to Derʿa, arriving at sunset; he met the qadi there. The next day he took the train on a recently constructed stretch of the Hijaz railway to Amman, arriving before sunset. He stayed in Amman for ten days, visiting sites. On Thursday 10 Safar / 8 May he went to Salt where he spent another ten days. Then on Monday 20 Safar / 18 May he went via the Wadi Shuʿayb to the Jordan River, where he crossed the bridge to Jericho. He traveled with a group to a caravanserai between Jericho and Jerusalem, where the cold weather forced them to spend the night.

They arrived at Lion's Gate on Thursday 23 Safar / 21 May, deposited their luggage in a khan and then went to the Haram. They went to the Dome of the Rock, where an attendant asked them where they were staying. They said in a khan because of their luggage, but he offered them accommodations in the Zawiyah al-Daʾudiyah on the Haram compound.

Next day they toured the Haram. The owners of the cells on the compound and around the Dome of the Rock all offered to have them stay in their cells. He went to the zawiyah that he understood from having read Mujir al-Din to be the Zawiyah al-Khunthuniyah, south of the al-Aqsa Mosque building.

Over the next days he went to the Khalidiyah library and the Tomb of Mary and the Mount of Olives, where he visited most of its shrines, the Ascension of Jesus and the Zawiyah al-ʿAlamiyah. He then went to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where one of the Muslim guards showed him around. Then he went to the adjacent Khanqah al-Salahiyah. The next day he saw more sites, including the Latin Printing Press run by the Franciscans. He went to the Old al-Aqsa, and then the place of al-Buraq, before going outside the walls to the Silwan spring.

On Wednesday morning 29 Safar / 27 May he left for Hebron. Along the way he stopped in Bethlehem, where he saw the birthplace of Jesus and the palm tree and went to the

20 al-Zayyānī, al-Tarjūmānah. See al-'Asalī, Bayt 121-123; Rafeq, Ottoman 70-71.
21 al-Qāyātī, Nafḥat 87-98. 101-102. See al-'Asalī, Bayt 128-130. 321-331; Khayr Bak, Filasṭīn 65-69. 177-194.
22 al-'Asalī, Bayt 130-132. 333-343; al-Qāsimī, Riḥlatī.

congregational mosque in the town; he noted the souvenir industry in shells. He also saw the pool where water goes to Jerusalem (Solomon's Pools) and the Tomb of Jonah in Halhul. In Hebron he stayed at a ribat and then went to the mosque. The next evening he returned to Jerusalem and on Saturday 3 Rabiʿ I / 30 May he took the train to Jaffa. On Sunday he visited the garden of the Germans there. On Tuesday he took a boat to Beirut and then the train back to Damascus. His entire trip took 40 days.

13) al-Kitānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī (1904)

Al-Kitani (1274/1857-1345/1927) was a religious scholar from Morocco. In 1321/1903 he left North Africa for the Hajj, after which he came to Jerusalem. The portion about Jerusalem in the account of his travels is exceptionally interesting for his observations about the Muslims in Jerusalem[23].

After the Hajj was over, in early 1322/1904 he took a steamship via the Suez Canal to Beirut and then to Damascus, where he spent a few days. On 6 Rabiʿ I / 20 May 1904 he left Damascus for Beirut, and on 15 Rabiʿ I / 29 May he took an overnight steamer from Beirut to Jaffa. In Jaffa he went to the main mosque for two hours, before taking the train (*barbūr al-barrī*) to Jerusalem. He was provided accomodations in the Bakhin Bakhin structure on the west side of the upper Dome of the Rock platform. The evening of his arrival he went to the Hammam al-ʿAyn bathhouse and that night went to the Dome of the Rock, only to find that it was closed. So he prayed outside its door and then prayed at the adjacent Dome of the Chain. The next day, as a guest of the Haram administrators, he went around visiting the sites in the company of someone who knew them well: Amin al-Danaf al-Ansari and his brother Muhi al-Din, the author of a booklet about the Islamic holy sites in Jerusalem, and their father, ʿUmar al-Danaf, who was still alive. Al-Kitani provides details of all the places he visited with his guide on the Haram and then lists the places he visited outside the compound, mostly graves of Islamic worthies.

He also went to the Madrasah al-Salahiyah (the Church of St. Anne), but it was in the hands of Christians, so he did not enter it. He noted the Birkat Bani Israʾil, which had no water in it. He went to the Citadel (Qalʿat Daʾud) where he knew of a grand underground tunnel (*sirdab*) that led to the Dome of the Chain, but he could not go to it, because it was now a military fort, so he prayed at the entrance and left. He also noted Shaykh Luʾluʾ, but he did not go there.

Al-Kitani then listed the places he went to outside the city walls: the Tomb of David (Sayyidna Daʾud), where there were two mosques and the place where the table was brought down to Jesus and a cell of Ahmad al-Dajjani and the Zawiyah al-Daʾudīyah, built by Sultan ʿAbd al-Majid for visitors, among other buildings. He also mentioned Shaykh al-Mansi on the right of the road from Nebi Daʾud to Jaffa Gate. He also went to the Silwan spring, where there was a mosque and Biʾr Ayyub, where there was also a mosque.

He then went to the Mount of Olives, noting on the way the Conical Cap of Pharaoh and the Kuffīyah of Pharaoh's Wife, also identified as the tombs of Zakariah and John. He knew of their location in Sebastiya, but he prayed here anyway on the off chance that here was the genuine location. He also noted the Tomb of Mary and then the Tomb of Rabiʿah al-ʿAdawiyah and Shaykh al-ʿAlami and his wife ʿAʾisha with the mosque above their graves. He also noted the mosque at the Ascension of Jesus, the dome of the martyrs, the dome of Salman al-Farisi and the Kharnub Tree of the Ten. He chose not to go to the Nebi Musa shrine, but he did mention the tomb of ʿAyzur.

He then identified in the cemetery at Lions Gate the graves of Shaddad ibn Aws and ʿUbadah ibn al-Samit. He also noted in the west part of the city ʿUkashah ibn Muhsin, where there was a dome and a minaret and the nearby dome of Shaykh Qaymur. Outside Damascus Gate he mentioned the Zawiyah al-Adhamiyah; the tomb of Azur was in a cave at the far end. He also mentioned Shaykh Jarrah and the Mamilla Cemetery (Turbat Mamin Allah) and provides a long list of individuals buried there.

Al-Kitani made some critical observations about social customs in the city. He noted that Jews and Christians were allowed onto the Haram compound with the permission of the ruler (*ḥakim*) of the city, according to the Hanafi legal tradition. He noted that the decadent Muslims did not take off their shoes in the compound; they did so only when they went inside the Dome of the Rock or the al-Aqsa Mosque building. The Muslims also smoked in the compound, again only refraining from doing so in the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque building. As he commented, with such decadent Muslims, is it any wonder that the Jews and Christians were taking over the city. Their decadence was a sign of the Hour, so the End Times were near. He also noted that there were almost no Muslims in the city who had memorized the Quran, and of those few, they were all Muslims from North Africa. In the al-Aqsa Mosque he listened to a shaykh giving a lecture and was scandalized when the shaykh gave his students wrong information about a technical aspect of the regulations for the five daily prayers.

He also went on a flying one-day trip to Hebron and visited the shrines (*mazārat*) along the way. He passed by Rachel's Tomb; it was in the hands of Jews and closed, so he prayed at the entrance. In Bethlehem he noted the birthplace of Jesus, the cradle and the palm tree, along with the mosque of ʿUmar. He noted that the locals produced rosaries out of shell or wood for sale to visitors.

23 al-Kitānī, al-Riḥlah.

He mentioned Jonah in Halhul; his father or mother in Bayt ʿUmmar, and Esau in Siʿir; nearby was Shaykh Ibrahim al-Hadam. He also mentioned Noah in Dura, Lot in Bani Nuʿaym and the cave of the 40 or 60, but he did not go due to time constraints. Also near Jonah was the grave of ʿAbd Allah ibn Masʿud, a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad.

Once in Hebron he went to the Tomb of Abraham and the other tombs there. But he got into an argument with the guard who would not let him into the area where Abraham's wife Sarah was buried, because it was forbidden for men to go to that area off-limits as a harem and so violate where the womenfolk were buried. But al-Kitani pointed out that he was a *sharif*, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, and as such Sarah was an ancestor of his, and so the guard let him in.

He listed a number of other shrines and mosques in Hebron, but he did not visit them due to time constraints. He wanted to be back in Jerusalem that evening to celebrate the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, but he arrived too late, just as everyone was leaving. But the next day he was able to attend a *mawlid* celebration, which consists of the liturgical recitation of the Burda poem about the life of the Prophet Muhammad; on that occasion the poem was recited by the son of the mufti, but al-Kitani noticed that he recited the lines in the wrong order (al-Kitani did not realize that the poem had been recited according to a different version of the text than what he knew of in Morocco). Afterwards sweets were distributed, but there were not enough for everyone to have some, so people started shouting over who would get the sweets, leading al-Kitani to complain again about the abysmal standards of the Muslims in Jerusalem. The next day while taking a nap in the Bakhin Bakhin shrine, he heard the voice of Idris calling to him to tell him that his time in Jerusalem had come to an end, so the next day he took the train back to Jaffa on the start of his return travels to North Africa. Al-Kitani later traveled back to Damascus, where he took up a position teaching at the Umayyad mosque.

14) al-Ḥabashī, Shaykh Ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh (1910)

Al-Ḥabashi was a shaykh from Hadramaut who travelled from Mecca to Jerusalem in early 1910 and wrote a travel account entitled *Al-Shāhid al-Maqbūl fī al-Riḥlah ilā Miṣr wa al-Shām wa-Iṣṭanbūl*[24]. He traveled by steam ship to Beirut and then Jaffa, arriving on 27 May, and then by train to Jerusalem, where he stayed in a hotel. He visited the Islamic sites on the Haram compound, including the underground vaulted area below the al-Aqsa Mosque, which was otherwise closed, and saw the Cradle of Jesus. He went to the Tomb of Mary, which was filled with Christians at the time, so he had to wait. He also went to the Madrasah al-Salahiyah – Church of Saint Anne, as well as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

He went by carriage to Hebron and had a meal in a place set up for guests and visitors, before visiting the Tombs of Abraham and the other Prophets. On the way back he visited the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. He soon traveled back to Jaffa, apparently by automobile, where he stayed for two days with a friend, who had lovely fruit orchards, and then travelled on to Beirut and Istanbul.

15) Enver Pasha (1916)

In 1916 Enver Pasha (1298-1341/1881-1922), the Ottoman leader, and Jamal Pasha, the commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army, came to Jerusalem. The historian Muhammad Kurd ʿAli wrote a sycophantic account of that trip[25].

They arrived in al-Ramlah by train on 5 am on Friday 25 February 1916, where they were met by cheering crowds. They had breakfast at the railway station, bedecked with triumphal arches, where they reviewed the troops. They then traveled by car to Jaffa, arriving at 11:00. They rode along the new Jamal Pasha street, lined with large crowds. After a ceremony for the official opening of the street, they passed under more triumphal arches on their way to the city council for lunch. Then they went to the government building, where they listened to speeches and poetry recitations. Enver Pasha made a donation to the poor of Jaffa and admired Jaffa oranges when his car stopped at an orchard on the way to Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, crowds lined the streets on the way to the military camp, where they arrived on Friday afternoon; they had dinner in the headquarters of the Fourth Army.

On Saturday, they met with government officials and had lunch at the headquarters of the Eighth Corps. Then they visited the Haram, first the Dome of the Rock, where they heard some Quranic verses and Enver Pasha performed two *rakʿahs*. Then they went to the Aqsa Mosque building, where they performed two more *rakʿahs* and listened to a presentation of the merits of Jerusalem. Then they went to the Kulliyah al-Salahiyah (at the Church of St. Anne), where the faculty and students put on a performance. One student recited a poem in German, which impressed the German military officers in the group.

Then they went to Nebi Daʾud and then the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, along with some German and Austrian officers. Enver Pasha donated 200 Ottoman gold coins, having donated only 50 gold coins to the Haram. The municipality held a banquet that evening, marked by more speeches in Arabic and Turkish. On Sunday morning they went to Beersheba and returned on Tuesday. On the way back they stopped at a unit of the Fourth Army and then visited the shrines of the

24 al-Ḥabashī, al-Raḥḥālah 261-265.

25 al-ʿAsalī, Bayt 137-139. 377-381.

Prophets in Hebron, making donations to the poor, and they drank tea at the government building. They went to Bethlehem, where they visited the cave and made donations to the Christian denominations and then returned to Jerusalem, where they had lunch at the military base on the Mount of Olives, as they listened to more speeches.

On Wednesday morning they went to Jericho, where they had lunch at the expense of the municipality of Jerusalem, before continuing to Salt, where they had tea as guests of the municipality of Salt, and then to Amman, where they took the train on to Medina.

General Observations[26]

A question of terminology arises, concerning what Muslim pilgrimage consists of and what distinguishes a Muslim pilgrim to Jerusalem from an ordinary Muslim traveler who visits the city.

The Arabic word *ziyārah* (visitation) is the most commonly used word in the travel accounts to identify the action of going to a shrine, typically tomb shrines of prophets or prominent religious figures. It applies to local residents visiting nearby holy places, just as much as to long-distance travelers, and is used for Jews and Christians as well as Muslims. Muslims performing a *ziyārah* visitation implies a liturgical act involving the recitation of Quranic verses and recitation of prayers. In the case of al-Miknasi, visitations could be performed by facing in the direction of the shrine from afar, without the need for a time-consuming detour off the main highway.

The Western Christians who came to Jerusalem in later medieval (i. e. post-Crusader Mamluk or Ottoman) times were almost invariably pilgrims, who came with the primary or exclusive objective of visiting the Christian holy places; only handfuls of Franciscan monks resided in Jerusalem long-term. There were scarcely any purely secular travelers to Jerusalem from Western Europe before the 19th century.

In the case of Muslim travelers, some came to Jerusalem along their way to perform the hajj pilgrimage in Mecca. But also many Muslims who came to Jerusalem did so in the course of ordinary travels, during which they took advantage of the opportunity to visit tomb shrines and other holy places along their way. Thus even when the primary objective of their travels may not have been pilgrimage, like al-Hamawi and the chief judge of Damascus who came to Jerusalem on official government business. they spent a significant portion of their time visiting shrines like other pilgrims did. The governor Rajab Pasha was hardly an ordinary pilgrim, even if the author of the account of his year and a half as governor emphasizes his religious activities to the exclusion of anything else he did. One may be reluctant to consider Enver Pasha, the Ottoman military leader during the First World War, to be a pilgrim, but he did include visits to religious sites on his itinerary.

The total number of Muslim travelers who came each year to Jerusalem from some distance is hard to judge, but over the centuries it seems to have been substantially more than the number of Western Christian pilgrims. The Muslim who came on the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca from a long distance sometimes combined their hajj pilgrimage with a trip to Jerusalem. Jerusalem is out of the way for people traveling to the Hijaz or along the most direct travel routes between Egypt and Syria, so that the Muslim travelers would need to actively choose to come to Jerusalem. Al-Miknasi, for example, had not originally intended to go to Jerusalem and decided to go only because there was no ship immediately available in Akko to take him back to North Africa. The Muslim pilgrims might spend a week or so in Jerusalem. If they were prominent Islamic scholars they would stay as guests on the Haram compound, otherwise there were other hospices where pilgrims could stay. The pilgrims centered their attention on the Haram compound along with other Islamic sites in the city. Some of the authors listed in detail all of the sites on the Haram that they visited, some were more thorough than others who might skip some of the lesser shrines, like the Market of Knowledge at the far southeast corner of the Haram. That name was thought up by the guides stationed there to attract the attention (and donations) of pilgrims who might not otherwise bother to go there, as al-Miknasi noted.

The Muslim pilgrims were especially interested in visitations to tomb shrines and graves of prominent Muslims. They usually refused, however, to visit sites under the control of Christians, such as the Tomb of the Virgin Mary. Only in the later 19th century, when secular tourism had developed, would elite Muslims freely visit Christian churches. The pilgrims who came to Jerusalem invariably also included a pilgrimage trip to Hebron; they also commonly made a trip to the Nebi Musa shrine near Jericho, but sometimes they chose not to go due to time constraints or fear for their safety on the insecure road there. They also took advantage of the opportunity for visitations at whatever tomb shrines they passed by during their travels.

The Muslim travelers discussed here who came to Jerusalem were members of the same culture as Jerusalem's majority population, and so they fit in easily. Some of the Muslim travelers stayed only a few days, but others chose to stay in Jerusalem for years. That is in contrast to Western Christian pilgrims who were thrust into an alien culture and needed to be escorted by their Franciscan guides at all times and rarely stayed after their week-long package tours with fixed itineraries had come to an end, at least until the development of tourism in the mid-19th century allowed for independent travel.

26 See also Schick, Who.

Those Muslim travelers who wrote travel accounts were typically members of a narrow social group of elite religious scholars, who wanted to meet their peers while in the city. Thus their accounts often contain much biographical information about the religious scholars they met. That is a feature of pre-modern Muslim historical writing in general, where biographies of religious scholars take a prominent place. That marks a difference between the Muslim travel accounts and the accounts of Western pilgrims of more diverse social backgrounds, who came to visit the Christian holy places, but not to meet Christian clergymen.

Some of the accounts were written as the personal memoirs of the authors without any thought about a wider readership, while in other cases, notably al-Nabulusi's two travel accounts and the third-person accounts about Rajab Pasha and Enver Pasha, wide distribution was an objective from the beginning.

While more limited in number than the accounts of Western Christian pilgrims, and far less widely known, the accounts of the Muslim pilgrims are of interest for the different perspectives they offer on the religious importance that Jerusalem holds.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Muslimische Jerusalem-Pilger in osmanischer Zeit

Die Erfahrungen muslimischer Pilger, die nach Jerusalem kamen, sind westlichen Gelehrten kaum bekannt, da nur eine Handvoll ihrer Reiseberichte veröffentlicht ist und noch weniger in eine europäische Sprache übersetzt wurden. In diesem Artikel werden 15 muslimische Reisende vorgestellt, die aus religiösen Gründen in osmanischer Zeit nach Jerusalem kamen und über ihre Reisen auf Arabisch berichteten. Diese muslimischen Pilger, von denen die meisten prominente Religionsgelehrte waren, werden identifiziert, und einige der Höhepunkte ihrer Berichte aus der Zeit vom 16. bis zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert werden zusammengefasst. Es folgen einige allgemeine Beobachtungen über die Art der muslimischen Pilgerfahrt und die vielfältigen Aktivitäten dieser muslimischen Pilger.

Muslim Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period

The experiences of Muslim pilgrims who came to Jerusalem are not well known among Western scholars, because only a handful of their travel accounts have been published and even fewer have been translated into a European language. This article presents fifteen Muslim travelers who came to Jerusalem in the Ottoman period for religious reasons and who wrote accounts of their travels in Arabic. Those Muslim pilgrims, most of whom were prominent religious scholars, are identified, and some of the highlights of their accounts spanning the period from the 16th century to the early 20th century are summarized. Some general observations follow about the nature of Muslim pilgrimage and the varied activities of those Muslim pilgrims.

Les pèlerins musulmans pour Jérusalem à l'époque ottomane

Les érudits occidentaux n'ont guère connaissance des expériences vécues par les pèlerins musulmans qui ont visité Jérusalem, car seule une poignée de manuscrits fut publiée et encore moins dans une des langues européennes. Cet article présente 15 voyageurs musulmans qui sont venus à Jérusalem à l'époque ottomane pour des raisons religieuses et ont raconté leur voyage en langue arabe. On identifie ces pèlerins, dont la plupart étaient de célèbres érudits religieux, et résume les points forts de leurs récits qui datent du 16e au début du 20e siècle. Suivent encore quelques observations sur le caractère du pèlerinage musulman et les diverses activités des pèlerins musulmans. Traduction: Y. Gautier

Places of Pilgrimage

Rangar Cline

Water and Proof in Early Christian Pilgrimage Narratives

Susan Weingarten, in a study of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, noted the significant number of springs and wells that the pilgrim discusses. She counted fifteen mentions of water sources in the brief narrative section (ca. 130 lines)[1]. She noted that water sources would have been of importance to any traveler in the region and that the Roman world contained many healing springs and other water sources credited with magical and fertilizing powers, suggesting that the Bordeaux Pilgrim's preoccupation with water should be seen in that context. I'd like to push Weingarten's point a bit further on the function of springs and water sources in the Bordeaux Pilgrim and suggest that water sources in his narrative, and likely in his actual experience of the Holy Land, served to authenticate the sites he visited. Further, the Bordeaux Pilgrim is not the only Christian traveler to appeal to springs and water as empirical demonstrations of the veracity of traditions that situate past epiphanies and sacred stories at specific places. Egeria's guides in the 380s showed her several springs that were intended to validate the siting of biblical stories and saintly legends – and to demonstrate continuing divine presence at those sites, as the title of this paper suggests. The Piacenza Pilgrim's account (ca. 560-570) likewise discusses water sources as signifiers of authenticity, and his descriptions suggest an evolution in the presentation of water features as proofs of epiphany. Specifically, he refers to numerous springs that were understood to demonstrate the accuracy of sixth century placements of miraculous stories from the Bible, but those proofs sometimes function alongside relics in a mutually affirming dialectic of authenticity.

Springs and Alterations of the Natural Landscape in the Bordeaux Pilgrim

Let's begin with our earliest account, that of the pilgrim from Bordeaux, and I should note that my discussion of water in these sources is not exhaustive. Rather, I've tried to choose a few from each source that are particularly illustrative of the texts' use of water as evidence of authenticity. The narrative sections of the Bordeaux Pilgrim's account of his journey begin and end with water – starting with Cornelius the centurion's bath at Caesarea and concluding with the baptismal spring at Bethsur and the well at Terebinthus[2]. The shift in genre from bare-bones itinerary to more detailed description is signaled a Caesarea with the note, »At Caesarea is the bath [*balneus*] of Cornelius the Centurion«[3] and a line later, »At the third milestone [from Caesarea] is Mt. Syna, where there is a spring [*fons*], in which a woman who washes becomes pregnant«[4]. Thus, his description of Palestine begins with the remains of a bath, perhaps understood to be the location of Cornelius' baptism, a potentially still-functional water feature that reportedly dated to a time some three hundred years prior to the pilgrim's visit. The narrative and the pilgrim continue with the miraculous power of a natural spring at Syna, ancient Shuni, a Roman healing sanctuary[5]. The latter appears not to have been a distinctively Christian site, and the pilgrim does not connect it to any biblical story. The miraculous power of the spring is not disputed. It is merely described, perhaps to reveal the miraculously potent nature of the land itself.

The spring at Syna appears to be the sole references to the miraculous power of a spring at a non-Christian site in the Bordeaux Pilgrim, although he does mention locations associated with Greek and Roman myth and history at other points in his narrative[6]. More typical of the Bordeaux Pilgrim are descriptions of springs directly associated with biblical stories and epiphanies that continued to exist in his day. For example, approximately five days journey from Caesarea and Mt. Syna, a mile from Neapolis and Shechem, the Pilgrim comes to »Sychar, the place where the Samaritan woman came down – where Jacob dug the well – in order to draw water, and our Lord Jesus Christ spoke with her. There are plane trees there, planted by Jacob, and a baptistery [*balneus*] which is filled from the well«[7]. Unlike Egeria, the Bordeaux Pilgrim does not quote scripture, discuss Bible readings, or state that he prayed. The important part appears to be that this was the

1 Weingarten, Pilgrim 292.
2 On the form and genre of the Bordeaux Pilgrim's account Elsner, Itinerarium.
3 Bordeaux Pilgrim 585,5 [Caesarea] *Ibi est balneus Cornelii centurionis*. – Translations my own unless otherwise stated.
4 Bordeaux Pilgrim 585,6-586,2 *Inde est tertio miliario mons Syna, ubi fons est, in quem mulier est laverit, gravida fit*.
5 Shenhav, Shuni.
6 For example, the pilgrim notes Viminatium where Diocletian killed Carinus (564,9), Hannibal's burial place at Libyssa (572,4), and Apollonius' birthplace at Tyana (578,1).
7 Bordeaux Pilgrim 588,3-5 *Sechar, unde descendit mulier Samaritana ad eundem locum, ubi Iacob puteum fodit, ut de eo aquam impleret, et Dominus noster Iesus Christus cum ea locutus est: ubi sunt et arbores platani, quas plantanavit Iacob, et balneus, qui de eo puteo lavatur*.

place where Jesus met the Samaritan woman at the well. The well is not only there, it still flows and water from it goes to a baptistery. The well of Jacob is not defunct, of course. It lives and now serves the purpose of Christian baptism.

Upon arriving in Jerusalem, the first details noted by the Bordeaux Pilgrim are water features. »There are in Jerusalem two large pools [*piscinae magnae duae*] beside the Temple ... which Solomon built; indeed, further inside the city are the twin pools which have five porches, which are called Bethsaida, where those sick for many years used to be healed. Moreover, these pools have water that is turbulent and scarlet in appearance«[8]. Although there appears to be nothing left of Solomon's temple to comment upon, the pools and water storage demonstrate the truth of stories about the builder-king. The pools' continued existence validates stories about the past – specifically Solomon's building of the Temple. The pools at Bethsaida are of course those from John 5,1-8, but the Pilgrim does not mention that story specifically. He mentions that people »were healed there« (*sanabantur*) with the imperfect tense suggesting that they no longer are. Indeed, his description of the red color of the water suggests that the pool may have been put to other uses by the fourth century[9]. Certainly, the Bethesda Pools seem no longer to have been places of healing when the Piacenza Pilgrim visited around 570, noting that »the pool [of Bethesda] itself has become ruined with waste and here there they wash all that is necessary in the city«[10]. The pools are there as evidence to past epiphanies, such as Jesus' healing of the lame man, but the time of the miracle working power of the pools, and the angel that later versions of John 5 say stirred the waters, has passed.

The centrality of water sources, wells, and cisterns is also apparent in the Bordeaux Pilgrim's description of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher. After briefly mentioning the existence of Golgotha, »where the Lord was crucified« and that the crypt »where his body was laid« is about a stone's throw away from it, he mentions that Constantine has ordered a »basilica« to be built. The Pilgrim assists his reader and defines »basilica« as »the Lord's place«, but the only specific architectural detail that the he offers about Constantine's church is that »the basilica (which is the Lord's place) of incredible beauty has cisterns on the side from which water is drawn, and behind them a bath [*balneum*] where children are baptized«[11]. The discussion of Constantine's apparently impressive cisterns suggests a parallel to Solomon's cisterns, which the Pilgrim observed at the place where the Temple once stood[12]. Constantine thus becomes a new Solomon, endowing his new temple with remarkable cisterns, as did God's original temple builder[13].

The final passages of the Bordeaux Pilgrim's account reports two more sources of water: the spring where Philip baptized the eunuch at Bethsur and Abraham's well at Terebinthus, i. e. Mamre. Concerning Terebinthus, the Pilgrim reports the tradition from Genesis 18 that Abraham ate with the angels beneath the tree. The well of Abraham referred to in the pilgrim's account does not appear in the Genesis story, but it is reported in other sources from the period, depicted on pilgrimage objects, and appears on depictions of the scene as far away as San Vitale in Ravenna[14]. Indeed, according to other sources, Mamre was the site of a significant regional and interreligious festival in the early fourth century, part of which focused on Abraham's well[15]. The importance of the well is also suggested by excavations at Mamre which discovered the well in the courtyard of the church along with lamps and coins left there by visitors – dating from the fourth through sixth centuries[16]. The Bordeaux Pilgrim does not report any religious rituals at Bethsur or Mamre, although he mentions Constantine's basilica at the latter. For the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the water sources serve to confirm the locations of biblical events. He concludes by describing the tombs of the patriarchs at Hebron, the location of which is »two miles from [Terebinth]« and the authenticity of which is confirmed by the Hebron tombs themselves and the well at Abraham's home at Mamre.

Water in Egeria's Account

Although references to wells and springs are proportionally fewer in Egeria's text as compared to the Bordeaux Pilgrim, they still figure prominently. By my count, there are seven references in the surviving text of Egeria, which describes her travels in Sinai, Transjordan, Syria, northern Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Constantinople. There are another nine references in the summaries supplied by Peter the Deacon – where the twelfth century source draws from Egeria's now-lost accounts of her journeys in Galilee and lower Egypt. There is one reference to a spring in the ninth century Madrid

8 Bordeaux Pilgrim 589,7-11 *Sunt in Hierusalem piscinae magnae duae ad latus templi...quas Salomon fecit, interius vero civitati sunt piscinae gemellares quinque porticus habentes, quae appellantur Bethsaida. Ibi aegri multorum annorum sanabantur. Aquam autem habent hae piscinae in modum coccini turbatum*.

9 The red color is also mentioned by Eusebius, Onomomastikon s. v. Bezatha, and Jerome, Epistulae 108,9. On the sanctuary of Asclepius/Serapis at the site Belayche, Iudea-Palestina 160-170. On the possibility that the Bethesda/Probatica Pools were outside the city in the third and fourth centuries, see Eliav, God's Mountain 111-116.

10 Piacenza Pilgrim Rec. Prior 27,2 *Nam ipsa piscina modo redacta est in stercorum et ibi lavant omnia quae sunt necessaria in civitate*.

11 Bordeaux Pilgrim 594,2-4 *basilica ... mirae pulchritudinis habens ad latus excepturia, unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur*.

12 Bordeaux Pilgrim 590,6-591,1.

13 On Christian supersessionism in pilgrimage narratives, see in general Jacobs, Remains; on the Bordeaux pilgrim Irshai, Appropriation.

14 The well and ritual at Mamre Sozomenos, Historia Ecclesiastica 2,4; Mader, Mambre 103-106. 306-320; Taylor, Christians 86-95; Kofsky, Mamre 23-26; Cline, Angels 106-118. Representations of the well Frazer, Pilgrim's Mold 137-145; Cline, Souvenir 40-44.

15 Eusebius, Vita Constantini 3,53,1-3; Sokrates, Historia Ecclesiastica 1,18,5-6; Sozomenos, Historia Ecclesiastica 2,4,1-3.

16 Mader, Mambre 147-180; Magen, Elonei Mamre 46-55.

Manuscript that supplies a missing portion of Egeria's text[17]. Egeria describes her journey as motivated by *gratia orationis*, for the sake of prayer, and she regularly describes how she, her companions, and their clerical and monastic guides read relevant passages from the Bible and pray at the holy places[18]. Still, Egeria also notes her desire to see the places of the Bible and those escorting Egeria seem eager to point out springs and wells associated with biblical stories. Egeria duly reports such phenomena for the benefit of her audience.

Egeria's descriptions of water sources associated with biblical and other Christian holy sites range from the relatively brief mentions of wells, such when the bishop of Carrhae pointed out to her: »Behold, the well where holy Rebecca watered the camels of Eleazar, the boy of Abraham«[19] and the same bishop led Egeria and her party to »that well where holy Jacob gave water to holy Rachel's animals«[20] to much longer descriptions, such as that of the spring near Livias and Mt. Nebo. There, she reports that the local presbyter from Livias who had accompanied her party asked, »Do you want to see the water that flows from the rock, which Moses gave to the thirsting children of Israel?«[21]. Egeria says that she and her party were eager to see such a site and followed the presbyter to a small church with many monks below a mountain near Mt. Nebo. As she states, »At that place, therefore, between the church and the monasteries plentiful water flowed from the rock, intensely beautiful and clear, with unrivaled taste«[22]. Upon asking the local monks about the spring, Egeria is told that »this is the water that Saint Moses gave to the children of Israel in this desert«[23]. As is typical, Egeria is not content with sense perceptions of the holy, reporting that »therefore, according to habit, there was a prayer, a reading from the Books of Moses, and also one psalm spoken«[24]. As Egeria reports, her guide and the local monks were eager to show the spring near Mt. Nebo, the on-going presence of which served as proof of a past miracle, the veracity of biblical accounts about Moses, the correct siting of the location, and a signal of divine presence in Egeria's day. It is worth noting that for Egeria the clarity of the water and its excellent taste seemed worthy of report. Here, sanctity is sensed not only by sight but by taste.

Taste and the clarity of the water may also be indicative of authenticity and epiphany when Egeria later visits the palace of King Abgar at Edessa, who was famous in antiquity for his legendary correspondence with Jesus, original copies of which Egeria reports to have been shown by the bishop at the gates of the city[25]. According to the story reported by Egeria, the Lord sent King Abgar a letter promising that no enemy would enter the gate of the city. When the Persians later besieged Edessa, Abgar took the Lord's letter to the gate of the city and prayed, which caused the Persians to retreat in darkness. The Persians did not give up easily, however, and they cut off the water supply to Edessa. Egeria reports that at the very moment the water was cut off, God caused a spring to flow out of the palace, about which Egeria reports that it is the only water source in the city »which is like an immense silver river«[26]. Egeria also reports that inside the palace there »there are springs, full of fish -- springs the likes of which I have never seen, they are of such a size, so colorful, and of a good flavor«[27]. Here, the presence of the spring, its splendid appearance, and its excellent taste demonstrate the authenticity of the site, the letters of King Abgar and his correspondence with the Son of God, and Christ's presence on earth.

A watery proof of a biblical story where discoloration rather than purity proves authenticity occurs during Egeria's visit to Job's dunghill. The description occurs in a portion of the text that is now missing but that is supplied by a ninth century manuscript from Madrid, referred to as the Madrid Manuscript, parts of which were based on Egeria's text[28]. According to the Madrid Manuscript's summary of Egeria, she saw »the dunghill where Job sat is now a clean place surrounded by an iron railing where a great lantern burns each night. And where he scraped his sores with a potsherd there is a spring which four times a year changes its color, becoming first the color of pus, then of blood, then of gall, then it is clear«[29]. In this case the power of the spring is not

17 Madrid Manuscript published De Bruyne, Nouveaux 482-483. Reprinted in Egeria p. 57 (Franceschini/Weber).

18 Egeria 13,2; 17,1. She describes her company's usual practice of scripture reading and prayer at 10,7. On Egeria's identity and motivation: Wilkinson, Egeria 35-83; Sivan, Who.

19 Egeria 20,4 *Ecce puteus unde potavit santa Rebecca camelos pueri sancti Abrahae, id est Eleazari*.

20 Egeria 21,1 *duxit nos episcopus ad puteum illum ubi adaquarat sanctus Iacob pecora sanctae Rachel*.

21 Egeria 10,8 *si vultis videre aquam, quae fluit de petra, id est quam dedit Moyses filiis Israhel sitientibus.*

22 Egeria 11,2 *Ibi ergo inter ecclesiam et monasteria in medio fluit de petra aqua ingens, pulchra valde et limpida, saporis optimi*. On the connection between Egeria's account and the later, six-century churches and monastery, see Piccirillo, Pellegrinaggio 193-214.

23 Egeria 11,2 *Tunc interrogavimus nos etiam et illos sanctos monachos, qui ibi manebant quae esset haec aqua talis et tanti saporis. Tunc illi dixerunt: »Haec est aqua quam dedit sanctus Moyses filiis Israhel in haec heremo«*.

24 Egeria 11,3 *Facta est ergo iuxta consuetudinem ibi oratio et lectio ipsa de libris Moysi lecta, dictus etiam psalmus unus.*

25 Egeria 19,16-19.

26 Egeria 19,7 *quae est ac si fluvius ingens argenteus*.

27 Egeria 19,7 *Ibi erant fontes, piscibus pleni, quales ego adhuc nunquam vidi, id est tantae magnitudinis et vel tam perlustres aut tam boni saporis*. Because the Latin text is rather ambiguous as to whether it is the fish or the springs that Egeria found tasty – both the springs (*fontes*) and fish (*pisces*) are masculine plurals – Wilkinson, Egeria 133 renders the sentence to indicate that Egeria enjoyed tasty fish at Edessa: »the fish...tasted so good!« Similarly Gingras, Egeria 78: »fish of such great size, of such great luster, and of such good taste«; Bernard, Pilgrimage 36 leaves the English as ambiguous as the Latin. However, I think Pierre Maraval is correct when he translates the passage to indicate that it is the water that tastes good: »il y avait là des fontaines pleines de poissons, telles que je n'en avais encore jamais vues tant elles étaitent vastes, tant leur eau était limpide et d'un gôut excellent«, Maraval, Égerie 207. As Maraval points out, the fish in those pools were considered sacred in pre-Christian times as they were, and are, after the Islamic conquest. On the pools at Edessa (Urfa) under Islamic rule, see Segal, Edessa 2 with 54, where Segal relates a story told by a nineteenth century English missionary that although Muslims did not eat the fish in the pools, Christians sometimes ate the fish after catching them in the streams that flow from the pool, »they cook them in wine sauce and declare them excellent«. The pools and springs appear in Segal, Edessa pls. 8b. 9a. 10a-b. 11. 32.

28 De Bruyne, Nouveaux.

29 Egeria p. 57 (Franceschini/Weber) *In loco illo ubi Iob sedebat in stirquilinio, modo locus mundus est, per girum cancellis ferreis clusum, et candela vitrea magna ibi lucet de sero ad serum. Fontem vero ubi testa saniam radebat quater in anno colorem mutat, primum ut purulentum habeat colorem, semel sanguineum, semel ut fellitum et semel ut limpida sit*.

demonstrated by its clarity or good taste. Rather, the potency of the story of Job and his trials have caused a sympathetic transformation of the spring. Although geographical details in the book of Job itself are vague, the surviving text of Egeria suggests that she saw the spring near Carneas, where she encountered Job's tomb[30]. For Egeria and her company, however, the transformation of a spring and its continuing display of the pattern of a cycle of sickness and health reveals to seekers the true location of Job's suffering and the veracity of the story – even as the story explains the unusual behavior of a spring.

Fragments of Egeria in Peter the Deacon indicate that Egeria provided what would be the earliest account of the connection between the site of the Heptapegon (Seven Springs, today's Tabgha) at Galilee and the feeding of the people with the five loaves and two fishes[31]. She reports that at the field where the Lord fed the multitude there are »seven springs, each flowing strongly« and that the »stone on which the Lord placed the bread has now been turned into an altar. People who go there take away small pieces of the stone to bring them prosperity, and they are very effective«[32]. The gospel accounts of the feeding of the five thousand do not locate it next to a spring, let alone seven. In Egeria's description, however, the springs become the link between an epiphanic miracle, where Jesus revealed a part of his power and identity, and the sanctity of the place in Egeria's day. The flow of the springs and their association with the site of the miracle help to demonstrate that the accuracy of the site, the potency of which is further demonstrated by the altar, parts of which reportedly provide prosperity, as the chipped stones multiply the wealth of their possessors in continuing miracles analogous to the initial multiplication of fish and bread that fed the multitude.

Springs, Wells, and Pools in the Piacenza Pilgrim

Like earlier accounts, the Piacenza Pilgrim's (560-570) presents springs and water features as proofs of the authenticity of holy sites associated with biblical and later Christian stories[33]. By my count there are eight total water features in his account, in a document that is about two-thirds the length of Egeria's, including the fragments in Peter the Deacon. In the Piacenza Pilgrim's account, springs and water features exist alongside an increased number of other proofs, such as the vestiges of Jesus' body left in stone and relics associated with biblical and post-biblical traditions, most of which do not appear in the Bordeaux Pilgrim or Egeria. The springs and relics are presented at holy sites in a way that is mutually authenticating. Such an approach continued to focus on springs as a means to demonstrate the authenticity of holy sites, but the water at those places also served to authenticate the holy relics found there, and water itself came to serve as a means of communicating the sacred, miracle working power of the objects and places to the pilgrims via direct contact and souvenirs, examples of which survive in significant quantities from the time of the Piacenza Pilgrim's travels[34].

An example of a mutually authenticating relationship between a relic and biblical water source occurs in the Piacenza Pilgrim's description of his visit to the Well of the Samaritan Woman near Neapolis. As he describes it, »At [Neapolis] there is the well [*puteus*] where the Lord asked the Samaritan woman for water, where there has been made a basilica dedicated to St. John. The well is in front of the chancel of the altar, and there is a bowl [*situlus*] about which it is said [*de quo dicitur*] it is the very one from which the lord drank, and many illnesses are healed there«[35].

The Piacenza Pilgrim's account suggests a change in how the site was presented to pilgrims and how pilgrims interacted with the well since the Bordeaux Pilgrim's visit in the fourth century. Where the Bordeaux Pilgrim had emphasized the well's connection to the Samaritan Woman as well as Jacob, the Piacenza Pilgrim does not mention the patriarch. Where in the Bordeaux Pilgrim's day there had been a baptistery, now there was an entire basilica. More than that, pilgrims can now see and drink from the Lord's own bowl. The phrase *de quo dicitur* suggests that the pilgrim may have been suspicious about the story about the Lord's bowl. However, he follows his report of the story with an assertion of the site's healing powers, which leaves little doubt about the veracity of site's claims to be where the Lord appeared to the woman and where his miraculous powers continue to manifest through the well, its waters, and the bowl.

The Piacenza Pilgrim's account of healing at the Well of the Samaritan Woman does not state explicitly that drinking the water was part of the healing ritual, although it is strongly implied by the focus on the well and the Lord's drinking bowl. In other cases, the Piacenza Pilgrim is unmistakably clear that water is consumed after its contact with relics in order to transfer the potency of the relic to the pilgrim. For example, at the Holy Sepulcher he reports that he and his companions drank from the sponge used at the crucifixion [*de qua spongia bibimus*][36]. And at Mt. Zion, he describes drinking

30 Egeria 13,1-3; 16,5-7.
31 Described in Mark 6,37-44; Matthew 14,13-21; Luke 9,12-17; John 6,5-14.
32 Egeria, from Peter the Deacon V 3 (99 Weber) *septem fontes, qui singuli infinitam aquam emittunt... Sane lapis, super quem Dominus panem posuit, nunc est factum altarium, de quo lapide frustra tollunt venientes pro salute sibi et prodest omnibus.*
33 For dating and textual tradition see Milani, Itinerarium 31-58.
34 Vikan, Pilgrimage.
35 Piacenza Pilgrim Rec. Prior 6, 5 *In qua est puteus, ubi Dominus a Samaritana aquam petiit, ubi facta est basilica sancti Iohannes; et ipse puteus est ante cancellus altaris et situlus ibi est, de quo dicitur quia ipse est, de quo bibit Dominus, et multe egritudines ibi salvantur.*
36 Piacenza Pilgrim Rec. Prior 20, 8 *Nam et ibi est illa spongia et canna, de quibus legitur in evangelio, de qua spongia acquam bibimus...*

from a skull »of the holy martyr Theodota, from which many were drinking water for a blessing [*pro benedictione*] and I drank too«[37].

In the Piacenza Pilgrim's account, miraculous springs authenticate post-biblical legends and their sites as well. For example, a spring on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem near Rachel's tomb came to be associated with Mary's flight to Egypt and a post-biblical tradition that maintained that the spring gushed forth when Mary stopped there to rest. As the pilgrim relates, »On the road which leads to Bethlehem, at the third mile from Jerusalem, Rachel lies in the body, at the edge of the place called Rama. At that place I saw (in the middle of the road) a pool of water which flowed from rocks – perhaps about seven sextarias, from which everyone fills, and it neither diminishes nor grows larger. It is indescribably sweet to drink, it is said [*dicitur*] about it that Saint Mary, when she was fleeing to Egypt, sat in that location and was thirsty and thus this water flowed. There, a church has now been built«[38].

Here, the existence of the spring serves as proof of Mary's flight even as the story of Mary's flight explains the origin of the spring. The details here about the steady volume of the water and its sweet taste seem to confirm its miraculous origin and suggest continuing divine presence, which the nearby church helped to emphasize[39].

Concerning Jerusalem, water from the Siloam Pool and Spring plays an important role in the Piacenza Pilgrim's descriptions by linking separate holy sites and demonstrating their potency through healings. The pilgrim relates that when he and his companions had descended many steps from an ancient arch near a city gate, they came to the »spring of Siloam, [where] there was a floating basilica, beneath which surged the Siloam, which has two basins of marble made by human hands…«[40]. There, his party encountered a screened enclosure around the two basins, »where men go into one to bathe and women into the other, for a blessing [*pro benedictione*]. In these waters many powers are demonstrated [*virtutes ostenduntur*] – more precisely [*immo*] lepers are healed [*leprosi mundantur*]. And in front of the atrium is a large pool made by human hands, in which the people wash assiduously. For in these basins at certain times the font surges with great force, which descends through the valley of Jehosaphat, which is called Gethsemane, and it flows up to the River Jordan and into the River Jordan at the location where the Jordan enters the Dead Sea, below Sodom and Gomorrah«[41].

The pilgrim does not associate the Siloam Pool with a specific biblical story, although the Gospel of John relates that Jesus' told the blind man to wash the mud from his eyes there to receive his sight[42]. Rather, the healing of lepers demonstrates the miraculous nature of Jerusalem's waters, which ultimately flow into the Jordan, which the Piacenza Pilgrim earlier describes as performing their own miracle during the feast of epiphany.

The pilgrim also links the waters of the Siloam Pool with Golgotha. When describing the Holy Sepulcher, he says that beside Golgotha is the altar of Abraham and Melchizedek and that beside that altar is a crevice and that if you put your ear to the crevice »you can hear rivers of water, and if you throw an apple, or anything else into it, and you go the fountain of Siloam you can pick it up. [He adds] I think that between Siloam and Golgotha is a mile. For Jerusalem does not have a water source besides the Siloam fountain«[43].

In this powerfully evocative scene, with its sounds of waters flowing beneath Jerusalem, the Piacenza Pilgrim relates the belief that Siloam's waters flow beneath Golgotha, connecting holy sites and pools in Jerusalem, before flowing out to Gethsemane and the Jordan[44]. Its waters echo below Jerusalem, carrying the blessings of its holy sites to the pool, where the powers of Jerusalem's holy sites and the proof of their epiphanies are manifest in its healing powers.

Conclusion

The surviving pilgrimage narratives from the early centuries of Christian pilgrimage are too few for us to know if those we have present normative models of pilgrimage – a point well-made by Scott Johnson in a recent study[45]. Still, the presentation of springs as proof of a sacred sites in all three of the longer, first-person narratives that survive from the period suggests that water featured prominently in late antique demonstrations of the authenticity of sacred sites. Although limited, our sources also allow us to distinguish some of the

37 Piacenza Pilgrim Rec. Prior 22, 12 *Vidi testam de homine inclausum in lucello aureo ex gemmis, quem dicunt quia de sancta martyre Theodote esset, in qua multi pro benedictione bibebant aquam et ego bibi*.

38 Piacenza Pilgrim Rec. Prior 28,1-4 *Via, quae ducit Betleem, ad tercium miliarium de Hierosolima iacet Rachel in corpore, in finis loci, qui vocatur Rama. In ipso loco vidi in media via de petra extra aquam inmobili ad arbitratum usque sextarios septem, unde conplent omnes; et neque minuitur neque ampliatur. Suavitudo ad bibendum innarrabilis dicitur eo quod sancta Maria fugiens in Aegiptum in ipso loco sedit et sitivit et sic egressam ipsam aquam. Ibi et ecclesia modo facta est*. Wilkinson, Jerusalem 142 notes that Qur'an s. 19 seems to describe a similar tradition about a spring flowing forth for Mary.

39 On the site, identified as the Kathisma Church, see Magen, Christians 87-89, with bibliography.

40 Piacenza Pilgrim Rec. Alt. 24,3 *Ab arcu illo descentibus nobis ad fontem Siloa per gradus multos, est ibi basilica volubilis, desub qua surgit Siloa, quae habet solia duo ex marmore manu hominis facta…*

41 Piacenza Pilgrim, Rec. Prior 24,4-6 *In uno lavant viri et in alio mulieres pro benedictione; in quibus aquis multae ostenduntur virtutes, immo et leprosi mundantur. Inante atrio est piscina grandis manu hominis munita, in qua assiduae populus lavant. Nam in illis soliis certis hortis fons ipse inrigat aquas multas, quae descendunt in vallem Gessemani, quam et Iosafa vocant, usque ad Iordane fluvium et ingreditur in Iordanum in loco, ubi Iordanis deficit in mare Salinarum subtus Sodomam et Gomurram*.

42 John 9,7.

43 Piacenza Pilgrim, Rec. Prior 19,5-7 *Ad ipsum altarium est creptura, ubi ponis aurem et audis flumina aquarum et iactas melum aut quod potest natare, et vadis in Siloa fon et ibi eum suscipsis. Inter Sinam et Golgotham credo esse miliarum. Nam Hierusalima aquam vivam non habet preter in Silua fonte*.

44 On Second Temple and Islamic legends of the waters of Jerusalem, see Koltun-Fromm, Jerusalem 410-411. 417-418.

45 Johnson, Stone 45-46.

different ways that pilgrims interacted with sacred springs, pools, and wells and how pilgrims' interactions with water at sacred sites evolved. In the Bordeaux Pilgrim's narrative from 333, water features prominently as a link between the biblical past the pilgrim's own day, demonstrating the authenticity of sacred sites and the stories told about them. Egeria's guides in the early 380s are eager to show her how the waters associated with biblical stories still flow, and how they authenticate the location at which she and her companions offer prayers and read from scripture. The latest narrative examined here, the Piacenza Pilgrim's from the late six century, reveals the role of water and water features alongside the increased popularity of relics and *vestigia*. While healing springs and sacred fountains in these narratives might seem at first to be only vestiges of earlier traditions of sacred waters, they serve an important function in the narratives. By creating a living link between past epiphanies and the miraculous landscapes through which pilgrims travelled, springs verified biblical stories and their sites. Their continuous flow signaled the uninterrupted presence of the divine at holy sites in a holy land.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Wasser und Beweis in frühchristlichen Pilgerberichten

Dieser Aufsatz untersucht die Beschreibungen von Wasserquellen in den Pilgerberichten des Pilgers von Bordeaux (333), der Egeria (381-384) und des Pilgers von Piacenza (ca. 570) und stellt die These auf, dass die Texte Wasserquellen nutzten, um die Authentizität von Heiligen Orten zu beweisen und vergangene und fortdauernde Epiphanien zu beschreiben. Die Analyse zeigt feine Veränderungen in der Repräsentation von Wasserquellen in den drei Texten auf, vom Gebrauch der Quellen zum Beweis der Authentizität beim Pilger von Bordeaux über die Rolle der Fremdenführer bei Egeria, die ihr verschiedene Quellen zeigten, die auf die Anwesenheit Gottes und fortdauernde Epiphanie hinwiesen, bis hin zur Beschreibung des Pilgers von Piacenza, die Wasserquellen neben andere authentifizierende Reliquien und Vestigia setzt. Der Autor schließt mit der These, dass die Berichte der Egeria und des Piacenza-Pilgers eine Entwicklung in der Komplexität der Begegnung des Pilgers mit dem Wasser aufzeigen. Diese wurde Teil einer immersiven sinnlichen Erfahrung, die es dem Pilger erlaubte, Segnungen zu sammeln und die wundertätige Kraft des Heiligen Landes nach Hause mitzunehmen.

Water and Proof in Early Christian Pilgrimage Narratives

This paper argues that descriptions of springs and water sources composed by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333), Egeria (381-384), and the Piacenza Pilgrim (ca. 570) use water sources to authenticate holy sites and demonstrate past and continuing epiphanies. The paper traces subtle shifts in the presentation of water sources in these texts, from the Bordeaux Pilgrim's use of springs to demonstrate authenticity, the role of Egeria's guides in showing her multiple springs that signaled divine presence and on-going epiphany, and the Piacenza Pilgrim's description of springs alongside other authenticating relics and *vestigia*. The paper concludes by suggesting that Egeria's and the Piacenza Pilgrim's narratives reveal the evolving complexity of pilgrims' encounters with water and its material presentation, as part of an immersive sensory experience that allowed the pilgrim to gain blessings and transport the miraculous power of the Holy Land homeward.

L'eau et la preuve dans les premiers récits de pèlerinages chrétiens

Cet article examine les descriptions de sources d'eau dans les récits du pèlerin de Bordeaux (333), d'Égérie (381-384) et du pèlerin de Piacenza (env. 570), et avance la thèse selon laquelle les textes utilisaient les sources d'eau pour prouver l'authenticité des Lieux saints et décrire des épiphanies passées et qui continuent. L'analyse révèle de légers changements dans la représentation des sources d'eau à travers les trois textes: de l'utilisation des sources pour prouver l'authenticité chez le pèlerin de Bordeaux, en passant par le rôle des guides chez Égérie qui lui ont montré différentes sources et l'ont rendue attentive à la présence divine et aux épiphanies qui continuent, jusqu'à la description du pèlerin de Piacenza qui juxtapose les sources d'eau à d'autres reliques et vestiges comme éléments de preuve. L'auteur achève son argumentation en affirmant que les récits d'Égérie et du pèlerin de Piacenza représentent une évolution de la complexité qui se manifeste dans la rencontre du pèlerin avec l'eau. Celle-ci fit peu à peu partie d'une expérience sensorielle permettant au pèlerin d'accumuler des bénédictions et de ramener chez lui la force miraculeuse de la Terre sainte. Traduction: Y. Gautier

Joseph Patrich

Arculf's Church of St. Mary and the *Spoudaeion* in the Complex of the Holy Sepulchre between the Arab and the Crusader Conquests. Location and Liturgy

Broadly speaking, up to the Crusaders, the architectural history of the complex of the Holy Sepulchre can be divided into three chapters[1]: The Early Byzantine – from its inauguration by Constantine the Great (335) to the Persian conquest of 614 (**fig. 1**); the post-Byzantine/Early Arab – from Modestus (630) to al-Ḥakim (1009); and from the restoration of Constantine Monomachus (1048)[2] to the inauguration of the Crusaders church on July 15th, 1149, fifty years after their conquest of the city (1099)[3] (**fig. 2**). The political changes and the ensuing architectural modifications in each period affected also the rites conducted in this complex. The basilica of Constantine the Great – the *Martyrion* – was never restored following the destruction caused by al-Ḥakim[4].

A Southern Church of St. Mary

A quadrangular church named St. Mary the Lord's Mother (*sancta Maria mater Domini / genitrix*), located next to and to the right of the round church of the Resurrection/Anastasis, is mentioned in the narrative of the Gaulish bishop Arculf – *De Locis Sanctis* – in Latin, about his visit to Jerusalem and other Holy Places in ca. 685, some 40 years after the Muslim conquest[5]. According to the plain text, the itinerary was dictated by Arculf to Adamnan, abbot of the Irish Iona monastery located on an island off the west coast of Scotland[6]. The church is also depicted on a diagram drawn by Arculf on a wax tablet[7] to the southeast of the round church of the Resurrection and to the south of Golgotha (**fig. 3**). This location falls on the southern part of the present-day *Parvis*[8]. Such a church did not exist there prior to the Arab conquest. It is not mentioned neither by Sophronius, in his *Anacreontica* – poems expressing his affection to the holy places, written between the Persian and the Muslim conquests, nor earlier by the Placentia pilgrim (570)[9] or by any other source. It seems that it came into being only under the Muslim regime. As a church does not exist today in that location, did it really exist? And if so, why was it built there? Whom did it serve? When did it disappear and under what circumstances?

According to the *Georgian Calendar*, compiled in the tenth century by the Georgian monk Ioane-Zosime and published by Garitte and the *Georgian Lectionary* published by Tarchnišvili (according to several manuscripts, the oldest of which being Lathal, tenth century), the dedication feast of the

1 This study was spurred while listening to a lecture by Daniel Galadza on Palm Sunday Liturgy according to the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, held in the Jerusalem Institute for Advanced Studies in June 2016. I am grateful to him for introducing me to various studies on this important source. While inspecting less known structures in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre and other building associated with the present study, I have learnt a lot from Father Isidoros, the Guardian of the Holy Cross, who have also guided me in a visit to St. Abraham monastery and from Father Aristoboulus, the Choir Conductor of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, for his advises. I am also deeply indebted to His Beatitude Theophilos III, Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and to Bishop Aristarchos, the Secretery General of the Patriarchate, for their assistance and warm willingness throughout. The results of the present study were presented by me in front of Both in a lecture given at the Patriarchate on August 16th 2018. I am also deeply indebted to Leah Di Segni, who read the paper, for her useful comments. – For a detailed description of the complex, its architectural history and the excavations conducted therein, see Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 89-300; Coüasnon, Church; Corbo, Santo Sepolcro; Pringle, Churches 6-72 and a more recent brief review by Patrich, Overview.

2 On this restoration and the events that preceded it, see Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 218-259; Ousterhout, Rebuilding; Pringle, Churches 9-12; Galadza, Byzantinization 117-123. According to Biddle, Tomb 77-81 the works were carried out in two phases. First in the years 1012-1023, and then in the years 1037/1038-1040, under the aegis of the Byzantine emperor Michael IV Paphlagon (1037-1041), with the permission of the Muslim rulers of Cairo, rather than by his successor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055), which is the prevailing opinion.

3 The exact date of the completion of Crusaders' transept and its roofing is ambiguous. See Pringle, Churches 19-22.

4 Canard, Destruction.

5 IIII. *DE ECLESIA SANCTAE MARIAE VIRGINIS QVAE ROTUNDA COERET ECLESIAE. … Illi rotunda ecclesiae…. a dextera coheret parte sanctae Mariae matris Domini quadrangulata ecclesia* (Adamnani De Locis Sanctis, ed. Bieler 190; trans. Wilkinson 97).

6 Some scholars had cast doubt if Adamnan ever met Arculf, and even if Arculf existed. According O'Loughlin, Exegetical; O'Loughlin, Perceptions; O'Loughlin, Liturgical, the composition is an exegetical exposition. He even argues that Adomnan probably never even met Arculf. Earlier, Chatillon, Arculf argued that »Adomnan's knowledge of the East derives entirely from literary sources« and that a veritable »florilegium of sources« made its way, via a couple of intermediaries and a felicitous shipwreck, from Constantinople to Iona. See also Woods, Adomnan. This approach was poignantly criticized by Aist, Rev. O'Loughlin, concluding that »the idea that Arculf is a literary fiction should be laid to rest once and for all«. According to Aist, *De Locis Sanctis* is »a seventh-century text that records the eyewitness account of a certain Arculf«. Likewise, Hoyland/Waidler, Adomnán's had indicated that *De Locis Sanctis* does seem to contain genuine information about the 7th c. Near East.

7 Several versions are extant, derived from various manuscripts (marked a for Adamnan; b for Bede – an early 8th c. author that derives much from Adamnan, reproducing also the diagrams), see Wilkinson, Pilgrims 193. The diagram presented here as **figure 3** is aY – cod. Vindobonensis 458, f. 4v (Wilkinson, Pilgrims pl. 5).

8 On the names of the chapels and structures standing at present on this side of the Parvis, see Cust, Status Quo. See also Pringle, Churches 29 chapels no. 283, 2-4.

9 See Appendix.

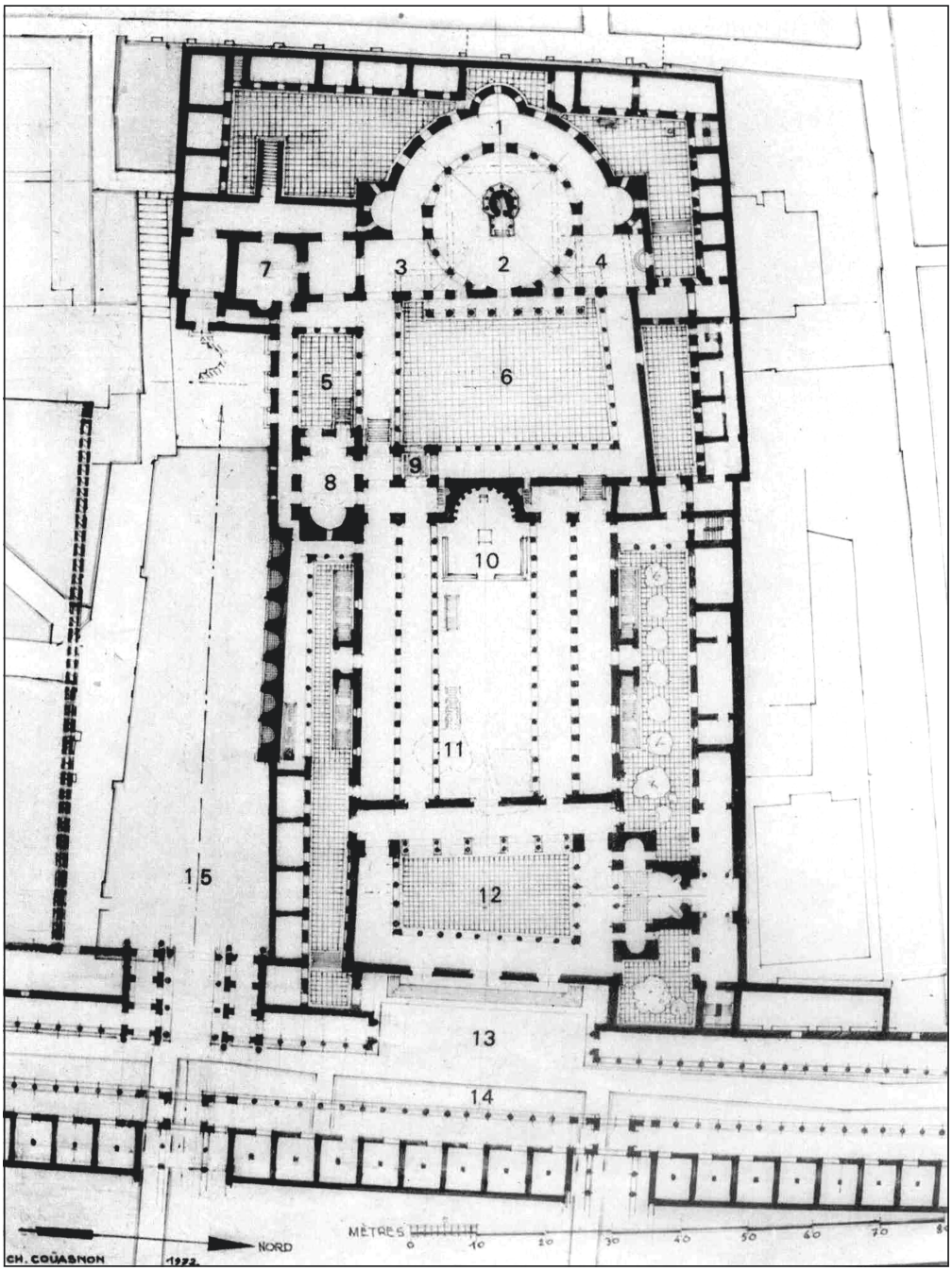


Fig. 1 The Constantinian complex of the Holy Sepulchre. **1** Ambulatory. – **2** Holy Sepulchre. – **6** Courtyard of the Anastasis/*triportico*. – **7** Baptistery. – **8** Restored »Golgotha Church« of Coüasnon/St. Michael chapel of the Ethiopians. – **9** Mount Calvary with a cross on top and the Golgotha Chapel below. – **10** Bema of the Basilica of Constantine (*Martyrion*). – **12** Eastern atrium of the Basilica. – **13** Eastern Entrance to the complex from the Cardo Maximus of the city. The *Patriarcheion* occupied the wing to the north of the Anastasis. – (From Coüasnon, Church pl. 8).

church of the *Theotokos* (*Deiparae ecclesia*), located in the *Spoudaeon*, in an upper level of the complex of the Anastasis, was on August 11th[10]. Another *Deiparae ecclesia*, associated with an edifice founded by a priest named Jordanes[11] was

10 Georgian Calendar, ed. Garitte 83-84: *Mensis Augustus … 11. In Spudaeon monasterio in Sancta Anastasi supra, in Deiparae ecclesia, dedicatio …* (See also Garitte 31, 299); Georgian Lectionary, ed. Tarchnišvili 26: *1140. Mense Augusto XI. In Spodion (= Spudaeon) [P 267 v b] supra Anastasin sanctam, in Dei Genitricis ecclesia, dedicatio Dei Genetricis. Totum Encaeniorum*[1], with the following *var. lec.*: 1140.[1] *In spodion …. Dedicationis] In Spodion monasterio in Dei genitricis ecclesia dedicatio.* – According to these sources the *Spudaeon* church, dedicated to Mary *Theotokos* was above the Anastasis (Verhelst, Lieux de station 52-53). This may refer to its location in the 5th-7th c., before the Arab conquest, since few decades thereafter Arculf's diagram indicates that a church of St. Mary *Theotokos* was located to the southeast of the Anastasis. And indeed, although the Lathal manuscript is of the 10th c., the text represents the liturgy in Jerusalem before the Persian occupation in 614, as was already suggested by Renoux. I owe this comment to Tinatin Chronz, with references to Brakmann/Chronz, Osternacht. Both of them share this opinion about the date. According to Frøyshov, Georgian Witness 230 n. 18, the Georgian Lectionary in its most common redaction is basically a 6th c. document. According to Galadza, Sources 76, it is reflecting liturgical practice from the 5th to the 8th c.

11 Verhelst, Lieux de station 54, differentiate between St. Mary of October 5th and the edifice of Jordanes. He maintains that it was one more chapel in the monastery of the *Spoudaioi*, and that its location is marked by the three niches on the western external face of the drum of the dome of the Anastasis (see below note 46). According to Garitte priest Jordanes and his foundation are not otherwise known; he casts doubt on a proposal by Goussen (mentioned in Abel, Rec. Goussen 615 no. 22), that this was the archimandrite Jordanes, a correspondent of John of Damscus (8th c.).

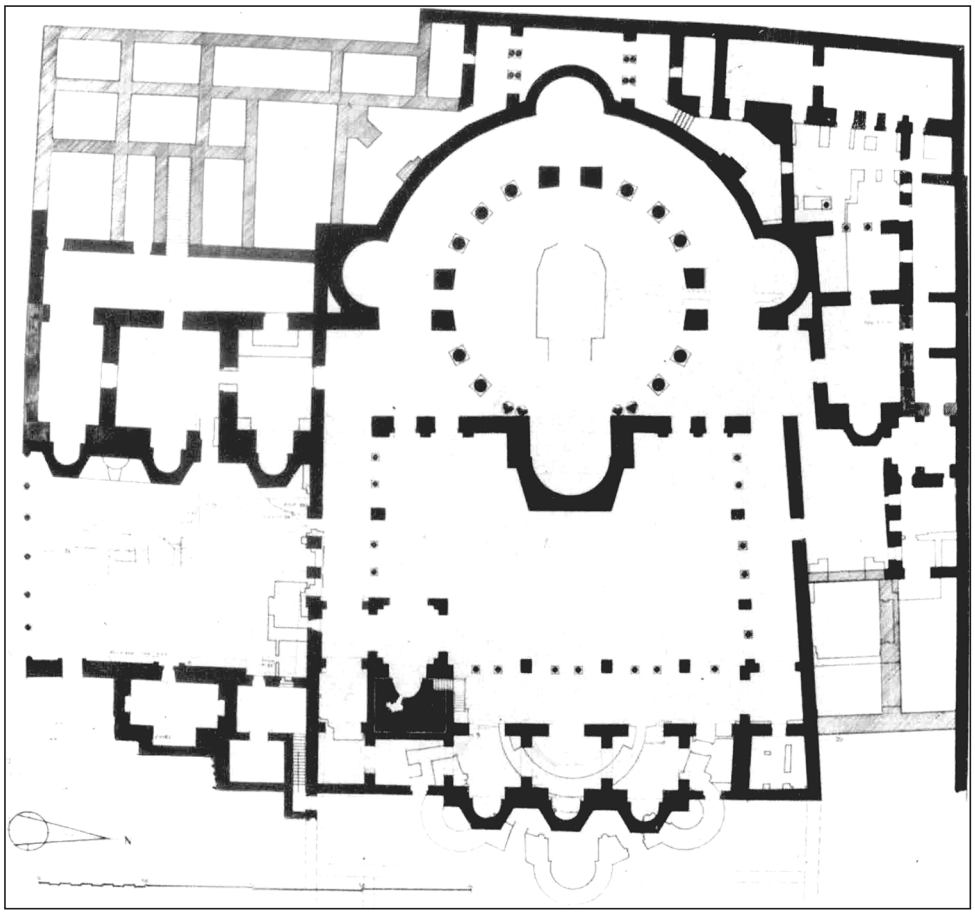


Fig. 2 The complex of the Holy Sepulchre after the restoration of Constantine Monomachus (1048). – (From Coüasnon, Church pl. 9).

dedicated on October 5th[12]. It was near the chapel of St. Michael[13]. It is clear that it is not the same as St. Mary of August 11th, located above the Anastasis. The *Georgian Lectionary* refers to rites of the fifth to early seventh or eighth century. True, a church of St. Mary is not recorded in any pilgrim's account in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre before the Muslim conquest, not even in the list of victims of the Persian conquest of 614. But the Monastery of the Anastasis, where 212 victims were killed, is recorded there[14]. So, *Deiparae ecclesiae* above the Anastasis, dedicated on August 11, could have already existed in that complex already before the Arab conquest. This St. Mary is certainly not that of Arculf.[15] I suggest that St. Mary of October 5th is St. Mary of Arculf.

A church named after Mary Mother of the Lord – *Theotokos*, associated with the Holy Sepulchre complex, is mentioned in another, different literary source: the mid-tenth century Greek MS Hagios Stauros 43, known as the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1894. It is a liturgical compendium from Jerusalem for the services of the Holy Week, Easter, and the Bright Week[16], containing

12 Georgian Calendar, ed. Garitte 95, 350: *In Iordanis presbyteri aedificio (in) Lachernan, apud Sanctum Michael, in Deiparae ecclesia, dedicatio* …; Georgian Lectionary, ed. Tarchnišvili 42: *1275*. Mense Octobri V. *In Iordani presbyteri aedificio, in Lachernia (= Blachernia ?) iuxta Michaelem sanctum*[1]*, in Dei Genetricis ecclesia, dedicatio*[2], with the following *var. lec.*: 1275[1]: *In Lachernia … sanctum*] *In Michaele sancto*. [2]: *dedicatio* om. Only one of the manuscripts consulted by Tarchnišvili, the youngest – Cod. Paris. iber. 3 (11th c.), has mentioned *Lachernan*. The oldest one (Lathal – 10th c.) doesn't have this word at all, but only the Theotokos. In another manuscript of the lectionary of Jerusalem (Ms. Sinai NF iber. 58 [10th c.], ed. M. Kavtaria in Verhelst, Lectionnaire), we read on October 5th (feast) of the Theotokos *Rakelnas* and Verhelst translates it as Blachernes. (I owe these observations to Tinatin Chronz, with whom I have consulted. I am very grateful to her). For the dates of the liturgy reflected by the lectionary see note 10. – Garitte comments that it was suggested that the word *Lachernan* corresponds to Blachernes, which appears in the same passage of the *Georgian Calendar*, farther down, in the form *enblašernos*. He refers to Goussen's proposal that Blachernes – the name of the famous Constantinopolitan church – was given to St. Mary of our concern on account of both sharing the same relic of the Virgin – her girdle. See also Milik, Notes 360 n. 5. But the sacristy where this relic of the Virgin was kept up to the Arab conquest was not here. See Appendix, *infra*.

13 A dedication ceremony and memorial and deposition services in the chapel of the Archangel Michael are mentioned in the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary* on June 22, with no association with St. Mary: *In Michaelis archangeli ecclesia, dedicatio et memoria* … (ed. Garitte 73-74, 257; ed. Tarchnišvili 17, 1048). – According to Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 283, a chapel of St. Michael is known near the northeast corner of the Parvis since the 14th c., when according to some sources it was owned by Georgians, but being mentioned in the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary*, its origin must have been much earlier. This St. Michael, previously of the Copts is used today by the Ethiopians. According to them (*ibid*.), the present Greek Orthodox chapel of St. Mary the Egyptian was in the 14th c. an Ethiopian chapel dedicated to St Mary of Golgotha. Verhelst, Lieux de station 53-54, locates St. Michael of October 5th and June 22nd in the southern gallery of the Anastasis, at the site of the present Armenian chapel of St. John the Almsgiver. See also Vailhé, Répertoire 36-37 no. 82. For a metochion of Mar Saba of the 12th c. and on, owned by Serbian monks in later centuries and located not far of the Tower of David, see Patrich, Sabaite Heritage, index. A present Greek Orthodox monastery by that name is located in St. Francis Street in the Christian quarter. Its two churches are dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. John Chrisostomos, not to St. Michael.

14 Milik, Topographie.

15 Milik, Notes 359-360, conceived that the St. Mary of Arculf is the same as that of Abbot Daniel (see below), but this is a mistake. I am indebted to Leah Di Segni for reference to both important studies of Milik.

16 Galadza, Sources 75.

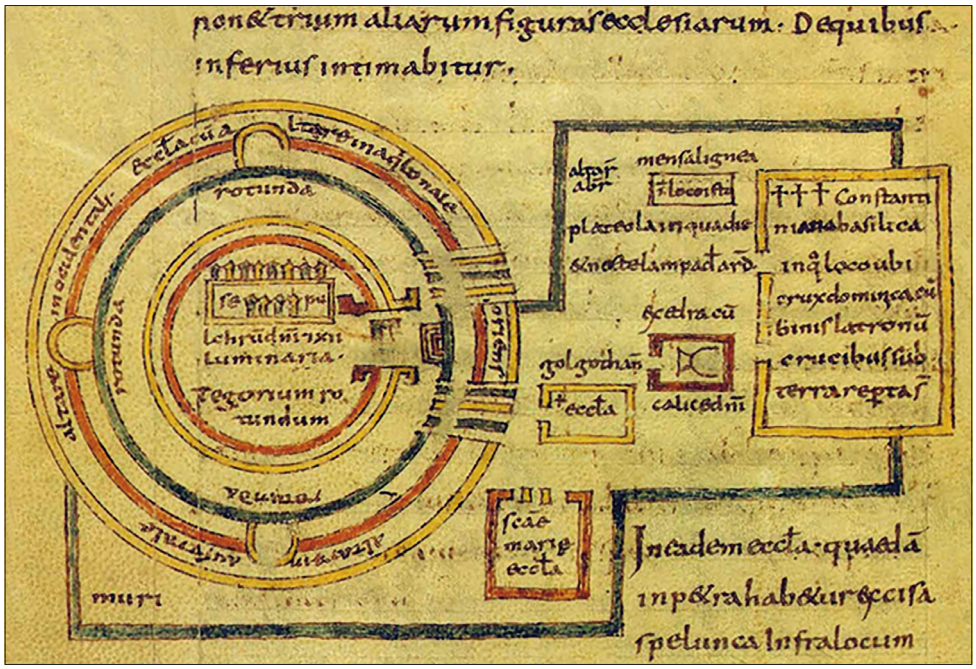


Fig. 3 Diagram of the complex of the Holy Sepulchre by Arculf, ca. 685. The church of St. Mary is marked to the southeast of the circular Anastasis (Adamnan, De Locis Sanctis, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 458, f. 4v, 9th c.). – (From https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rotunda,_Adomanan_de_locis_santis.jpg [Public domain]).

a complete order of the stationary service for the Holy Week. Stations addressed in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre include the Holy *Martyrion* and its eastern *Propylaeum*, the Holy Anastasis and its eastern gate known as the Gate of the *Myrrhophorai*, the Golgotha and the Cross itself, the Cross atrium (called Holy Garden), the *omphalos*, and the Holy Prison. The *Catechumena* and the Baptistery (*photisterion*) are mentioned there as well.

The manuscript is dated to 1122 according to its colophon. Papadopoulos-Kerameus opined that the liturgy presented in the *Typikon* was actually held under the Crusaders. However, Dmitrievskii criticized this opinion, saying that it could never been applied in 1122. The rite described therein cannot postdate the disappearance of the *Martyrion* of Constantine following the destruction caused by al-Ḥakim. According to Galadza, »the manuscript should be considered a record rather than a historical artifact preserved for posterity«[17]. In this he is, adopting the view of scholars such as Bertonière[18] and Janeras[19]. In any case, as was indicated already by Dmitrievskii, the *Typikon* cannot reflect actual twelfth century liturgy, but rather a tenth century or earlier rite.

Spoudaioi are mentioned in the *Typikon* with relations to several rites[20], and a church of the *Theotokos* is mentioned with association to the morning service of Palm Sunday in the *Martyrion* of Constantine, after a Vigil there. When the patriarch arrives, the *Spoudaioi* withdrew, ascending to their church of the *Theotokos*, in their monastery, reading psalmodies and celebrating all the rite there according to their custom (καθώς ἐστιν ὁ τύπος αὐτῶν). This suggests an immediate connectivity between the *Martyrion* and the *Spudaeon*.

Who were the *Spoudaioi* of the Holy Sepulchre and where was their monastery and the *Theotokos* church located?

The *Spoudaioi* of the Holy Sepulchre were monks devoted to serve in the liturgy of this church[21]. There were also *Spoudaioi* / *tagma* of the Kathisma, the New Church of Mary and the Monastery of Bessarion on Mt. Sion, officiating in their liturgical services[22]. The *Spoudaioi* of the Holy Sepulchre are first mentioned in the fifth century, living in scattered cells around the Tower of David[23]. In ca. 500 Patriarch Elias assembled them to live in common in a monastery near his *Patriarcheion*[24]. This seems to be the Monastery of the Anastasis, where 212 victims found their death in the Persian conquest[25]. A regular

17 Galadza, Sources 90; for reference to Dmitrievskii see n. 137 there.
18 Bertonière, Development 13-14.
19 Janeras, Vendredi-Saint 40; Janeras, Vendredi.
20 In Good Friday they held the canons of the hours at the site of the Crucifixion, and in the evening they recited vespers on the rear side of the Tomb and then moved, in procession, to Calvary, St. Constantine and the Prison of Christ up to the Gate of the Unguent-bearing Women (*Myrrhophorae*) – the gate of the Anastasis.
21 Petrides, Monastère suggested to see the origin of the *Spoudaioi* in the *monazontes* of Egeria and the *tagma* of *monazontes* of Cyril of Jerusalem. They should be differentiated from the *Spoudaioi* or *philoponoi* of Constantinople, Cyprus, Beyrouth, Antioch, Alexandria and other sites in Egypt, who were devoted lay Christians, not monks. See Petrides, Spoudaei; Vailhé, Philopones; Leclercq, Confréries; Wipszycka, Confreries. Papadopoulos-Krameus, the editor of the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, was wrong in assuming that the *Spoudaioi* were Frankish monks of Amalfi belonging to the Benedictine Order and that their monastery was founded by Charlemagne, identifying it with Santa Maria Latina mentioned in 870 by Bernard the Wise. Petrides had already indicated long ago (1901), that he was wrong in his assumptions about the *Spoudaioi*. They were rather Greek speaking Palestinian monks, not Benedictine.
22 Patrich, Sabas 5 and 148 n. 37; Di Segni, Cyril 144 n. 29.
23 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Theodosii 236,10.
24 Cyril of Scythopolis, Vita Sabae 116,5.
25 Milik, Topographie 157 no. 9 pl. 1; he locates it in the period that preceded the Arab conquest, to the west-northwest of the Anastasis. But he erred in associating to it the post conquest church of St. Mary and the annexed chapel of St. Michael. Verhelst, Lieux de station 52-53, with map on p. 69, likewise locates the *Spoudaieion* and its church of St. Mary (no. 53 on his map), to the north west of the Anastasis, on the site of the present Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.

nocturnal service by choirs of monks (i.e. the *Spoudaioi*) in the basilica, is mentioned by Sophronius[26]. Two monks, Theodore and Basil, occupying adjacent cells in the *Spoudaeion* of the Anastasis are mentioned in the *Vita* of Stephanus Sabaites (second half of the eighth century). In 811 the Patriarch of Jerusalem Thomas settled three Sabaite monks, Michael, whom he elected to serve as his *syncellus*, and his two disciples, brothers, in the monastery of the *Spoudaioi* near the Anastasis[27]. Then we have the evidence of the mid-tenth century *Typikon of the Anastasis*[28].

According to the *Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis* – a report on churches and monasteries in the Holy Land, ordered by Charlemagne and compiled in 808, the staff of the Holy Sepulchre included 41 monks[29].

Bernard the Wise, who visited Jerusalem in ca. 870, two centuries after Arculf, mentions four churches in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre with walls adjoining each other and an open garden in between. Chains extend from each church to the center of the garden, interpreted as the navel of the world. The church on the east is the basilica of Constantine, on the west – the Tomb of the Lord; the one on the south is not named, and likewise the fourth. The entire description seems to be quite schematic. He places Mt. Calvary (and the place where the Cross of the lord was found), in the basilica of Constantine – a clear mistake; none of them could be his southern church. Being a Latin pilgrim he was staying in the hospice built by Charlemagne, located in the Forum of the city[30]. Adjacent to the hospice he mentions a church in honour of Saint Mary with a splendid library donated also by Charlemagne. This church and hospice are mentioned later by several other Western pilgrims. Being located in the present day Muristan – extending over the former Forum of the city, it stood outside the complex of the Holy Sepulchre. Hence, it should not be confused with Arculf's St. Mary, located within[31].

In the years 1102-1103, only few years after the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, the English pilgrim Saewulf visited the city. The complex he speaks about is still that of Constantine Monomachus, not that of the Crusaders[32]. He mentions near Mount Calvary »the Church of St. Mary, in the place where the Lord's body was taken down from the Cross«[33]; ointments were put on him there, and he was wrapped in his shroud. The general location fits that given by Arculf more than three centuries earlier. His narrative indicates that Arculf's St. Mary commemorated at that time Christ's unction, and since Mount Calvary was elevated, Golgotha being located below, it seems that St. Mary Church was likewise elevated.

It seems that Arculf's St. Mary ceased to function only later in the Crusader period, and the location of the unction was transferred elsewhere. We may get a more specific date from *De situ urbis Jerusalem*, dated before 1114, where an altar in honour of St. Mary is mentioned *near* Mount Calvary and Golgotha[34], while in a *Work on Geography* cited by Wilkinson dated to the years 1128-1137, still before the inauguration of the Crusaders church, such a chapel is not mentioned[35]. This may serve as a *terminus ante quem*[36]. According to a later guide, dated to 1170, after the inauguration of the Crusaders Church, the Stone of Anointment was located in the middle of the Choir of the Canons in the Catholicon and the great altar there was dedicated to Saint Mary, marking the place where she stood, lamenting on her son[37]. The change was the result of the Crusaders' building project.

A Northern Chapel of St. Mary (fig. 4)

Saewulf (1102-1103) mentions, in addition, chapels on either side of the Holy Sepulchre not known before. Hence they seem to be the work of Constantine Monomachus. One, dedicated to St. Mary (it is not said under what title), is understood to be on the north; the other, dedicated to St. John, was on the south. On its other side, namely – to the south, he mentions a monastery of the Trinity, in which the baptistery is located, and beyond it the chapel of St. James[38]. The Chapel of St. Mary on the north was built in the eleventh century on the site of a former courtyard of the Patriarchate[39]. Hence, it seems that thereafter, and in Saewulf's time, there were two sanctuaries dedicated to St. Mary, one near Calvary, the second to the north of the Sepulchre. He adds that on the western wall of the northern chapel, outside, hang an icon of the Mother of God in front of which Mary the Egyp-

26 Sophronius, Anacreontica 20,51-54 (125 Gigante; trans. Wilkinson 91).
27 Petrides, Monastère 226.
28 On the *Spoudaioi* and their liturgical office in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre (in »L'Agrypnie dominicale, Les Heures du Grand Vendredi and Les Vêpres du Grand Vendredi soir, dans la nuit entre Vendredi-Saint et Grand Samedi«), see also Frøyshov, Horologe 333-341, who refers also to Flusin, Anastase 32.
29 Commemoratium 200-201, lines 4-5 (McCormick); they are not listed as *Spoudaioi*; just as monks, but in this case this seems to mean the same).
30 A wall separated the complex of the Holy Sepulchre from the city Forum. The wall was tentatively drawn on Gibson/Taylor, Beneath fig. 45. A section of it was actually uncovered in the excavations underneath the German Church of the Redeemer, see Vieweger, Re-appraisal.
31 Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894 erred in identifying these Latin institutions with the Greek Orthodox monastery of Abraham and a hall of the Abyssinians, located on the eastern side of the present *Parvis*. See Petrides, Monastère 225.
32 Saewulf's narratives much derives from Beda, De Locis Sanctis (702-703), that preceded the work of Constantine Monomachus. See Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 6-7.
33 Saewulf 12 (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 103).
34 De situ urbis Jerusalem 03 (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 177).
35 Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 201.
36 Instead we read there that below the place of Calvary (meaning the elevated Mount Calvary), »to the right as one enters the church, is a chapel where they say that the three Maries wept for him while he was suffering on the Cross. Not far from that Joseph buried Jesus« (Descriptio 162; trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 201).
37 Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 238: Second Guide.
38 The three chapels on the south of the Anastasis are mentioned also by the *Second Guide*, noted above, dated to 1170. One in honour of the Trinity, another, on the side of the Forum, in honor of St. James. Between the Sepulchre and the Place of Passion, namely – Mount Calvary, is a place where Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene (John 20). See Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 239. A chapel dedicated to Mary of Egypt is known today in the northeast corner of the *Parvis*.
39 Pringle, Churches 40-42 no. 283.1.

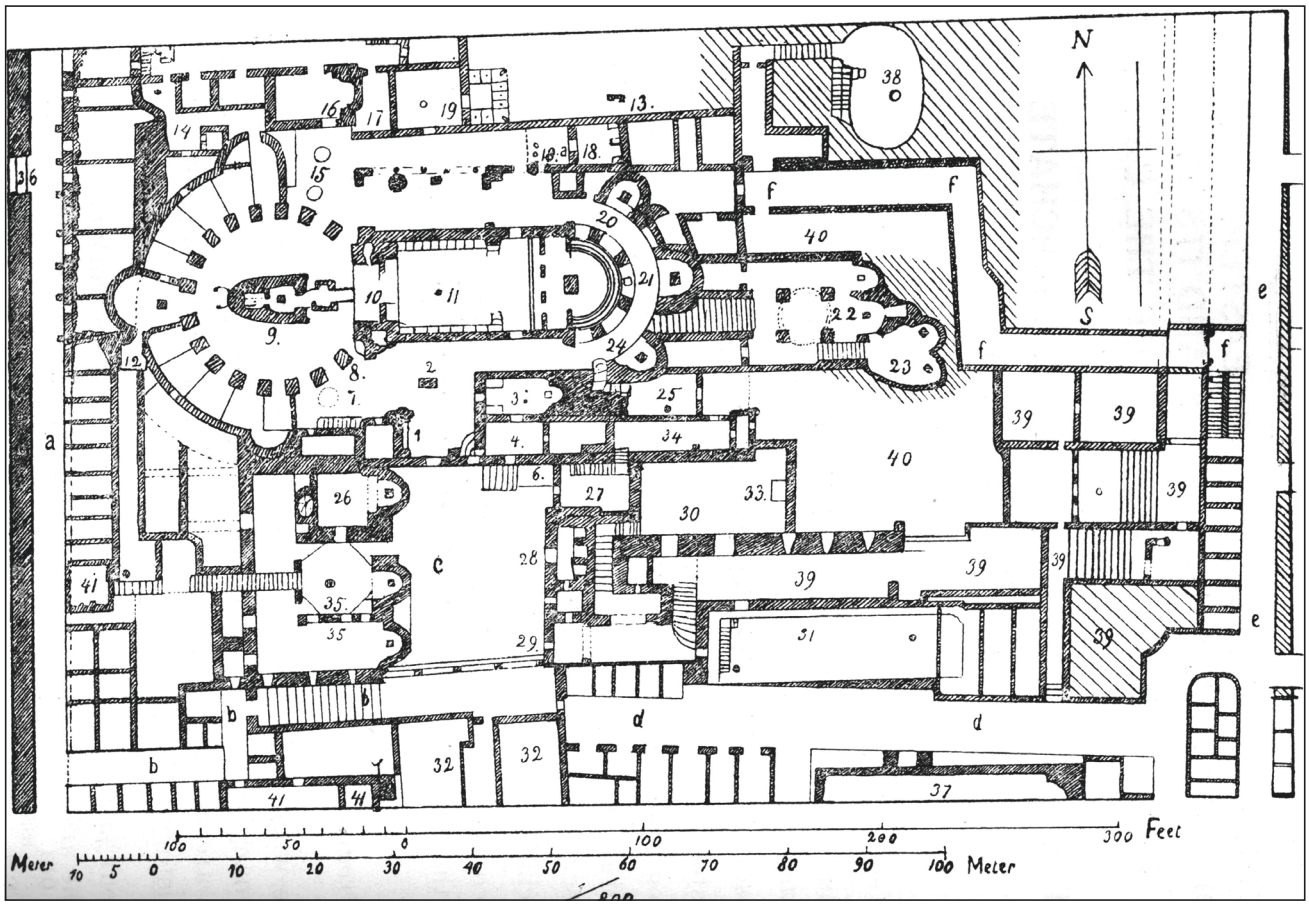


Fig. 4 The complex of the Holy Sepulchre today. **1** Southern Entrance to the Crusaders church. – **2** Stone of Unction. – **9** Holy Sepulchre. – **11** Katholikon, built by the Crusaders. – **16** St. Mary of the Latins. – **26** Chapel of the Forty Martyrs of the Greeks. – **25** Former Refectory of the Greeks. – **27** Archangel Michael of the Ethiopians. – **30** »Georgian Hall« of Abraham Monastery and the Church of Apostles above. – **31** Huge Water Cistern underneath St. Abraham. – **34** Four Creatures Chapel of the Ethiopians. – **35** Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen (Old Baptistery) and the Chapel of St. James to its south. – (From Katsimbinis, Hill of Calvary 198 fig. a).

tian repented. In earlier times this notable icon was hanging above the *Martyrion*'s gate, on the east, but this huge basilica ceased to exist after al-Ḥakim (see Appendix).

The northern St. Mary chapel is mentioned later by Muhammad al-Idrisi, an Arab Muslim geographer writing in Sicily in 1154 on the basis of travelers' reports addressing the church of the Crusaders. According to his narrative, the church of the Holy Sepulchre had three gates – on the south, north and west. The northern gate was called after St. Mary [leading to her chapel]. One could descend to the lower part of the church by 30 steps. At present the Khanqah al-Salahiyyah Mosque extends to the north of the Holy Sepulchre. It is not known if indeed a northern gate to the Holy Sepulchre existed there, but it seems reasonable. The southern gate is called by al-Idrisi the Gate of Crucifixion[40]. The west gate permits access only to the upper parts of the Anastasis; descending from the western side down, to the church, is impossible, so he says. But in 1107, this was the gate through which the Crusader king Baldwin and his retinue, including the Russian abbot Daniel, accessed the Anastasis for the ceremony of the Holy Fire[41]. The western gate, blocked today, can be seen on Christians Street, framed by typical Crusader moldings. Vincent and Abel refer to this western gate as St. Mary Gate. According to their reconstruction, 40 stairs led down to the court of St. Mary chapel of the Franciscans[42].

A Western Church of St. Mary

The Russian Abbot Daniel who visited Jerusalem in 1107, mentions at a distance of about 150 *sagene* (= ca. 320 m; 1 *sagene* = ca. 2,13 m), to the west of the site of the crucifixion, and above the Anastasis, a hill on which Mary, the Mother of the Lord, was standing with many of Christ's friends and ac-

40 Muhammad al-Idrisi, Description of Jerusalem. English trans. Le Strange, Palestine 206-207; Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 223.

41 *Varia lectionis*: eastern/rear gate (see Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 168). But at this time the church did not have a gate on the east, hence the version »eastern« should be discarded.

42 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 114 fig. 64; 136 fig. 89 and pl. 21. – The chapel is known at present as the Chapel of the Apparition, where Christ first appeared to his mother Mary after the resurrection according to the apocryphal »Gospel of Gamiliel« and »Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle« (www.holysepulchre.custodia.org/default.asp?id=4116 [8.05.2019]).

quaintances, talking to her son Christ when he was led to the Cross[43]. The name of the place is *Spudii*, which is translated as the zeal (*spoude*) of the Mother of God, »and there is now a monastery at that place and a very fine tall square church built in honor of the Holy Mother of God«. No explicit association with the monks *Spoudaioi* of the Holy Sepulchre, but the reference seems to be to their monastery. The location is to the west and at some distance from the Holy Sepulchre, rather than being a part of its complex, as is suggested by the *Typikon*, the *Georgian Calendar and Lectionary* and earlier by Arculf. It seems that after the Crusaders took hold of the church, the *Spoudaioi* lost to the Latin Canons their former role as guardians of the Holy Sepulchre and had to move to a remote monastery. St. Mary in *Spudii*, located at some distance to the west of Golgotha, and in a higher elevation, cannot be neither Arculf's St. Mary, nor *Deiparae ecclesia* of the *Georgian Calendar* and *Lectionary*, or the *Theotokos* church of the *Typikon of the Anastasis*.

The Location of Arculf's St. Mary and the Pre-Crusaders *Spoudaeion*

Vincent and Abel were of the opinion that Arculf's St. Mary should be located between the present Stone of Anointment and the place where the women stood, to the west of Golgotha[44], but this does not befit the location given in Arculf's diagram. Alternatively, they mark Arculf's St. Mary near the northeast corner of the *Parvis*[45]. They rightly distinguished between Arculf's St. Mary and *Theotokos* of the *Spoudaioi* of Abbot Daniel, suggesting that the latter one should be identified with the »Chapel of the Patriarch«, that until 1867 was attached to the drum of the dome of the Anastasis, on the west[46]. This eleventh century chapel was later part of the Crusaders Palace of the Patriarch, that according to Mujir ad-Din and other literary sources was confiscated by Ṣalaḥ ad-Din, and given to the Sufis order who establish there a hospice (*khanqeh*). This is the present Khanqah al-Salahiyyah Mosque, occupying the northwest zone of the Holy Sepulchre complex[47]. In any case, the *Spoudaieion* (with its church) should be conceived as a different complex than the *Patriarcheion*. As was indicated above (note 25), Verhelst, following Milik, opined that the *Spoudaieion* and its church of St. Mary, were located on the site of the present Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.

Petrides adopted the proposal of A. de Norov, the editor of the *Itinerary* of the Russian abbot Daniel, who suggested to identify St. Mary in *Spudii* with the present *Megala Panagia* nunnery, located indeed to the west and on higher ground than the Holy Sepulchre (and to the south of the present Greek Orthodox monastery of St. Constantine). The foundation of this monastery is associated in the local tradition, for some unclear reason, with the Latin matron and nun Melania the Younger[48]. Her cell and tomb is shown in the church, though according to her *Vita* she founded in the mid fifth century two monasteries on Mount of Olives, one for monks the second for nuns[49]. But the location of this St. Mary of the early twelfth century, cannot fit that of seventh century Arculf's. Saewulf's narrative, like Arculf's, suggests that a church dedicated to St. Mary near Mount Calvary did exist. According to Arculf it was located on the south of Mt. Calvary; according to Saewulf, it was on its level, rather than on the ground level. Can a more precise location be proposed?

Coüasnon placed to the south of the Rock of Crucifixion, his »behind the Cross« (*post crucem*) Golgotha church[50], with a small atrium in front[51], Two services described by Egeria were held in this church in the Great Week: (35,2 – hymn, prayer and offering by the bishop; 37,1-3 – the Veneration of the Cross) on Thursday and Friday, respectively[52]. The chamber in which the worshipers venerated the Wood of the Cross had two doors (37,3). Wilkinson rejected Coüasnon's proposal, saying that such chapel was located to the east of the Rock, not to its south[53]. I should add that being »behind« the Cross indicates that it was on the galleries level, on the western end the first southern gallery of the Basilica of Constantine, since the Cross was located on top of Mt. Calvary, rather than on ground floor. I maintain that Coüasnon's chapel, occupying the site of the Abyssinian chapel of Archangel Michael, should be identified with St. Michael of the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary* (October 5th) – a chapel annexed to St. Mary, that was located above, in an upper story.

43 There was also another tradition: According to Peter the Deacon (1137), Mary spoke with the Lord while standing behind the Resurrection, in the Garden, not far from his Prison, Peter the Deacon C 1 (94 Weber; trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 212). According to Saewulf 13 (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 103-104), the Latins and the Assyrians placed this episode in the site of the altar of St. Maria Latina.

44 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 224 and 219 fig. 119 F.

45 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 219 fig. 119 F^1.

46 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 224 with 114 fig. 64 A^3 and 116 fig. 66 C. – The eastern wall of this chapel, holding three niches, was dismantled by architect Mauss in 1867, and restored in the Franciscan property of St. Anne, where it can be seen at present.

47 Mauss, Note; Pringle, Churches 125-129 no. 300. – Epiphanius – a Jerusalemite monk of the 8th c., who wrote a guidebook for pilgrims to the Holy Land, probably before 787, mentions the *Patriarcheion* in proximity to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and below it a church without a throne, »which was to have been given a throne by the synod at the time of the Saracen invasion« (trans. Wilkinson 117). It is reasonable to assume that the Crusaders Palace of the Patriarch took the place of the earlier *Patriarcheion*. The identity of the underlying church is ambiguous.

48 This seems to be the reason why Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 287 name it Panagia Melana.

49 J. Raba, the Hebrew translator of the *Itinerary* of the Russian abbot Daniel, opined that it stood on the site of the present Lutheran church, confusing between it and St. Maria Latina. This Lutheran church is not to the west of the Anastasis and the Golgotha, and not on a higher elevation.

50 Coüasnon, Church 50-53 pl. 8-9 no. 8.

51 According to Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 142 a previous eastern portico of the *parvis* was integrated in the façade of the Monastery of Abraham, the Armenian chapel of St. James and St. Michael chapel of the Copts/Abyssinians.

52 Egeria 35,2 (278-281 Maraval; trans. Wilkinson 134-135); 37,1 (284-285 Maraval; trans. Wilkinson 136-137); Verhelst, Liturgie 279-280.

53 Wilkinson, Pilgrims 177. – For the archaeological finds behind and to the east of the Golgotha rock, see Katsimbinis, Hill of Calvary. They do not include remains of any early Christian chapel.

As for the *Typikon*'s monastery of the *Spoudaioi*, Papadopoulos-Kerameus pointed on the site of the Greek Orthodox monastery of Abraham, adding that another part of it is occupied by Abyssinian monks[54]. Interestingly, the monastery of Abraham serves at present the *Neotes* of the Holy Sepulchre, the Greek Orthodox monks serving in the church[55], holding the *agrypnia* rite there every night. They are the sucessors of the *Spoudioi* of pre-crusaders times. But not all of them live there. Some dwell in cells in the uppermost gallery of the rotunda[56]. Their refectory was in a hall to the east of Mt. Calvary[57]. Its floor was dismantled during the archaeological excavations at that site during the 1970's[58]. Today it serves as a store for official dress and vessels used in the service; a kind of *diakonikon*. St. Abraham monastery is a post-Crusaders structure, leaning against the refectory of the Latin canons. According to local memory, the monastery served in the past pilgrims and orphans[59]. In the fourteenth century, under Ottoman rule, Georgians were permitted to move in. The »Georgian Hall«, with an impressive ceiling of heavy wooden beams, serving now as the library of the monastery, is attributed to this period[60]. The church located above, under restoration at present, is dedicated to the Apostles. The memory of the possible association of this monastery with the pre-Crusaders *Spoudaieion* was forgotten. The St. Mary church discussed here might have been located above the St. Michael chapel, on the approximate location of the Georgian Hall, the western window of which overlooks St. Michael.

Summary

The architectural history of the *Spoudaeion* can be divided into three chapters, in accord with that of the entire complex of the Holy Sepulchre. In the Early Byzantine period, from ca. 500 the *Spoudaeion* was adjacent to the *Patriarcheion*. According to the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary* pertaining to August 11th, a chapel of St. Mary formed a component of it. The Crusaders Palace of the Patriarch, that most probably replaced the earlier Byzantine *Patriarcheion*, extended to the northwest of the Holy Sepulchre[61]. St. Mary Church to the south of Golgotha, where Arculf is placing it, did not come yet into being. Following the damage caused to the entire complex of the Anastasis, including its monastery, by the Persians and the successive Arab conquest, in order to better secure the complex, the *Spoudaeion* was shifted to a more central location, nearer to Golgotha and St. Constantine, to their south. This is where Arculf places St. Mary Mother of the Lord. The translation of the *Spoudaion* with the monastic church of St. Mary to this location, should be attributed to Modestus. According to Saewulf the church commemorates the site of Unction. The *Typikon of the Anastasis* indicates that this was indeed the church of the *Spoudaeion*, and that it was located at a higher elevation, not at ground floor. From there the *Spoudaioi* could easily reach Mt. Calvary and the *Martyrion* via its galleries. The rites in this church associated with the *Spoudaioi* described in the *Typikon of the Anastasis* are related to the church in this new location.

Under the Crusaders the Latin Patriarch occupied the former Greek *Patriarcheion*. From the narrative of the Russian Abbot Daniel (1107) we can conclude that under the Latin domination the *Spoudaioi* – the brotherhood of the local Palestinian church – lost their former status and had to move c. 300 m to the west. Their church of St. Mary moved likewise to their new location. The Latin canons took their role as the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, and took hold of the Greek *Spoudaeion* and their church. In due course a special monastery was constructed for these Augustinian canons over the ruined *Martyrion*.

Following Papadopoulos-Kerameus, it is suggested here that the Greek Orthodox Monastery of Abraham marks the location of the pre-Crusaders monastery of the *Spoudaioi*. As was indicated above, the *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary*[62] associates a church dedicated to St. Mary with St. Michael. A chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael,

54 Petrides, Monastère 225.

55 I have learnt this and other facts from the monks Aristoboulos, the director of the Choir of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, and Isidoros, the present Guardian of the Holy Cross and abbot of these *Neotes*, with whom I have consulted also about other aspects related the present study. I am indebted to both.

56 According to Cust, Status Quo 30, the topmost Gallery of the Rotunda on the south is under Orthodox control, while the northern section is within the precinct of the *Khankeh* mosque. One should also bear in mind that not all the monks serving in the Jerusalem Patriarchate are *Neotes*.

57 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 99-101 fig. 54-56.

58 Katsimbinis, Hill of Calvary.

59 Two refectories, other than the one mentioned above, can be seen there. The first to the north of the big water cistern; the second, longer and narrower than the first, in a lower level. A broad staircase leads down from the upper one. A second broad staircase leads up near the southwest end of the lower refectory. Both, decorated with deteriorating frescos depicting saints, serve at present as storage spaces.

60 Still during the early 1970's the library of St. Abraham monastery was located in the octagonal structure of red bricks, now dismantled, attributed to the building phase of Constantine Monomachus. See Katsimbinis, Hill of Calvary; Ousterhout, Rebuilding.

61 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 274; Corbo, Santo Sepolcro pl. 3; Pringle, Churches 39 plan 2, p. 49 plan 7 and 125-129 no. 300. – For a plan of the Mediaeval structures surrounding the complex of the Holy Sepulchre see also Clapham, Buildings. Concerning the *Patriarcheion* in the 8th c., see also *supra* n. 47. The Russian Abbot Daniel, describing the circular Church of Resurrection, mentions in its upper part spacious rooms in which lives (*var. lec.*: lived) the Patriarch. See Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 258; Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan, Jerusalem Pilgrimage 128. According to the *Typikon of the Anastasis* V,2, in the celebration of the Pascha, when all clergy assembled to the Patriarchate, they all had to descend, indicating that the *Patriarcheion* was located indeed on a higher elevation. For a French translation of this passage of the *Typikon* see Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 241. – On a brief history of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in later periods see Papadopoulos, Topographikon. Until 1845, as long as the Jerusalem patriarch was staying in Istanbul, the residence of his deputy was located above and to the west of the three chapels delineating the *parvis* on the west. His audience hall – the *epitropikon*, serves today as the salon of the clergy praying in St. Constantine church. Their refectory serves at present for storing various ecclesiastical furniture that went out of use, being replaced by new ones.

62 Feasts related to June 22nd and October 5th. See Milik, Notes 360, and note 13 above.

accessed from the NE corner of the *Parvis*, exists today in the lower level of the Ethiopian quarters[63]. A staircase ascends from there east, to the chapel of »The likeness of the Four Living Creatures« (Ezek. 1,5). Ch. Coüasnon deemed to reconstruct on the site of St. Michael of the Ethiopians his Golgotha chapel, labeled by him »*post crucem*«. But it should rather mark St. Michael of the *Georgian Calendar* and *Lectionary*. Above and to the east of this Ethiopian chapel is located the »Georgian Hall« of St. Abraham Monastery, having a window that looks down to this chapel. This is a mediaeval hall above which is located the Greek Orthodox church of the Apostles, sacred also to the Georgians. It may mark the general location of St. Mary of Arculf (and Saewulf), the *Theotokos* church of the *Anastasis Typikon*, and *Deiparae ecclesia* of the *Georgian Calendar* and *Lectionary* pertaining to October 5th. As is indicated in the last two sources, the church is located on an upper level.

Appendix: The Whereabout of St. Mary Icon and Relics

The *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* – a fifth-early sixth century anachoress –, attributed to Sophronius, mentions an icon of the *Theotokos* hanging above the main eastern entrance to the church[64], that had a porch in front – the western portico of the atrium – rather than in a closed sacristy.

The Placentia pilgrim mentions an icon of St. Mary on a raised place, her girdle and head band (*species beatae Mariae in superiori loco, et zona ipsius et ligamentum, quo utebatur in capite*). He also mentions seven marble thrones (*cathedrae*) of the elders (*seniorum*), that stood there – namely, in the basilica of Constantine[65]. The icon and the other relics of St. Mary are mentioned following his description of the Wood of the Cross and the miracles performed by it in the ceremony of the Veneration of the Cross. The Wood of the Cross was kept at that time, together with other relics – the sponge, the reed, and the onyx cup – in a small room (*cubiculum*) in the courtyard (*atrium*) of the basilica. According to the *Breviarius* (early sixth century), this chamber (*cubiculus*), was on the left, as one enters the basilica[66]. According to Sophronius (early seventh century), the reed, the sponge and the lance were venerated in an Upper Room[67]. The courtyard in which the miracles occurred, was located to the east of the basilica[68]. The context of the Placentia pilgrim's description may suggest that St. Mary's icon was kept nearby, in an upper sacristy, but neither a chapel nor a *cubiculum* are mentioned by him. His »raised place«, where the icon stood, should rather be interpreted in accord with the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt*. In any case, St. Mary of Arculf/Adamnan was located on the other side of St. Constantine; it came into being later and did not exist in the time of the Placentia pilgrim[69]. Neither St. Mary's icon nor the other relics of her are associated by Arculf/Adamnan with this church.

In a later period, after the Arab conquest, the miraculous icon of the *Theotokos* is mentioned by the eighth century monk Epiphanius[70], but in another location: According to him, the Lance, Sponge, Reed (and other relics), were located in a sacristy above the door of St. Constantine, between the prison and the site of Crucifixion[71]. Epiphanius is referring here to a western door of the basilica, open to the Holy Garden, not to the *atrium* addressed by the Placentia pilgrim. Hence, under Muslim regime the sacristy of these relics was shifted to an inner location – a more secure place, overlooking the inner courtyard – the tri-portico, rather than overlooking the eastern one, as before[72].

As for the miraculous icon of the *Theotokos* as addressed by Epiphanius, it was located on the left side of St. Constantine. Here, again, the reference must be to the rear, western façade of the basilica, rather to its eastern one. Namely, the miraculous icon was also shifted, being placed above the western door of the basilica, open to the Holy Garden.

As was indicated above, Saewulf also mentions a chapel of St. Mary on the north of the *triportico*. Outside, on its western wall, an icon of St. Mary was painted, in front of which Mary the Egyptian repented, but this cannot be the earlier icon, which was transferred to Constantinople under emperor Leo VI (886-911)[73].

63 Cust, Status Quo 30. Abel, Rec. Kekelidze 459 no. 22 suggested to identify St. Michael of October 5th with the Greek convent of St. Michael, located near the Latin convent of the Saviour. In his other recension article (Abel, Rec. Goussen 615 no. 22), concerning St. Michael church of June 22nd, he mentioned Goussen's proposal that the monastery of archimandrite Jordanes – a correspondent of John of Damascus (8th c.), was near the *leprosarium* of St. Michael near David's Gate. According to Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 924, interpreting buildings depicted on the Madaba Map, a church by the name of St. Michael should be located near Bab a-Naḏir gate of Ḥaram al Sharif, the former name of which was Bab Mikail (according to Clermont-Ganneau, Researches 127-128). See also note 13 above.

64 Sophronius, Vita 25 (3713B Migne). Though a literary construct (see Kazhdan, Mary of Egypt), the architectural reality pertaining to the complex of the Holy Sepulchre should not be questioned.

65 Antonini Placentini, Itinerarium 20 (139 Geyer); *Recensio Altera* 20 (164 Geyer).

66 Breviarius Forma a, 1 (109 Weber; trans. Wilkinson 59; early 6th c.).

67 Sophronius, Anacreontica 20,47-50 (125 Gigante; trans. Wilkinson 91). – A place where the Wood of the Cross was venerated is also mentioned by Sophronius, Anacreontica 20,35-38 (124 Gigante; trans. Wilkinson 91). Its exact location or shape are not specified.

68 In the time of Egeria, the wood of the cross was venerated in the *post crucem* Golgotha chapel, as was indicated above.

69 *Pace* Milik, Notes 359-360.

70 Epiphanius II 9-11; Milik, Notes 360; according to Milik, later on, under emperor Leo VI (886-911), the icon was transferred to the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

71 Epiphanius I 14-II 1. The Wood of the Cross, taken by Heraclius to Constantinople, is not mentioned.

72 The southern part of the eastern courtyard – the atrium of the basilica – was confiscated by the Muslims, and a mosque was installed there in the 9th or 10th c., before the time of Eutychius of Alexandria (Annales 118-120). See Aist, Topography 93-94.

73 I have consulted with and was assisted by many scholars concerning various aspects of this paper, mainly the proper understanding of the entries in the Georgian Calendar and Lectionary. Special thanks are due to Tinatin Chronz. I am grateful also to Daniel Galadza, Stig Frøyshov, Zaza Skhirtladze, Yana Tchekhanovets and Leah Di Segni, for their time and useful advises.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Arculfs Marienkirche und das Spoudaion im Komplex des Heiligen Grabes zwischen der Eroberung durch die Araber und die Kreuzritter. Ort und Liturgie

Eine Maria, Mutter des Herrn, geweihte Kirche wird von dem fränkischen Bischof Arculf erwähnt, der Jerusalem um 685 besuchte. Dieser Bau ist auch auf einer von ihm gezeichneten Wachstafel südöstlich der Anastasis-Rotunde und südlich von Golgotha zu sehen. Eine solche Kirche gab es vor der arabischen Eroberung nicht. Eine Kirche mit diesem Namen wird auch im georgischen Kalender und Lektionar des 10. Jahrhunderts und im Typikon der Anastasiskirche aus der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts erwähnt, was darauf hinweist, dass dies die Kirche des Klosters der Spoudaioi war. Saewulfs Beschreibung (1102/1103) legt ebenfalls nahe, dass diese Kirche keine Erfindung von Arculf war. Diese und andere literarische Quellen werden erörtert, um die mögliche Lage von Arculfs Marienkirche und des vorkreuzfahrerzeitlichen Spoudaieion zu ermitteln.

Arculf's Church of St. Mary and the *Spoudaeion* in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre between the Arab and the Crusader Conquests. Location and Liturgy

A church named St. Mary Mother of the Lord is mentioned by the Gaulish bishop Arculf, who visited Jerusalem in ca. 685. The church is also depicted to the southeast of the round church of the Resurrection and to the south of Golgotha on a diagram drawn by him on a wax tablet. Such a church did not exist there prior to the Arab conquest. A church by this name is also mentioned in the tenth century *Georgian Calendar* and *Georgian Lectionary* and in the mid-tenth century *Typikon of the Anastasis* that indicate that this was the church of the monastery of the *Spoudaioi*. Saewulf's description (1102/1103) likewise suggests that this church was not a fiction of Arculf. These and other literary sources are discussed in order to trace the possible location of Arculf's St. Mary and of the pre-Crusaders *Spoudaieion*.

L'église Sainte-Marie d'Arculfe et le Spoudaion dans le complexe du Saint-Sépulcre entre la conquête arabe et les croisés. Lieu et liturgie

Une église consacrée à Marie, la mère du Seigneur, est mentionnée par l'évêque franc Arculfe, qui visita Jérusalem vers 685. Ce bâtiment est également visible au sud-est de la rotonde de l'Anastasis et au sud du Golgotha sur un dessin qu'il a réalisé sur une tablette de cire. Il n'existait pas d'église comme celle-là avant la conquête arabe. Une église de ce nom est mentionnée dans le *Calendrier géorgien* et le *Lectionnaire géorgien* du 10e siècle, ainsi que dans le *Typikon de l'Anastasis* du milieu du 10e siècle qui indiquent qu'il s'agissait de l'église du monastère des *Spoudaioi*. La description de Saewulf (1102/1103) suggère également que cette église n'était pas une fiction d'Arculfe. On discute cette source et d'autres sources littéraires afin de déterminer la localisation vraisemblable de l'église Sainte-Marie d'Arculfe et le *Spoudaion* antérieur aux croisés.

Traduction: Y. Gautier

Anastasia Keshman W.

Mary the Doorkeeper – On the History of the Miraculous Image of the Theotokos in the Complex of the Holy Sepulchre

Since the Early Byzantine period St. Mary of Egypt has been one of the most important local saints of the Holy Land, and her miraculous story was for centuries recounted in front of pilgrims who came to Jerusalem. In this paper I would like to argue that the location of the miracle performed on St. Mary of Egypt, which is inextricably linked with the main door of the church, can serve as an indicator of the location of the major entrance to the Holy Sepulchre complex. The main entrance to the church was shifted a number of times over the centuries and its exact location at any point in time is not always clear. Locating the hagiographical tradition of St. Mary of Egypt within the Holy Sepulchre complex can provide additional information relating to its convoluted architectural history.

But first I would like clarify that neither do I aim to question the veracity of the described miracle, nor do I claim the uninterrupted existence of a single image preserved from the time of Luke to the present day. I leave these matters to the field of faith. I do not claim the existence of one specific painting that was moved over the centuries within the Holy Sepulchre or elsewhere. Instead I concentrate my efforts on tracking a specific phenomenon (connected to a certain image within the Holy Sepulchre complex) and its physical location within a continually changing church. This tradition, no matter its historical veracity, has been upheld without interruption to the present day*.

The *Vita* of St. Mary of Egypt and the Atrium of the Martyrium Basilica of Constantine

According to her *Vita*, St. Mary of Egypt (Ἡ Ὁσία Μαρία ἡ Αἰγυπτία, Mary the Egyptian or Maria Aegyptiaca) was born in a small place in Egypt in the fourth or fifth century[1]. At twelve she left her parents' home for Alexandria driven by a hyper-sexuality disorder, as implied by the text. After some time she joined a group of male pilgrims who were heading to Jerusalem for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, and arrived in the Holy Land looking for new sources of male companionship. But her life changed dramatically on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, bringing to her repentance:

»When the holy feast of the Exaltation of the Cross came […], at early dawn I saw everybody hurrying to the church (εκκλησία) and off I went, running along with those who were running. So, I came with them to the courtyard of the church (the basilica's atrium, οίκου προαύλια). When the time came for the divine Exaltation <of the Cross>, I tried to join the crowd and force my way to the entrance, pushing <my way> forward but being pushed back. Eventually, with great trouble and grief – wretched woman <that I am> – I approached the door through which one entered the church (the door of the temple, αυτόν τον ναόν) where the life-giving cross was displayed. But as soon as I stepped on the threshold of the door (the doorstep, θύρας), all the other people entered unhindered, while some kind of divine power held me back, not allowing me to pass the entrance <of the church>. Once more I was pushed back and forth, finding myself again standing alone in the courtyard (in the atrium, προαύλια). […] After this happened three or four times, I became fatigued and no longer had the strength to push and be pushed back, for my body was exhausted as a result of my violent effort. So, I gave up and went back and stood at the corner of the courtyard of the church (in a corner of the atrium, προαύλια). Only then did I realize the cause which prevented me from laying eyes on the life-giving cross, for a salvic word touched the eyes of my heart, showing me that it was the filth of my actions that was barring the entrance for me. […] As I was crying, I saw the icon of the all-holy Mother of God (είκόνα τής παναγίας Θεοτόκου) standing above the place where I stood. I looked straight at Her and said, ›Virgin Lady, Though Who didst give flesh to God the Word by birth, […] help me, a lone woman who has no one to help her. Command that I, too, may be allowed to enter the church (τήν είσοδον τής Εκκλησίας). Do not deprive me of <the opportunity of> seeing the cross on which God, to Whom Thou gavest birth, was crucified in the flesh […]. Command, my Lady, that the door (the doorstep, θύραν) may be opened also to me, that I may venerate the divine cross. […]‹ […] As soon as I spoke these words […] I moved from

* This research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant no. 309/18).

1 Cross/Livingstone, Dictionary 884; Farmer, Dictionary 271; Kouli in Sophronius, Life 66-67.

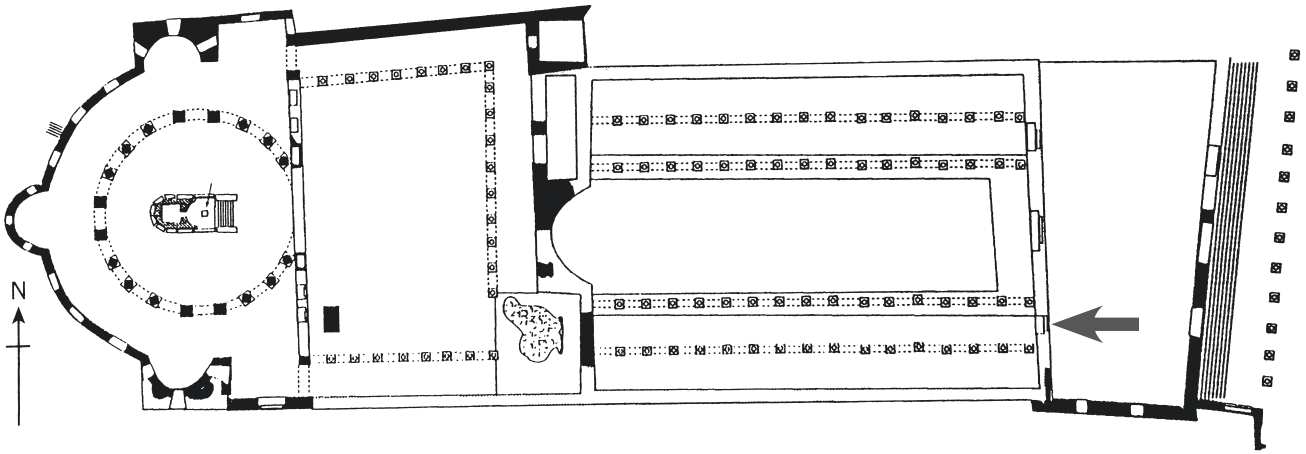


Fig. 1 Holy Sepulchre Complex, fourth century. – (From Corbo, Santo Sepolchro tab. 3).

that place where I stood praying, and returned and joined those people who were entering <the church>. No longer did anyone push me and that, nor did anyone prevent me from approaching the door (the doorstep, θύρας) through which they entered the church (the temple, ναόν). […] Then I reached the door (the doorstep, θύραν) that until then had been barred to me […]. In this way I entered <the church> without any effort. Thus I found myself inside the Holy <of Holies>, and I was deemed worthy to see the life-giving cross […]. […] After I kissed the holy ground, I rushed out to Her, Who had stood as guarantor for me. So I came to that place where the bond of guarantee was signed and, kneeling in front of the ever-virgin Mother of God, I said the following words: ›O my Lady, […] be the teacher of my salvation and guide me toward the path which leads to repentance. ‹ While I was saying these words, I heard someone crying aloud from afar, ›If you cross the <river> Jordan, you shall find a place of repose.‹ […] Having cried out these words, I came out of the courtyard of the church and hurried away. [Subsequently, St. Mary of Egypt left Jerusalem, crossed the river Jordan and lived in the wilderness until her death some 47 years later]«[2].

What matters most for the purposes of this paper is the exact placement of the miracle described in the text, which is clear and consistent in its architectural details. The event took place in the »atrium of the basilica« (οίκου προαύλια), there Mary of Egypt managed to squeeze up to the door of the temple (αυτόν τον ναόν) where the lifegiving Tree of the Cross was being shown to the people. She was stopped on its very doorstep (θύρας). The icon of the Theotokos, which talked to the sinful woman, hung above the crowd's heads not far from this very door, in the corner of the atrium (whether this refers to the right or the left corner is unclear).

This information can be translated into architectural reality. Although it is not clear from the *Vita* when St. Mary of Egypt visited Jerusalem (fourth, fifth or even sixth century?), the complex as it is described is without doubt that of Constantine[3]. A detailed description of the original Holy Sepulchre complex consecrated in 335 is given by Eusebius in his »Life of Constantine«[4]. It consisted of two major parts: the Rotonda of the Anastasis, built around the Holy Tomb with an open courtyard in front (an inner atrium), and the huge Martyrium basilica with its own entrance courtyard (an outer atrium), which people entered from the *cardo* at the east end of the complex[5]. The »three doors well placed to face the sunrise received the crowds flowing in« of Eusebius' description should be understood as those through which the crowd entered the basilica from the outer atrium, the one referred to in the story of Maria Aegyptiaca.

So, the specific location of the events as described in St. Mary of Egypt's *Vita* can be located very precisely within the Constantinian complex of the Holy Sepulchre – the place within the outer atrium, a courtyard that connected the en-

2 Sophronius, Vita 22-25 (3712-3716 Migne). The Greek text of the *Vita* (BHG 1042) was edited by Migne (1863). The English translation is from Sophronius, Life, here 82-84. The Greek terms, given in parentheses, are from Migne's text, some preceded by (my own) more precise translations of architectural terms.

3 Egeria's itinerary, written in c. 380, confirms that during the celebration on the first day of the Exaltations of the Cross, that took place in the Martyrium basilica, variety of people came from all nearby provinces, including lay women from Egypt; Egeria 48-49 (trans. Wilkinson 146-147).

4 Eusebius, Life of Constantine III 33-39 (trans. Cameron/Hall 133-137): »As the principal item he [Constantine] first of all decked out the sacred cave. […] He then went on to a very large space wide open to the fresh air […]. On the side opposite the cave, which looked towards the rising sun, was connected the royal temple, an extraordinary structure raised to an immense height and very extensive in length and breadth. […] Three doors well placed to face the sunrise received the crowds flowing in. […] For those going on from there to the entrances situated at the front of the shrine, another open space awaited them. Arcades stood there on either hand, a first court and colonnades beyond, and finally the gates of the court. Beyond these, right in the middle of the open square, the porticoes forming the entrance to the whole, beautifully wrought, offered to those passing outside a striking view of what was to be seen within«.

5 Corbo, Santo Sepolcro; Patrich, Holy Sepulchre; Biddle, Tomb 53-73; Krüger, Grabeskirche 38-71.

trance from the *cardo* to the Holy Sepulchre complex from the East, and specifically to the entrance door from the atrium to the Martyrium basilica (**fig. 1**).

Not only is the exact date of Maria Aegyptiaca's visit to Jerusalem unknown but also when and by whom her *Vita* was recorded. Traditionally, its authorship is ascribed to Sophronius, who was Patriarch of Jerusalem (634-638) after Modestus, towards the middle of the seventh century, which would mean it was composed more than 200 years after the time it describes.

The earliest evidence for the existence of the tradition connecting a specific image of the Holy Virgin with the story of St. Mary of Egypt within the Holy Sepulchre complex can be found in the itinerary of the Piacenza Pilgrim (c. 570, some 70 years before the suggested date of composition of the *Vita*)[6]. Here »a portrait of Blessed Mary on a raised place« is mentioned[7]. Unfortunately, this evidence is unclear and does not allow for a reconstruction of the exact location of the icon inside the church building. However, the Piacenza Pilgrim lists the miraculous icon among the other relics – starting with the wood of the Cross and other Passion relics, the Last Supper cup and two more Marian relics – putting them »in the same place« (in Wilkinson's translation or simply »there«, *ibi*, in the Latin original), where »there« can be interpreted both as a specific room or as the church complex in general. Numerous interpretations are possible. One is that all the listed relics, including the icon, were concentrated in one place, namely in a specific relic room (*cubiculum*) in the outer atrium of the basilica where the Cross relics were kept and taken out for veneration in the atrium. Another is that they were divided between two relic rooms mentioned in the »Short Account of Jerusalem« (*Breviarius de Hierosolyma*) of the early sixth century[8]. *Breviarius* version A makes a distinction between two relic rooms – first, a chamber with the relics of the True Cross on the left side of the outer atrium of the Basilica of Constantine (corresponding to the description of the Piacenza Pilgrim – »in the courtyard of the basilica is a small room where they keep the Wood of the Cross«), and second, the *sacrarium* situated inside the Basilica of Constantine, where the reed, the sponge, and the cup are stored (the icon of St. Mary is not mentioned in either of them)[9]. A third possibility, suggested by an anonymous reader of this paper, posits that there were three different sacristies within the sixth century Holy Sepulchre complex – one for the Cross, a second for the Passion relics, and a third chamber in an unspecified location for Marian relics (including her girdle and the icon discussed). The first mention of the St. Mary the Egyptian miracle icon within the church complex by the Piacenza Pilgrim leaves us only with speculations. I suggest that it is possible that the icon was kept inside or on the wall of the *cubiculum* where the cross (and other?) relics were kept in the outer/eastern atrium of the Martyrium basilica. This location is in tune with the narrative of the miracle as described in Sophronius' *Vita*, which may be considered a further source supporting this location – this one unquestionably clear and repetitive in its architectural nuance. I strongly suggest that prior to the seventh century, the icon was located somewhere near the main entrance to the church complex which would correspond to the miraculous narrative (and to the continuous history of the miraculous icon, hung high enough to remain safe and be visible from the main entrance) and that at that time it was still the eastern portal leading to the Martyrium basilica via the outer atrium from the *cardo*.

Yet other plausible interpretation, based on the description in the *Breviarius* of two (or even three) different relic rooms, suggests that the icon at the time of the Piacenza Pilgrim was placed somewhere in the inner atrium[10]. This location is in tune with the next stage of the development of the legendary presence within the Holy Sepulchre church. As I argue in the following, there is reason to believe that the location of the legend and the main entrance to the church complex moved to the southern portal during the seventh century.

Location at the Southern Portal Following the Restoration Works of Modestus

Later evidence, from the second half of the seventh century onwards locates the miraculous spot in a different place within the Holy Sepulchre complex –at the southern portal.

I suggest that Arculf's account, as recorded by Adomnan in about 670, describes the place connected to the image

6 Wilkinson, Pilgrims 83 n. 32; 177 n. b; Pringle, Churches 14.

7 Piacenza Pilgrim 18-20 (trans. Wilkinson 83): »[…] We entered the Holy City and venerated the Lord's Tomb. […] From the Tomb it is eighty paces to Golgotha. […] 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. […] The title is also there which they placed over the Lord's head, on which they wrote 'This is the King of the Jews'.[…] At the moment when the Cross is brought out of this small room for veneration [it] arrives in the court to be venerated […]. […] In that place are also the sponge and reed […] and also the onyx cup which he blessed at the Supper, and many other marvellous things beside: a portrait of Blessed Mary on a raised place, her girdle, and the band which she used to have on her head«.

8 Breviarius 1-3, Version A (trans. Wilkinson 59-60): »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. […] And going from there into Golgotha there is a great court where the Lord was crucified. […] To the west of this place one enters the Holy Resurrection which contains the Tomb of the Lord. […] Then one goes into the sacrarium 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 […]«.

9 Pringle, Churches 9 does not accept the existence of two relic rooms even in his reading of the *Breviarius* and claims all the relics were kept at the same sacristy room.

10 This is especially true if the »seven marble seats for the elders« mentioned in *Breviarius* are understood as the Martyrium's synthronon.

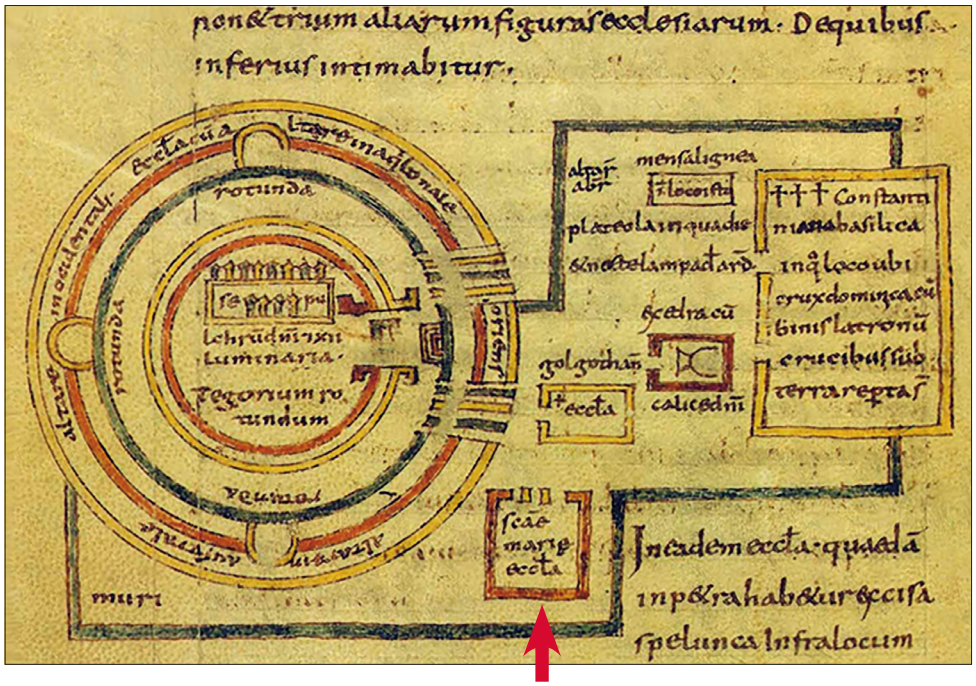


Fig. 2 Arculf's Plan of the Holy Sepulchre Complex as it was in the seventh century, Adomnan, De locis sanctis (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 458, fol. 4v, 9th c.). – (From https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Rotunda,_Adomanan_de_locis_santis.jpg [Public domain]).

of the Theotokos that spoke to St. Mary the Egyptian even without mentioning the image explicitly[11]. I suggest that the »Church of Saint Mary the Lord's Mother« mentioned and depicted by Arculf south of Golgotha (that in his time was already covered with a »huge church«) is connected to the tradition of the icon of St. Mary of Egypt. To make my point, more argumentation from the next source should be added.

Epiphanius the monk (most probably in the late eighth or ninth century), while describing the same place, adds more detail to this somewhat complicated arrangement[12]. In order to understand better the direction of both descriptions, the diagram of Arculf (**fig. 2**) should be examined. The viewpoint described in both texts is today's southern gate. Arculf's »rectangular church of Saint Mary the Lord's Mother« as well as the »the icon of the very holy Theotokos, who forbade Saint Mary to enter the church« of Epiphanius, are located at the same spot – »next to the Anastasis and on its right« by Arculf and »on the left side of Saint Constantine« by Epiphanius. The diagram also clearly shows that the place associated with Mary is situated between the Anastasis to the left, and the Martyrium to the right, south-west of Golgotha, making it the most southern spot on his schematic ground plan.

Although seventh to ninth century descriptions do not allow for a conclusive picture of the interior of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, I nonetheless wish to claim that from the second half of the seventh century onwards, references were made to St. Mary's image, chapel or story relating to St. Mary of Egypt at the southern part of the inner atrium, somewhere between the Anastasis and the Martyrium, south-west of the newly built »huge church« at Golgotha (more or less at the base of the present day Crusader bell-tower). The two-storey church over Golgotha was built of stone by Bishop Modestus (d. 630) following the Persian invasion and the plunder of the church treasure, introducing *inter alia* the new tradition of the Tomb of Adam under the place of Crucifixion in the Holy Sepulchre complex[13].

Following finds from excavations in the *Parvis* by Virgilio Corbo[14] and Charles Coüasnon[15], some researchers, including Myriam Rosen-Ayalon who worked on the stone decora-

11 Adomnan 2-8 (trans. Wilkinson 95-97): »[The church built over the Lord's Sepulchre] is a very large church, entirely made of stone, and built on a remarkable round plan. […] It has eight doors, or entries […]. Four of them are on the north facing east […], and the other four are on the south facing east. […] Next to the round church we have been describing, and on its right (it is called Anastasis, meaning Resurrection […]) is a rectangular church of Saint Mary the Lord's Mother. Further to the east has been built another huge church, on the site which in Hebrew is called Golgotha. […]. 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 […]. There is an open court between the Anastasis […] and the Basilica of Constantine. It stretches as far as the Church of Golgotha […]. There is a chapel set between the church of Golgotha and the Martyrium, and it contains the Lord's Cup which he blessed […] during the supper […] with the apostles […]. […] Inside the Cup is the very Sponge filled with vinegar […]. […] 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«.

12 Epiphanius I 10-II 11 (trans. Wilkinson 117): »And in the middle of the Holy City is the holy Tomb of the Lord, and near the Tomb the place of the Skull. […] Between these buildings 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. […] 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 Mary to enter the church on the day of the Exaltation. There also she made her promise«.

13 Kühnel, Mise-en-scène; Keshman Wasserman, Cross and Tomb.

14 Corbo, Santo Sepolcro.

15 Coüasnon, Holy Sepulchre.

tion of the facade[16], argue that Modestus' change introduced a new entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, the southern one (i. e. the present-day entrance), which probably became the preferred entrance to the complex from the mid-seventh century onwards. The presence of the miraculous icon of the Theotokos south-west of Golgotha, which I claim is reflected in the accounts of Arculf and Epiphanius, could serve as additional proof that the main entrance to the complex of the Holy Sepulchre was on the south side. The change in location of the main entrance from east to south could have been the result of the incorporation of the Omar Mosque within the southern part of the outer atrium of the Constantinian Martyrium, as was suggested by the legend in which Sultan Omar ibn al-Khattab refuses Patriarch Sophronius' invitation to enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and instead prays in front of its main entrance doors. The legend is preserved in the Annals of Eutychius, the tenth century Patriarch of Alexandria, about the Arab conquest of Jerusalem of 638. This is confirmed by the stone inscription found in the outer atrium of the Constantinian Martyrium basilica[17]. If my suggested interpretation of the Piacenza Pilgrim is correct, it is possible that the mosque usurped the very place previously associated with St. Mary's story. Moreover, one of the main reasons for recording the *Vita* of St. Mary of Egypt in the middle of the seventh century and especially for paying so much attention to the architectural components of the church, was probably in order to record the exact place of the »original miracle«, which at that very time was starting its journey to another spot within the Holy Sepulchre complex. Three probable reasons could have prompted such a move: the introduction of the mosque within the outer atrium of the Martyrium; the gradual transfer of all relics (including the miracle icon discussed) to the southern part of the complex; and finally the reconstruction conducted by Modestus at Golgotha and its immediate surroundings following the Persian conquest (let us not forget that Sophronius, the suggested author of St. Mary the Egyptian's *Vita*, succeeded Modestus as patriarch of Jerusalem). I suggest that the mid-seventh century *Vita* wanted among other things to conserve the »original spot« of the miracle within the early Christian church, before it disappeared from people's memory forever[18].

The Western Entrance of the Crusader Church

Now comes another unexpected twist in this complicated plot. The Anglo-Saxon Saewulf, who visited Jerusalem in 1101-1103 shortly after its conquest by the Crusaders in 1099, reports on St. Mary's icon still present in the Holy Sepulchre complex[19]. There can be no doubt that the place described by Saewulf as being associated with the miraculous image is the chapel later known as St. Mary the Latin (still in the Franciscan custody today), while St. John is the Forty Martyrs that stands below the Crusader bell-tower of the present-day church (probably replacing St. Mary's church mentioned by Arculf) (**fig. 3**).

How can such a dramatic change comparative to the early Christian witnesses be explained? Why was the image (together with a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Mother of God) moved from the entrance at the southern gate to north of the Anastasis? Firstly, one should bear in mind the devastating destruction of the Holy Sepulchre by al-Hakim in 1009 and the Byzantine reconstruction, conducted by the Byzantine Emperor that followed in the eleventh century[20]. Moreover, it is crucial to remember that Saewulf's witness came at a time of the massive Crusader renovation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. As Denys Pringle suggests, these renovations were done in stages – while some of the spaces in the church were being rebuilt, other parts remained open to visitors[21]. If we look carefully at Saewulf's description, we see that the image of Mary is hung facing the West, that is towards the gate known today as St. Mary's Gate (blocked during the Ottoman period), accessed from the Patriarch's Way (today Christian Quarter Road). This gate seems to have been used during the renovation of the southern gate that took place early in the renovation process, according to Pringle, and was finished towards the dedication of the Holy Sepulchre in 1148[22]. I would like to suggest that the relocation of the miraculous image that talked to St. Mary of Egypt might indicate that in Saewulf's time – the early twelfth century – the western gate was considered the main entrance to the church (temporarily, of course, on account of the renovations).

16 Rosen-Ayalon, Fassade.

17 Vincent/Abel, Jérusalem 931 fig. 382 pl. VI 1 and 6; Krüger, Grabeskirche 72-73; 236 n. 181-182; Pringle, Churches 9; Verstegen, How to share 34-35 fig. 4. – Today, this tradition is also preserved in Jerusalem – the Omar Mosque, built in 1193, stands in front of the southern portal of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, Busse, ʿUmar-Moschee.

18 For different conclusions about the whereabouts of St. Mary's church and the location of the miraculous icon of St. Mary, based on Arculf's and Epiphanius the monk's accounts, see J. Patrich's article in this volume.

19 Saewulf 11-12 (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 103): »Near this place of Calvary is the Church of St Mary, in the place where the Lord's body was taken down from the Cross, and before he was buried he had spices put on him, and was wrapped in his shroud and his napkin. […] But beside the church itself [i. e. the Anastasis], on one side and the other, there are two famous chapels, one dedicated to St Mary and the other to St John, for those two participants of the Lord's sufferings stood thus at his side, on one side and the other. In the west wall of the chapel of Saint Mary is to be seen, painted outside, the picture of the mother of God. Mary the Egyptian was once repentant with all her heart, and praying for the help of the Mother of God, and was wonderfully consoled by the figure in the picture speaking by the power of the Holy Spirit, as it is to be read in her *Life*«.

20 Vincent/Abel, Jerusalem 218-259; Ousterhout, Rebuilding. Until recently it was Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-1055) who was put in charge, but as Biddle, Tomb 74-99 convincingly stated, it was Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034-1041) before him; Pringle, Churches 11.

21 Pringle, Churches 12-31.

22 Pringle, Churches 20.

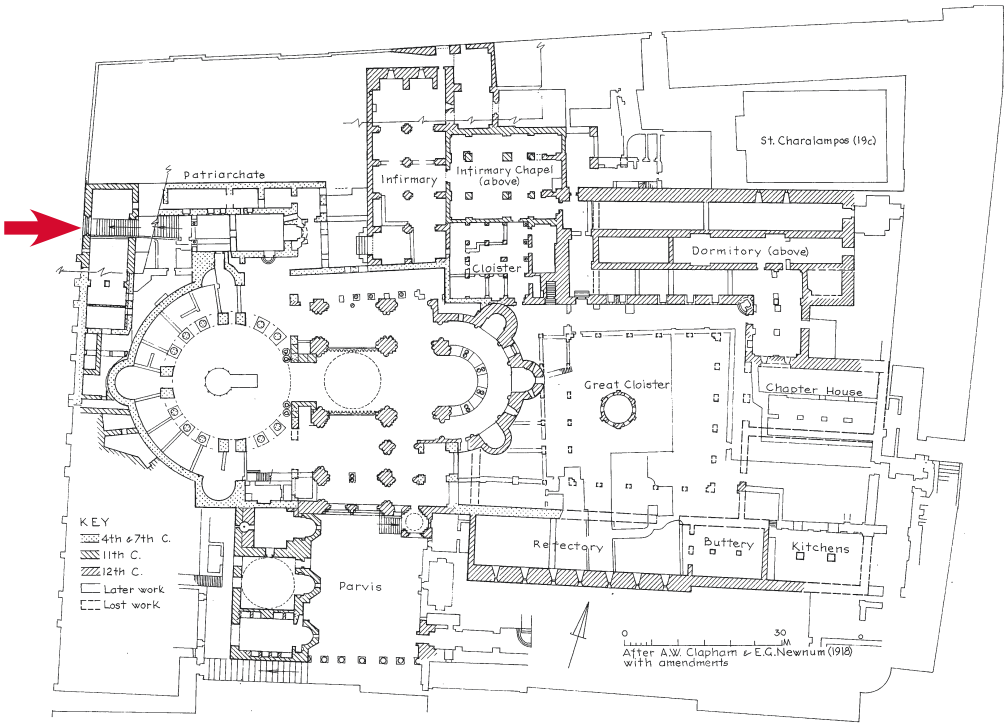


Fig. 3 Holy Sepulchre Complex in the Crusader Period. – (From Pringle, Churches 49 fig. 7).

Daniel and the Byzantine Witnesses of the Icon of the Theotokos of St. Mary of Egypt in Constantinople

The Russian Abbot Daniel entered the Holy Sepulchre complex through the same western gate when he accompanied King Baldwin in around 1108[23]. But unlike Saewulf, after passing the narrow gate, the Abbot Daniel has no recall of what his predecessor saw just a couple of years earlier regarding the story of St. Mary of Egypt. Instead of relating to any extant gate or image, Daniel describes what seems to be the tradition of the Early Christian Constantinian basilica, and explains where the image was at the time of Mary of Egypt herself, that is in the late fourth/early fifth century, referring to the ruins of the Martyrium, still visible in his time[24]. Why Daniel did not describe the icon/painting in its present place, but instead refer to the »original place« of the miracle some 700 years earlier? There are a number of possible reasons. Firstly, Daniel might not have been familiar with the contemporary tradition, but only with the one based on written sources, such as the St. Mary the Egyptian's Early Byzantine *Vita,* and was able to locate the miracle in the still extant ruins of the Martyrium. It might also have been the case that Daniel, who was Orthodox, did not accept Saewulf's Catholic tradition. The most plausible reason is that Daniel was aware of a competing tradition, as he himself had in Jerusalem from the Kievan Rus' via Constantinople, and viewing the Constantinopolitan Orthodox tradition as the true one simply ignored the local Catholic one. In Constantinople there was a tradition that connected the icon of the Theotokos that was brought to the Imperial city from Jerusalem with nothing less than the Imperial Door (or Imperial Gate) – the main entrance from the narthex to the naos of the Hagia Sophia church. The presence of the two miracle-working icons, Christ and Theotokos, were reported repeatedly in testimonies from the late eleventh to the fifteenth centuries[25]. The so-called »Anonymous Mercati« (a Latin translation from a Greek original) from the late eleventh/early twelfth century is one of

23 Daniel (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 168): »And on that Saturday at the seventh hour of the day Baldwin went with his retinue from his house to the tomb of the Lord, and all were on foot. And he sent to the hospice of Saint Saba and summoned the abbot and his monks. And the abbot went with his brethren to the tomb of the Lord, and I, wretch that I am, went with the abbot and the brethren. And we came to the Prince [Baldwin] and all bowed to him, and then he bowed to the abbot and the brethren and commanded the abbot and wretched me to walk by him, while the other abbots and monks he ordered to walk in front of him and his retinue he ordered to follow behind. And we came to the western doors of the church of the Resurrection and here a multitude of people blocked he door of the church and we could not enter. And Prince Baldwin commanded his soldiers to drive the people back by force and they made a passage as far as the tomb and we were able to pass through the people to the tomb«.

24 Daniel (trans. Wilkinson/Hill/Ryan 131): »And on that spot a very large square church (dedicated to the Exaltation of the True Cross) was built, but now there is only a small church. Here to the East is the great door to which came St Mary the Egyptian desiring to enter and kiss [the cross], but the power of the Holy Spirit would not admit her to the church. And then she prayed to the Holy Mother of God whose icon was in the porch near the door, and then she was able to enter the church and kiss the True Cross. By this door she went out again into desert of the Jordan«.

25 Majeska, Russian Travelers 206-209; Lidov, Leo the Wise; Erdeljan, Chosen Places 115-118. – Lidov lists six sources that mention the icon that talked to St. Mary of Egypt in the Hagia Sophia: Anonymous Tarragonensis (late 11th c., Latin text), Anonymous Mercati (c. 1100, Latin translation of a lost Greek original), Ignatius of Smolensk (1389, Russian account), Alexander the Clerk (1394/95, Russian account), Deacon Zosima (1419-1422, Russian account), and finally Symeon of Thessalonica (c. 1400). Some of the accounts say the image of the Theotokos was placed on the right side of the entrance, while others on the left.

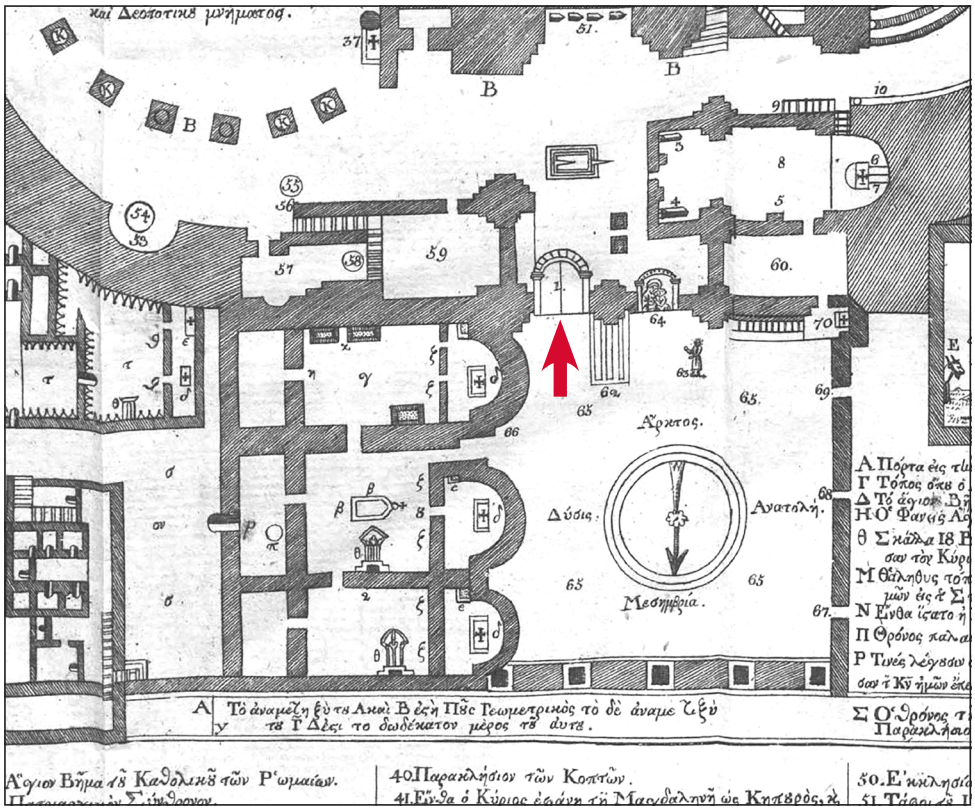


Fig. 4 Detail from the Map of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the 1749 edition of Chrysanthos, Proskynetarion. – (From Deluga, Gravures 373 fig. 4).

the earliest pieces of evidence for this[26]. According to him, the miraculous icon was taken from Jerusalem to Constantinople by the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886-912) and should be seen against the background of the recent conclusion of the iconoclastic controversy in Byzantium (in which the miraculous image of the Virgin which talked to St. Mary of Egypt played an active role)[27]. This Constantinopolitan tradition survived as long as the Byzantine Empire existed. There is no evidence known to me about the fate of the icon in Constantinople with the demise of Hagia Sophia during the Ottoman Conquest[28]. Yet the tradition, together with the miracle-working image, (re)appeared in Jerusalem in the Early Modern period, but this time in its Greek Orthodox version[29].

Early Modern Orthodox Accounts Associated with the Western Door

The tradition as it was recorded by Saewulf in the early twelfth century started to appear in Greek Orthodox accounts of the Early Modern period, but not before the fall of Constantinople[30]. One sixteenth century anonymous Greek itinerary

26 Ciggaar, Description 249: »In the right part of the church, behind the atrium, at the silver gates, there is an image of Mary on the wall, formerly preserved in Jerusalem; the one to which St. Mary of Egypt prayed in her time, when she heard a voice coming from the lips of the Holy Mother of God. This holy image was brought to St. Sophia from the holy city Jerusalem by Emperor Leo« (trans. Lidov, Leo the Wise 399).

27 Lidov, Leo the Wise 399.

28 There is an alternative tradition first recorded in 18th c. Russian sources that claims that this very icon, that came from Jerusalem to Constantinople, was the one painted originally by the Evangelist Luke and that from Constantinople it was brought first to Chersonesos (on the Crimean Peninsula) and then to Novgorod, from where, after some 500 years, it ended up in Moscow; Tolstaja, Ikona; Keshman W., Icon.

29 Another case of contesting Orthodox vs Catholic traditions is the Stone of Unction, found simultaneously both in Constantinople and within the Holy Sepulchre church in Jerusalem, from the Crusader period until the fall of Constantinople, see Rachman-Schrire, Unction. Also in this case, with the physical disappearance of the Constantinopolitanian competitor, the tradition united peacefully in the Jerusalem relic, still venerated today.

30 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Descriptions. Three out of eight texts published in this volume mention St. Mary the Egyptian's story and all of them locate the miraculous Theotokos image near the western door: (1) Anonymous, III. Душеспасительный Разсказ о Свь. Гробе, о Св. Граде Иерусалиме и всех местностях Земли Обетованной, in: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Descriptions 22-38 (Greek) and 162-176 (Russian), esp. 165. Copied from a manuscript from the Vienna Library, ms. No 244. According to analysis, the text should be dated to the second half of the 15th c. (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Descriptions VII). (2) Anonymous, VI. Проскинитарий содержащий все чудесные знамения, явленные Спасителем нашим в Святом городе Иерусалиме и описание местности, in: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Descriptions 55-118. 135-140 (Greek). 194-241 (Russian), esp. 203. The text is copied from a manuscript preserved in Mt. Athos, Iviron monastery, no. 845. Date of the two colophons 20 January 1585 and 1 March 1586, the copy of the proskynetarion should be dated to 1586, it was written earlier (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Descriptions IX-XI). (3) Anonymous, VII. О Граде Иерусалиме и окрестностях его, Земле Обетованной, in: Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Descriptions 110-127 (Greek) and 242-249 (Russian), esp. 245 nos. 16-18. The text is copied from a manuscript preserved at Mt. Athos, Iviron Monastery, no. 740, from the early 16th c. (written before the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre bell-tower in 1545, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Descriptions XI-XII).



Fig. 5 St. Mary the Egyptian Story in front of the *Hagia Porta* from the 1807 edition of Chrysanthos, Proskynetarion. – (By courtesy of Travelogues, Aikaterini Laskaridis Foundation, http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=38818).

reflects the fact that the tradition associated with St. Mary of Egypt can be found at none other than the western entrance to the church of the Holy Sepulchre (the one from Christian Quarter Street)[31]. Repeated Greek accounts clearly show that the Early Modern Greek Orthodox local authorities accepted the Western Catholic Medieval tradition existent in Jerusalem. However, it is crucial to note that all the Greek Orthodox accounts of which I am aware that relate to the western door as that of St. Mary of Egypt, are dated from the second half of the fifteenth century or the sixteenth century, that is, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (and consequently the termination of the above-mentioned tradition at Hagia Sophia)[32]. I believe that this Early Modern Orthodox tradition should be seen as a transitional stage and a revival by the Greek Orthodox community of the last venerated spot of the Jerusalem miracle after years of its having been abandoned in favour of Constantinople. It might also indicate that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries St. Mary's Gate, reached via Christian Quarter Street (also called Patriarch Street), was still in use[33]. It seems plausible that when the Ottomans blocked this door, the location of the image associated with St. Mary of Egypt moved once again.

The Chapel of St. Mary of Egypt Right to the *Hagia Porta*

In the early eighteenth century the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem Chrysanthos (1707-1731) published a »Proskynetarion of Jerusalem and Palestine« (1728)[34]. The text of this pilgrim guide was accompanied by a map of the church of the Holy Sepulchre to which a number of illustrations were added in subsequent reprint editions. The 1749 Chrysanthos edition has a number of details relevant to the present discussion (**fig. 4**): St. Mary of Egypt kneels in front of the image of the Virgin at the right (blocked) door, to the right of the present-day entrance, marked here as Ἁγια πόρτα (*Hagia Porta*, Holy Gate)[35]. To the right, the chapel numbered 70 is dedicated to St. Mary of Egypt and to the miraculous event under discussion. This map clearly indicates that in the eighteenth century the location of the miraculous story moved to the main (and since Ottoman times only) entrance to the church, the southern portal. A larger image that accompanied the 1807 edition of the Chrysanthos »Proskynetarion« goes further in reinforcing the old story in its new place (**fig. 5**)[36]. The Angel stands at the *Hagia Porta* and prevents *Hosia Maria* from going through the door on the left, while on the right the same woman prays to an image of the Theotokos that hangs above the entrance to the *Paraklesion*, a chamber on the ground floor of the »Chapel of the Franks«, dedicated to *Hosias Marias*. The two sequences of St. Mary's story, as told supposedly by Sophronius and relating originally to Constantine's basilica, was now located within the complex of the Crusader Holy Sepulchre church.

31 Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Descriptions 245: »The Church of the Holy Tomb has three doors, one from the West, in which St Mary wanted to enter and an Angel prevented her, and there the Theotokos is depicted, that replied to her and said: 'If you cross the Jordan you will find your rest'. The two other doors are to the right of the Church. There are 12 columns, 6 of them made of porphyry and 6 of marble. [Above them] are the Feasts of the Lord depicted in marble« (author's trans.).

32 Interestingly, the earliest of the three accounts mentioned above, dated to the late 15th c., mentions that the icon of the Theotokos »was« at that place, while the latter two, from the early and late 16th c., say that the image »is« there, in the present tense. This evidence probably explains the consecutive process of »returning« the image from Constantinople to Jerusalem, that started with a revival of the tradition from the point before which it left Jerusalem, first in a remembered image and later as an embodied pictorial object.

33 On the complicated and often unclear history of the doors of the Holy Sepulchre and its Muslim doorkeepers de Sandoli, Keys.

34 Chrysanthos, Proskynetarion 1728; Deluga, Gravures 370-371. – After the first edition, the book was reprinted in 1749, 1787 and 1807; it was also translated into Serbian and Russian.

35 Deluga, Gravures 373 fig. 4.

36 Chrysanthos, Proskynetarion 1807, 30.

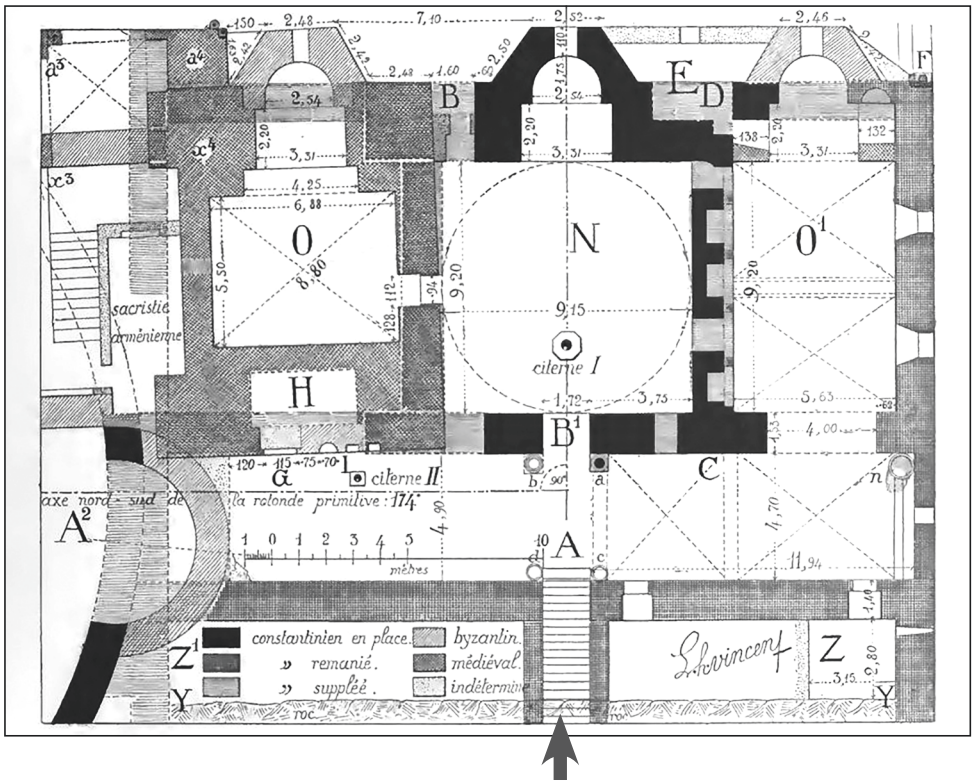


Fig. 6 Ground plan of the three chapels to the west of the *Parvis*. – (From Vincent/Abel, Jérusalem 139 fig. 93).

It was this particular tradition that was documented in the *Status Quo* document by Lionel Cust in 1929. In this document »the Orthodox Chapel of St. Mary of Egypt, beneath the Latin Chapel of St. Mary's Agony« is mentioned on the north side of the *Parvis*[37].

The Present-Day St. Mary of Egypt's Image of the Theotokos in the Chapel of St. James

However, even the *Status Quo* agreement did not prevent the tradition of Maria Aegyptiaca from moving one more time within the Holy Sepulchre complex. Today the miracle-working image of Mary Mother of God that prevented St. Mary of Egypt from entering the church is still present and venerated within the Holy Sepulchre complex (**fig. 6-8**). The present-day visitor will find the icon in a chamber at the back of the St. James chapel. At first glance, the present-day place, hidden deep inside the complex, might be seen as disconnected from its traditional function as a marker of the main entrance to the church. However, I do think that originally the place was chosen in connection with the main entrance to the church, as it stands to the right side of the Patriarch's Way – a route which leads down from the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate on the roof of the Holy Sepulchre complex through the Patriarch's Door (an entrance between the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene and that of the Forty Martyrs) towards the *Hagia Porta*. The placement of the icon to the right of the Patriarch's Way to the southern portal alludes, most probably, to the Great Entrance of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople[38]. Today metal doors detach the icon physically from the Patriarch's Way, so it found itself backstage in St. James chapel, rather than on the main path. The icon itself needs further study. The silver stamps on its *riza* indicate that it was made in Moscow by the silversmith's atelier »A. Ovchinnikov and son« (А. Овчинниковъ и Сынъ) in the year 1884. Moreover, Kamal Boullata, who studied Palestinian art and its local Christian origins in nineteenth century Jerusalem, gives the name of the painter who decorated the icon-stand upon which the miracle-working icon is venerated today as Jerusalem-based artist Costi Tadros who painted the stand in 1856[39]. So the icon was painted no later than the middle of the nineteenth century and most probably stood inside »the Orthodox Chapel of St. Mary of Egypt« right of the Holy Gate at the time of the publication of the *Status Quo* by Cust in 1929. I do not know exactly when these post-*Status Quo* changes took place and why. It is tempting to connect the move with the miracle performed by the icon in 1967. According to local oral tradition, it wept for three days before the Six Day War in 1967, a war that dramatically changed the fate of the Old City of Jerusalem and that of its native population, including the Christian Greek Orthodox Arab-speaking community to which the chapel of St. James belongs[40]. But this is a topic for another paper.

37 Cust, Status Quo 15.
38 As mentioned above, some pilgrims recorded seeing the image to the right of the Great Entrance in Hagia Sophia.
39 Boullata. Art 47.
40 I would like to take this opportunity to thank George Kamar, the Mukhtar at St. James Cathedral, for his repeated generous help during my research.



Fig. 7 The Back Room of St. James Chapel today, Church of the Holy Sepulchre. – (Photo A. Keshman W.).



Fig. 8 The Icon of the Theotokos venerated today as the one who prevented St. Mary the Egyptian from entering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, St. James chapel. – (Photo A. Keshman W.).

To conclude, in this paper I suggested that the tradition associated with a certain (not necessarily the same) icon of the Theotokos that worked a miracle on St. Mary of Egypt moved within the Holy Sepulchre complex at least five times during its existence (and once to Constantinople and back). I argue that the location of the image's veneration can help one identify the main entrance to the church at a specific point in time and *vice versa* that the image should be sought in the vicinity of the main entrance. Locating the image facilitates a better understanding of the chronology of architectural changes that took place in the Holy Sepulchre complex throughout its history. As the main entrance moved, so did the image – from the eastern portal of the Constantinian Martyrium to Modestus' southern portal, then to the western entrance during the Crusader renovation and then back to the southern Holy Gate during Ottoman Rule, and finally to the Patriarch's Way behind St. James chapel, emphasising its veneration today primarily by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and its Arab-speaking congregation. Its present-day status remains to be studied.

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Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

Maria die Türhüterin – Über die Geschichte der wundertätigen Ikone der Theotokos im Komplex des Heiligen Grabes

Dieser Artikel untersucht die Verehrung einer als wundertätig angesehenen Ikone der Jungfrau Maria, die seit dem frühen Mittelalter in der Grabeskirche bezeugt ist. Angeblich soll die Ikone die Heilige Maria von Ägypten daran gehindert haben, die Schwelle der Kirche zu übertreten, bis sie alle ihre Sünden bereut hätte. Die vorliegende Analyse zeigt auf, wie diese hagiographische Tradition, die neben anderen heiligen Orten und Reliquien in der Kirche verkörpert ist, einige Schwierigkeiten in der Architekturgeschichte der Grabeskirche erklären könnte. Gleichzeitig zeigt sie, dass mittelalterliche Traditionen noch immer im heutigen Kirchengebäude weiterleben.

Mary the Doorkeeper – On the History of the Miraculous Image of the Theotokos in the Complex of the Holy Sepulchre

In this paper I present a tradition preserved within the Holy Sepulchre church since the early Middle Ages, which involves the veneration of an icon of the Virgin Mary considered miraculous. According to numerous accounts, it was this image that prevented St. Mary of Egypt from crossing the threshold of the church until she had fully repented her sins. I argue that this hagiographical tradition that was embodied among other holy places and relics of the church could help to clarify certain difficulties relating to the architectural history of the Holy Sepulchre complex, and at the same time illustrate how medieval traditions are still alive within the modern day edifice.

Marie la gardienne de la porte – Sur l'histoire de l'image miraculeuse de la Théotokos dans le complexe du Saint-Sépulcre

Cet article étudie la vénération d'une icône de la Vierge Marie, considérée comme miraculeuse, qui se perpétue au Saint-Sépulcre depuis le début du Moyen Age. L'icône aurait empêché sainte Marie l'Égyptienne de franchir le seuil de l'église avant d'avoir regretté tous ses péchés. Cette analyse montre comme cette tradition hagiographique, incarnée dans l'église avec d'autres reliques et emplacements saints, pourrait aider à clarifier certaines questions touchant à l'histoire architecturale du Saint-Sépulcre. Elle révèle en même temps que les traditions médiévales continuent d'exister dans l'édifice actuel.

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Sigles Used

AASS	Acta Sanctorum, 1-71 (Paris 1863-1940)
ACO	Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, ed. E. Schwartz et al. (Berlin 1927)
AnBoll	Analecta Bollandiana
AOL	Archives de l'Orient Latin
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
BHG	F. Halkin, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca (Bruxelles ^{3}1957)
BHL	Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis, ed. Socii Bollandiani (Bruxelles 1898-1901 [1949]); supplement (Bruxelles 1911 [1984])
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BOO	Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident. Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz/Frankfurt
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
Byzslav	Byzantinoslavica
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CCCM	Corpus christianorum, Continutio medievalis
CCSG	Corpus christianorum, Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus christianorum, Series Latina
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae
DeltChrA	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
DACL	Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
EO	Échos d'Orient
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MW	The Muslim World
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
PG	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris 1857-1866)
PL	Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris 1844-1880)
PLRE	Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire
PmbZ	Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit
PO	Patrologia Orientalis, ed. R. Graffin / F. Nau (Paris 1904-)
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
REB	Revue des Études byzantines
RESEE	Revue des Études sud-est européennes
RHC	Recueil des historiens des croisades
ROC	Revue de l'Orient chrétien
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SubsHag	Subsidia Hagiographica
TIB	Tabula Imperii Byzantini
TM	Travaux et mémoires
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig, Berlin 1882-)
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins

Jerusalem is a city holy to three world religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. From the early Byzantine period, Christian pilgrimage here and to other holy sites became a »mass phenomenon«. Thousands of Christians set out to holy sites in Palestine, Egypt and other places in order to physically experience salvation history and seek divine intervention in their lives. Numerous travel reports, pilgrim guides and other written sources highlight important aspects of pilgrimage. In addition, many well-preserved churches, monasteries, hostels and other buildings, as well as rich archaeological findings, provide us with a vivid and synthetic picture of the history of pilgrimage to the Holy Land.
This volume presents the contributions of a conference held at Jerusalem in 2017. They address the phenomenon of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem from very different approaches using written and material sources. On the one hand, they ask how pilgrims travelled to the Holy Land, what was the infrastructure that made pilgrimages possible, what did they see and what impressed them. On the other hand, they approach the pilgrims themselves, their origins, their motivations and their itineraries.

Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident:
Veröffentlichungen des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus Mainz / Frankfurt

Die Reihe Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident wird vom Vorstand des gleichnamigen Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus, einer Kooperation des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt und des Leibniz-Instituts für Europäische Geschichte in Mainz, herausgegeben.
Die Reihe dient als Publikationsorgan für das Forschungsprogramm des Leibniz-WissenschaftsCampus, das Byzanz, seine Brückenfunktion zwischen Ost und West sowie kulturelle Transfer- und Rezeptionsprozesse von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit in den Blick nimmt. Die Methoden und Untersuchungsgegenstände der verschiedenen Disziplinen, die sich mit Byzanz beschäftigen, werden dabei jenseits traditioneller Fächergrenzen zusammengeführt, um mit einem historisch-kulturwissenschaftlichen Zugang Byzanz und seine materielle und immaterielle Kultur umfassend zu erforschen.