

Building the City of God
Imperial Patronage and Local Influence
in Jerusalem from Theodosius I to Justinian (379–565 AD)

by
Konstantin M. Klein
Brasenose College
Oxford

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PARENTIBVS CARIS
ET
BEATAE MEMORIAE AVIAE

Table of contents

Abstract (7)

Acknowledgments (9)

Introduction (13)

Scope of this thesis (18)

1) Moving on to pastures new (29)

Jerusalem in the late fourth century (34)

Constantine and Jerusalem (44)

A symbol against pagans and Jews? (51)

2) The shadow of Origen (42)

A local conflict goes global (64)

Battles old and new (71)

Fortifying the holy city (77)

A new voice in the desert (82)

3) Travelling saints (86)

A visitor from Constantinople (91)

St Stephen in Constantinople before 438 (98)

The first journey of Eudocia (101)

Three depositions of St Stephen (117)

Homeward bound with St Stephen (123)

Eudocia's last years in Constantinople (127)

The novelty of St Stephen (131)

4) Chalcedon and its consequences (143)

A hurried departure from the Bosphorus (145)

A cold reception in Jerusalem (158)

Reforming the ecclesiastical landscape (166)

5) Fighting with ink: the hagiographical response to Chalcedon (173)

Heirs to Hilarion and Antony: models of monastic life (178)

Contesting saints: Peter the Iberian and Euthymius the Great (183)

Eudocia: a heroine in both narratives (190)

Fishing for souls at the sea coast (194)

6) From rapprochement to conflict: patriarchal politics in the late fifth century (199)

The patriarchates of Anastasius, Martyrius, and Sallustius (199)

The monastic takeover (212)

7) Towards universal importance: the holy city from Anastasius to Justinian (219)

A violent conflagration (220)

Sabas at the imperial court (226)

Tracing Mary's footsteps in Jerusalem (231)

Justinian, Procopius, and the *Nea*: a new Temple for the Virgin (241)

8) Epilogue: Jerusalem on the Caucasus (251)

Armenians and Georgians in Jerusalem (254)

Jerusalem multiplied (260)

Conclusion (264)

Bibliography

Ancient sources (275)

Modern studies (285)

Abstract

This thesis offers a fresh study of the sources on the history of the city of Jerusalem in the period between the reigns of the Roman emperors Theodosius the Great and Justinian I. In the Holy Land, this period roughly coincides with the arrival of St Jerome in 385 and the completion of Jerusalem's last major church building before the Persian and Muslim conquests, the *Nea* church, dedicated in 543. One of the main aims of this thesis is to investigate the role of imperial patronage in the city and contrast it with the growing influence of local actors, i.e. bishops, monks, and rich pilgrims who settled there. My reading of the sources makes clear that Jerusalem and the imperial court were more closely connected than previously assumed. This manifested itself not only in imperial building projects, but also in the exchange of theological concepts and ideas. One of my key findings about this traffic is that the cult of saints was introduced to Jerusalem from Constantinople, while, in contrast, the veneration of the Virgin Mary originated in the holy city and reached the capital from there. The thesis offers a new interpretation of patriarchal politics in the times of the Christological controversies following the Council of Chalcedon (451) and of the political self-perception of Jerusalem from the beginning of the sixth century onwards, when the city with its *loca sancta* entered into a new form of relationship with the emperor Justinian, who bestowed his favour on Jerusalem in the form of imperial donations in return for the support of his ecclesiastical policies by the clergy and monks of Jerusalem.

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Introduction

When the late fourth-century traveller Egeria returned to Jerusalem from an excursion into the Judean Desert, she passed through a remote valley where she discovered a hermit's cell. In her pilgrim account, addressed to her friends in Gaul or Spain, Egeria recounted how her enquiring nature led her to seek more information:¹

You know how inquisitive I am, and I asked what there was about this valley to make this holy monk build his cell there. I knew there must be some special reason.

Egeria learned that this was the ravine of Naḥal Ḥorath where the prophet Elijah was once fed by the ravens. She had good reasons to ask, for she was assuming that there could not be a place, which was so clearly marked and honoured by a hermit's cell, without carrying any deeper religious meaning. Egeria's mindset was typical of the antique attitude towards the *lieux de mémoire* of the Greco-Roman world: As the first century Roman poet Lucan had remarked in his epic on the Civil War concerning the city of Troy, there was no stone without a name,² i.e. a history attached to it. This was also true for the late antique Holy Land: pilgrimage created the possibility to walk in the footsteps of the Old and New Testament's protagonists. By paying reference to the holy places the Biblical narrative could be illustrated and verified. The past merged into the believers' individual presence when they directly experienced the physical places that had once been in contact with Old Testament prophets or with the Messiah – while the pilgrimage itself, a set of shared ceremonies, demonstrated the uniqueness of the Christian experience to those who were willing to travel to the Holy Land.³

1. *Itin. Eg.* 16,3: *Tunc ego, ut sum satis curiosa, requirere cepi, quae esset haec uallis ubi sanctus, monachus nunc, monasterium sibi fecisset; non enim putabam hoc sine causa esse.* On Egeria's country of origin and level of education, cf. Sivan 1988a and 1988b, as well as Devos 1994:243–246 and, on the date of her pilgrimage (381–384), Devos 1967, as well as, with cautious remarks on this dating, Drijvers 2001:174.

2. Cf. Lucan, *Pharsalia* 9,973: *nullum est sine nomine saxum.*

3. Cf. Sivan 2008:35. On the emotional experience of early Christian pilgrims, seeing the *loca sancta* as objects of yearning (*desiderata*) for proximity to God, cf. MacCormack 1990:22–23, Leyerle 1996:121, Limor 2001:10, Hunt 2004:106–107, and Yasin 2012:935–937.

Most sites, however, needed further explanations as space had to be (re-)connected to the textual tradition. Localisations, as in the case of Egeria and the valley of Ḥorath, might have been forgotten for a long time and had to be recalled by the newly aroused Christian interest. Only those who knew the Biblical context were able to decipher the signs of such a memorial landscape. Egeria's account also makes clear that already at the end of the fourth century there were not many stones, sites, and buildings which were not connected to an episode of Biblical history – and that those landmarks outside Christian history did not excite much interest in late antique pilgrim authors.⁴ This indifference towards pagan and contemporary extra-Biblical history continued from the time of Egeria onwards. Only the mid-sixth century account of the so-called Piacenza Pilgrim forms an exception: Apart from an abundance of Christian *loca sancta*, he also marvelled at the silk and textile production in Tyre and was appalled by the city's brothels. Compared to earlier pilgrimage accounts, he seems to have been much more open to spectacular occurrences (like an exceptionally large lemon in Jericho) as well as to non-Christian inhabitants of the area, such as the hostile atmosphere in Sebaste near Neapolis, where the Samaritan inhabitants would sweep over his footsteps with straw.⁵

At the beginning of the seventh century, an unknown pilgrim to Jerusalem must have been hastening along the street that led down to the Pool of Siloam at the very south of the city. The late antique street was broad and meticulously paved, it had carefully carved stone drains, and large houses on both sides. On this street, the pilgrim lost a little treasure: a

4. Egeria's account is not interested in recording extra-Biblical information; cf. Hunt 1982:84 and Leyerle 1996:124 correctly remarking the same for the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who, however, sporadically included random non-Christian sites in his account (cf. *Itin. Burdig.* 564,9, 572,4, and 604,7). Egeria's letter completely lacks such information.

5. Cf. *Itin. Plac.* 14 (on the gigantic lemon) and 2 (on Tyre); textile production and prostitution are also mentioned in the same breath in several late antique Midrashim, cf. Shalem 2002:255–256 as well as Di Segni 1996:576 and Kingsley 2004:83–86 on fabric production. On the reasons for the Piacenza Pilgrim's much more elaborate description in a time, when the holiness of the region had pooled into distinct locales, and his changed perspective, cf. Leyerle 1996:132–137: "Unlike Egeria [...] he tells us not only what he saw but also what it looked like." Similarly to the Piacenza Pilgrim's cold reception in Sebaste (*Itin. Plac.* 8), an inhabitant of this place initially refused the healing powers of Barṣawmā, cf. *Vit. Barṣ.* 80,4.

miniature icon box that, when opened, displayed two figures on golden background, one female, the other male – two saints perhaps, or Mary and Jesus Christ.⁶ In all likelihood, the pilgrim was on the way to or from a visit at the Pool of Siloam, an important holy place of the city long before the advent of Christianity. Recent archaeological discoveries have revealed that before the destruction of the city in the year 70 the pool was much larger than previously assumed. It had various sets of steps allowing Jewish pilgrims access to the surface of the water at various water levels. The pavement of the stepped processional street leading down to Siloam was paved in a similar way to the pool, suggesting that both were contemporary and went out of use in the first century. In the fifth century, a church and a new smaller pool were constructed northwards of the large Second Temple pool. It seems that the builders of the fifth century were unaware of the older structures or were not willing to clear the original pool.⁷ At the same time, the Pool of Bethesda, north of the Temple Mount, was turned into a centre of Christian veneration of the Virgin Mary. When they were enlarged in the first century, both pools were intended for Jewish ritual purification to accommodate the large number of Jewish pilgrims who came to Jerusalem for the feast days thrice a year.⁸ At Bethesda, one flight of steps led into the pool, which was fed by rainwater, whereas the one at Siloam had steps all around it and was fed by running fresh water from a spring, and hence was consid-

6. On the miniature icon, cf. Tchekhanovets 2012:104–105 and 2014b:895–896. Only two similar objects have been discovered so far, one in Gerasa, the other (almost identical in size to the newly discovered one, which measures 2.2 x 1.6 x 0.2 cm) of unknown provenance, kept in the collection of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanorum in Jerusalem; cf. 2014b:900. On the street layout, the *cardo*, and its drainage system, cf. Weksler-Bdolah/Onn/Ouahouna/Kisilevitz 2009, and Gutfeld 2011:114 on the Second Temple Period processional street leading to the Pool of Siloam. It seems that the widths of the streets in the southern part of Jerusalem were all almost exactly 5.4 meters, cf. Broshi 1977:232–233.

7. For an overview of the excavations, cf. Adan 1979:100 and Reich/Shukron 2011; cf. esp. pp. 248–250 for considerations on the use of the pool. On the dating of the stepped street, cf. pp. 252–253. Reich and Shukron attribute the construction of the fifth-century church to empress Eudocia, but do not give any evidence for this attribution. For similar claims, cf. Bahat 1990:72–73 and Armstrong 1969:19, postulating that the empress built it on the suggestion of Patriarch Juvenal and that the church was completed by 451 – both claims, however, are not supported by the sources. Cf. Wilkinson 1993a:19–20 for considerations on whether the church at Siloam mirrored the dimensions of the Jewish Temple as described in Ezekiel.

8. The Pool of Siloam was certainly not planned as a swimming pool, cf. Gibson 2005:270–271 and 2011:26 against Elitzur 2008:24–25.

ered superior to all others of the city's *miqva'ot*. The much larger site of Bethesda was constructed, most likely on the orders of Herod the Great, as a double pool. The two basins were connected via a sluice-gate at the bottom. The southern pool functioned as a gigantic *miqveh*, while the northern one was its *ōšar* ('treasury'), a body of water which could be linked to a *miqveh* by means of a pipe or channel to guarantee the water supply.⁹ When the gate was opened, the surplus water from the *ōšar* would have flown into the southern pool, causing a bubbling and frothing of water, which was still described by fourth-century pilgrims who also knew that it was at this pool that the Lord had healed the paralytic (John 5,2).¹⁰ The discovery of numerous Roman *ex votos* from the imperial period makes it clear that even if the Jews were forbidden to enter their holy city after 135, the pool attracted visitors because of its healing powers. Similar to other *loca sancta* renowned for miracles elsewhere in the Holy Land, the Christians were attracted to the Pools of Bethesda and Siloam from a very early point onwards and commemorated Christ's healing miracles there.¹¹ Soon, however, by the early sixth century at the latest, Bethesda became a cult place of the Virgin Mary, in all likelihood because of associations with baptism and re-birth, not least as described in the Akathistos hymn, where a connection between Mary's womb and the baptismal font was made.¹² For the sixth-century Piacenza Pilgrim, Bethesda was one of the large shrines of the

9. A *miqveh* thus could and can be supplied by rain water, as long as the water in it would not decrease below the minimum requirement of forty *se'ah* (i.e. about a cubic meter of water); cf. Gibson 2005:275–276.

10. Cf. Eus., *Onom.* 58,21–26, s.v. “Βηζαθα” as well as *Itin. Burdig.* 589,8–11; cf. Gibson 2011:26–28 and 31–32.

11. Cf. Gibson 2011:30; on the potential worship of Aesculapius at the Pool of Bethesda, cf. also Panou 2015:637–638 and Di Segni/Tsafir 2012:408 with *CIIP* 1,709. On *loca sancta* which were famous for their miraculous powers, cf. below chapter 1 on Mamre. While the baths at Hammat Gader close to the Golan can be considered as a place visited by various religious groups (cf. Epiph., *Pan.* 30,7 with Dvorjetski 2006–2007:16), the springs in nearby Gadara emerged as a more Christianised space in the description in *Itin. Plac.* 7. The baths adopted biblical traditions about Elijah and were renamed as *Thermae Heliae*.

12. Cf. Peltomaa 2001:199 and Panou 2015:639–640.

Virgin; on the once important pools he only remarked that they were muddy and that the entire city does its laundry there.¹³

This overbuilding of the city's Jewish and pagan past was not exceptional: Similarly, four kilometers south of Jerusalem, a fifth-century Georgian monastery was built on top of a *miqveh* that formed the core of a large Jewish settlement.¹⁴ It also was not restricted to cult places: Only a few steps from where the seventh-century pilgrim lost the icon box, there was a park, either a public space or an agricultural area, right next to the street. Such free land was an unusual sight in a late antique city, however, recent excavations have revealed what lay underneath the carefully spread out garden soil: Until 363 there had been a (presumably private) Roman peristyle mansion which in all likelihood had collapsed in the earthquake of this year and not rebuilt,¹⁵ even though it had only been constructed around 285 – its roof was covered with tiles that all bore the stamp of the *legio X Fretensis*, which around that year left Jerusalem for Aila on the Red Sea. While this area had been largely abandoned after 70, the discovery of the mansion points to new building activity during the onset of Late Antiquity. The excavations unearthed surprising findings, all of them pointing to a distinctive pagan context: fragments of carved bone inlays depicting the personifications of the eight winds (presumably parts of a precious box), more than fifty pagan figurines of the second and third centuries, a *lararium*, and, most surprisingly, thrown into one of the two cisterns of the large mansion (over 2.000 sqm), the jaw bones of fifty-two young pigs.¹⁶ The excavators suggested that this points to sacrifices and that the rest of the animals were consumed either on the spot

13. Cf. *Itin. Plac.* 27.

14. Cf. Seligman/Abu Raya 2002:137–138 and Seligman 2015:172.

15. Numerous coins were found in the excavations, the latest one dating to 361 AD; cf. Ben-Ami/Tchekhanovets 2013:169, Tchekhanovets 2014a:72, and Ben-Ami/Tchekhanovets 2015:65–67. A *terminus post quem* for the building is given by a rare coin of Diocletian from 285 (Alexandrian mint) discovered within the building's walls. On the earthquake, cf. Kallner-Amiran 1950–1951:225.

16. On the bone inlays and figurines, cf. Tchekhanovets 2014a:73–76 and, on the cisterns, cf. Ben-Ami/Tchekhanovets 2013:168.

or elsewhere.¹⁷ However, this fails to account for the absence of any other head bones on the site. Therefore, the jaw bones may point to a context of ritual magic, also supported by the discovery of a Greek curse tablet written by a professional scribe for a woman called Kyrilla who had legal quarrels with a certain Iennys, containing the typical invocations to magical deities of the Greco-Roman and Mesopotamian pantheon.¹⁸

While the excavation report from the Roman peristyle house seemingly confirms Ammianus' description of the pagan revival under Julian the Apostate coming true in the shadow of the Temple Mount and very close to the Pool of Siloam, ultimately, we do not know whether the ruins of the house were overbuilt with a garden for practical, religious or ideological reasons.¹⁹ It is, however, tempting to read this in the context of what the pilgrimage account of Egeria (who might well have seen the ruined building) alluded to already in the late fourth century: Jerusalem was about to become a Christian city, the *omphalos* of the Holy Land and a religious focal point for the late Roman Empire. While there is vast evidence that Jerusalem was not as Christian as Egeria's letter suggested, pilgrims and clergy, bishops and monks, emperors and empresses would do their best to change this.

Scope of this thesis

In Late Antiquity, the term 'Holy Land' did not refer to Palestine as a whole, but to a vaguely defined area around the holy city of Jerusalem.²⁰ At the same time, 'Jerusalem' (or even the name of one particular hill, 'Zion') meant more than the physical boundaries of a

17. Cf. Tchekhanovets 2014a:76–77.

18. The curse tablet has now been published, cf. Ben-Ami/Tchekhanovets/Daniel 2013, it does not contain, however, invocations to the name of the God of Israel, as claimed in Tchekhanovets 2014a:79. On black magic in late antique Palestine, cf. Di Segni 1996:575–576.

19. Cf. Ben-Ami/Tchekhanovets 2015:67–68. On the religious transformation of Jerusalem, cf. Markus 1994:258–259.

20. Cf. Stroumsa 1989:16–17.

city in the east of the late Roman Empire. It is sensible to restrict a study on Jerusalem in the fifth and sixth centuries to the limits of the bishopric of Jerusalem, identical with those of the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina. In order to distinguish what was geographically part of this ‘Jerusalem’ and what not, Eusebius’ description in his *Onomastikon* is useful as it lists twenty-six settlements as being parts of Jerusalem.²¹ Described clockwise on a map, Jerusalem bordered the limits of the city of Neapolis, the *regio Hiericho*, and the cities of Eleutheropolis, Nicopolis, and Diospolis. Within these boundaries of Jerusalem lay not only the holy city itself, but also the focal points of emperor Constantine’s attention in the Holy Land, the *loca sancta* of Bethlehem and Mamre.²² Some sites developed their importance only in the following centuries, for example the Kathisma church on the road to Bethlehem, while other places within the limits of the bishopric, for example Ramat Raḥel, seem to not have undergone a noticeable change of their earlier pagan or Jewish identities. There is little to no information on many villages and towns within the diocese of Jerusalem. Avi-Yonah had suggested that there were about 2.5 million people living in late antique Palestine. This would mean that the entire region contained about 420 villages and more than 20 towns.²³ Only a fragment of these has been discovered or excavated.²⁴ This, however, also means that we can only assume that there were villages near Jerusalem in places like Bethany or Bethlehem, where the archaeological evidence attests only the existence of ecclesiastical buildings. Those few places which have been excavated, showed that the villages and towns around Jerusalem neither had market squares nor a considerable number of shops. It has therefore

21. Eusebius labels these locations as ἐν ὁρίοις Αἰλίας (“in the boundaries of Aelia”), cf., for example, Eus., *Onom.* 26,4–5, s.v. “Ἀσάν” for the unidentified settlement of Beṭ Asan fifteen miles from Jerusalem. On the city territories, cf. Avi-Yonah 1966:155–156.

22. Cf. Drijvers 2015:289.

23. Cf. Avi-Yonah 1966:221 and Seligman 2011:375–377; against the calculations of Avi-Yonah, cf. Isaac 1998:2865.

24. Cf. for example the remains of a farm about 4.4 kilometers northwest of Jerusalem’s Damascus Gate in Ra’s Abū Ma’rūf, cf. Seligman 2011:377–380 and, on similar farm houses, Hirschfeld 1997:40–41.

been suggested that they operated in close connection with the city, especially for commerce.²⁵ Some nearby places which were important for the history of Jerusalem in the fifth and sixth century, for example some of the desert monasteries, were not located within the limits of the diocese, but in the neighbouring *regio Hiericho*. Even though clergymen from Jericho are occasionally mentioned in dedicatory inscriptions of certain desert monasteries,²⁶ it seems that the boundaries were not strictly observed – the monks, who called the desert surrounding them ‘Jerusalem’s Desert,’ turned to Jerusalem in important matters.²⁷ It is therefore equally necessary to study the history of the city in dialogue with its hinterland,²⁸ with the region of the Patriarchate after 451, with rivalling cities in terms of ecclesiastical hierarchy,²⁹ with the capital of Constantinople,³⁰ and, finally, with the late Roman Empire as a whole.

Palestine witnessed an enormous economic and population growth during the period studied in this thesis. This development was facilitated by the *pax Romana* and aided by a greater openness towards new agricultural methods, in particular in the field of irrigation techniques. The terracing of hills reached its peak in this period, the olive production was so large that oil was exported to Egypt,³¹ and the vineyards of Palestine produced wine which

25. Cf. Hirschfeld 1997:63–65.

26. Cf. Di Segni 1993c:166 and Hizmi 1993:155–163 on the sixth-century bishop of Jericho, Porphyrius, epigraphically attested at the monastery of Ḥirbat al-Bayyūdāt; cf. also Fedalto 1983:35.

27. Cf. Stroumsa 1989:32.

28. On the necessity to study the symbiotic relationship between Jerusalem and its hinterland, cf. Seligman 2011:361–; A. Kloner’s survey of the city’s hinterland (2000–2003) identified some 400 late antique sites. Binns 1994:81–82 speaks of the c. seventy desert monasteries in the hinterland of Jerusalem as a “monastic suburb of the city.” On the slow process of conversion in the countryside, cf. Bar 2003:407–409.

29. Cf. the remarks by Perrone:2006:142 on how the metropolis of Caesarea was not unique but its importance was balanced and challenged by the two other provincial capitals, Scythopolis and Petra, and especially by Jerusalem; cf. also Vailhé 1899:55 and Honigmann 1950:213–214.

30. On the relationship between Constantinople and Jerusalem, cf. Flusin 1996b:279: “Les deux villes forment [...] un couple aux fonctions complémentaires.” On the interactions between the two cities, cf. the forthcoming proceedings of a conference in Heidelberg (2011) and a workshop in Jerusalem (2012), organised by J. Wienand and K. Klein.

31. Cf. Hier., *in Os.* 12,1; this is confirmed by rabbinical sources recording the increase in olive trees in the

was popular in the entire Roman Empire.³² It is debated whether this economic rise was connected with the growing Christianisation or not, since it manifested itself also in areas that were less influenced by Christianity, for example the Galilee.³³ At the same time, the hagiographical sources present their protagonists as colonisers of the desert to such an extent that it seems they purposely wanted to claim the countryside's prosperity for their heroes, beginning with the semi-legendary fourth-century figure of Chariton who allegedly kept founding one monastery after another throughout the course of his sojourn in the Judean Desert.³⁴ While it seems undeniable that the influx of increasing numbers of pilgrims to the Holy Land contributed to the wealth of the region, it is challenging to assess this from the sources which are primarily concerned with ecclesiastical matters. We know that Theodosius I granted tax exemptions for the *loca sancta*,³⁵ and that certain monasteries owned larger amounts of agricultural land which they cultivated or used for herding animals.³⁶ The Church of Jerusalem was one of the largest landowners in the region. This, however, seems at times to have constituted a considerable disadvantage. The ownership – and the debt burden – of fallow land belonging to private landowners who had run away was distributed among the wealthy parties in the area, including the Church. This extra levy was called *superflua discriptio* and constituted a permanent problem for Jerusalem and one of the reasons for several Jerusalemite embassies to Constantinople requesting relief from it.³⁷ Apart from mentions of imperial donations to

same time, cf. Avi-Yonah 1958:49.

32. Cf. Mayerson 1985:75–76, Kingsley 2004:86–92, and Bar 2008:103–104.

33. Cf. Bar 2004a:75–76, 2004b:4–6, 2004c:307 and 311–312, as well as 2008:96–120, arguing that there was no connection between the rise of Christianity in Palestine and economic growth. On the decrease of the Jewish population of Palestine in Late Antiquity, cf. Isaac 1998:66–67.

34. Cf. *Vit. Charit.* 22–24; cf. Hirschfeld 1990b:436–437.

35. Cf. *CTh.* 16,2,26 (a.381).

36. Cf. Theod. Petr., *Vit. Theod.* 85,16–21; cf. Di Segni 2001:32 and 2005:30–31. The monastery also had a pig farm (Ioh. Mosch., *Prat. spir.* 92), and an entire village is mentioned which provided the monastery with a steady supply of foodstuffs, perhaps as a levy.

37. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 145,14–146,4 for Sabas requesting the emperor Anastasius to reduce the levy;

the Church, for example by the sons of Constantine, as well as private gifts to monasteries,³⁸ there is hardly any evidence on how the holy city financed its buildings and institutions. John Moschus recounted a story of two inseparable brothers, who had both been monks in the monastery of Theodosius, but left their homestead, since one of them could not refrain from his habit of visiting Jerusalem's brothels. After leaving the monastery, they immediately found employment as labourers for the construction of a new monastery on the Mount of Olives, earning enough to both support themselves as well as the now weekly brothel visits of the sinful brother. Likewise, a different monk found work in a construction project of a dam in the Sinai Peninsula financed by Patriarch John III or IV of Jerusalem. The *Vitae* authored by Cyril of Scythopolis make it clear that in fifth- and sixth century Jerusalem labour was always in demand.³⁹

In Psalm 122:3, Jerusalem is described as a city 'knitted closely together.' This portrays the complex nature of the holy city which was not only the space where God's interaction with the human world had manifested itself like nowhere else. At the same time, the city was very much a human construct – like a knit garment – which was embellished with an ever-growing number of churches and monasteries, but also contested by rivalling parties fighting over dogma. At first glance, the history of Jerusalem in Late Antiquity can easily be outlined: It started and ended with the construction of concentric shrines: the first commemorating the Resurrection of the Messiah, commissioned by a Roman emperor, the other erected

cf. Patrich 1995:311–313 as well as Di Segni 1996:584–585 and 2001:32. Avi-Yonah 1958:51 ascribed the frequent demands for tax relief uttered by the clergy of Jerusalem as a sign of the diminishing influx of foreign capital, while it appears more likely that it was a result of too many unwanted land donations. On the estates which were transferred to the Church and provided a steady income, cf. Gaudement 1958:288–289 and Hunt 1982:139–140.

38. On the imperial donations, cf. Cyr. Hier., *catech.* 14,14, and, on the funding of monasteries from private donations, cf. Tzaferis 1989–1990:51. Given that manuscript production was an important occupation in the desert monasteries, it is possible that this provided the monks with a steady and considerable income just as manuscripts had been coveted commodities in Caesarea in the fourth century, cf. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 4,36–37.

39. Cf. Ioh. Mosch., *Prat. spir.* 97 (on the two brothers) and 134 (on a monk working as a labourer in patriarchal services in the Sinai) with Avi-Yonah 1958:48. On monks visiting prostitutes in Jericho, cf. also *Prat. spir.* 14 with Di Segni 1996:576.

by an Umayyad caliph, commemorating Muḥammad's nocturnal journey to high heaven.⁴⁰ A closer look, however, reveals that the case is more complex, since the city of Jerusalem had attracted pious travellers already before Constantine the Great, and Christian life certainly did not end with the construction of the Dome of the Rock by 'Abd al-Malik. Likewise the chronological frame of this thesis can only roughly be limited by the reigns of Theodosius and Justinian: I have chosen Jerome's arrival in Bethlehem in 386 and the consecration of the *Nea* church in 543 as suitable points of beginning and ending. Nevertheless, the first chapter will briefly recapitulate the Constantinian building activity, while the last chapter will partly go beyond the scope of the thesis in discussing the role of Armenian and Georgian pilgrims in Jerusalem.

The literature on Jerusalem and the Holy Land from Constantine to the Umayyad conquest is vast, and an overview of even only the most important publications would easily reach the dimensions of a research article. In the following section, therefore, I will limit my discussion on those works that I have found most useful for my approach to the subject. Certain moments and aspects of the city's history have attracted more scholarly attention than others. In an overview on the economy of late antique Palestine, Avi-Yonah has suggested that the history of Jerusalem in Late Antiquity can be divided in three phases which were connected with important imperial patrons: The period of public investment under Constantine and his successors was followed by a time of private investment up to the death of Eudocia in 460. Due to the lack of sources on the following fifty years, Avi-Yonah spoke of a period of stagnation which was then followed by the resumption of public investment under Justinian.⁴¹ While Avi-Yonah admitted that the three phases occasionally overlapped, his periodisation has shaped research on late antique Jerusalem in two ways: Firstly, almost all

40. Cf. Sivan 2008:190.

41. Cf. Avi-Yonah 1958:41. This categorisation has been followed, among others, by Wilken 1992:178–183, Av. Cameron 1993:178–179, Parker 1999:169, and Yarbrough 2008:68–69, for a critique of this periodisation in relation to settlement and population numbers, cf. Bar 2004c:307–308.

overviews on the topic have taken up Avi-Yonah's chronology without questioning it, and secondly, the model itself is in a way reflected in the focuses of modern studies. While a large quantity of research has emerged since the 1980s dealing with Jerusalem's history in the fourth century (including the development of pilgrimage and the genesis of the concept of a Holy Land),⁴² only very few studies explore what Avi-Yonah called the period of stagnation, i.e. from the late fourth to the early sixth centuries.⁴³ The amount of modern scholarship rises again with Justinian's building programme, and, more recently, with the Persian conquest of 614, which came into focus after several new archaeological discoveries and re-evaluations of Oriental sources. Another important caveat concerns the role played by Jews, pagans, and Samaritans and their respective notions of the holy places: any study primarily focusing on the expansion of Christianity in Jerusalem runs the risk of minimising the presence and importance of the latter.⁴⁴ Jews probably constituted the majority in the Holy Land, at least at the beginning of the period studied in this thesis.⁴⁵ Their affairs as well as those of pagans are only occasionally mentioned in this thesis whenever they had an impact on the development of Jerusalem as a Christian city; however, there are several studies specifically dedicated to Jewish and pagan aspects during chronological frame of this thesis.⁴⁶

42. Cf. especially the monographs by Hunt 1982, Marcus 1990, Wilken 1992, Binns 1994, and the source books by Wilkinson (1999 and 2002), which are still very much relevant to the study of Jerusalem in Late Antiquity and seminal for this thesis, even though most of them are more than twenty years old.

43. Noticeable exceptions are the studies by Drijvers 2004 (on the episcopate of Cyril of Jerusalem), Stemberger 1987 (which pays equal attention to the times of Constantine and to those of his successors until Theodosius I), and especially Perrone 1980, which is still the best study on the Church of Jerusalem from the Council of Ephesus to Justinianic times.

44. Cf. Sivan 2008:8–9 as well as Isaac 1998:65.

45. Cf. Stemberger 2007:8–9.

46. On pagans, cf. Belayche 2001 as well as all articles by Ashkenazi, on the history of the Jews in late antiquity, cf. especially Stemberger 1987, Avi-Yonah 1976, and Sivan 2008. The latter monograph claims to focus equally on Jews, Christians, and Muslims, however, it should be rather consulted as an excellent history of Jewish and Samaritan life in late antique Palestine, while its chapters on Christians and Muslims often run short. Similarly, Safrai 1998 provides a profound investigation into the economy of late antique Palestine, albeit almost exclusively focusing on Talmudic evidence.

This thesis aims to fill a gap concerning the history of Jerusalem in a period which at a first glance appears less spectacular than that of Constantine's building activities or the dramatic impact of the Persian or Muslim conquests of the city. However, for two significant developments alone it seems important to study the fifth- and sixth-century history of Jerusalem: Firstly, it was the time of Christological controversies, and in particular of the *Apostasia Palaestinae*, the defection of the Church of Jerusalem from Orthodoxy in 451–453. This had far-reaching consequences for the history of the Church in general as well as for Jerusalem in particular, which had to navigate between the approval and rejection of the doctrines of the Council of Chalcedon. Secondly, between the initial spark of church foundations by Constantine in 326 and the last major church foundation in Jerusalem, Justinian's *Nea church*, the city's entire ecclesiastical landscape and stationary liturgy found its shape. One of my main aims in this thesis is to investigate the role of imperial patronage in the city. It becomes clear from the sources that Jerusalem and the court were more closely connected than previously assumed, and this manifested itself in an almost constant imperial building activity, occasionally, on a relatively small scale. Therefore, the focus on only three iconic moments of patronage (Constantine, Eudocia, and Justinian) needs to be reconsidered. At the same time the growing influence of local actors, besides bishops and monks also rich pilgrims who settled in the holy city, must also be re-evaluated. The turn of the century, during the reign of Anastasius and the patriarchate of Elias of Jerusalem, appears to be a watershed when the city's self-confidence had grown to the extent that its most influential citizens (notably two monks and not the patriarch) dared to stand up against the emperor using the sanctity of Jerusalem as the legitimation of their claims.

First and foremost, however, this thesis will shed light on a less-known period in the history of a well-researched city. This project began as a building history of Jerusalem in the fifth century,⁴⁷ however, over the years it became apparent that there are several misconcep-

47. On the architecture and archaeology of Jerusalem, cf. Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994. Arguably the best overview on Jerusalem's churches in Late Antiquity since the seminal volume by Vincent/Abel 1914 is Piccir-

tions which often form the basis of new scholarship on the holy city: This pertains to, to name but three cases, the extent and nature of Eudocia's building activity as well as the circumstances of her sojourn in Jerusalem, the seemingly staunch Chalcedonian stance of the patriarchs of the second half of the fifth century, and – connected with the latter point – the reliability of one of the most important authors of the age, Cyril of Scythopolis.

My thesis falls into four larger parts which are discussed in eight chapters and an epilogue. The first two chapters focus on Jerome of Stridon and his activities in Bethlehem. Chapter 1 explores the motivations of fourth century pilgrims for travelling or relocating to Jerusalem;⁴⁸ it also discusses the ecclesiastical landscape at the time of Jerome's arrival, i.e. the year 386. The following chapter focuses on the various conflicts the quarrelsome theologian was embroiled in while living in the Holy Land,⁴⁹ it also discusses one of the earliest and most visible changes of the city's urban layout, namely the construction of city walls at the very beginning of the fifth century.⁵⁰ The second part is formed by the third chapter which discusses Eudocia's pilgrimage to Jerusalem,⁵¹ her interaction with Melania the Younger,⁵² and, in particular, her role in the introduction of the veneration of saints in the holy city. The third part consists of the fourth and fifth chapters discussing the reception of the Council of Chalcedon in Jerusalem. The fourth chapter offers a reconstruction of the actions of bishop

illo 2008. In contrast, the article by Armstrong 1969 must have been outdated already at the time publication.

48. On important aspects of Jerusalemite history in the fourth century, cf. Drijvers 1992 and 2004 as well as Van Nuffelen 2007, and, on the pilgrims of the era, Hunt 1982 as well as the numerous contributions by Devos.

49. On Jerome, cf. Kelly 1975 and Rebenich 1992, and, on the Origenist controversy, Clark 1992.

50. On the re-dating of Jerusalem's city walls, cf. Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007.

51. I will argue against most claims made by Holum 1982, which remains an inspiring study despite of the critique it received since its appearance, in particular for the idea of a 'pagan party' around Eudocia which is not supported by contemporary sources. Much of the dating of Eudocia's pilgrimage has been elucidated by the annual notes published by the Bollandist Devos, esp. Devos 1968b, 1983, and 1987a–b.

52. On Melania the Younger, cf. the annotated translation of her *Vita* provided by Clark 1984 which is a feat of erudition, while I disagree with her conclusion on the relationship of Melania and Eudocia as expressed in Clark 1982a.

Juvenal, who returned from the Council as patriarch, having achieved his bishopric's elevation to a patriarchal see, just to be ousted by a large group of monks rejecting the decrees of Chalcedon.⁵³ Chapter 5 casts a close look on the same events, however, focusing on how the two main monastic protagonists in the controversy, Euthymius and Peter the Iberian, were represented by their respective hagiographers.⁵⁴ Both chapters will argue against the majority of existing scholarship that the credibility of the sources on the *Apostasia Palaestinae* should be reconsidered;⁵⁵ in my mind, the Miaphysite record might provide us with a less distorted picture than the later *Vitae* authored by Cyril of Scythopolis. The following two chapters form the fourth and last part of the thesis, discussing the growing engagement in an empire-wide context by the patriarchs and monks of Jerusalem. Chapter 6 focuses on patriarchal politics between the death of Juvenal in 457 and the accession of Elias in 494, which can be characterised as primarily aiming at a reconciliation of the two rivalling doctrinal parties. Chapter 7 discusses the takeover of authority from the patriarchs to important monastic leaders, first and foremost Sabas the Great.⁵⁶ This change manifested itself in a new concept of monastic self-confidence in general beginning with the two embassies of Sabas to Constantinople. Justinian's building project of a new church for the Theotokos,⁵⁷ instigated by the famous monk, provides the possibility to investigate the veneration of the Virgin in Jerusalem from its ob-

53. Honigmann 1950 is still the most important contribution on Juvenal of Jerusalem.

54. The seminal studies by Grillmeier 2004 and Perrone 1980 (as well as the collected volumes by Grillmeier/Bacht 1951–1953) paved the way for the important contributions on two prominent Miaphysites, Peter the Iberian and his hagiographer John Rufus, by Horn 2006 and Steppa 2005, the latter being a work which has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. For a general critique of Grillmeier's approach explaining the Christological developments of the early Church with schemata such as *logos-sarx* or *logos-anthropos* and thereby excluding soterological aspects from the discussion, cf. Mühlenberg 1998:3–5 and Uthemann 1998:54 n. 1.

55. On Cyril of Scythopolis, cf. Flusin 1983 and Trampedach 2005, as well as the more critical approach by Binns 1994.

56. On Sabas, cf. the significant contribution by Patrich 1995, which is not only a profound archaeological study, but likewise discusses the part the monk played in the history of the holy city.

57. The archaeological evidence has been excellently published by Gutfeld 2012a–d, among a plethora of articles on the *Nea* church and its implications for the history of Jerusalem, Amitzur 1996, Shahîd 2005, and Trampedach 2015 are particularly stimulating.

scure beginnings⁵⁸ in the first half of the fifth until the first quarter of the sixth century.⁵⁹ The thesis closes with Chapter 8, an epilogue which discusses both the role of international pilgrims from the east in Jerusalem⁶⁰ as well as the influence Jerusalem had on their home-countries Armenia and Georgia, while concluding with some short remarks on how the concept of a Holy Land with Jerusalem as its theological and ideological centre influenced the late antique world.

58. I have argued against the early dating of the Kathisma church as recently suggested by Shalev-Hurvitz 2015 in chapter 7. Several other of her re-interpretations (especially her thoughts on the veneration of the Lord's Ascension on the Mount of Olives) are earlier than the scope of this study, and I will discuss them elsewhere (cf. K. Klein (2016), "Zur Lokalisierung der Ascensio Domini auf dem Jerusalemer Ölberg in der Spätantike" in *Plekos* 18).

59. Apart from Shoemaker 2002, the articles published by Avner on the Kathisma church are among the most insightful contributions on the cult of the Virgin. The archaeological reports on Marian sites by the Franciscans Bagatti 1975a–b and Testa 1984 are unfortunately less helpful.

60. On the Armenians, cf. all studies by Stone mentioned in the bibliography, and, on the Georgians, especially Tchekhanovets 2009.

1) Moving on to pastures new

“Winter is past, the rains are over and gone. The flowers have appeared on the earth and the time of reaping has come.” These lines from the Song of Solomon (2:11–12) were the last words of Paula of Rome, Jerome of Stridon’s stalwart companion, who had lived with him in Bethlehem from 386 until her death in 404. Addressed to Paula’s daughter Eustochium, the obituary letter which Jerome wrote would be widely read by his friends in east and west.¹ The description of Paula’s last hours is one of great tranquillity and solemnity. Silently, the monasteries they had founded near the Church of the Nativity, filled up with people:²

The bishops of Jerusalem and other cities were present as well as innumerable members of the lower clergy, both priests and Levites. The whole monastery was filled with virgins and monks. [...] After her death there was no weeping or wailing as usually happens; instead the psalms were rang out from the crowds of monks in different languages. Paula’s body was lifted up by the bishops and the stronger ones supported her bier on their shoulders; some walked in front carrying the lamps and candles while others led the choirs who were singing psalms. They laid her down in the middle of the church of the Saviour’s cave. A huge crowd of people from the towns of Palestine had turned up for her funeral. Not a single monk living in the remote desert remained in his cell. Not a single virgin stayed in her room. Everyone regarded it as sacrilege if they failed to pay their final respects to such a woman.

The depiction of this peaceful passing of Paula surrounded by the local clergy is surprising, since her mentor and friend Jerome had himself made more enemies than friends during the previous twenty years in the Holy Land. However, a figure such as Palladius, definitely a member of a group inimical to Jerome, could distinguish between both personae of the monastic couple: he praised Paula’s intellectual capacities and stated that she had only been cor-

1. Hier., *ep.* 108; on Paula, cf. *PLRE* 1, s.v. “Paula (St) 1”, pp. 674–675 and Fürst 2003:200–201 as well as Dassmann 2009:76–77 on Jerome’s self-presentation in his obituaries on Paula and Marcella. His comments that the Bethlehemite monasteries which Paula and he had founded in 386 were threatened by shipwreck on waves as high as mountains can be understood as a plea to his readers for donations for the chronically impoverished monastic foundations, cf. *ep.* 108,27.

2. Hier. *ep.* 108,28–29: *Aderant Hierosolymorum et aliarum urbium episcopi, et sacerdotum inferioris gradus, ac leuitarum innumerabilis multitudo. Omne monasterium uirginum et monachorum chori repleuerant. [...] Exhinc non ululatus planctus, ut inter saeculi homines fieri solet, sed Psalmos monachorum diuersis linguis examina concrepabant. Translataque episcoporum manibus, et ceruicem feretro subicientibus, cum alii pontifices lampadas cereosque praeferrent, alii choros psallentium ducerent, in media ecclesia speluncae Saluatoris est posita. Tota ad funus eius Palaestinarum urbium turba conuenit. Quem monachorum latentium in heremo cellula sua tenuit? Quam uirginum cubiculorum secreta texerunt? Sacrilegium putebat, qui non tali feminae ultimum reddisset officium.*

rupted by Jerome.³ Paula's journey had started, when, like several other figures of her era, she took the decision to leave everything behind and start a new life in the Holy Land. In the last months of 385, she boarded a ship at Ostia and sailed first to Cyprus and then to Antioch, from where she continued her journey on to the Holy Land. She would not see her home city of Rome ever again. Her daughter Julia Eustochium was on board with her. Her other children, Paulina, Rufina, and Julius Toxotius stayed behind at the quay. Neither Rufina's tears nor Toxotius' little hand reaching out for his mother could move Paula to reconsider her departure: Her love towards God, as Jerome wrote, was greater than that towards her children.⁴ Either already on Cyprus, where she stayed with bishop Epiphanius of Salamis, or else later in Antioch, Paula met Jerome again. Their last encounter in Rome had been under auspicious circumstances. In November 384, Paula's daughter Blesilla died as a result of extreme fasting. At her *pompa funebris* there was turmoil. Paula fainted, and it came to an open argument against the ascetic ideals propagated by Jerome: The people demanded that such despicable monks should be stoned to death or thrown into the Tiber.⁵ Shortly thereafter, Jerome's benefactor Pope Damasus died on 11 December. There is little to suggest that Jerome fostered any aspirations to the Pontificate. The man who did succeed Damasus, Siricius, had little love for asceticism, and though Jerome did not inaugurate this movement in Rome, he certainly had a crucial role in making it popular. Later, he would admit that, when he entered Paula's circle

3. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 41,2. When Palladius wrote down the experiences from his time in Jerusalem more than thirty years later, he did not, generally, rake over past controversies; his mention of Jerome, ἱερώνυμος τις ἀπὸ Δαλματίας ("a certain Jerome from Dalmatia"), however, is quite disdainful, cf. Hunt 1973:465. Palladius' allusions to Jerome's 'jealousy' or 'envious malignity' (βασκανία) might also be a clue to understand the rift between him and his longtime friend Rufinus, cf. Kelly 1975:196.

4. Hier., *ep.* 108,6: *pietatem in filios pietate in Deum superans*. Cf. Gordini 1961:90–92 and, on the literary motif of holy women renouncing their children and being 'bad mothers', Giardina 2001:193–194.

5. Cf. Hier. *ep.*, 39,6 (*cum de media pompa funebris exanimen te [scil. Paulam] referrent*). Blesilla's death seems to have set Paula's decision to leave Rome at risk, cf. Duval 2009:37–38 on how Jerome successfully tried to convince her to leave the city. On Blesilla's funeral, cf. Rebenich 1992:164 and 170–171 as well as Krumeich 2002:45–47.

and household, the end of his so far successful stay in Rome was already imminent.⁶ It is safe to assume that rumours of a relationship between him and Paula that exceeded that between a teacher and a pupil were circulating. In the summer of 385, these allegations were investigated by a group of clerics. Jerome made his anger abundantly clear in the preface to his translation of Didymus' work *De Spiritu Sancto*, calling the investigators a "senate of the Pharisees." All this urged him to return to Jerusalem (a city in which he had so far never resided) "like a man going back to his home."⁷

Jerome's and Paula's farewell from Rome was a departure for good: They had made up their mind to settle in the Holy Land, build monasteries, and spend the rest of their lives in close vicinity to the holy places. They started their journey towards the new homeland with gleeful anticipation, and even though Jerome held similar resentments against pilgrimage as Gregory of Nyssa, they decided to travel around the region before they would settle down. The existence of a considerable body of fourth-century texts discouraging the faithful from pilgrimage suggests there was already a keen interest and desire to journey to the Holy Land, to see and touch the places where the Saviour had walked the earth, to begin with.⁸ Only a few theologians acknowledged that pilgrimage carried a spiritual significance, while most writers, for example Gregory, warned their flocks not to embark on the bothersome journey, since going to the Holy Land would involve stays in guest-houses, inns and taverns, generally perceived as hotbeds of sin. Gregory had himself been in Jerusalem only four years before Paula and Jerome, however, he stressed that his visit fell within his duty as a bishop, not as a pilgrim.⁹ He argued that even if pilgrimage to Jerusalem might bring advantages to one's per-

6. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 45,2–6. On Jerome's departure, cf. Nautin 1972–1974:8–10 and Rebenich 1992:39–41.

7. Cf. Hier., *Didym. spir. praef.: pharisaeorum senatus* and *velut postliminio Hierosolymam sum reversus*. On the investigations, cf. Kelly 1975:108–114 and Rebenich 1992:141–208.

8. Early references to pilgrimage activities in Jerusalem can be glimpsed in Eus., *dem. ev.* 1,1,2 and 7,2,14 (Bethlehem) and 6,18,23 (Mount of Olives) as well as *Onom.* 74,16–18, s.v. "Γεθσημανη," cf. Wilkinson 1990:43, Markus 1994:261, and Hunt 1997:416.

9. Cf. Greg. Nyss. *ep.* 2,11–13; cf. however, in *Vit. Macr.* 1,7–9 Gregory wrote that he travelled for the

sonal faith – and he clearly doubted this – the practice was after all pointless and constituted a step backwards for those who had already chosen a firm Christian lifestyle. His own journey was facilitated by the permission to use the Roman road and travel system, the *cursus publicus*, thus saving him from the perils of cheap and potentially sinful dosshouses, a luxury which was not accessible to the majority of pilgrims.¹⁰ Despite the problems reported by Gregory, getting to Jerusalem was easy as the way lay open for pilgrims thanks to the Roman military involvement in the region. The holy city was linked via a network of roads to the main routes of the Empire and was particularly close to the coastal artery from Antioch to Alexandria. Travelling on the imperial road system brought Jerome and Paula deeper into Biblical history, since the Jerusalem roads followed the course of earlier ones dating back to Biblical times.¹¹ They visited the Galilee with Nazareth and Mount Tabor, coastal cities such as Dor, Caesarea, and Ioppe, and a huge variety of places in Judaea – and as almost all pilgrims of their times, they would include a trip to Egypt into their journey in order to see the country’s famous ascetics.¹² It is not clear how Jerome prepared himself for the pilgrimage, however, given that around 390 he translated Eusebius’ *Onomastikon*, a gazetteer of Biblical place names, it is likely that he was aware of this work already in 385. Nevertheless, it seems that the text was not originally intended as an aid for pilgrims, and was rather the result of Eusebius’ holistic approach to the Bible: before interpreting the text on a spiritual level, it was necessary to understand every word of it, and this obviously included the locations men-

sake of prayer (κατ’ εὐχὴν) in order to see in these places the signs (σημεῖα) of the Lord’s coming in the flesh; cf. Markus 1994:260 and Bitton-Ashkelony 1999:194–195. On Jerome’s attitude to pilgrimage, cf. Antin 1968b:377–379 and Leyerle 1996:131–132.

10. On the *cursus publicus*, cf. Kolb 2000:87–92 on its use by Christian bishops in Late Antiquity. The use of the state system became increasingly restricted as did the number of available mounts per day, cf. *CTh.* 8,5,44 (a.384) and 8,5,54 (a.395) against private use, and 8,5,35 (a.378) limiting the usable animals to five per day; cf. Hunt 1982:57.

11. Cf. Avi-Yonah 1950–1951:55–58 and 1966:184–185, Hunt 1982:51–53, Wilkinson 1990:43, Dorsey 1991:70–87, Roll 1996:552, and Weingarten 2005:241–242.

12. The entire journey is described in Hier., *ep.* 108,8–14. On Jerome and Paula in Galilee, cf. Stemberger 1998:133, and, on pilgrimages to living holy men, cf. Chitty 1966:46–53, Kötting 1984:227–228, and Frank 1998:483–484.

tioned in Scripture. This was a different way of arranging the Biblical text, just as Eusebius had done before with chronology and would later do with history in the *Chronicon* and the *Historia ecclesiastica* respectively.¹³ Jerome shared this opinion and explicitly stated that his lengthy account on Paula's and his travel was not intended as a guidebook (*odoeporicum*).¹⁴

Paula marvelled at many Biblical ruins, famous cities and inspiring living holy men, however, nothing equalled the profundity of her experience when she approached the *loca sancta* commemorating the Lord in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Out of the multitude of holy places in Palestine, Jerusalem had emerged as a clear centre with Golgotha as its *omphalos*.¹⁵ In the middle of the fourth century, this city's bishop, Cyril, proudly announced to his catechumens that while others merely hear of the holy places, they would be able to see with their own eyes and touch with their own hands the places where the divine had entered the human and physical sphere.¹⁶ The act of touching and seeing, this visualisation of a space which was assumed to be closer to God, was one of the most important motivations for pilgrims to come to the Holy Land. Pilgrimage accounts abound in descriptions of how visual perception of the sites perfected the Biblical knowledge, which was acquired and memorised at home through reading and hearing. The account of seven monks from Palestine, who travelled down the Nile in 394, testifies to this impetus:¹⁷

13. Cf. Groh 1985:23–31, Barnes 1975:412–415 and 1981:110, Walker 1989:307, as well as Markus 1994:262–263, cf. also Wilkinson 1974:256–257 on Jerome's exhortation to study the Biblical place names. It is unlikely, that Egeria carried a Latin copy of Eusebius' *Onomastikon* with her, as claimed by Groh 1989:23, cf. Mulzer 1996:160–162, who convincingly argues that she had had no Biblical text of her own with her.

14. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 108,8; cf. Drobner 1998:297, Frank 1998:489, and Limor 2001:5–6. However, Jerome had done so elsewhere, since he actively corrected and updated Eusebius' *Onomastikon*, on the changes, cf. Wilkinson 1974:245–252 as well as, on the date of the translation, Weingarten 2005:196.

15. Cf. Stroumsa 1989:17, Alexander 1999:104–110, and Weingarten 2005:198. The image of Jerusalem as the 'navel of the world,' however, cannot be traced back to times before the Hasmonean revolt of the second century BC. The reading of the reference in Ezekiel 9:37, *tabbūr ha-ʿareṣ*, generally translated with 'navel of the world,' is doubtful since the verbal root *t-b-r* is not attested in early Semitic, and its translation with 'navel' postdates the Septuagint.

16. Cf. Cyr. Hier., *catech.* 13,22 with Markus 1994:259 and Drijvers 2004a:153–156. Cyril of Jerusalem is echoed by Cyril of Scythopolis in the sixth century, cf. *Vit. Sab.* 154,15–17.

17. *Hist. mon.* 1,19: ὠφελείας ψυχῶν ἕνεκεν ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων [...] ἐληλύθαμεν, ἵνα ἅπερ δι' ἀκοῆς παρειλήφαμεν, ταῦτα καὶ ὄψεσι παραλάβωμεν – ὧτα γὰρ πέφυκεν εἶναι ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν – καὶ ὅτι τῇ ἀκοῇ

We have come [...] from Jerusalem for the good of our souls, so that what we have heard with our ears we might perceive with our eyes – for the ears are naturally less reliable than the eyes – and because very often forgetfulness follows what we hear, whereas the memory of what we have seen is not easily erased but remains imprinted on our minds like a picture.

Many sources speak of the almost maddening joy provoked by the first gaze upon Jerusalem.¹⁸ The act of seeing could accomplish even more: At Paula's first visit to Bethlehem, Jerome tells us, the boundaries between visualising and receiving a vision blurred when she entered the Cave of Nativity and saw, "with the eye of faith [...] a child wrapped in swaddling clothes, weeping in the Lord's manger."¹⁹ According to late antique philosophy, sight was made possible by the bodily eye, but the act of seeing occurred only in the soul. Throughout Antiquity, people thought that the eye was an active rather than a passive instrument. For Augustine, the mechanics of seeing were most remarkable:²⁰

In this very body [...] I can find something whose inexpressible swiftness astonishes me; the ray from the eye, with which we touch whatever we behold. What you see, after all, is what you touch with the ray from your eye.

Seeing and touching, as praised by Cyril of Jerusalem and experienced by Paula, were actually one single notion. Both were connected to the power of memory and amended the existing knowledge of the pilgrims' faith which was strengthened as a result. For a large number of Christian travellers pilgrimage meant also the beginning of a transition into a new phase of life. Paula and Jerome now fully joined the monastic life; and we may assume the same for

πολλάκις λήθη τις ἔπεται, τῆς δὲ ὀράσεως ἡμῖν ἡ μνήμη οὐκ ἀπαλείφεται, ἀλλ' ἡ ἱστορία τῇ διανοίᾳ οἰοεὶ ἐντετύπεται.

18. Cf. e.g. Greg. Nyss., *ep.* 3,3 or Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 38 with Flusin 1996b:276–277. For one of the earliest epigraphic examples, cf. *CIIP* I,787, a Latin inscription carved underneath a depiction of a sailing boat proclaiming *Domine ivimus* ("Lord we have come"), perhaps in allusion to Psalm 121:1; cf. Broshi/Barkay 1985:124, Broshi 1993:121–122, and Patrich 1993a:110.

19. Hier., *ep.* 108,10,2: *iurabat cernere se fidei oculis infantem pannis inuolutum, uagientem in praesepe*. Jerome's wording, however, is very specific, Paula was not seeing Christ *himself*, but a child *like* Christ, weeping in his manger; cf. Wilkinson 2002:70. On Paula's perception and Jerome's description, cf. Leyerle 1996:130–131.

20. Aug., *serm.* 277,10: *In hoc ipso corpore [...] invenio aliquid, cuius ineffabilem mirer celeritatem. Quid est hoc? Radius oculi nostri, quo tangimus quidquid cernimus. Quod enim vides, oculi tui radio contingis*; cf. Vance 2008:16 and, exemplifying the importance of seeing in the writings of Augustine, Kelly 1975:217 and Cox Millar 2005:29–32.

the Piacenza Pilgrim who marked this change by receiving the monk's tonsure on Mount Sinai.²¹

Egeria stayed in the city for about a year and became a pedantic observer of Jerusalem's liturgy. On Good Friday she experienced a special event: In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Bishop Cyril publicly displayed some of the most holy relics, among them a piece of the True Cross. Several deacons stood close by, a surveillance which was necessary, as Egeria observed:²²

What happens now is that all the people, catechumens as well as faithful, come up one by one to the table. They stoop down over it, kiss the Wood, and move on. But on one occasion (I don't know when) one of them bit off a piece of the holy Wood and stole it away, and for this reason the deacons stand round and keep watch in case anyone dares to do the same again.

Even though this unsettling incident appears to have been a case of deliberate robbery rather than the expression of high devotion to the holy relic, other cases are known in which believers tried to get hold of relics or parts of them in order to possess them, and it is easy to understand why the Jerusalemite clergy disapproved of such forms of ardent veneration. As the veneration of holy places developed all over the Roman Empire out of the widely accepted practice of praying at martyrs' tombs, this became particularly and increasingly poignant in Jerusalem, where the connection of the divine to material sites and objects was profoundly attractive.²³ Despite the apparent pull of this city to pilgrims, several of the most important early Christian thinkers objected to the concept of sacred space, relics, and pilgrimage.²⁴ The

21. Cf. *Itin. Plac.* 37.

22. *Itin. Eg.* 37,2: *consuetudo est ut unus et unus omnis populus ueniens, tam fideles quam cathecumini, acclinantes se ad mensam, osculentur sanctum lignum et pertranseant. Et quoniam nescio quando dicitur quidam fixisse morsum et furasse de sancto ligno, ideo nunc a diaconibus, qui in giro stant, sic custoditur, ne qui ueniens audeat denuo sic facere.* The stolen fragment of the True Cross was perhaps brought to Apamea, cf. *Proc., bell.* 2,11,14. A similar case is mentioned in *Evagr.* 1,23, where over-enthusiastic believers stole the teeth out of the skull of Symeon Stylites displayed as a relic in Antioch. Egeria's mention of the ceremony is among the earliest literary descriptions (cf. also *Cyr. Hier., catech.* 4,10), there is, however, an inscription in *Mauretania Caesariensis* which can be dated to 359, mentioning a splinter of the cross in Rās al-Wādī/Algeria, cf. *CIL* 8,20600 with Drake 1985:2.

23. Cf. Wilkinson 1990:41, Taylor 1993:314, Markus 1994:261–262 and 268–271, as well as Bitton-Ashkelony 1999:188–189.

24. Cf. Saulnier 1983:223–224, Walker 1989:312–313, and Sanders 1999:91. There is considerable debate as to what extent the institution of pilgrimage changed after Constantine's preference of Christianity and whether there was already a form of institutionalised pilgrimage to Jerusalem before the 330s. In favour of this view,

main theological issue concerned the status of Jerusalem: Could a city that had once rejected the Messiah and was therefore (at least in the view of early Christian writers) razed to the ground by the Romans still retain its earlier sanctity? Was it not necessary to make a clear distinction between the worldly city and the heavenly one, as described in the Book of Revelation?²⁵ According to Eusebius, a spiritual religion like Christianity did not need physical sacred space. He therefore stressed the opposition of the newly-built, earthly Jerusalem to the pre-Constantinian city which had to suffer complete devastation as punishment for its inhabitants' behaviour against Christ and his followers.²⁶ For Eusebius, Jerusalem was no longer a holy city; moreover, God himself had deprecated this place. To the end of his days, Eusebius emphatically denied that the city had any special status and used the term 'Jerusalem' only when he referred to Biblical history, while using the pagan name 'Aelia' in contemporary contexts.²⁷ In his view, space was neutral and the physical of no importance, similar to Jerome's attitude who proclaimed that the true Temple was the assembly of Christian people and the believer's soul.

Jerusalem in the late fourth century

Based on Jerome's description of his and Paula's journey in 385 as well as the two pilgrim accounts by the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Egeria, it is possible to approximately reconstruct what sites could be visited in the late fourth century. Jerome's obituary of Paula is first and foremost a carefully composed literary text.²⁸ The two pilgrimage accounts have their

cf. Wilkinson 1990:52 and Hunt 1999:25–26, against it, cf. Taylor 1993:295–332, Holum 1990:69, and Markus 1994:263 all seeing the journey prior to the fourth century as mere exegetical and historical study trips.

25. Cf. also Greg. Nyss. *ep.* 2,2–3 with Walker 1990:69, Markus 1994:258–260, and Maraval 2002:63–64..

26. Cf. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 3,33,1–2.

27. Cf. Walker 1989:309–310, Markus 1994:259–260, and Schick 2008:170.

28. Cf. Weingarten 2005:193–194 with cautious remarks that *ep.* 108 should not be read as a document of a real pilgrimage but rather as a carefully composed rhetorical piece. Moreover, it seems that Jerome had no extensive knowledge of Palestinian topography beyond the experience of his own pilgrimage, cf. Wilkinson 1974:*passim*, Hunt 1982:94, and esp. Weingarten 2005:261–263 pointing to places mentioned in *ep.* 108 which

limits and pose certain problems: The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* has recently attracted a considerable amount of scholarship; its reception oscillates between those who read too much into it²⁹ and those who accept it as an impeccably reliable document. In my mind, it seems necessary to be more critical of this account, whose shortcomings include its author's seeming lack of discernment, as when he confuses baptism with washing or mistakes the Ascension of the Lord with his Transfiguration. Therefore, one should be cautious with some of what he records, for example his mention of two statues of Hadrian on the Temple Mount, which makes little sense (perhaps one of them was a statue of Antoninus Pius), or his allusion to a synagogue he allegedly saw on Mount Zion – which has often been taken as a proof of Jewish life in late antique Jerusalem, despite the fact that he is the only source to record such information.³⁰ My understanding of this text is that one should be very suspicious of data that is exclusively found in it without any other corroborating evidence. Egeria's account appears more credible in general, however, her descriptions are often of little value: almost every site she encountered in the Holy Land was 'very beautiful' to her. Moreover, her account of the city of Jerusalem is lost, so that information on the holy city has to derive from her lengthy account of the city's liturgy.³¹

Jerome in all likelihood had never seen in person.

29. Elsner 2000:182; cf. also pp. 189–190 on a “rising curve of mythologization” the closer the pilgrim came to the Holy Land, which is hardly surprising given that the text records Biblical events which were not to be expected outside of Palestine. Similarly, the mention of provincial boundaries is not an “implicit awareness of administrative, ethnic, even cultural differences,” (Elsner 2000:188) but rather the mere textual representation of the pilgrim's reality. For a more sober discussion of the text and its content, cf. Leyerle 1996:122–126 and Yasin 2012:935–936.

30. Cf. *Itin. Burdig.* 591,4 (two statues of Hadrian), 592,6–7 (the synagogue), and 594,4 (washing of the neophytes).

31. Cf. Leyerle 1996:126–127. Attempts to link Egeria's identity to the imperial house of Theodosius I (with whom she shared the same homeland) or to his Spanish entourage cannot be proved, cf. Hunt 1982:164–166. Indications that would support this hypothesis are that she may have set off for her pilgrimage from Constantinople (and wished to return to the city) as well as that the bishops she mentions were renowned opponents of Arianism (reflecting the dominant attitudes of the imperial court), cf. Devos 1967:169–176 with Theodoret 4,18 and 5,4 on the bishops Eulogius of Edessa and Protogenes of Carrhae.

Jerusalem in the late fourth century was still a largely pagan city with its typical institutions, although the transformation of Aelia Capitolina into a Christian city was already becoming visible at this time in the reign of Theodosius I, when pagan euergetism was gradually replaced by Christian charity.³² In 395, Jerome was repelled at how the scenes of Christ's Passion took place "in a populous city with court and garrison, with prostitutes, playactors, and buffoons, and with the medley of persons usually found in such centres."³³ Very few secular buildings are mentioned in the sources, among them the *praetorium*, which, however, was already a Christian holy place in the late fourth century, as well as the city's prison.³⁴ The longest list of buildings derives from the *Chronicon Paschale*, allegedly reflecting Hadrianic times. However, none of these landmarks (two baths, a theatre, a vaulted structure, a *nymphaeum* with four fountains as well as a stepped structure with twelve gates) is securely attested in the archaeological evidence of Late Antiquity.³⁵ The theatre was built in 28 BC and was restored several times, so that it is not sure whether a small number of seats, which have been discovered in secondary usage, date to Herodian or Hadrianic times.³⁶ Some statuary findings might likely belong to one of the baths mentioned or to the *nymphaeum*. One of

32. On the pagan character of Aelia Capitolina, cf. Drijvers 2015:285–287, as well as on the transformation of the Roman cities, Av. Cameron 1991:191 n. 9, arguing against Brown 2008:439–440. A population of c. 50.000 inhabitants has been suggested for late antique Jerusalem, cf. Broshi 1975:13 and Tsafirir 1999b:285.

33. Hier. *ep.* 58,4: *in urbe celeberrima, in qua curia, in qua ala militum, in qua scorta, mimi, scurrae et omnia sunt quae solent esse in ceteris urbibus*. Cf. Cardman 1982:20–21.

34. Cf. Hier. *ep.* 108,9 (*praetorium*), and Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 150,22–26.; cf. Di Segni 1996:583 and Schick 2008:176.

35. Cf. Schick 2008:176. Cf. Reich/Billig 2000:183–184 suggesting that some theatre *spolia*, carved into latrine seats, might have been part of one of the bathhouses. On the discovery of a late antique bathhouse in the Jewish Quarter, cf. Avigad 1970:134–136.

36. Cf. Weiss 2014:98–101. Patrich 2002 and Henten 2008 suggested that the building was not a permanent structure, and that the games celebrated in it were a complete failure in Jerusalem prompting Herod to move them to Caesarea. Perhaps it is telling that Josephus specifically remarked that the theatre in Caesarea was built of stone (Ios., *ant. Iud.* 15,341, cf. 15,268 on Jerusalem), a detail that would seem irrelevant had not the theatre in Jerusalem been built of wood. Against these views, Patrich 2014b:42–49, arguing that stone was more accessible in Palestine than the amount of wood needed to build a non-permanent theatre, and that Josephus' remark meant that the theatre in Caesarea was built into the quarried hill. On the discovered theatre seats from Jerusalem, which first were reused as part of a latrine and then rebuilt into one of the Umayyad palaces south of the Temple Mount, Reich/Billig 2000:177–181.

the statues might by a nymph; at some time one of her breasts was perforated so that it could serve as a fountain.³⁷ Little is known on private life in the city. The epigraphic evidence mentions very typical professions such as bakers, chamber-servants, sedan-chair carriers; furthermore some private dwellings, two-storey peristyle houses of the fourth and fifth century, have been discovered on the Ophel hill and near the southeastern corner of the Temple Mount.³⁸ It is not clear whether Christian charity attracted increased numbers of poor people seeking alms – the *Vita Pophyrii* mentions free food distributions on every Friday, and the other literary sources speak of poorhouses, while indigent people were buried at the Field of Blood (Haceldama, from *ḥaqal ad-dam*) outside the city.³⁹

The Bordeaux Pilgrim, Egeria, and Jerome provide information on a number of Christian *loca sancta*: the pools of Bethesda and Siloam associated with Christ's miracles, or the houses of Caiaphas and Pontius Pilate, commemorating Christ's interrogation and trial. The accounts record no churches built either near or on these spots, as these would emerge only by the late fifth century.⁴⁰ The Bordeaux Pilgrim was the only one who visited the empty Temple Mount and saw a variety of objects there; these would either vanish from Christian memory or were moved elsewhere for veneration, as, for example, the corner stone of the Temple, which by the sixth century was stored on Mount Zion or the place of the creation of Adam or the sacrifice of Isaac, which moved to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁴¹ On the

37. Cf. Galor/Bloedhorn 2013:125. On bathing in the Holy Land, cf. Epiph., *Pan.* 30,7 for critique of the annual bathing fair in Ḥammāt Gader – referring to an incident that involved the son of the Jewish Patriarch trying to convince Christian women to accompany him into the nearby caves and tempt them into carnal acts; cf. Dvorjetski 2006–2007:15–16. Cf. also *Itin. Plac.* 7 for the healing rituals at the baths of Gadara.

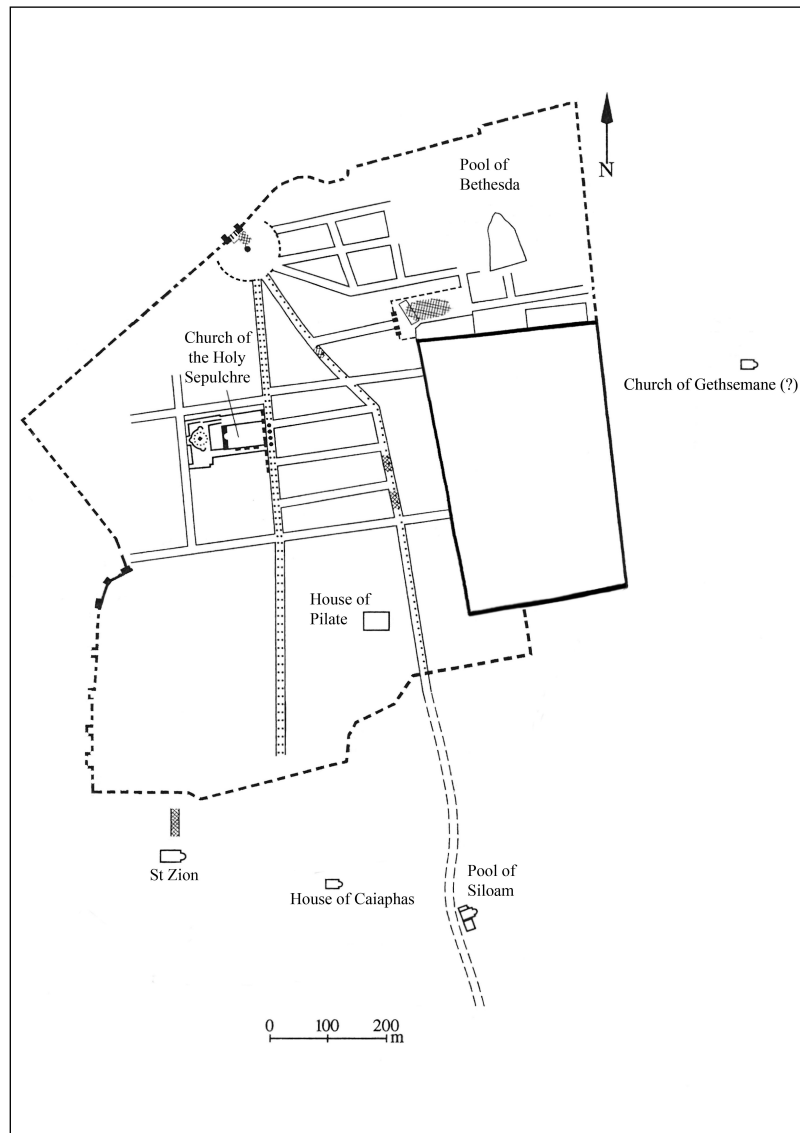
38. For an overview, cf. Galor/Bloedhorn 2013:143–144.

39. Cf. Marc. Diac., *Vit. Porph.* 94 with Avi-Yonah 1958:46; on poorhouses cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 53,6 and Hier., *ep.* 108,22 and *Itin. Plac.* 23. On Haceldama, cf. Acts 1:18–19 (κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο τῆ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν Ἀκελδαμάχ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν Χωρίον Αἵματος); cf. Piccirillo 2008:195.

40. The location of the house of Caiaphas is debated: besides the modern church of St Peter in Gallicantu on the eastern slope of Mount Zion, there is another site, approximately 300 meters north-west of it, which is also a possible location; cf. Broshi 1976:81 n. 2.

41. Cf. *Brev. de. Hier.* 7(A–B), cf. Schwartz 1987:273–274 with further references to Talmudic traditions of the creation of Adam on the Temple Mount as well as Stroumsa 1999a:16, and Eliav 2008:62–64 on the

Temple Mount, the pilgrim described the pinnacle of the Temple, identified as the place of the martyrdom of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem,⁴² as well as a pierced stone which was anointed by the Jews once a year.⁴³ This is the earliest reference to a Jewish presence in



III. 1: Jerusalem during the pilgrimage of Paula (386)

corner stone of the Temple.

42. Cf. Irshai 1999:207–208 and Tsafirir 2009:78. In *Vit. Bary.* 91,7 the pinnacle is the focal point of attention for the Jews when they are allegedly allowed to re-enter Jerusalem by Eudocia; cf. below, chapter 5.

43. Cf. *Itin. Burdig.* 591,4–6.

Jerusalem after Hadrian had banned them from entering the city. Jerome elaborated on this, contrasting the victory of Christianity with the defeat of Judaism:⁴⁴

You can see with your own eyes a piteous crowd gathering on the day that Jerusalem was captured and destroyed by the Romans. Woebegone women stand with old men who appear weighed down with years. Bodies and clothes demonstrate the wrath of God. This mob of wretches congregates and groans over the ruins of their temple while the manger of the Lord sparkles, the church of his resurrection glows, and the banner of his cross shines forth from the Mount of Olives.

It has often been assumed that the Hadrianic ban was lifted for one day per year, on the Ninth of Av, and that Jews only then were allowed to visit the city to mourn the loss of their Temple. However, apart from the two passages mentioned above, there is no further evidence to support this claim, and it is equally likely that the prohibition was generally no longer strictly reinforced. A Jewish population lived in Ramat Raḥel between Jerusalem and Bethlehem and there is strong evidence for a small community within the holy city itself.⁴⁵ By the mid-fourth century, Cyril of Jerusalem warned his catechumens not to enter into contact with Jews, although the imprecision of the passage makes it difficult to decide whether this alluded to a reality on the ground or was mere rhetoric.⁴⁶

When the pilgrims left the area of today's Old City for the Mount of Olives, they occasionally mentioned ruined gates, but no city wall, suggesting that Jerusalem was (at least to

44. Hier., in *Soph.* 1,15–16: *Videas in die quo capta est a Romanis et diruta Hierusalem, uenire populum lugubrem, confluere decrepitas mulierculas, et senes pannis annisque obsitos, in corporibus et in habitu suo iram Domini demonstrantes. Congregatur turba miserorum, et patibulo Domini coruscante, ac radiante ἀναστάσει eius, de Oliueti monte quoque crucis fulgente uexillo, plangere runias templi sui populum miserum.*

45. On Ramat Raḥel, cf. Magness 1993:88–96, on the community in Jerusalem, cf. Safrai 1972:64–65 as well as Schwartz 1986:183–191 and Eliav 2008:58–59. The Hadrianic ban is mentioned in Eus., *hist. eccl.* 6,3, on it not being reinforced in Late Antiquity or being a Christian polemical invention, cf. Irshai 1999:208–209, Safrai 1972:64 and 1999:29–34, Tsafir 1999a:133, Ehrlich/Bar 2004:39–41, Eliav 2005:192, and Di Segni/Tsafir 2012:408. In contrast, Stemberger 1987:42–44, Millar 1993:348–349, and Belayche 2001:112 have argued that the ban was indeed issued by Hadrian and was reinforced in Late Antiquity.

46. Cf. Stemberger 2007:17. At the same time, Cyril also admonished his baptismal candidates to not participate in pagan rituals, cf. *myst. catech.* 1,7–8. This included visits to pagan temples, perhaps suggesting that such buildings existed in fourth-century Jerusalem, cf. Drijvers 2009:243 and 2015:295. However, while pagan Temples in Jerusalem are known from their depiction on coins, they do not appear in the archaeological evidence with the exception of the temple of Venus underneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, cf. Bieberstein 2007:150–153, and Galor/Bloedhorn 2013:115. The question of Cyril's authorship of the mystagogical catecheses is a long-debated subject, cf. Drijvers 1999:79–80 and Stroumsa 1999b:425.

a large extent) unwallled until the end of the fourth century.⁴⁷ On the slope of the mountain, Egeria and Jerome saw a church which in all likelihood was inaugurated shortly before the latter finished his translation of Eusebius' *Onomastikon* in c. 390, i.e. few years after Egeria's departure in 384, who had seen it in a state of construction.⁴⁸ Further up on the mountain, they all would see the Church of the Ascension, built on Constantine's orders in 326, and in its vicinity, the place where the Ascension was commonly located. This place, the actual summit, was crowned with a circular structure. In this case as well Egeria's account makes clear that it was not yet a church when she visited the site, something that happened shortly thereafter and was recorded by Jerome.⁴⁹ Egeria proceeded further than the Bordeaux Pilgrim and visited the village of Bethany right behind the summit, where she saw a church commemorating the meeting of Jesus with the sisters Martha and Mary⁵⁰ as well as the tomb of Lazarus. She does not explicitly mention that this holy place was a church, however, this is confirmed a little later by Jerome.⁵¹ Re-entering the city from the south, Egeria as well as Jerome and Paula reached the *basilica* on Mount Zion,⁵² which was linked to the commemo-

47. On the rebuilding of the city walls, cf. below, chapter 2. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 108,9,3 on the gates of Jerusalem that have been reduced to dust and ashes.

48. Cf. *Itin. Eg.* 36,1 mentioning an *ecclesia elegans* ("graceful church"), which apparently was not yet liturgically used. Since our information on the ecclesiastical landscape on the Mount of Olives in this time is relatively restricted, I would suggest that this church is identical with the one mentioned by Jerome in *Onom.* 74,16–18, s.v. "Γεθουμανῆ" (resp. 75,18–19 in Latin): *est autem ad radices montis Oliueti* [adding: *nunc ecclesia desuper aedificata*]. For Eusebius and Jerome (just as for Egeria), this was the spot where the Lord prayed before the Passion: ἔνθα πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ὁ Χριστὸς προσήύξατο. The church has often assumed to have been dedicated to Mary and perhaps founded by Theodosius I (because of Egeria's contemporaneity with this emperor); cf. Shoemaker 2002:98–107, Trampedach 2001:93, Bieberstein 2004:24–26, and Klein 2011–2012:90 n. 27. A close reading of Egeria's description, however, makes this assumption unlikely: The enigmatic *ecclesia elegans* must have been located much closer to the top of the mountain. On the archaeological evidence, cf. Piccirillo 2008:194, however, it is not certain whether the ruins underneath the Crusader church of St Saviour described by Piccirillo refer to the church in question.

49. On the enlargement of the place of the Ascension, cf. below, chapter 2.

50. Cf. *Itin. Eg.* 29,4.

51. On the Lazarium as a mere burial cave, cf. *Itin. Eg.* 29,4–5 as well as Eus., *Onom.* 58,15–17, s.v. "Βηθανία" (resp. 59,16–18 in Latin): *ubi saluator Lazarum suscitavit, cuius et monumentum* [adding: *ecclesia nunc ibidem extracta*] *demonstrat*.

52. The fact that the church is not mentioned by Eusebius and the Bordeaux Pilgrim strongly suggests that it was built in the second half of the fourth century (and not that both authors forgot to mention it, as claimed by Walker 1990:286–298). It makes sense to assume a connection between the construction of this church and the

ration of the Last Supper and the descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost. Even though the New Testament description offered no localisation for any of these two events,⁵³ and even though the relics of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, had not been discovered there but on the Mount of Olives,⁵⁴ the assumption that Zion was the meeting place of the first Christian community of the city sealed this localisation. The *basilica* functioned not only as a storage place for all sorts of religious objects, it was also the liturgical counterweight to the most important site naturally visited by every pilgrim: the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. On almost every day, liturgical processions would take place leading from this church to the one on Mount Zion, re-enacting the movements of Jesus Christ in the city.⁵⁵ However, at least in its early phase, this important liturgical innovation was less spectacular than often assumed by modern scholarship, since the way back and forth usually followed the same routes.⁵⁶ The processions focused very strongly on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, by far the most important building of Christian Jerusalem. The city witnessed a certain expansion in the number of churches in the 380s the common point of which was that they commemorated events from the life of Christ.

confirmation of the status of the Holy Spirit at the Council of Constantinople in 381, cf. van Esbroeck 1973:287, Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994:I,155 and II,118, as well as Walker 1990:107.

53. It is likely that for the clergy of Jerusalem, only Mount Zion came into consideration as the place upon which the Holy Spirit descended, since they interpreted the pouring out of the spirit at Zion, mentioned in Joel 2:28, as a clear reference to the south-western hill. In what very likely was the dedication sermon of the church, John of Jerusalem called it *Տաճարս սուրբ Հոգւոյն* (“the Temple of the Holy Spirit”), cf. Ioh. Hier., *Pan.* 91. On the completion of the church during the episcopate of John, cf. *Calend. iber.* s.v. “29 March.” On the association of Mount Zion with King David, cf. Tsafirir 1999a:134–135; cf. also *Lect. armen.* 43 (316,4–20; on Pentecost) and 58 (340,18–342,14; on the Last Supper).

54. On the discovery of the relics of James in 351, cf. Abel 1919:408–499 and Z. Rubin 1999:154–155.

55. Cf. Hunt 1997:406, Bradshaw 1999:251–252, Piccirillo 2008:189–190, and Drijvers 2015:291.

56. The same phenomenon has been noted for Constantinople, in all likelihood because of pronounced differences in the terrain. Just as in Jerusalem most processions started at the Anastasis, the Hagia Sophia was the centre point of liturgical processions in Constantinople, cf. Berger 2002:11–12, and, for circular routes in Rome, Baldovin 1987:143–166.

Constantine and Jerusalem

The Constantinian Church of the Holy Sepulchre, consisting of the *anastasis* with the tomb, an open *atrium* with the rock of Golgotha, and a five-aisled *basilica*, was neither the first church in the Holy Land (this has been discovered at the prison in Megiddo dating to the first half of the third century) nor its first monumental *basilica* (built in Tyre in c. 314).⁵⁷ Nevertheless, even in 333, when the Bordeaux Pilgrim visited the city, the church differed so much from the small house-churches of earlier times, that he thought it necessary to explain what he meant, when he used the word ‘*basilica*’ for a church.⁵⁸ After Constantine had become sole ruler of the Roman world, he thought it necessary to affirm his allegiance to the God to whose help he ascribed no small part of his victory.⁵⁹ All eastern bishops received a letter from the emperor before the Council of Nicaea (325) in which he urged them to repair and enlarge their churches, and, if necessary, to build new ones. Especially those places honoured by the bodies of martyrs, containing shrines as memorials of their deaths, became the focus of imperial attention.⁶⁰ Macarius, the Bishop of Jerusalem, must have been excited by this prospect, and it is beyond doubt that it was he who took the initiative to arouse Constantine’s interest in Jerusalem, knowing that the emperor would positively respond to his plea to remove a pagan temple of Venus which covered the most holy places of all, those of Christ’s Crucifixion and Resurrection. That the stimulus for Constantine’s church building activity in

57. Cf. Friedheim/Dar 2009:131–132 (on Megiddo) and Eus., *hist. eccl.* 10,4 (on the *basilica* in Tyre). For an overview of the shape of the Constantinian church in Jerusalem, cf. Patrich 1993a:103–106 and Yasin 2012:941–942, as well as, on recent excavations and the potential discovery of the church’s baptistry, Avni/Seigman 2003:156–157.

58. Cf. *Itin. Burdig.* 594,2–3: *basilica facta est, id est dominicum*, with Tsafrir 1993:2–3.

59. Cf. Drijvers 2009:239–241.

60. The letter is quoted in Eus., *Vit. Con.* 2,24–42, cf. esp. 40 for the memorials of martyrs. The text’s authenticity is proven by a papyrus find, cf. Cameron/Hall 1999:239; cf. also *Vit. Con.* 2,46 for another letter of similar content sent to the bishops of the provincial capitals. On Macarius at the Council of Nicaea, cf. Hunt 1982:7–8 and 1997:411, Drijvers 2004b:11, and Perrone 2006:145–146. That the beginning of construction works in Jerusalem followed closely upon Macarius’ lobbying in 325 is also obvious from the arrangement of Eusebius’ account, since the discovery of the Tomb follows on his description of the council; cf. Barnes 1989b:99–101 and Hunt 1997:412.

Jerusalem came from Macarius and not from Eusebius can be assumed for a number of reasons: firstly, the latter was not present at Nicaea, since he was at that time under sentence of excommunication from an earlier synod at Antioch, so Macarius headed the delegation of the Palestinian bishops. Secondly, having observed Eusebius' objections to holy places and pilgrimage, it is also understandable that he would have been reluctant (at least to some extent) to support such an activity from a theological point of view. However as the bishop of the provincial capital Caesarea since 313, he might also have had pragmatical objections, since he understood well that every action furthering Jerusalem would imply a weakening of his own metropolitan see.⁶¹ Jerusalem held a special status of honour, yet its bishops were subject to the authority of Caesarea.⁶² While Jerusalem's status was enshrined in the seventh canon of Nicaea, Macarius and his successors would continuously try to further enhance it by the discovery of more and more holy places.

In Jerusalem, just as elsewhere, the act of building a church over a temple was rare.⁶³ Attempts to demolish a pagan sanctuary could even result in disaster, as had happened, according to Sozomen, to three brothers from Gaza, who set out to destroy a temple in their hometown during the reign of the only pagan emperor of Late Antiquity, Julian. The enraged inhabitants of Gaza joined together in first arresting the unfortunate brothers and then collaboratively torturing them to death.⁶⁴ However, in the wake of the Council of Nicaea it was

61. On the relationship between Eusebius and Constantine, cf. Walker 1989:308, Yarnold 1989:107–108, Bowersock 1997:2–3, and Hunt 1997:410.

62. On the seventh canon of Nicaea, cf. Daley 1993:535–536, Hunt 1973:456–457, and Schick 2008:170.

63. Cf. Tsafirir 1999a:136–138 and Bar 2008:288. It seems that, perhaps in the fourth century, a pagan temple was burnt to the ground in Dor and replaced with a Christian church, cf. Dauphin 1998:III,698, one temple in Caesarea was demolished at some time between 375–424, cf. Holum 2003:162–163, and in Scythopolis a temple was transformed into a church in c. 400, cf. Tsafirir 1998:216–218 and Bar 2008:282. The fact that Eusebius wrote in *Vit. Con.* 4,29 that in the entire Roman world people *voluntarily* disposed of their idols and demolished temples without official orders only suggests that such orders did not exist, cf. Wallraff 2011:8. On the long survival of paganism elsewhere in the Holy Land, cf. Ashkenazi 1995:55, Trampedach 2001:85–86, Bar 2008:159–161, and Friedheim/Dar 2009:130–131.

64. Cf. Soz. 5,61 with Sivan 2008:30. Cf. *Vit. Bars* 34–45 on Barṣawmā destroying pagan temples as well as Jewish and Samaritan synagogues in the Holy Land during his second pilgrimage, which, if an historic event, might be dated to the early fifth century.

clear for Constantine and Macarius, that the removal of the temple of Venus was inevitable in order to uncover the site of Christ's Passion and Resurrection. The presence of Constantine's mother, Helena, who had travelled in the east of the Empire between 326–328, lent further significance to the endeavours in Jerusalem.⁶⁵ Eusebius described at length the careful cleaning of the tainted building parts of the temple and of the soil contaminated by sacrificial blood.⁶⁶

The emperor gave further orders that all the rubble of stones and timbers from the demolitions should be taken and dumped a long way from the site. [...] But not even this progress was by itself enough, but under divine inspiration once more the emperor gave instructions that the site should be excavated to a great depth and the pavement should be carried away with the rubble a long distance outside, because it was stained with demonic bloodshed.

The idea of expelling demons from a place in order to establish a new cult is common,⁶⁷ however, Eusebius' remarks on the thorough cleansing are exceptional and not corroborated by the archaeological material which points to a vast re-use of Hadrianic *spolia*. Yet it is not surprising that Eusebius placed emphasis on Constantine's alleged thoroughness, after all, the sanctity of the most important shrine of Christianity was at stake if the new church had contained polluted pagan building parts. At the same time, Eusebius was surely aware that as vague as Constantine's pronouncements against pagans may have been, he was particularly appalled by bloody sacrifices and by the worship of Venus.⁶⁸

65. On the date of Helena's journey, cf. Drijvers 2011:138. It becomes clear that Helena did not travel "as a humble pilgrim but as an Augusta" on an official *iter principum*, cf. Drijvers 1992:65; as well as Barnes 1981:220–221, Holum 1982:33, and Hunt 1997:418 against their interpretation of Helena's journey, cf. Holum 1990:71; cf. Halfmann 1986:*passim* on *itineraria principum* in imperial times.

66. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 3,27: ἀλλὰ πάλιν βασιλεὺς αἴρεσθαι καὶ πορρωτάτω τῆς χώρας ἀπορρίπτεσθαι τῶν καθαιρουμένων τὴν ἐν λίθοις καὶ ξύλοις ὕλην προστάττει. [...] ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦτο μόνον προελθεῖν ἀπὴρκει, πάλιν δ' ἐπιθειάσας βασιλεὺς τοῦδαφος αὐτό, πολὺ τοῦ χώρου βάθος ἀνορύξαντας, αὐτῶ χοῖ πόρρω που καὶ ἐξωτάτω λύθροις ἅτε δαιμονικοῖς ἐρρυπωμένον ἐκφορεῖσθαι παρακελεύεται. On the cleansing of the site, cf. Hunt 1997:411–412 and Tsafirir 1998:200–201.

67. Cf. Keimer 1943–1944:145–147, Chitty 1966:54–55, Saradi 1990:56, and Tsafirir 1998:205–206.

68. On the use of *spolia* for the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, cf. Broshi 1993:119–120 and Patrich 1993a:103, however, cf. Broshi/Barkay 1985:122 on a chapel underneath the church built in Constantinian times without the use of *spolia*. On Constantine's anti-pagan language, cf. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 2,56,2 with Drake 1989:44–46, as well as, on his aversion against the cult of Venus and bloody sacrifices, Warmington 1989:126, Gotter 2008:48–51, and Wallraff 2011:10–13.

Eusebius' description of the construction works poses two questions: The first concerns the place where the construction workers searched for the tomb: Macarius certainly had Constantine informed about visible proofs of Jerusalem's venerable traditions, for example about the episcopal throne still standing in the city and once belonging to James, the brother of the Lord. However, what apart from the see of James could the pious expect to find in Jerusalem? The city once known to Jesus Christ had undergone tremendous urban changes under the Herodian dynasty, had been destroyed by the Romans in 70, and was eventually, half a century later, re-shaped by Hadrian before the Bar Kokhba revolt. Given the Hadrianic ban following the revolt, which would also have included those Jews who considered themselves Christian, it was only likely that the topographical memories of the witnesses of Christ's life had passed into oblivion. However, it seems that this was exactly not the case, as Eusebius could describe the success of the demolition and excavation works:⁶⁹

As stage by stage the underground site was exposed, at last against all expectation the revered and all-hallowed Testimony of the Saviour's resurrection was itself revealed.

While Eusebius' surprise at the discovery of the tomb seems unconvincing⁷⁰ (otherwise one would not have searched at this spot to begin with), the inhabitants of the city must have known where the tomb was expected to be discovered. Of course, the deliberate defilement of the holy place through the Hadrianic temple was an argument for a very visible *aide-mémoire*,⁷¹ however, it is not a valid one *per se*, since by locating the tomb exactly under the temple, the Christians of Jerusalem exaggerated the importance of the site suggesting that not only their ancestors, but also the pagans had known about the importance of the place, and

69. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 3,28: ὡς δ' ἕτερον ἀνθ' ἑτέρου στοιχείου ὁ κατὰ βάθους τῆς γῆς ἀνεφάνη χώρος, αὐτὸ δὴ λοιπὸν τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ πανάγιον τῆς σωτηρίου ἀναστάσεως μαρτύριον παρ' ἐλπίδα πᾶσαν ἀνεφαίνετο. Cf. Drake 1985:6–8. Cf. also Paul. Nol., *ep.* 31,5: *contra spem omnium*.

70. Cf. Drake 1980:137, Yarnold 1985:105–109, Wilken 1992:88–91, and Hunt 1997:412.

71. There is no reason to assume that Hadrian, who acted indifferently, even benevolently towards the Christians, knew at all about an obscure Christian tomb at the place where he had the temple constructed; cf. Barnes 1968:37, Frend 1967:168–169, and Drake 1980:136–137.

that the former revered this site just as much as the latter abhorred it.⁷² Moreover, from a fourth-century perspective, it was unlikely that a burial site *intra muros* would be discovered. Nevertheless, this was the case regarding Golgotha and the temple of Venus, since the area was indeed located outside the city walls at the time of the Crucifixion and was included into the city circuit by an extension of the walls which was undertaken by Herod Agrippa about a decade later.⁷³ While it was not difficult to excavate a tomb from the Second Temple Period somewhere in Jerusalem, the combination of search and discovery as described by Eusebius does indeed point to an oral tradition concerning this location.

The second question arising from Eusebius' account, is more complex. His description focuses exclusively on the miraculous discovery of the tomb, however, shortly after the death of the emperor's mother in 328 or 329, the True Cross was commemorated in Rome at the church *sancta ecclesia Hierusalem*.⁷⁴ Cyril of Jerusalem, the most eager promoter of the city in the fourth century, reported an apparition of the sign of the Cross in the sky during his episcopate, thus hinting at supernatural indications which confirmed the exceptional status of his bishopric. In a letter on this event, written in 351 to Constantine's son Constantius, Cyril stated that the True Cross had been discovered during the lifetime of Constantine, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the discovery of May 337.⁷⁵ However, there is no evidence at all that it was Helena who had discovered the relic during her stay in the city, while there is likewise no doubt that by the middle of the fourth century the Church of Jerusalem propagat-

72. Cf. Drake 1980:133–139.

73. On the extension of the walls, cf. Hamrick 1977:18–23 and Drake 1985:4–5.

74. Cf. Drijvers 2011:143–145 against Krautheimer 1983:129.

75. On the apparition of the Cross and Cyril's report, cf. Hunt 1982:155, Bitton-Ashkelony 1999:199–200, Irshai 1999:211, and Drijvers 2009:241–242 as well as 2011:145–146. The commemoration of the luminous cross in the sky on 7 May was incorporated into the city's liturgy, cf. *Lect. arm.* 54 (332,4–5: զսւր երևելոյ սրբոյ խաչին յերկնից (“day of the apparition of the Holy Cross in the skies”). The rumours of the event spread rapidly, cf. Soz. 4,5,4. On the power of the Cross, splinters of which had been carried to “the ends of the earth,” and Cyril's attempts to promote the special status of the city, cf. *catech.* 4,10, 10,10, and 13,39 with Frolov 1961:*passim*, Drake 1985:2–3, Drijvers 1999:85–86, and Frank 2006:196.

ed the legend of an *inventio Crucis* which allegedly had happened at some point within the past twenty-five years.

There have been several attempts to explain Eusebius' silence, *if* the True Cross had been found in 326: Given his critical stance towards holy places and relics, Eusebius may have had theological objections (considering, perhaps, the Resurrection more important than the Crucifixion) as well as doubts of the discovery's authenticity. However, in both cases it is puzzling why such doubts would not have extended to the discovery of the tomb as well, which Eusebius did not question in his account. The physical existence of the True Cross would have supported the veracity of the discovery of the tomb. Similarly, objections against physical relics do not provide a solution to the problem, since just as the cross, the tomb was likewise a relic.⁷⁶ Considering the well-known rivalry of the sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem,⁷⁷ everything points to the assumption that Eusebius was concerned that Jerusalem would be transformed into the centre of Christianity and would soon outshine his own episcopal see of Caesarea. This allegation appears even more likely, as a letter of Constantine, quoted by Eusebius, uses different language and speaks of the "evidence of his most sacred passion" (γνώρισμα τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἐκείνου πάθους), which seems *prima facie* to strongly allude to the True Cross, especially for a reader who did not know Eusebius' opaque description of the discovery of the tomb.⁷⁸ Moreover, there is another vagueness in the description of

76. Cf. MacCormack 1975:168, Walker 1990:129, Ma. Whitby 2000:55, and especially the discussion in Z. Rubin 1999a:151–153.

77. This rivalry manifested itself, for example, in Macarius' struggling attempts to place Maximus, who would later become himself Bishop of Jerusalem, on the see of Lydda against the will of Eusebius, cf. Z. Rubin 1999a:153 as well as Drijvers 1999:82–83.

78. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 3,30,1. Cf. Drake 1985:8–9, followed by Walker 1990:127–130, Borgehammer 1991:93–97, Drijvers 1992:81–93, Z. Rubin 1999a:158, and Perrone 2006:148. While they acknowledge that this is the only passage in which Eusebius uses the term πάθος in connection with the discoveries (and not ἀνάστασις), Cameron/Hall 1999:282–283 rejected the proposition that this could refer to the Cross ("Had the supposed True Cross in fact been discovered during these excavations, Eusebius was quite capable of referring to it."). The singularity of the wording, however, does indeed seem to be meaningful, since the phrase occurs in a quotation of a letter by Constantine and not in Eusebius' own words. Cf. also Yarnold 1989:107–108, who arrives at the rather eccentric conclusion that Constantine had intended to install a mystery cult of Christ centred on the latter's death.

the finished building, namely the role the *basilica* played in the setup of the churches: While the importance of the *anastasis* – commemorating the tomb – is obvious, the *basilica* appears as a mere appendix to it. Eusebius seems to conceal the fact that the building was not directed towards the tomb, but to the rock of Golgotha.⁷⁹

The most convincing explanation is that while Eusebius' emphasis on the tomb cannot be fully explained, he should nevertheless not be seen as concealing the discovery of the True Cross. The Constantinian *basilica* was indeed intended to commemorate not only the Resurrection, but also the Crucifixion. However, even though this building was therefore as much the Church of the Cross as it was the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the invention of a cross relic was not necessary for its *raison d'être*: Archaeological evidence strongly points to the fact that a piece of rock (allegedly of Golgotha) had been visible and accessible even when it was part of the pagan sanctuary.⁸⁰ This is further corroborated by the negative evidence of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who – when visiting the church shortly after its foundation and two years before its dedication – makes no mention of the *lignum Crucis*. Constantine's wording of the discovery of the evidence of the Lord's Passion therefore must designate the tomb, since it was the only part that had to be excavated. Eusebius was therefore not concealing the discovery of the cross, since it had, in all likelihood, simply not taken place during the demolition of the pagan temple and the consequent construction of the Constantinian churches. However, the True Cross received its place among the relics of Jerusalem in the lifetime of Constantine, and it seems very likely, that, as Drijvers argued, Bishop Cyril was the inventor of the *inventio Crucis* legend of Helena discovering the precious wood as an argument in his power struggle with Caesarea and as an attempt to connect himself to powerful imperial relations via the letter to Constantius – drawing on the relationship his predecessor Macarius

79. Cf. Davies 1957:171–173 as well as Drake 1985:8–9 and 14–15.

80. Cf. Kretschmar 1988:53–56, Taylor 1993:124–125, Taylor/Gibson 1994:68–69, Walker 1990:247–249, and Hunt 1997:413–415.

had had with the reigning emperor's father.⁸¹ It was not difficult to sanctify some wooden remains, perhaps indeed from the original excavations of 326, and even if this was not done by Cyril himself, pious tradition found it impossible not to credit Helena with the role of discovering the True Cross: already at the end of Cyril's episcopate, Egeria would ascribe a dominant role in the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the empress.⁸²

A symbol against pagans and Jews?

From Constantine's imperial orders it becomes clear that he was less interested in how the *basilica* should look as a building, but was very clear on the costly materials that should be used for its decoration. It seems that Constantine's wishes were duly implemented. At the end of the fourth century, Egeria was very excited by the amount of gold, jewels, and silk curtains used in the church.⁸³ She is also the main witness on the liturgy of the *Encaenia*, the annually repeated commemoration of the dedication of the finished church, which originally took place on 13 September 335. Constantine himself was not present at the festivities, however, he made sure that the event was well-attended: A large number of bishops had assembled for a synod at Tyre, and the emperor forbade them to return home, and ordered them to attend the dedication of the Jerusalemite church – they should proceed without delay and were allowed to use the *cursus publicus*.⁸⁴ The emperor had many reasons to request a large audience, the first *Encaenia* were a dynastic event, since he chose to name Flavius Dalmatius

81. Cf. Heid 2001:40 and Drijvers 1999:86–88 as well as 2011:148–150.

82. Cf. Hunt 1997:415. The role of Helena as the founder of churches has been rightly questioned by Drijvers 1992:63–65, for a different view, seeing the *Augusta* as the real discoverer of the relic, cf. Borgehammer 1991:123–142. For Helena as the instigator of the Constantinian churches, cf. *Itin. Eg.* 25,9: *sub praesentia matris suae*.

83. Cf. *Itin. Eg.* 25,8 with Drake 1985:5–6. Wilkinson 1993b:26–27 showed that there was no such thing as a 'typical' Constantinian *basilica*, it seems that local ecclesiastical bodies dictated the architectural design of all Constantinian buildings.

84. Cf. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 4,41–6 as well as Socr. 1,33 with Hunt 1997:419 and Sivan 2008:19. Note also Socr. 1,28 alluding that the Synod of Tyre convened only at this city for the reason that the bishops could afterwards attend the dedication festivities in Jerusalem.

as fourth Caesar on 18 September 335, five days after the *Encaenia*. The festival was also a symbol of peace within the Church, since the Synod of Tyre had accomplished a temporary reconciliation with Arius certainly following imperial orders.⁸⁵ First and foremost, however, the *Encaenia* was a festival with a strong anti-pagan agenda. It would soon acquire a distinct anti-Jewish symbolism as well, as an annual reminder that Constantine's church faced the ruins of the Jewish Temple. However, there is no evidence that the festival was intended as an affront against the Jews by Constantine himself. This appears rather to have been a local development fostered by the city's bishops.⁸⁶ In Jerusalem, the return of the Jews to Palestine was perceived as a constant danger by Christian authors who in this city were more prone to anti-Jewish statements than their contemporaries elsewhere.⁸⁷ In the summer months, a time of liturgical inactivity, the *Encaenia* liturgically incorporated all Jerusalemite churches and enriched the festive calendar for an entire week, thus revoking Old Testament traditions, especially the dedication festival of the Solomonic Temple,⁸⁸ but also its re-institutionalisation in the wake of the Maccabean revolt.

Further evidence for an originally anti-pagan intention of the *Encaenia* is provided by their date: 13 September had also been the *dies natalis* of Jupiter Capitolinus – the Constantinian church and its festival made clear that pagan deities such as Venus and Jupiter now had

85. Cf. Hunt 1997:420–421.

86. Van Esbroeck noted that, at the end of the fourth century, the dedication festival of the church on Mount Zion on 15 September 394 in all likelihood coincided with the date of Yom Kippur, cf. van Esbroeck 1984a:111–112.

87. Cf. Irshai 1999:209–210 and Stroumsa 1988:119–120.

88. Cf. Eus., *dem. ev.* 6,18, as well as *laud. Con.* 17,8 with Irshai 1999:209, Ehrlich/Bar 2004:51–52, Sivan 2008:198, and Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:39–40. On the duration of the *Encaenia*, cf. *Itin. Eg.* 48,1–49,3 as well as *Lect. arm.* 68 (362,5–13). For parallels with the dedication ceremonies of the Jewish Temple (2 Chronicles 6:12 and 7:5–9), cf. *Itin. Eg.* 48,2: *et hoc per Scripturas sanctas inuenitur, quod ea dies sit enceniarum qua et sanctus Salomon consummata domo Dei, quam edificauerat, steterit ante altarium Dei et orauerit, sicut scriptum est in libris Paralipomenon* (“You will find in the Bible that the day of *Encaenia* was when the House of God was consecrated, and holy Solomon stood in prayer before God's altar, as we read in the Books of Chronicles”) with Schwartz 1987:269–271 and Drijvers 2015:292.

to bow to Christ.⁸⁹ The opposite case, when compared to Jerusalem, took place at Mamre near Hebron. It seems that Constantine's mother-in-law, Eutropia, was travelling in the Holy Land at the same time when Helena undertook her journey, and given that Eusebius stresses the importance of Eutropia's visit, it is possible that he was part of her entourage,⁹⁰ while Macarius of Jerusalem had the more honourable task of guiding around Constantine's mother. Eutropia had informed her son-in-law about pagan sacrifices taking place near the Terebinth tree of Mamre, the place where Abraham had once lived:⁹¹

Idols fit only for absolute destruction have been set up beside it, [...] and an altar stands nearby, and foul sacrifices are constantly conducted there.

While in Jerusalem, the Tomb of the Lord was, in Constantine's and Eusebius' perspective, a Christian place which was reclaimed from the pagans, in Mamre a cultic place of both pagans and Christians was taken over by the Christians.⁹² Constantine decreed the destruction of the site and explicitly stated that any idols that were found at the place should be consigned to the flames and the altar completely demolished. He commissioned the *comes* Acacius to devote all possible effort and endeavor to clearing the whole area and had a *basilica* built on the spot. The excavations carried out by Mader in 1926–1928 unveiled surprising findings unearthing fragments of pagan statues and reliefs dating to the time before the destruction. A relief depicting an androgynous Hermes with female breasts and jewelry was hardly recognisable, as the figure's face had been chiseled off; a statue of Dionysus did not fare better: the

89. Sivan 2008:195 as well as Schwartz 1987:270 and Hunt 1997:421–422.

90. On Eusebius and Eutropia, cf. Warmington 1989:126 and Geiger 1998:6–8. Cf. also Van Dam 2007:301–302 on the interesting observation that Helena is associated with sites from the New and Eutropia with those from the Old Testament.

91. Cf. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 3,51,1: εἶδωλα τε γὰρ πάσης ἐξωλείας ἄξια παρ' αὐτὴν ἰδρῦσθαι καὶ βωμὸν [...] πλησίον ἐστάναι καὶ θυσίας ἀκαθάρτους συνεχῶς ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. On the theophany at Mamre, cf. Genesis 18:1–20 with Kofsky 1998:19–20. The Bordeaux Pilgrim referred to the church as an 'exceptionally beautiful' *basilica*, cf. *Itin. Burdig.* 599,3–6: *ibi basilica facta est iussu Constantini mirae pulchritudinis*. On the use of wording by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, cf. Yarbrough 2008:71.

92. Cf. Wallraff 2011:13. In pre-Constantinian times there had been a Roman temple on the spot; the archaeological evidence points to two building phases of which the more important one was initiated by Herod the Great, cf. Magen 2003:252–254. Eusebius' account again is somewhat problematic, since he did not mention the pagan temple which is archaeologically attested, cf. Taylor 1993:86–95 and Kofsky 1998:21–24.

head of the deity had been smashed with one vigorous blow.⁹³ It is a different question, however, whether the imperial decrees terminated the pagan worship: Sozomen mentioned the past plurality of faiths at Mamre about a hundred years later, however, he formulated his remarks about various cult practices in the present tense, thus raising suspicions that the construction of the *basilica* may not have brought a change to the nature of the place revered by Jews, Christians, and pagans alike.⁹⁴ It seems that the elaborate accounts by Eusebius, describing some few cases of destruction of pagan sites in Palestine as if they were representative for the entire Empire governed by Constantine, had a great impact on Jerome: In Bethlehem too, he wrote, a grotto of Adonis had been built at the place of the Lord's Nativity. However, contrary to the case of the tomb of Christ, no further evidence corroborates Jerome's claim of this pagan cult in the village where he and Paula decided to settle down after their pilgrimage in 386. It is very likely that the man from Stridon was inventing this parallel with the holy city, where the cult of Venus had disfigured the place of the Crucifixion and Resurrection of the Lord.⁹⁵

93. Cf. Bauer 1967:212–213 and Hunt 1982:15–16, and Bar 2008:284–285. On the destruction of the statues, cf. Mader 1957:135–137 and Kofsky 1998:20–21.

94. Cf. Soz. 2,4,2 with Wallraff 2011:11–12. The pagan festivities which took place at Mamre were apparently a reason of discontent of Jewish Rabbis, cf. Kofsky 1998:20 and Sivan 2008:184 with further references to bans to attend the fair. Cf., for example, the regulations in *Mišna*, 'Avoda Zara 1,4 on cities that celebrate annual pagan fairs.

95. Cf. Welten 1983:194–197 and 200–203, Taylor 1993:96–112, and Hunt 1999:32. On Jerome's justification for settling in Bethlehem and not in Jerusalem, cf. Antin 1968b:379–380.

2) The shadow of Origen

Paula's tomb in the cave underneath the Church of the Nativity was adorned by an epitaph composed by Jerome. Her life-long mentor and friend contrasted Paula's humble and devout life with her noble ancestry, stemming from the Scipioni and Gracchi of Rome, even from Agamemnon of Mycene – prominent ancestors, no doubt, but tellingly all hailing from the very distant past.¹ While Paula's property had been substantial, neither her social rank nor her wealth could compare to that of Melania, another noblewoman from Rome, who had left for Jerusalem fifteen years before Jerome and Paula: Melania was the granddaughter of a consul, a cousin (or cousin-in-law) of Paulinus of Nola, and, perhaps, the widow of a *praefectus urbis Romae*. The rich matron had founded two monasteries in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives and commanded over enough funds to allow her very generous almsgiving while still being able to travel extensively between Palestine and Egypt.² When Jerome was still living in Rome, he was full of praise for Melania, whom he also knew via one of her servants, Hylas, who had stayed with him in Antioch in 374. Based on numerous references to the cross on top of the Church of the Ascension, it appears that Jerome was a frequent guest on the Mount of Olives.³ This would soon change, however, and his relationship to Melania became increasingly chilly, until Jerome ended up comparing her to Croesus or Sardanapallus. It seems that, initially at least, jealousy played no small part in his change of mind.⁴ In any case,

1. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 108,33 with Dassmann 2009:75–76

2. On Melania and her travels, cf. Gordini 1961:86–88, Whiting 2011–2012:76–77, Keech 2012:44, and esp. *PLRE* 1, s.v. “Melania 1” pp. 592–593; her husband belonged to the family of the Valerii and was perhaps Valerius Maximus, a former *praefectus urbis Romae* in 361, cf. *PLRE* 1, s.v. Maximus 17” p. 582 with Clayton 2002:503–504. On other pilgrimages to Egypt (besides those of Melania, Jerome, and Paula), cf. for example the cases of Jerome's visitor Postumianus, who continued his journey from Jerusalem to Egypt (Sulp. Sev. *dial.* 1,9,6) or Evagrius Ponticus (Pall., *hist. Laus.* 38,9–10).

3. Cf. Hier. *ep.* 3,2,2 (on Hylas) and *in Soph.* 1,15: *de Oliveti monte quoque crucis fulgente vexillo*; cf. also *ep.* 108,12,1 with Hunt 1982:143.

4. Cf. Hier. *ep.* 57,12,5: *inter Croesi opes et Sardanapalli delicias*. Cf. also *ep.* 125,18 for Rufinus as *intus Nero, foris Cato* (“a Nero at home, a Cato abroad”) with Hunt 1982:170–171, Clark 1992:21–22, and Kelly 1975:196, who seeks the origins of the conflict between Rufinus/Melania and Jerome in the latter's jealousy.

until 393, contacts between Jerusalem and Bethlehem were not only close on a personal level, but also in terms of liturgical custom and clerical obedience. Throughout the year, the city's bishop went out to Bethlehem escorted by his clergy and Jerusalem's Christian inhabitants and pilgrims in order to take part in ceremonies at the Church of the Nativity whose clergy were subordinate to the see of Jerusalem. At least in his earlier years at Bethlehem Jerome seems to have enjoyed good contacts to the holy city, and it appears as if some of his sermons may have been preached in Jerusalem.⁵

Even before Melania's arrival in Jerusalem c. 372, there had been other western pilgrims who founded monastic institutions. The first one seems to have been a certain Innocentius, who set up a monastery on the Mount of Olives in c. 370. Innocentius' holy deeds were of a somewhat questionable kind: while still living in Constantinople, he took offence to his own son's love affairs and cursed him, so that the son became impotent. After he had retired to Jerusalem, Innocentius became infamous for stealing from his fellow-monks to give to the needy.⁶ One of our main sources on monasticism in Jerusalem in the late fourth century, Palladius of Helenopolis, chose to live in Innocentius' monastery for about three years towards the close of the century. More than a generation after his extensive travels in Palestine and Egypt, Palladius wrote down his memories, a compendium of saints' lives, anecdotes, and sayings, and dedicated it to Lausus, the *praepositus sacri cubiculi* at the court of Theodosius II.⁷ Innocentius, Palladius, and their companions seem to have constituted the first in-

While Kelly frequently arrived at psychological interpretations of Jerome's actions, in this particular occasion his view appears sensible. It should be noted that Jerome also called himself a 'Croesus' once in his own writings, namely, when his relocation to Bethlehem may have deprived him of the libraries of Rome, but gave him access to the nearby library of Caesarea with the writings of Origen, cf. *Hier. vir. ill.* 75, cf. Layton 2002:507 and, on the library, Holum 2003:152–153.

5. Cf. *Itin. Eg.* 25,6–12 (on liturgical commemorations taking place in Bethlehem); on Jerome preaching in Jerusalem, cf. Kelly 1975:135.

6. Cf. Palladius, *hist. Laus.* 44,1–3, cf. Chitty 1966:48–49 and Patrich 1995:4–5. Innocentius is mentioned in several letters by Basil the Great and Athanasius of Alexandria, cf. Hunt 1973:460 nn. 4–8.

7. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* prolog. and *Socr.* 4,23,78–80 with Butler 1898:8 and Hunt 1973:458.

ternational Christian community in Jerusalem. The fact that their monastery, as well as those of Melania and other late fourth-century foundations, were all located on the Mount of Olives, may point to the perception that these outsiders were not fully accepted in the holy city and that they therefore chose to live on its outskirts: from an urban perspective, the mountain always remained outside of the city. The Latin-speaking community was never very large in this city, where Aramaic was still more common than Greek, however, the cultural contribution of this community was considerable.⁸ These pioneers of western monasticism in Jerusalem were confronted with a variety of ethnic and religious groups, which provided them with a new sense of collective identity,⁹ especially as all of them kept close ties to friends in Rome, Constantinople, and elsewhere and thus enjoyed a very large international audience. This fact reflected in the literary sources of the late fourth-century would not change much in subsequent centuries: Jerusalem and the monasteries surrounding it always attracted a very international crowd, as can be demonstrated from the epigraphical evidence from the monastery of Choziba: most of the monks who were buried there, hailed from Syria and Asia Minor, smaller numbers came from Greece and Cyprus, but monks from Mesopotamia, Georgia, Persia, India, Arabia, and the city of Rome are equally attested.¹⁰

Only two years after Melania's arrival, in 374, a group of western monks who had been friends from their study days, wished to reunite in Jerusalem and connected themselves with another westerner residing there, Florentinus, via a web of letters. However, while two

8. Cf. Tsafir 1999a:139 and Di Segni/Tsafir 2012:413–416; it has also been suggested that the high density of nunneries on the Mount of Olives should be explained since life in the city was easier, more comfortable, and secure, cf. Goldfus 2003:75–76; however, I would argue that these stereotypes should be applied not to the female ascetics on the Mount of Olives in general, but rather to the western foreigners settling there, who often came from the high echelons of society: many men from the upper class had tried to live as hermits (among them Basil, Jerome, Martin, to name but a few) and failed. That Aramaic was the main language of Christian Jerusalem can be deduced from Egeria's late fourth-century witness, cf. *Itin. Eg.* 47,3–4 on the simultaneous translation of the services into Aramaic, cf. Di Segni/Tsafir 2012:407 n. 6 with further references.

9. Cf. Stroumsa 1989:17.

10. Out of 213 inscriptions, 73 give a place name, the majority of these burials is dated to the sixth and seventh centuries, cf. Schneider 1931:317–329, Patlagean 1977:336–338, and Binns 1994:92–93.

of them, Rufinus and Heliodorus, arrived in Jerusalem, albeit coming from different directions and at slightly different times, the third one, Jerome, who at the time was living as a hermit outside of Antioch, changed his plans and went to Rome instead.¹¹ Rufinus' and Melania's paths had crossed, and it is likely that they recognised certain parallels in each other's lives: both had recently broken away from social bonds, Melania from her family, Rufinus from his study circle in Aquileia.¹² He joined her on the way to Jerusalem, where both were involved in bolstering the position of Cyril of Jerusalem, who returned in 378 from his third exile, by helping to reconcile him with his former opponents.¹³ The bonds between the Jerusalemite clergy and the westerners grew even stronger in the episcopate of Cyril's successor John, when Rufinus served as a presbyter in John's clergy.¹⁴ Rufinus travelled to Egypt with Melania and made the acquaintance of Evagrius.¹⁵ This man came from Ibora in Pontus and had first attracted the attention of Basil the Great in Caesarea, and then, after Basil's death, of Gregory Nazianzus, who took the young priest with him to the capital in 379. Evagrius' career flourished, when Gregory became Bishop of Constantinople in the following year, and after Gregory resigned during the Council of 381, Evagrius remained in the capital to assist the new bishop, Nectarius. With the prospect of a promising ecclesiastical future, according to Palladius, the circumstances of Evagrius' Constantinopolitan stay changed dramatically, when a noble lady (allegedly belonging to the highest ranks of the city) cast an eye at the young priest who apparently was not averse to her favours. Having been instructed to do

11. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 4,1 (on Heliodorus' pilgrimage to Jerusalem) and 5,1 (Jerome expecting Florentinus to make contact with Rufinus, whose arrival from Egypt was awaited).

12. Cf. Hunt 1982:170–171.

13. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 46,6 with Hunt 1973:463–464. Likewise, Cyril had no objections to Jerome's and Paula's construction of their monasteries in Bethlehem, especially since the latter had family contacts with the proconsul of Palestine, cf. Hier. *ep.* 108,9 with Nautin 1972–1974:9.

14. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 46,5 and Hier. *ep.* 51; cf. for Rufinus' staunch support of John's doctrinal convictions, Ruf., *c. Hier.* 1,13 with Hunt 1973:464.

15. Cf. also Keech 2012:43–44.

so in a dream vision, Evagrius eventually left Constantinople for good and travelled to Jerusalem, where he was received by Melania. However, even the holy city was too worldly a place for him, and after being faced with similar temptations, he left for Egypt.¹⁶ Nevertheless, he stayed in close contact with Melania and Rufinus, as all three shared, among other theological matters, an interest in Origen.¹⁷ Evagrius found new companions among the former disciples of the famous desert father Apa Pambo, among them the renowned ‘Tall Brothers,’ Ammonius, Dioscorus, Eusebius, and Euthymius, who were – like most monks in Nitria in the late fourth century – ardent admirers of Origen. Others rejected Origen’s allegorical exegesis and were inclined to take the corporal language used about God in the Bible literally, thereby incurring the charge of anthropomorphism. Soon, however, the Tall Brothers would have to leave Egypt for the Holy Land.¹⁸

Until 393 Jerome himself was a devoted admirer of the third-century exegete. He found Origen’s typological approach of Old Testament predictions to the salvific mysteries of Christianity highly attractive.¹⁹ One of the few who thought differently, was Jerome’s friend Epiphanius of Salamis, a native of Eleutheropolis in Palestine, who had been introduced to monasticism by anti-Origenist monks in Nitria. The relationship between him, Paula, and Jerome, was characterised by mutual hospitality: Epiphanius had stayed with Paula in Rome, then offered refuge to Jerome and Paula on Cyprus, where, in all likelihood, they reunited after leaving Rome in 385. In September 393, they, in return, received the Bishop of Salamis in Bethlehem. Under the influence of Epiphanius, Jerome very suddenly gave up his admiration

16. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 38,2–9 with Clark 1992:21–22. On Evagrius’ influence in the language and thought of Palladius’ *Historia Lausiaca*, cf. Draguet 1946–1947:*passim*.

17. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 55,2 on Melania allegedly going through three million lines of Origen’s writings.

18. Cf. Kelly 1975:196–197, Hunt 1973:468 and 1982:186–188. On the Tall Brothers, cf. Soz. 8,12 and Pall., *hist. Laus.* 46,3 on their exile to Palestine.

19. Cf. Hier., *vir. ill.* 54: *immortali eius [scil. Originis] ingenio*; cf. Hunt 1982:182–183. Origen’s writings also provided Jerome with the inspiration for a plethora of material to translate from, cf. Layton 2002:507–508 as well as Kelly 1975:302 remarking that towards the end of his life, Jerome’s use of this source became markedly more critical.

of Origen and eagerly joined those who condemned him.²⁰ Epiphanius had also approached Rufinus, who had studied for six years under the Origenist Didymus in Alexandria and had many Nitrian friends: however, unlike Jerome, he was not going to be cajoled into abandoning Origen. Jerome's volte-face eventually meant the end of his long friendship with Rufinus.²¹ The main target of Epiphanius' visit, however, was his fellow-bishop John of Jerusalem, in whose episcopal palace he lodged, and who – out of expected courtesy – had to invite Epiphanius to preach in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre during the *Encaenia* festivities of 393. While the Bishop of Salamis ostensibly preached against Origen, the intended target was John:²²

We were present when the bishop Epiphanius spoke against Origen in your church. He was the ostensible, you the real object of attack. You and your crew grinned like dogs, drew in your nostrils, scratched your heads, nodded to one another and talked of the 'silly old man.' Did you not, in front of the Lord's Tomb, send your archdeacon to tell him to cease discussing such matters?

John publicly rebuked Epiphanius and began preaching against the simple-mindedness of anthropomorphism, however, according to Jerome, the festivities ended with Epiphanius exposing John, who became an object of laughter. Nevertheless, there was no publicly displayed disagreement between the two men yet, and Epiphanius stayed on in the Holy Land, although he left Jerusalem for Bethlehem, where Jerome tried to convince him to return to John's palace. Epiphanius refused to do so and instead decided to spend the next days at his former monastery at Besanduc near Eleutheropolis.

20. On the promptness of Jerome's anti-Origenist conversion, even before Epiphanius arrived in person, cf. Kelly 1975:198.

21. The rift prompted Augustine, in 404, to his remark: *Quis denique amicus non formidetur quasi futurus inimicus, si potuit inter Hieronymum et Rufinum hoc quod plangimus exoriri?* ("what friend will not be afraid of becoming an enemy if this rift which we mourn could arise between Jerome and Rufinus"), cf. Aug., *ep.* 76,6 (=Hier., *ep.* 110,6).

22. Cf. Hier., *c. Ioh.* 11: *Nos hic eramus, cuncta nouimus, quando contra Origenem in ecclesia tua papa Epiphanius loquebatur, quando sub illius nomine in uos iacula torquebantur. Tu et chorus tuus canino risu, naribusque contractis, scabentes capita, delirum senem nutibus loquebamini. Nonne ante sepulcrum domini misso archidiacono praecepisti ut talia disputans conticesceret?* Cf. Nautin 1972–1974:13–14, Kelly 1975:199, Russell 2007:15–16 and Sivan 2008:24–26.

Over the next months, Epiphanius travelled between Besanduc, Bethlehem, and various villages in the Holy Land, occasionally even in the company of John of Jerusalem. Together they visited Bethel: however, on the journey, Epiphanius spotted an embroidered curtain in a church which bore an image of Christ or of one of the saints. Overstepping his episcopal powers in the diocese of John, Epiphanius had the icon removed.²³ Since this incident frequently came up in the looming conflict of the following years, it is safe to assume that John of Jerusalem was angered by this act of unauthorised assumption of episcopal authority. It was, however, a small step when compared to the arising canonical issue of 394, which had broad theological implications that also brought out the worst in Jerome's nature.²⁴ Bethlehem had a well-known lack of priests, not only because Jerome himself refused to exercise his priestly office, partly because he considered it as incompatible with the life of a monk, but also because it would have brought him into clerical subordination to John of Jerusalem. At some time in the summer, Jerome's younger brother Paulinianus visited Epiphanius at Besanduc and was – not without his appropriate resistance – ordained priest by the Bishop of Salamis. Whether or not the event was intended in the first place, it resulted to an open conflict with John of Jerusalem, who remonstrated not only the violation of canonical decrees, which specified that priests were required to be more than thirty years old (Paulinianus was twenty-eight), but even more so the infringement of his sole right to ordain priests in his see. Arguably, the case was complex, since the place of ordination, Besanduc, was outside John's jurisdiction in the diocese of Eleutheropolis, however, since Paulinianus was ordained to serve in Bethlehem, John's fury seems justified.²⁵ He took drastic measures and excommunicated Jerome and Paulinianus, banning them from entering the Church of the Nativity, from burying their dead, and from initiating the Bethlehemite catechumens, who

23. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 51,9.

24. Kelly 1975:195.

25. Cf. Kelly 1975:200–202.

had to be sent to Diospolis for baptism.²⁶ Epiphanius' reply followed close upon these events. He sent a lengthy letter to John which Jerome – allegedly at the entreaty of his friend Eusebius of Cremona – translated into Latin in 395. In harsh words Epiphanius justified his ordination, stating that Jerome's monastery in Bethlehem was beyond John's jurisdiction because its monks were foreigners. Their dislike for John, he continued, had deteriorated to the extent that they were virtually not in communion with him, so as a result of John's failure Epiphanius, had to step in, in order to not alienate Jerome and Paulinianus from the universal church. Ultimately, John should, Epiphanius reckoned, be thankful to him for his intervention.²⁷ Epiphanius' evidently aggressive letter would soon cause a major embarrassment to Jerome: His translation of the text had been stolen from Eusebius of Cremona, planted in the lodging of two visiting Roman friends, Fabiola and Oceanus, and played into the hands of Rufinus and John of Jerusalem. This alone was bad enough, but it was overshadowed by the fact that Jerome's Latin rendering was substantially different from Epiphanius' Greek original which had been delivered to John. Jerome had amplified the accusations and downplayed or deleted the more polite parts of the text. Both the translated letter and the news about its origin spread like wildfire and soon reached Rome. While Jerome initially was proud that Epiphanius' Greek letter was broadly distributed in Palestine, he was horrified by the prospect that his Roman patrons would learn about his dubious translation and sent a justification for his actions to Pammachius in Rome.²⁸ Epiphanius' letter, however, failed what it claimed it had wanted to achieve in the first place, namely to re-start the debate with Bishop

26. Cf. Hier., *c. Ioh.* 42 as well as 41 on Paulinianus' temporary withdrawal to Cyprus; cf. also *ep.* 82,11 claiming that Jerome otherwise upheld good terms with the local clergy. On the excommunication, cf. Nautin 1972–1974:14–18.

27. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 51,1.

28. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 57,3 and *c. Rufin.* 3,4. On the broad distribution of the original letter in Palestine, cf. *ep.* 57,2; which is the letter sent to Pammachius explaining the principles of a good translation; cf. Kelly 1975:202–203 as well as 229–230 on the critical reception of Origen in Rome. On the importance of Jerome's rich patrons, cf. Cooper 2007:187–190 and McLynn 2013:330–333.

John. The latter did not reply and started to prepare his next step: the once for all removal of Jerome from Palestine.

In 395 Bethlehem and Jerusalem, especially the Origenist monasteries on the Mount of Olives, resembled “two armed camps.”²⁹ The true capacity of the monasteries’ influence, however, revealed itself by the irritation caused to the western pilgrims in these last years of the fourth century. Whoever arrived in Jerusalem from Rome or elsewhere from Melania’s or Jerome’s circles, had to choose sites (and thus sides). One of these travellers, a certain Vigilantius, was a vital contact for Jerome, since he could refresh his contact with Paulinus of Nola. However, Vigilantius presented himself first to Melania and tried to limit his stay with Jerome to a polite minimum, this was enough, however, to raise Jerome’s furious anger. When Vigilantius, as he alleged, spread false rumours about him everywhere during his homeward journey, Jerome was prompted to devote one of his most ferocious letters on this man.³⁰ Among those who took the side of Jerome and Paula was the relatively unimportant Gallic pilgrim Postumianus, who visited Bethlehem twice, and continued his travels to Egypt certainly spreading the news about the quarrel there in favour of Jerome.³¹ Other friends, such as Fabiola and Oceanus, with whom the compromising translation had been found, thought it wiser to pursue their charitable works in Rome and hastily left Jerusalem, under the pretext that they were unable to match Jerome’s and Paula’s attachment to the holy places, and, more pressingly, that they were afraid of barbarian invasions in Palestine. However, Jerome himself alluded that the Origenist controversy might have had a vital part in their departure: “There was at that time disagreement among ourselves and local conflicts counted for more

29. Sivan 1990:54–55.

30. Cf. Hier. *ep.* 61,3 (as well as, of course, *c. Vigil.*, written about a decade later) with Kelly 1975:202 and 287–290 as well as Hunt 1982:191–193. In *ep.* 58,11, delivered by Vigilantius to Paulinus of Nola, Jerome dropped a further hint: *qui cur tam cito profectus sit et nos reliquerit, non possum dicere ne laedere quempiam uidear* (“why he [*scil.* Vigilantius] has so soon left us and started afresh I cannot say; and indeed, I do not wish to hurt anyone’s feelings”).

31. Cf. Sulp. Sev. *dial.* 1 with Hunt 1973:466 n. 1 with further references to Postumianus’ pilgrimages.

than battles with the barbarians.”³² Despite his brief stay in Bethlehem, Vigilantius carried a letter from Jerome to Paulinus of Nola. In it, Jerome dissuaded Paulinus from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land seemingly contradicting previous letters which Jerome had sent to his circle of learned women in Rome urging them to travel to Bethlehem. Given Paulinus’ kinship with Melania and his existing literary friendship with Rufinus, Jerome could foresee that if Paulinus were to come to Jerusalem, he would have probably ignored him and so he thought it better if he did not come at all.³³ Another visitor who would be best dissuaded from coming, according to Epiphanius, was Melania’s and Rufinus’ Origenist friend Palladius. His imminent arrival in 395, perhaps in the company of the seven travelling monks of the *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, who had left Jerusalem in the first days of that year for Egypt, signified a threat for Jerusalem – or rather for Jerome and Epiphanius, since they expected Palladius to be carrying Origenist writings with him from Nitria.³⁴ Within a remarkably short time, the monastic institutions on the Mount of Olives and Bethlehem had become bitter rivals in a conflict which was brought to the Holy Land by westerners via Egypt and then re-exported into the world.

A local conflict goes global

During the time of open confrontation, the Bethlehemite monasteries, deprived of their leader, the still excommunicated Jerome, were in harsh financial need.³⁵ On the contrary,

32. Hier., *ep.* 77,8: *Erat illo tempore quaedam apud nos dissensio, et barbarorum pugnam domestica bella superabant.* Cf. Hunt 1982:177 and 191 as well as Stroumsa 1988:118. On the barbarian invasions, cf. Maenchen-Helfen 1973:2–5.

33. Cf. Hier. *ep.* 58 with Hunt 1982:192–193 and, on Jerome and Paulinus, Antin 1968b:375. The consequences are best summarised by Hunt 1973:480: “Perhaps Jerome’s most singular lack of success was his inability to secure the ‘loyalty’ of Paulinus of Nola, who, despite his initial appeal to Jerome as a master of the spiritual life, drifted into the camp of Melania (whose kinsman he was), and proudly welcomed her to Nola on her return to Italy.”

34. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 51,9,3 with Hunt 1972:357 and 1982:188–190. On the connection of the monks of the *Historia Monachorum* with the monasteries on the Mount of Olives, cf. Festugière 1955:257–259, and on their influence on Palladius and Cyril of Scythopolis, cf. Devos 1980:25–27.

35. On conflicts between the two double-monasteries, cf. Hunt 1982:173–174. It seems that already in 395

Melania's and Rufinus' foundations on the Mount of Olives were thriving, not least as they frequently hosted important and high placed pilgrims. While we know with certainty that Palladius, Evagrius Ponticus, and the *dux Palaestinae* Bacurius stayed in them,³⁶ it is not sure whether the pilgrim Poemenia was also a guest in their circle in the late 380s. Poemenia's stay in the holy city, however, was ultimately overshadowed by the apparent failure of her visit to Egypt. This nightmare pilgrimage began when the most famous hermit of the Thebaid, John of Lycopolis, refused to talk to her in person.³⁷ Despite his warnings not to turn towards Alexandria, Poemenia ignored his advice and had her large retinue sail down the Nile. Compared to Egeria with her donkey or to Jerome and Paula who hastened through Palestine and Egypt within a year because of their restricted funds, Poemenia travelled differently: She used several ships for herself and her entourage of "bishops and presbyters (for she was very orthodox) and eunuchs as well as other servants who were barbarians from among the Moors."³⁸ When the ships anchored near Nikiu, some of Poemenia's servants had a fight with the local people, who cut off the finger of one of her eunuchs and murdered another, while an accompanying bishop was thrown into the Nile. Showered with insults and further threats, Poemenia ordered to hoist up the anchor and left Egypt for good. From a fragment of a Coptic *Vita* of John of Lycopolis, we know that after the accident in Nikiu, Poemenia continued

Paula's fortune was almost exhausted, cf. Kelly 1975:225–226 and Clark 1992:26. Three years later, Jerome sent his brother Paulinianus to Dalmatia to raise funds by selling off the family's war-ravaged estates, cf. Hier., *ep.* 66,14.

36. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 38,8–9 (on Evagrius) and Ruf. *hist. eccl.* 10,11 (on Bacurius).

37. Cf., also for the following, Pall., *hist. Laus.* 35,14–15; for monks refusing to speak to rich Roman noblewomen, cf. *Apophthegmata patrum* 2,7 with Klein 2010:164 as well as Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 48,8–17. Cf. also *PLRE* 2, s.v. "Poemenia", pp. 894–895 (containing only information from Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 43).

38. *Cod. Par. copt.* 129-13, fol. 18r, quoted in Devos 1969a:193–194: ΝΤΕΙΡΕ ΔΕ ΔΟΧΙ ΝΜΜΔΟ ΝΖΕΝΕΠΙΚΟΠΟΣ ΜΗΖΕΝΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΧΕΟΥΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΤΕ ΜΜΑΤΕ ΔΥΩ ΖΕΝΙΟΥΡ ΝΤΑΟ ΜΗΧΕΝΕΚΕΖΜΖΑΛ ΖΕΝΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΝΜΑΥΡΟΣ. Given her wealth and her travelling style, it is possible that Poemenia was part of the house of Theodosius I, as the *Synaxarium alexandrinum* (21 Hatūr) suggests, mentioning that when John of Scythopolis' reputation was universally known, a noblewoman "from the family of the emperor" (ἡ Ἰσοῦ : ἡ Ἰσοῦ) visited him; cf. Devos 1969a:204–206 and 1973b:118–120 as well as Hunt 1982:160–161.

her travels to Jerusalem,³⁹ where her building activity would prove not less bold than her demeanour in Egypt. Upon orders of the emperor Constantine, Helena had built a church commemorating the Ascension of Christ on top of a grotto in close vicinity to the summit of the Mount of Olives.⁴⁰ It is clear from the sources, that even before the construction of the church, this grotto was shown to pilgrims, perhaps mainly, as the place where the Lord had taught his disciples.⁴¹ Even with the authentication offered by an imperial church, it must have been difficult for late antique pilgrims to imagine the Ascension having taken place in an underground cave. Poemenia solved this problem and ‘corrected’ the localisation of the Biblical event by building a second church a few steps uphill from the grotto on the highest peak.⁴² Only a few years before, most likely in 383, Egeria had described the liturgy of Holy Week, and distinguished between two places:⁴³

Then they sing hymns and make prayers in the church, which is at the Eleona, where the cave is, in which Jesus taught the Disciples, and then at the Imbomon, this is the place, where the Lord ascended into heaven.

What Egeria called ‘Imbomon’ was the spot where pious local traditions commemorated the Ascension, and not where the Constantinian *basilica* had been constructed.⁴⁴ If we assume

39. Cf. Devos 1969a:202. On John of Lycopolis, cf. Frank 1998:494.

40. Cf. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 3,41,1 with Walker 1990:201–202 and Cameron/Hall 1999:294.

41. Cf. Eus., *dem. ev.* 6,18,23 with Alliata/Pierri 2002:307–308 and Yarnold 1989:106–107; on the archaeological evidence for the grotto, cf. Cré 1911:319–320.

42. There has been a lengthy debate on whether the Imbomon had an octagonal or round ground plan; it now seems clear that the latter was the case, cf. Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:85–86.

43. *Itin. Eg.* 39,3: *Dicuntur ymni, fiunt orationes tam in ecclesia, quae in Eleona est, in qua est spelunca, in qua docebat Iesus discipulos, tam etiam in Imbomon, id est in eo loco, de quo Dominus ascendit in caelis.* Cf. Davies 1954:95–96 and 93–94 on the puzzling evidence that Egeria (*Itin. Eg.* 42) described the celebrations on the day of the Ascension taking place in Bethlehem. While Davies argued that theologically, the Ascension (Mount of Olives) is closely connected to the Incarnation (Bethlehem), others came up with explanations such as ‘for reasons of bad weather,’ cf. Vincent/Abel 1914:392. The problem could be solved by Devos 1968:103–107, who took up a suggestion first made by Baumstark (1916:223–239, repeated by Heiming 1957:125–126) and combined it with his dating of Egeria’s journey to the years 381–384: The concurrence of the dates was merely coincidental. In the year 383, the fortieth day after Easter was 18 May, the feast day of the Holy Innocents, which is why Egeria reported from Bethlehem, where the commemoration was celebrated; cf. also Welten 1983:197–198.

44. There is disagreement over the etymology of the place name, Vincent/Abel 1914:384 pointed to a derivation from ἐμβαίνω or ἀναβαίνω (because of the event commemorated) or from ἐν βωμῷ (‘βωμός’ is a high place (of sacrifice), cf. hebr. בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ). It seems more likely, however, that the place took its name from ‘ἐν βούνοφ,’

that this was a church (and Jerome mentions several times that the place was adorned by a large cross), we can place its foundation between 384 (when Egeria mentioned the place without a church) and 392 (the date of Jerome's mention of the building with the cross).⁴⁵ Over the course of a century, the distinction between the church foundations by Helena and Poemenia had been forgotten, and an author of the late fifth century ascribed the construction of the Church of the Ascension to Poemenia alone.⁴⁶

Poemenia left Jerusalem soon after her foundation of the Imbomon church – however, in 394, the arrival of another female pilgrim was announced, and once more, Jerome employed the imagery of Sardanapallus in a letter to his Roman friend Furia:⁴⁷

I have lately seen a most miserable scandal traverse the entire East. The lady's age and style, her dress and mien, the indiscriminate company she kept, her dainty table and her regal appointments bespoke her the bride of a Nero or of a Sardanapallus.

While the identification of Melania with Nero or Sardanapallus is beyond doubt, their prospective visitor was not only rich, but had imperial connections (*regius apparatus*). It makes sense to identify her with Silvia, the sister-in-law of Rufinus, the leading supporter of Theodosius I, consul for 392, and from that time until his death in 395, *praefectus praetorio Orientis*. After the emperor (who was in the west at the time), Rufinus was by far the most important man in the eastern provinces in 394, when Silvia was travelling.⁴⁸ Since she was re-

(“on the mountain”) which is also suggested by the Armenian translation as ի բլուրի (“on the mountain”) in *Lect. arm.* 40 (272,20); cf. Devos 1968:88 n. 7.

45. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 108,12 and in *Soph.* 1,15–16 with Devos 1969b:211–212. In the middle of the fifth century, the cross described by Jerome, must have burnt down and was replaced by a brazen cross donated by empress Eudocia, cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 11.

46. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 43.

47. Hier., *ep.* 54,13: *Vidimus nuper ignominiosum per totum orientem volitasse: et aetas et cultus et habitus et incessus, indiscreta societas, exquisitae epulae, regius apparatus Neronis et Sardanapalli nuptias loquebantur.* The lines cannot refer to Egeria (as suggested by Morin 1913:174–186), who had long left Jerusalem, most likely before Jerome's arrival. With his words following on this remark, Jerome makes clear that rumours of a scandal involving this visitor must have been known in the east, however, it is also clear that the rumours must have been untrue; cf. Hunt 1972:359. Jerome soon extended his critique of a too luxurious lifestyle to Bishop John of Jerusalem, cf. van Esbroeck 1984a:99 n. 3. In *Synax. aeth.* s.v. “13 Sēne” (602–605), Epiphanius accuses John that he was dining on silverware and refused to sell it to help the needy; cf. Avi-Yonah 1958:47 and Schick 2008:176. For a similar accusation (Cyril of Jerusalem selling a golden robe originally donated by the emperor Constantine), cf. Soz. 4,25.

48. On Silvia's pilgrimage, cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 55 and Paulinus, *ep.* 31,1 with Hunt 1972:351–352,

ceived by Melania and Rufinus, much to Jerome's disgust, he had to fear that her brother would learn of his and Epiphanius' conflict with the bishop and take drastic actions against him.⁴⁹ However, it seems that even without the instigation by Silvia, John of Jerusalem had already informed Rufinus, as Jerome learned: John "set specially at our throats that powerful monster who menaced the throats of the entire world."⁵⁰ It is plausible that Silvia's journey, which primarily was a pious pilgrimage with the additional intention to acquire a large collection of important relics, had a second justification, namely to be Rufinus' eyes and ears in Jerusalem and to bring first-hand evidence on the conflict. Eventually, luck was on Jerome's side. Silvia soon left the Holy Land escorted by Palladius until Egypt, perhaps, just like Fabiola and Oceanus, because of the barbarian invasions in the winter 395.⁵¹ The planned exile of Jerome was never implemented, be it because of Silvia's hasty departure or due to the downfall of her brother-in-law. Jerome, however, was utterly pleased to learn how Rufinus' head has been carried on a pike in Constantinople, and how his severed hand was made to beg for alms at the doors of the capital in order to posthumously shame the *praefectus praetorio*'s alleged insatiable greed.⁵² If Zosimus' note that in 396, Rufinus' widow and daughter were granted safe conduct to settle in Jerusalem, is correct, it is likely that Silvia might have re-

1982:159–160 and 190 as well as Devos 1973a:105–106. On her brother, cf. *PLRE* I, s.v. "Rufinus 18", pp. 778–781. Hunt 1972:360 convincingly argues that before leaving for Jerusalem Silvia attended the dedication of her brother-in-law's shrine of St Peter and Paul at Chalcedon in September 394, cf. Call., *Vit. Hypat.* 8,5. A later date of the journey, c. 400, has been suggested by Murphy 1947:73, however, Hunt 1972:355–356 showed that this is impossible.

49. Cf. Hunt 1972:354.

50. Cf. Hier. *c. Ioh.* 43: *potentissimam illam feram, totius orbis ceruicibus imminentem, contra nostras ceruices specialiter incitauit*; cf. also *ep.* 82,10 that John *nuper nobis postulauit et impetrauit exilium* ("recently demanded exile for us, and obtained it"); cf. Kelly 1975:204–205, Clark 1992:23, and Russell 2007:16.

51. Cf. Hier. *ep.* 77,8 with Clark 1992:23–24. Important guests were usually escorted upon their departure, cf. Hunt 1972:355. Egeria, for example, was accompanied by the Bishop of Carrhae (*Itin. Eg.* 21,1), Paulinus of Antioch had escorted Paula and Jerome (*ep.* 108,7) and Melania the Younger travelled with the empress Eudocia until Caesarea Maritima after the latter's journey to Jerusalem.

52. Cf. Hier. *ep.* 60,16,1.

turned and joined them for a while.⁵³ However, it seems that she left the east for good and spent her final years in Brescia near the court in Milan, in the company of Bishop Gaudentius, who himself had been to Jerusalem earlier in his life. Silvia had achieved her mission of bringing a considerable number of relics with her, some of them promised to Paulinus of Nola, who had also received a splinter of the True Cross via his relative Melania.⁵⁴ In Brescia, she set up a relic shrine not dissimilar to that of Rufinus at Chalcedon, and, almost a millennium later, in the late Middle Ages, the relics of Gaudentius and of a St Silvia were miraculously discovered.⁵⁵ Whether the bones belonged indeed to Rufinus' sister-in-law, remains open for speculation; in any case, Silvia's journey of 394/395 was exceptional, since it constituted the first case of a close interaction between the imperial court and the holy city of Jerusalem, a mixture between personal piety and political involvement.⁵⁶

With the failure of John of Jerusalem's plan to exile Jerome from the diocese, there was need to settle the conflict between the two opposing parties. In 396 John approached the Patriarch of Alexandria, Theophilus, for help after an earlier attempt at mediation by an imperial official, *comes* Archelaus, had achieved nothing.⁵⁷ Theophilus of Alexandria was the obvious choice for John of Jerusalem, who would not have turned to the Patriarch of Antioch and far less to the Bishop of Caesarea, both superior to him from a canonical perspective, which was exactly what Jerome had suggested in the first place as he desired to see John reprimanded by his superiors.⁵⁸ At the same time, Theophilus had already successfully acted as a

53. Cf. Zos. 5,8,2 with Hunt 1997:405.

54. On Silvia as well as on the splinter of the True Cross obtained via Melania, cf. Paul. Nol., *ep.* 31,1 with Cyr. Hier., *catech.* 4,10, 10,19, and 13,4. On Gaudentius' pilgrimage to Jerusalem, cf. Gaud., *tract.* 16,2 and 17,14, with Bobertz 1993:21–23 on the origins of Christian patronage networks.

55. Cf. Hunt 1972:367–371 and Devos 1974:328–336.

56. Cf. Hunt 1972:361.

57. Cf. Hier., *c. Ioh.* 39 with Nautin 1972–1974:18–19 suspecting that Archelaus was called by Paula; cf. Kelly 1975:204.

58. Cf. Hier., *c. Ioh.* 37.

mediator in the Melitian schism, and was a renowned expert in canon law.⁵⁹ He had promised to send his confidant, Isidore, who should resolve the conflict. However, Isidore had announced his arrival in a letter which fell into the hands of one of Jerome's friends, which doomed the mission to failure. After three meetings between Isidore, John, and Jerome, the latter broke off negotiations, alleging that Isidore would not give him a fair hearing.⁶⁰ When Isidore left for Alexandria, he carried with him not only a report on the matter, but also a lengthy letter by John to Theophilus.⁶¹ Copies of this letter soon reached Rome, perhaps distributed by Melania and Rufinus, but more likely by John himself.⁶² In due time, Pope Siricius reproached his episcopal colleague Epiphanius, while Jerome's patron Pammachius was irritated and asked him for an explanation – the irritation only got stronger by rumours spread by Vigilantius, that Jerome and Paula were convinced Origenists while the exact opposite was the case.⁶³ Ultimately, it was Theophilus' actions, which ended the matters, albeit only temporarily: He wrote another letter to John and Jerome which immensely impressed the latter,⁶⁴ and so around 396/397 the two men reconciled. John seems to have acknowledged Paulinianus' ordination, restored the Bethlehemite monasteries to communion, while Jerome and Paulinianus promised canonical obedience, and Jerome and Epiphanius desisted from further invectives against the Bishop of Jerusalem. The rift between Jerome and Rufinus, however, was only superficially patched, as we will see below: Palladius alleged that Melania

59. Cf. Russell 2007:16 as well as Kelly 1975:204–205 suggesting that another reason for choosing Theophilus was that he had been Rufinus' teacher in Alexandria, cf. Hier., *c. Rufin.* 3,18.

60. Cf. Hier., *c. Ioh.* 39.

61. On the letter, cf. Hier., *c. Ioh.* 1 and 38 as well as *ep.* 82,8.

62. Cf. Hier., *c. Ioh.* 14 and *ep.* 82,8.

63. Cf. Hier., *c. Ioh.* 1 (for Pammachius' request for an explanation, which was this treatise) and 44 (on the reaction of Epiphanius to the letter by Siricius), cf. Kelly 1975:205–206.

64. While Theophilus' letter is lost, we have Jerome's reply in Hier., *ep.* 82.

“reconciled the schism of Paulinus”⁶⁵ – probably a misspelled reference to the case of Paulinianus – during the Easter service of 397, Rufinus and Jerome shook hands. When Rufinus left Jerusalem to travel to Rome a little later, Jerome walked with him towards the coast, and both men wished each other peace.⁶⁶

Battles old and new

The ceasefire between Jerome and Rufinus would last for less than two years. Once in Rome, Rufinus published writings in defence of Origen, while Jerome’s Roman friends launched a vigorous campaign against him, that eventually caused him to leave the city for good. However, the tone of a letter sent from Jerome to Rufinus at that time was still amicable.⁶⁷ One year later, the conflict between the two men erupted anew over their respective translations of Origen’s *De Principiis*, the first made by Rufinus to defend, the second by Jerome to refute the contested theologian. The debate was carried out in plain sight via mutual polemic pamphlets against each other’s translations, published letters, and, again, private letters gone public. Rufinus’ death in 411 muted only one side of the argument; Jerome continued to condemn him even posthumously in virtually every text he wrote until his own death in 420.

The hostile situation continued in Jerusalem as well, but its parameters changed drastically in favour of Jerome: His sworn enemy, Pope Siricius, had died, and his successor, Anastasius, came under the influence of Jerome’s friends, initiating a strong anti-Origenist phase in Rome.⁶⁸ Similarly, in Alexandria Patriarch Theophilus, who until recently had – just

65. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 46,6: ἤνωσαν δὲ τὸ σχίσμα τὸ κατὰ Παυλῖνον.

66. Cf. Hier., *c. Rufin.* 3,24 and 3,33: *dextras iunximus*; cf. Perrone 2006:163–164 as well as Kelly 1975:208–209 and 227–228 on the obscure reasons of Rufinus’ return to Italy, where he soon found a warm welcome with the family relations of Melania, and, in particular, Paulinus of Nola.

67. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 81 with Kelly 1975:235–236 and Keech 2012:47.

68. On Jerome’s Roman circle at the end of the fourth century, cf. Brown 1970:57–58.

as the Tall Brothers – been an admirer of Origen, performed a remarkable volte-face. After being threatened by a mob of infuriated monks for his Origenist views, Theophilus thought it wiser to put the influence of the monks to his own use. He suddenly propagated the anthropomorphic views held by the majority of simple and uneducated monks, diametrically opposed to the allegorical thinking of Origen.⁶⁹ Theophilus approached Jerome, who over the past years had sent letter after letter to Alexandria, all of which had remained unanswered. Theophilus expelled the Tall Brothers from Egypt. They fled to Palestine, where they had planned to re-establish themselves in Scythopolis.⁷⁰ Jerome rejoiced when Theophilus publicly reprimanded John of Jerusalem because he had granted hospitality to the fugitives.⁷¹ The timing cannot have been a coincidence seeing that this was the period when Palladius left the Holy Land and Melania decided to abandon her Jerusalemite monastic adventure of twenty years to follow Rufinus to Italy in 399,⁷² reportedly to make sure that her eponymous granddaughter Melania the Younger would not fall into “bad teaching, heresy or evil living,”⁷³ clearly hinting at the circle of Jerome’s powerful Roman friends.⁷⁴ This brought about the complete dispersal of the group of foreigners on the Mount of Olives, who by their shared Origenist interests and international contacts had given fourth-century Jerusalem its distinct intellectual character. More than a year before Melania, the Tall Brothers and Palladius had

69. Cf. Keech 2012:45–46 and Kelly 1975:243, who calls Theophilus’ behaviour “ruthless,” a different position is taken by Russell 2007:21–27, who interprets the patriarch’s volte-face not only in political but also in theological terms.

70. Cf. Soz. 8,13,1, Scythopolis was chosen because the city’s numerous groves of palm trees guaranteed the raw material for the basket weaving they practiced for their livelihood.

71. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 92,1 with Hunt 1973:473.

72. Cf. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 54 (on Melania, whose arrival in Nola can be dated to c. 400) and *hist. Laus.* 35 (on Palladius’ departure to Helenopolis in Bithynia); cf. Brown 1970:58 and Devos 1973a:114–116 favouring slightly later return dates than Hunt 1972.

73. Pall., *hist. Laus.* 54,3: φοβηθεῖσα μήποτε περιρραγῶσι κακοδιδασκαλίᾳ ἢ αἵρέσει ἢ κακοζωίᾳ. cf. Hunt 1982:197.

74. Cf. Hunt 1973:474 on Melania’s departure and Kelly 1975:247 on its date. Brown 1970:69 calls the times before 398 a “brain drain of ascetic emigrants to the Holy Land,” which now came to a halt.

been forced to leave Jerusalem as well, continuing their flight to Constantinople, where they received a diplomatic welcome by the Patriarch, John Chrysostom, who received them,⁷⁵ but would not admit them to communion until they had taken up their case with Theophilus.⁷⁶

Jerome congratulated Theophilus on his stern course of action, which did not stop when their common enemies had left Egypt and Palestine. Both men had their agendas, Jerome against John of Jerusalem, Theophilus against John Chrysostom. In Palestine, Jerome enjoyed the defeat of his opponents achieved with powerful help from Egypt, while he himself was far from innocent: Jerome had written to Theophilus not to be too hard on John for having offered shelter to a certain individual (in all likelihood Palladius), providing Theophilus with all information he needed on the connections between the bishop and the important Origenist. While Jerome pretended to help John with his plea, this must actually be seen as backstabbing.⁷⁷ John of Jerusalem lost his renown and almost all international connections, and yet the case was worse for Palladius, who had fled to the west and shortly found himself in Rome reunited with his Origenist friends, celebrating the feast of St Felix at Nola in 407. When he returned to the east, however, he was immediately arrested and exiled to Upper Egypt, where he remained at least until the death of Theophilus in 412, writing his *Dialogus de vita sancti Ioannis Chrysostomi*.⁷⁸ The Patriarch of Constantinople had come fully into Theophilus' firing line for having hosted the Tall Brothers. With imperial support, Theophilus had his Constantinopolitan colleague tried and deposed at the Synod of the Oak in 403. That his actions against John Chrysostom were motivated only by political reasons, became clear when Theophilus reconciled himself with the Tall Brothers shortly after the

75. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 92 and 90 with Hunt 1982:194–195 on the onward journey of the Egyptian refugees from the Holy Land to Constantinople. On John Chrysostom receiving the Tall Brothers, cf. Socr. 6,11,10 and Soz. 8,13,13 with Kelly 1975:260.

76. Cf. Soz. 8,17,4 and Socr. 6,15,13.

77. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 86 with Kelly 1975:244–245.

78. Cf. Hunt 1973:478 as well as, on the dating of the reunion to 407, Fabre 1948:39 and Brown 1970:59 against Butler 1904:246.

Synod had sent John into exile.⁷⁹ In all these affairs, Jerome was Theophilus' eager collaborator, "from the side-lines but with a supporter's blind enthusiasm."⁸⁰ Even after John Chrysostom's death in 407, Jerome provided Theophilus with information from Palestine and became his Latin speaking mouthpiece, translating Theophilus' writings so that they could be disseminated in Rome, where the new Pope, Innocent I (402–417), was more sympathetic to the pitiful fate of John Chrysostom.⁸¹

Interrupted only by his heavy grief over Paula's death in 404, Jerome assiduously continued his literary activities in Bethlehem. While he was working on his commentaries on Ezekiel, at some time in 411 a new (and final) opponent arrived in the Holy Land: Like most members of the Roman circle around Melania, the British-born ascetic moralist Pelagius had fled Italy shortly before Alaric's siege and reached Jerusalem via Carthage. Augustine informed Jerome that in North Africa he had seen the man who denied his theory of original sin, but had had no proper contact with him. It is likely that Pelagius carried a recommendation from Melania to her old friend John of Jerusalem, who therefore accepted Pelagius with open arms.⁸² In Rome, he had preached that man was responsible for his own actions. This strong assertion of a doctrine of free will reduced the need for divine grace, and stood in stark contrast to Jerome's perception of sin as an unavoidable part of human nature. Jerome saw Pelagius as the incarnation of his enemy Rufinus and proclaimed that preaching man's sinlessness was a fantasy only fitting for mad old women – alluding to Pelagius' supporter Melania.⁸³ Almost from the day of Pelagius' arrival in Jerusalem, Jerome was crossing swords

79. On Theophilus' hatred for John Chrysostom, cf. Russell 2007:17.

80. Kelly 1975:263.

81. Cf. Kelly 1975:259–263.

82. Cf. Brown 1968:94–96, Kelly 1975:309–3011, Hunt 1982:204–206, van Esbroeck 1984a:99–100, and Traina 2009:56. On Pelagius' statements on original sin not being aimed at Augustine but rather against an Origenist 'sin of existing' and the ascetic piety of Jerome, cf. Evans 1968:35–38 and Brown 1970:60–61.

83. On the female supporters of Pelagius, cf. Hier., *ep.* 133,4 with Hunt 1982:206.

with him – in all likelihood even before he learned about the anti-Pelagian writings from Augustine via the latter’s young follower Orosius, who had arrived in Bethlehem in 415. The Bishop of Hippo was certainly confident that Jerome’s capacity to get caught up in relentless fighting had not decreased even in old age. Once again, Jerusalem and Bethlehem became excited over theological arguments and John of Jerusalem agreed to host an informal conference in the spring of 415 in the presence of Orosius and Pelagius. The latter was vastly superior in his arguments, and this would not change at the Synod of Diospolis in December of the same year, where Pelagius was pronounced to be in full communion with the Church and absolved by the fourteen bishops present at the Church meeting.⁸⁴ Confronted with the victory of Pelagius (which should remain an ephemeral one, since he was condemned by the Synod of Carthage in 418), Orosius left the Holy Land shortly after the synod as soon as the sea was navigable to return to North Africa. At the same time, Jerome too ended his direct involvement in the Pelagian controversy.

Despite Pelagius’ rehabilitation in 415, John of Jerusalem’s position never reached the level of power he commanded over in the 390s. After having been reprimanded by Theophilus of Alexandria before, this time it was Pope Innocent, who (upon the instigation of Paula’s daughter Eustochium or, more likely, by Jerome under the name of Eustochium) censured John for having allowed Pelagius to cause a disturbance in the Holy Land.⁸⁵ However, exactly as the Synod of Diospolis convened, John learned of the miraculous invention of the relics of St Stephen in Kfar Gamala – providing him with an excuse to leave the meeting early. The timing seems to not have been fortuitous and helped John to downplay the case against Pelagius and to appear, at last, as a powerful bishop.⁸⁶ Even though the report on the

84. Cf. Kelly 1975:318.

85. The letter is transmitted in Jerome’s collection, cf. *ep.* 137. Since the letter dates to 417, the year of John’s death, it is likely that he never received it.

86. Cf. Vaill e 1899:48–49, Hunt 1982:218–220, Stroumsa 1999b:424, and Schick 2008:171.

inventio of the relics shares the stereotype character of most narratives on the discovery of Old and New Testament figures and Christian saints, it differs from similar texts by the pre-eminent role which John played in the account: The tomb was not to be opened until he was there, and the relics were immediately brought into the Church on Mount Zion, inaugurated at the beginning of his episcopate – and not to a church in Kfar Gamala or elsewhere in the Judaeen foothills of the Shefela region westwards of Jerusalem where the discovery had occurred. Even though Jerome did not comment on either John’s miraculous exit strategy from the Synod of Diospolis or on the further progress of the Pelagian controversy, there were repercussions for his monasteries in Bethlehem: In the following year, there was a sudden attack, in which the buildings were set on fire, monks and nuns assaulted, and one deacon murdered. While the offenders could not be found, it is likely that the assault was initiated by adherents of Pelagius.⁸⁷ John’s successor, Praulius, eventually banished Pelagius from Jerusalem, most likely in 418 after Augustine had declared Pelagianism a heresy. Finally, the following year would witness no less than two miracles. The first was a new apparition of the Cross on the Mount of Olives.⁸⁸ This might be interpreted as a visible sign that Praulius’ episcopate was just as favoured by God as that of his famous predecessor, Cyril, once had been. Secondly, the fact that the conflict which Jerome had fought over the past twenty-five years came to an end: Melania’s granddaughter, Melania the Younger, had arrived in Jerusalem together with her husband Pinianus and her mother Albina. Jerome, certainly aware of the donations they had showered upon numerous churches in North Africa, received them cordially and wrote to Augustine that they all send their warmest greetings to him. Eventually, Melania the Younger would financially support Paula the Younger, Paula’s granddaughter. It seems,

87. We are informed on the incident via Aug., *de gest. Pel.* 66, cf. Kelly 1975:322, Perrone 1980:39–41, and Stroumsa 1999b:422–423.

88. Marcell. com. 419, cf. Schick 2008:171.

that two generations later, the opposing parties of the late fourth century had finally found peace.⁸⁹

Fortifying the holy city

A quarter of a century earlier, in 395, Jerome had faced his most critical moments, when John of Jerusalem had already procured the decrees to expel the quarrelsome monk from his diocese. However, it was a threefold coincidence that had changed Jerome's fate: Theophilus' volte-face, Siricius' death, and the sudden departure of Silvia from the Holy Land. The reason for her withdrawal was, in all likelihood, the same as for Jerome's friends Fabiola and Oceanus, namely the Hunnic invasions into the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. Jerome was afraid that the Roman world was falling, and identified the intruders with the savage peoples who once were securely kept behind Alexander's iron gates in the Caucasus.⁹⁰ Together with their guests from Rome, Paula, Eustochium, and Jerome hastened to the coast, where they chartered ships and were ready to leave. However, only Fabiola and Oceanus embarked and left the Holy Land. For Jerome it was clear that, while large parts of the Roman army were busy in Italy, the Huns were targeting the holy city:⁹¹

It was generally agreed that the goal of the invaders was Jerusalem and that it was their excessive desire for gold which made them hasten to this particular city.

A decade later, Jerome would comment on the raiding Isaurians in 405 with a similar reference:⁹²

89. Cf. Ger., Vit. *Mel. Graec.* 40, the mention of Melania, her mother, and husband is in Hier., *ep.* 143,2, cf. Evans 1968:21–22 and Hunt 1973:480.

90. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 60,16 and 77,8 with Maenchen-Helfen 1973:4–5.

91. Hier., *ep.* 77,8: *Consonus inter omnes rumor petere eos Hierosolymam, et ob nimiam auri cupiditatem ad hanc urbem concurrere.* Fabiola would return to Rome, where together with Jerome's patron (and widower of Paula's third daughter Paulina), Pammachius, she set up a hospice at Portus.

92. Hier. *ep.* 114,1: *terror Plaestinae, praecipue urbs Hierosolymae: et nequaquam librorum, sed murorum extractio.* On the Hunnic and Isaurian attacks, cf. Thompson 1946:18–19, Gorini 1961:99–100, and Kelly 1975:210–211.

Palestine has been panic-stricken and particularly Jerusalem; we have all been engaged in making not books, but walls.

This evidence for a repair of the walls of Jerusalem agrees with what Jerome recorded for the time when he and Paula first visited the holy city during their pilgrimage in 385/386: The gates (there is no reference to any walls) had been reduced to dust and ashes.⁹³ The fact that Jerome mentioned the ruined gates may indicate that he was aware of the city's boundaries and paid attention to fortifications but did not see any when he arrived in the Holy Land.⁹⁴ Until recently it has been assumed that the late antique walls of Jerusalem belong to two different building phases: In the northern part of today's Old City⁹⁵ all excavated wall segments have been described as showing striking architectural similarities and have been dated to Constantinian times.⁹⁶ The excavated segments in the south of the city in close vicinity to Mount Zion have traditionally been linked to the patronage of Aelia Eudocia, the wife of Theodosius II, who spent considerable time in Jerusalem in the middle of the fifth century.⁹⁷ Apart from her mere presence in the city, there is another reason for the identification of Eudocia as the patron of the walls, prompted for the first time in the sixth century by John Malalas: Psalm 51 urged its audience to do good to Zion, "in your good pleasure" (ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ σου) and to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. According to Malalas, Eudocia understood the verse as referring to her name and consequently fulfilled the pious deed.⁹⁸ The fol-

93. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 108,9,3, cf. above, chapter 1.

94. Cf. Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007:99.

95. Cf. Weksler-Bdolah 2014:55–56, assuming that the northern course of the late antique city walls is roughly identical with the Ottoman walls of the Old City today.

96. A concise summary is presented in Geva 1993:770–772, cf. also Wightman 1993:206–209.

97. On Eudocia's pilgrimage, her building activities, and her final sojourn in Jerusalem, cf. below, chapters 3 and 6.

98. Cf. Malalas 14,8: Δι' ἐμὲ εἶπεν Δαβὶδ ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ σου οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τεῖχη Ἱερουσαλήμ, κύριε ("It was for me that the prophet David spoke when he said 'in thy good pleasure', O Lord, the walls of Jerusalem shall be built"); cf. Psalm 50/51:20 (LXX): ἀγάθυνον, κύριε, ἐν τῇ εὐδοκίᾳ σου τὴν Σιών, καὶ οἰκοδομηθήτω τὰ τεῖχη Ἱερουσαλήμ. On Eudocia's potential involvement in the building of the city walls, cf.

lowing chapter will demonstrate that much of Malalas' information on Eudocia is based on legends and not on reliable sources. However, at a first glance, his narration of the empress' involvement in building the city walls is corroborated by the sixth-century account of the Piacenza Pilgrim, who seemingly misspelled her name as 'Eudoxia,' actually Eudocia's mother-in-law, the wife of Arcadius.⁹⁹

A recent re-evaluation of all late antique wall segments discovered so far in Jerusalem has questioned this established chronology. Not only the northern segments, but throughout the city, all fortification fragments share striking similarities in their different layers. They are built on a foundation of medium-sized fieldstones, so that the next level with nine courses of homogeneously drafted limestone ashlar was not laid on bedrock. The higher the courses of the wall got, the more often re-used Hasmonean blocks or re-cut Herodian blocks were integrated into the masonry. However, all of them had carefully bossed margins to achieve a decorative design.¹⁰⁰ All pottery finds point to the early fifth century as a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the walls. Moreover, the survey showed that there is no archaeological evidence attesting to the severe earthquake of 363. This strongly suggests that the wall was built after the reign of Julian, which means that the assumption that the northern parts were built in the early fourth century, has to be abandoned. The late antique walls enclosed the area of today's Old City, Mount Zion, parts of the City of David, and the Ophel Hill, and, when possible, they integrated older structures, especially already existing fortifications.¹⁰¹ Based on the

Broshi/Tsafir 1977:34–36, Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994:I,78, II,114 and 390 as well as III,143, Prag 2008:474–478, and Schick 2008:175. Hunt 1982:238–239 cautiously pointed out that tradition was quick in attributing the walls to Eudocia on the ground of the alleged quotation of the psalm according to the late witness of Malalas.

99. Cf. *Itin. Plac.* 25; later, the *Chronicon Paschale* credits Eudocia with the construction of the walls, while Cassiodorus also has the form 'Eudoxia.' No empress is mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, Egeria, Jerome, or the pilgrim Theodosius.

100. Cf. Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007:87–88 and 93–94.

101. Cf. Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007:94–95. The construction of the city walls also required the builders to pave a new road system leading from the centre of the city to its southern areas now encompassed by the walls; cf. Gutfeld 2011:346–347. On the difficulty to date the southern segments of the late antique city wall, cf. Broshi/Tsafir 1977:35–37. It seems that the area of the Pool of Siloam had been within the circuit of city walls until the destruction of the Temple and was outside the reduced walls of Aelia Capitolina until the late antique

archaeological evidence and the common confusion between the names of Eudocia and Eudoxia, it appears more plausible to credit the latter empress with the construction of the walls.¹⁰² Eudoxia died in 404 which would exactly match the time when, according to Jerome, the ancient city walls of Jerusalem were being repaired. Moreover, this assumption can be reinforced by several arguments: First of all, it is striking that those sources, which arguably are the most reliable on Eudocia's building activities in Jerusalem, namely Cyril of Scythopolis' *Vita Euthymii* and John Rufus' *Vita Petri Hiberi*, remain silent on the construction of the walls. This may be an argument from silence; however, both *Vitae* contain specific passages that list the buildings constructed by the patronage of Eudocia; the omission of the walls would be a very striking one.¹⁰³ Secondly, the beginning of the fifth century was not only the time when the famous land walls of Constantinople were constructed¹⁰⁴ (just as was happening in Antioch¹⁰⁵), but also much closer to Jerusalem, the capitals of the three Palestinian provinces, Caesarea, Scythopolis, and Aila, were encircled by walls,¹⁰⁶ perhaps, as Jerome alluded, as a response to the feared barbarian onslaught between 395 and 410. In 420, Theodosius II and Honorius would send a letter to the *praefectus praetorio* Monaxius, that individ-

walls were constructed, cf. Adan 1979:99–100.

102. Tsafirir 2012:262 n. 24 was the first to respond to Weksler-Bdolah's attribution of the walls to Eudoxia, calling the suggestion "very attractive." On the archaeological evidence of the parts of the walls previously thought to be built by Eudocia, cf. Wightman 1993:209–216. Similarly, ancient authors often confused Theodosius I and Theodosius II, for example in Malalas' attribution of the construction of the Antiochean city walls, cf. Downey 1941:207 with further examples. Cf. also Tsafirir 1999b:287–291 arguing then that 'Eudoxia' was a scribal mistake.

103. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 53,3–54,10 and Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 49 and 166. Cf., however, *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 38 on Peter the Iberian's arrival in Jerusalem (prior to Eudocia's pilgrimage), entering the city on knees and kissing the soil until he was ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ("within the holy walls). Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007:100–101 interprets this passage as the clearest sign for a construction of city walls prior to Eudocia's arrival in the Holy Land. I would suggest that it is equally possible that *shūrē qadīshē* should be interpreted as a metaphorical phrase, i.e. "within the boundaries." Cf., however, Payne Smith, s.v. "ⲛⲓⲛⲓ" p. 568, noting that 'city walls' or 'bulwark' is the most common translation.

104. Thanks to the discovery of a new inscription, it is clear that the construction of the Theodosian Walls in Constantinople must have started already during the reign of Arcadius in c. 404, cf. Kalkan/Şahin 1994:150–151, Feissel 1995:566–568, and Asutay-Effenberger 2007:2 and 37–51.

105. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 77,8 (dating to 395).

106. Cf. Weksler-Bdolah 2006–2007:98 with further references.

uals were permitted to defend their own estates and places under their control with circuit walls,¹⁰⁷ despite the evident danger posed by private fortifications.

While Eudocia appears *prima facie* as the natural choice, since it was she who resided in the city for more than fifteen years, there are also some sources mentioning her mother-in-law Eudoxia in the context of euergetism in the Holy Land. Admittedly, however, they are far from being sound evidence: The first case concerns the so-called Eudoxianae church in Gaza, built on top of a pagan temple, allegedly destroyed by Bishop Porphyrius with imperial permission.¹⁰⁸ The historicity of the *Vita Porphyrii* is highly debated and cannot be proved. Eudoxia's church in Gaza as well as a hospice in the same city,¹⁰⁹ therefore cannot corroborate the earlier dating. The same is true for a golden statue in honour of Eudoxia in Scythopolis donated by a certain Artemidorus, who had restored a *nymphaeum* and had a temple, which had perhaps collapsed in the earthquake of 363, transformed into a church.¹¹⁰ It is more likely that Artemidorus' dedication of the statue was a simple act of honouring the imperial house (which would be evident had there been more statue bases discovered), although the possibility remains that Eudoxia had played some part in the transformation of the temple into a church. In any case, the meagre evidence for Eudoxia as an imperial benefactor elsewhere in the Holy Land should not render the possibility less likely that it was she who, certainly using funds provided by her imperial husband Arcadius, ordered the rebuilding of Jerusalem's

107. Cf. *CJ* 8,10,10, on the law and its implications for the public sphere, cf. Connolly 2006–2007:150–152.

108. Cf. Marc. Diac., *Vit. Porph.* 45–92. Cf. Tribyzadaki 2011:85–90, whose attempts to prove the historicity of the text do not provide any new evidence. The account is likewise taken at face value by Avi-Yonah 1958:42–43 and especially by Armstong 1969:17–18, suggesting that the cross-shaped plan of the church “quite possibly” derived from the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople; cf. also Di Segni 2005:41 and the thorough discussion in Z. Rubin 1998:60–65 as well as the cautious remarks in Avner/Puni 2012:270. A recent overview of archaeological discoveries on Gaza, Sadek 1999, expectedly failed to provide any supporting evidence for the definitive existence of the church.

109. Cf. Z. Rubin 1998:38–39. On the depiction of Eudoxia's patronage for Porphyrius, cf. Hay 1998:164–165.

110. Cf. *SEG* 49,2076: Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἄνασ|σαν ὅλης χθονὸς | Εὐδοξίαν χρυσεῖ|ην ἔστησε περισκέ|πτω ἐν χώρῳ (“Artemidorus set up the golden [statue] of Eudoxia, the queen of all earth, in a place visible from all sides” – cf. Hom., *Od.* 14,6), cf. Tsafirir/Foerster 1997:110 and 127 as well as Tsafirir 1998:217.

walls. At the same time, the possibility should not be excluded that the walls were not an imperial project but were built on a local initiative. Several questions have to remain open, for example why, if they were an imperial project, no historian earlier than Malalas reported on them, or, if they were not, how the careful embossing of the middle layer throughout all segments can be accounted for, which contradicts Jerome's remark of a seemingly hasty construction of the walls when faced with a potential Hunnic invasion.

A new voice in the desert

The new walls provided the inhabitants of Jerusalem not only with a feeling of security, they also gave shape to the city. Clearer than in previous times, the walls indicated what was part of the core of Jerusalem and what was not, for example the empty Temple Mount, which in all likelihood was not part of the city limits as defined by the outer walls.¹¹¹ The new fortifications also seem to have furthered the already existing notion of a dichotomy between the city below and the monastic settlements outside of the walled circuit, for example on the Mount of Olives or further away in Bethlehem.¹¹² As strong as the personal differences between Melania and Jerome might have been, they both shared the opinion that even a holy city like Jerusalem was a sinful place compared to their more remote monasteries. Already for Eusebius, the Mount of Olives was the replacement of the old and terrestrial Jerusalem, where the *Šehīnāh*, the divine settling of God's presence, had relocated after the destruction of the earthly city in 70.¹¹³ Even the mountain or Bethlehem, however, were at times not tranquil enough: While the hosting of visitors in the monasteries was both an act of Christian

111. Cf. Tsafrir 2009:78, and Schick 2015:300–301 with reference to al-Ratrouf 2004 (*non vidi*).

112. Cf. Giardina 2001:201–203.

113. Cf. Eus., *dem. ev.* 6,18,20–23, cf. Stroumsa 1999a:16–17 and Alliata/Pierri 2002:307–308.

charity and an important source of income, Jerome never stopped complaining about the floods of visitors, constantly making him long for more solitude.¹¹⁴

About one year after Paula's death, another pilgrim travelled to the holy land, visited the holy places, and decided to stay, just as Jerome and his companion had done twenty-five years before. This man, Euthymius from Melitene, however, immediately implemented what in Jerome's case had remained mere rhetoric. He did not settle in Jerusalem or on the Mount of Olives, but in a hermitage in the Judean Desert. Euthymius, however, was not the first to do so, as the legendary figure of Chariton, the founder of the hermits' communities (*laurae*) of Pharan, Douka, and Souka, preceded him. The archaeological surveys of the monastic settlements in the desert east of Jerusalem have confirmed that Chariton's foundation Pharan, where Euthymius initially settled, as a so-called cliff *laura* belonged typologically to the oldest kind of monastic installations in this area. Yet, even Chariton was not the first to adopt the monastic life in the desert, if we believe Eusebius' remarks about a certain Narcissus who had retired into the desert during the reign of Commodus (180–192).¹¹⁵ The settlement type of a *laura*, which probably originated in Palestine,¹¹⁶ consisted of a church as well as other utilitarian structures adjacent to a cluster of monks' cells.¹¹⁷ The surveys conducted by Hirschfeld and Patrìch indicated that the average distance between these cells was 33 m, though this varied depending on topography.¹¹⁸ The other typical form of monastic life in the desert near the

114. Cf., for example, Hier., *ep.* 46,12,3, 66,14, and 71,5 with McLynn 2013 demonstrating that this was, of course, to large extent a literary topos with the clear intention of receiving funding from Rome for the accommodation of the needy.

115. On Narcissus, cf. Eus. *hist. eccl.* 6,9–10; on Chariton, cf. Di Segni 1990a:393–396, and Hirschfeld 1990b:425–428; on the architecture cf. also 1993b:149 and 153. The anonymous *Vita Charitonis* emerged in all likelihood later than Cyril of Scythopolis' texts.

116. Cf. Chitty 1966:15–16.

117. The fact that the *laurae* contained their own churches meant that the monks were not required to attend services within the normal church hierarchy; a hundred years earlier, the Bohairic life of Pachomius (c. 185) noted that Aba Theodorus visited the churches situated in the diocese of Shmoun, an indication that monasteries were named by the name of the diocese; cf. Ueding 1953:573 n. 11, remarking that monasteries included ordained priests within their community only from the later fourth century onwards.

118. The monks in Palestine seemed to have preferred *laurae* constructed in ravines or on slopes. So far only two *laurae* on level ground have been discovered; cf. Hirschfeld 2003:189 and Ribak 2005:56–57. For the

holy city was the *coenobium*, a monastery with a square plan, surrounded by a walls, where, in contrast to the *laurae*, the communal life was practiced together. In general the *coenobia* were located closer to Jerusalem¹¹⁹ The foundation of either a new *laura* or a *coenobium* was not a juridical act and required no episcopal permission, at least not in the countryside and in the days of Euthymius' arrival.¹²⁰ After some time in Pharan, this was what the monk from Melitene would do. Over the course of his long life, he would found several *laurae* and soon attracted large numbers of disciples. In most cases, these desert monasteries received support from donations as well as from the personal wealth of the brothers. However, as the following chapters will demonstrate, Euthymius' monasteries differed in two aspects from those of his predecessors in the desert: Firstly, he and his disciples were very successful in targeting the middle and upper levels of society, so that their monasteries accumulated considerable wealth and became an economic factor in the region.¹²¹ Secondly, despite their location in the desert, the Euthymian *laurae* and *coenobia* were carefully positioned, and their proximity to important roads was as significant a factor for their prosperity as was their ability to sustain themselves via the sale of produced goods and agriculture.¹²² Moreover, unlike the monasteries of Melania and Jerome, which were almost constantly at war with others, Euthymius understood not only how to build an effective network with his immediate neighbours in the

special type of cave-churches, cf. 1993c:244–246. Some *laurae* seem to have differed from the typical construction form of cells scattered relatively closely around a nucleus, for example the cells of the monastery in Choziba, cf. Patrich 1990:206–207.

119. Cf. Patrich 2004:428–432 and Seligman 2011:368–369.

120. Cf. Ueding 1953:578–580 and 632–635. Only the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 restricted the foundation of monasteries, however, hardly any cases after 451 are known, in which this rule was observed, except for some years immediately following the council, cf. Bacht 1953:247–248 and Steppa 2005:34–36.

121. Cf. Tzaferis 1989–1990:51, Di Segni 2001:35–36, and Brenk 2004:453–454.

122. Cf. Hirschfeld 1993a:344–345; on the location of Euthymius' *laura*, cf. Rieß 1882:225–227. Kelly 1975:281 argues that a solid economic foundation was what Paula's Bethlehemite monastery with its "amateurish arrangements" lacked from the beginning, and that Jerome learned about such practical regulations only after his companion's death in 404, when he translated the Pachomian rules.

desert, but also how to uphold close contacts with the clergy of the holy city.¹²³ Within a quarter of a century after his arrival, Euthymius would have significantly changed the role of the monasteries in and near Jerusalem and, not least, the importance of the monks for the holy city.

123. Cf. Binns 1994:175–178 and Patrich 1995:9–10 and 287–289.

3) Travelling saints

“And the whole city became one single church.”¹ This is how the church historian Socrates concluded his narration of how in 425 Theodosius II spontaneously initiated a religious procession from the hippodrome to the Great Church after he had learned about the successful suppression of an usurpation in Ravenna. The description evokes powerful imagery, not only because the starting point of the procession, the hippodrome with its noisy masses cheering for the charioteers, forms such a sharp contrast to the procession’s goal, the Hagia Sophia. Moreover, Socrates’ usage of words leaves an ambiguous notion with the reader whether ἐκκλησία means the assembled community of people, united in their faith, or the actual type of building which this community resembled. The emperor walked in the procession barefoot and “in an ordinary dress,” and he would repeat such extraordinary and seemingly spontaneous behaviour several times during his reign, the last time on 26 January 447, when he walked with the senate, the clergy and the people begging for divine mercy following a severe earthquake.² The annual liturgical commemoration of these penitential processions would become part of the city’s religious rituals.³

Imperial piety (εὐσέβεια) openly displayed became a new central virtue in the fifth century, especially after the emperors began to reside exclusively in Constantinople. The inhabitants of the city, which understood itself as the spearhead of Orthodoxy, had high expect-

1. Socr. 7,23,11–12: καὶ ὅλη μὲν ἡ πόλις μία ἐκκλησία ἐγίνετο. Socrates used the same expression in the previous chapter of his ecclesiastical history, when Theodosius initiated a penitential common prayer in the hippodrome when a terrifying storm approached, and a similar expression (μίαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰργάσατο) when all Christian groups of the capital joined in the funeral of the Novatianist bishop Paul, cf. 7,46,2; cf. Leppin 1996:133, Harries 1994:39 and Angelidi 1996:125. On the episode, cf. Gardiner 2013:251–252.

2. Cf. Socr. 7,22: ἐν ἰδιωτικῷ σχήματι – cf. Kelly 2013b:221–222 and 230–231. Liturgical commemorations of earthquakes were not restricted to Constantinople (where they took place also on September 25 and October 7), there was a similar case in Alexandria, cf. Soz. 6,2 with Croke 1981:125 as well as 1978:7.

3. Theodosius’ successor, Marcian, would later die one day after he had to retire from a procession to the Hebdomon on 26 January 457; cf. Malalas 368,16–17 with Croke 1978:6–7 (as well as 1981:140–144 on several earthquakes in the *Chronicon Paschale* being wrongly dated) and Kelly 2013:239–240.

tations of their rulers: Theodosius II was a special case, since he himself had very clear ideas about what was Orthodox and what not; in contrast, for example, to the usurper of Ravenna, John, who tolerated all kinds of Christian sects.⁴ It is not surprising that the authors of Theodosius' age were full of praise for the emperor.⁵ Cyrus of Panopolis linked him to the Homeric heroes: Theodosius shared their virtues, but none of their vices.⁶ Socrates compared him to his imperial predecessors: this emperor endured heat and cold (as did the emperors of the third century), he conversed with the clergy (as Constantine did), and he was more of a philosopher than Julian, yet, while the latter succumbed to his anger in Antioch, Theodosius was always the master of his emotions. Moreover, like King David, Theodosius took council with God in times of war, and in restraining his desires, he surpassed the wise king Solomon. When Theodosius was walking in the midday summer heat, he refused a refreshment offered to him and had it distributed among the thirsty soldiers – thereby surpassing Alexander the Great.⁷ All historians over-emphasised Theodosius' role in the mission to and conversion of the Burgundians, the Jews on Crete and (almost) the Sasanian king Yazdgard I.⁸ Theodosius

4. Cf. Diefenbach 1996:35–37 and 41–42. Cf. also Diefenbach 2002, which is largely identical with his previous article, but contains some bibliographical additions, and Meier 2007, repeating Diefenbach's arguments with an exclusive focus on Theodosius II.

5. On the role of the ecclesiastical histories between history and panegyric, cf. Leppin 1996:132 and especially, with a focus on Socrates, Gardiner 2013:244 and 266–268.

6. On Cyrus, cf. *Anth. Graec.* 15,9 with Al. Cameron 1982:228–230.

7. Cf. Socr. 7,22,8 (imperial predecessors) and 19 (David) as well as Soz. praef. 10–11 (Solomon) and 12–14 (Alexander); cf. Harries 1994:37–39. On the parallels with Constantine (esp. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 4,29) cf. Angelidi 1996:56–57 and 125–127 as well as Gardiner 2013:249–250 and Kelly 2013a:52–53. It is interesting to note that Socrates wrote that Theodosius, while being theologically competent, did not interfere with the bishops' decisions at the Council of Ephesus (cf. Socr. 7,34) – it seems that the historian tried to disassociate the emperor from the failed Council, cf. Leppin 1996:133 n. 8.

8. Cf. Socr. 7,30 (Burgundians), 38 (Crete), and 8 (Yazdgard), the parallels to Constantine I are obvious, cf. Harries 1994:37–38. Theodoret 5,37,3 mentions that the emperor completed the destruction of pagan temples, making him the worthy grandson of his eponymous grandfather. A law issued by Theodosius II on 9 April 423 proclaimed that all pagans who still survive should be suppressed by the already existing constitutions, the emperor, however, stated that he firmly believed that there were none left (cf. *CTh.* 16,10,22). This statement can be best understood as a rhetorical strategy to dissuade fanatic Christians from attacks against pagans just as a law issued two months later (*CTh.* 16,10,24) protected Jews and pagans (and their gods) from violent encroachments by Christians. Haffner 1999:65–66 suspected that Theodosius' wife, Eudocia, was the driving force behind the latter law, however, there is no evidence for this; cf. also Holum 1982:123–125 claiming that Eudocia's uncle, Asclepiodotus, "purposely misled" Theodosius to sign the law, equally unsupported with

enjoyed a long reign with very few usurpations, and considerable military success, all achieved by the emperor's mild and humane behaviour.⁹ All good characteristics were summarised by Socrates, who called Theodosius 'θεοφιλέστατος βασιλεύς,' the emperor dearest to God.¹⁰

Theodosius began his reign as a child after the death of his father Arcadius in 408. While most modern historians acknowledged that he would not have been able to rule for himself at the age of seven (or thirteen, after the dismissal of the *praefectus praetorio Orientis* Anthemius, the effective regent until 414), only a few have challenged the assumption that his sister Pulcheria was capable of governing the Empire at the age of nine (or fifteen, respectively), as the church historian Sozomen alleged.¹¹ Her elevation to the rank of *Augusta* in 414 confirms the well-known principle of distributing all titles to as many family members as possible – one might add that in 414 there simply was no other candidate at hand. Angelidi showed that no involvement in state politics by Pulcheria nor by Theodosius' wife, Eudocia, is attested in the sources.¹² Even though Theodosius "bordered on becoming an ascetic,"¹³ his imperial conduct was not that of a weak emperor, but rather of a ruler who projected through concerted actions a specific (very pious) image to his subjects.¹⁴ At the same time, the history

any evidence.

9. Cf. Socr. 7,22 and Soz. praef. 16; cf. Pelikan 1987:71–72 and Leppin 1996:135.

10. Cf. Socr. 7,42,4 as well as 23,9; cf. also Soz. 9,3,1 who credits the emperor's sister, Pulcheria, with θεοφιλεία. The negative image of Theodosius as a weak ruler might be based on Sozomen's overemphasis of the role of Pulcheria as well as to a passage by Theophanes 5941, presenting the emperor as unsure of himself and carried along by every breeze. In recent years, the image of Theodosius as a competent ruler has been reexamined by Millar 2006 and in the collection of essays edited by Kelly, esp. Gardiner 2013:247 and Kelly 2013a:5–6.

11. This resulted in a branch of scholarship advocating an exceptionally high influence of female members of the imperial household: Cf., to name but a few, Holum 1982:*passim*, esp. 101–102, 111, 130–131, and 173–174, Harris 1994:35–36, Chew 2006:208–217.

12. Cf. Angelidi 1996:9, 20–21, 32–33 (on Pulcheria's role in politics) and 52–55 (on her influence on Theodosius' education); cf. also Fowden 1995:552, Millar 2006:217 and 131, Harries 2013:72–73 and Kelly 2013a:14–15.

13. Traina 2009:31 and 35, cf. also Zecchini 2002:529–531.

14. Similarly, Pulcheria's and her sister's decision to remain virgins should be seen as a dynastic step ex-

of the female members of the imperial household makes for interesting reading especially when focusing on a supposed rivalry between the imperial *Augustae*. In reality, the imperial ladies exerted their influence not via hidden intrigues, but through their formal role as petitioners in the process of legislation.¹⁵ Establishing the relationship between Theodosius II and his wife, Eudocia,¹⁶ as well as between the two *Augustae*, is essential to understand whether Eudocia's patronage in Jerusalem was in opposition to the court, or rather, as will be demonstrated in this chapter, in accordance with the religious policy of her husband as well as with that of his successors, Marcian and Pulcheria.

Certain elements in the overall fragmentary biography of Eudocia tempted many scholars to see her as the figurehead of a pagan party at the Christian court in Constantinople. The evidence for this claim is meagre: Eudocia received baptism only when she married Theodosius. However, a late baptismal age was not unusual in the early fifth century; only by the middle of the century did the practice of baptising infants become popular.¹⁷ The fact that the empress devoted some of her time to writing poetry has likewise been employed as evidence for her secret life as a crypto-pagan, because the most famous of her creations, the

cluding imperial brothers-in-law from becoming rivals to the reign of their brother, cf. Soz. 9,1,4 with Holum 1982:93 n. 68. Chew 2006 argues that Theodosius II was murdered in a palace intrigue, perhaps by his sister Pulcheria herself; this appears very unlikely.

15. Cf. Bury 1919:1–2 and Holum 1982:2. Cf. James 2001:88 and Millar 2006:193–234 (on the role of Pulcheria and Eudocia as petitioners) and Harris 1994:35–36 (claiming that they ruled via intrigues), cf. also Holum 1982:131 (on the rivalry that emerged “from the day Eudocia entered the palace”) and Broc 1993:152 for a similar case one generation earlier.

16. The marriage took place in 421, cf. *Chron. pasch.* 421 and Marcell. com. 421 with Holum 1982:112–115 and Hans 1988:34–36, demonstrating that the romantic story of Theodosius' looking for a bride, transmitted by Malalas, is a later addition.

17. Most scholars assume that Eudocia was born and brought up as a pagan, cf. Burman 1994:71–74, Haffner 216–228, Herrin 2001:135, Holum 1982:112–115, and Traina 2009:33. Busch 2015:140–141 argues that later authors placed so much emphasis on Eudocia's late baptism in order to make her conversion appear more glorious. A similar point can be made for the poet and praetorian prefect Cyrus of Panopolis, who likewise seems to have been a devout Christian contrary to earlier scholarly assumptions, cf. Al. Cameron 1982:239–243. On a generally late baptismal age in the days of Eudocia's youth, cf. Wilkinson 1993a:17, Burman 1994:71, and, especially, Badewien 1982:545–546 demonstrating how until the early fifth century Church Fathers, many of them following Tertullian, argued for a delay of baptism not so much because of the free will of the catechumens, but rather for concerns of the moral obligations that came after baptism. It is important that *CTh.* 16,7,2 (a. 383) equated catechumens with Christians in a legal context, so the mere willingness to get baptised sufficed as distinction from pagans.

Homero-centones, were a metric version of Old and New Testament narratives glued together from verses from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. If these *centones* had a *raison d'être* beyond the artistry of re-arranging Homeric verse, it was to convince learned pagans of the value of Christian ideas or to please learned Christians who were averse to reading pagan texts.¹⁸ Eudocia merely presented “salvation history in a most precious frame”¹⁹ and did not attempt to shape policy into becoming more lenient towards pagans via her poetry.²⁰

A group of influential men of the second quarter of the fifth century have been described as the empress' pagan allies. However, for some of them it is now clear that their activities had little to no connection with Eudocia at all, for example Cyrus of Panopolis,²¹ while others might indeed have been close to her: It is likely that a certain Valerius, who was awarded the rank *clarissimus* shortly before the imperial marriage of 421, was the brother of the empress – and in all likelihood identical with the consul of 432, *comes rerum privatarum* in 425, and *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 427.²² While Holum assumed that Valerius be-

18. Cf. Al. Cameron 1982:282–284, the opposite view is presented in Haffner 1999:69–70. On praise for Eudocia by the church historian Socrates, cf. Socr. 7.21.8 with Gelzer 2001:116–121 and Busch 2015:138. Her literary activities, especially the *Homero-centones*, were commended by Malalas, Evagrius, Theophanes and the Suda, cf. Van Deun 1993:277–278. Even Photius, renowned for notoriously detesting poetry, mentioned her work, cf. Baldwin 1987:9–14 and Ma. Whitby 2013:208, however, as Al. Cameron 1982:279 pointed out, it seems that the poems were transmitted rather because of their author's imperial rank than because of their quality, paraphrasing Photius' praise with “as correct as she could make it.”

19. Hunger 1978:101, cf. also Haffner 1999:68–70 and Ma. Whitby 2013:213–214. Given Socrates' dismissive judgement on the genre of *centones* later in his work (he finished his history in 439), it seems likely to date Eudocia's endeavours in this field to the time after her departure from Constantinople – otherwise Socrates would have insulted the empress; cf. Al. Cameron 1982:282–287. For a late antique dislike of the genre, cf. Hier., *ep.* 53.7, calling *centones* literary childrens' games: *puerilia sunt haec et circulatorum ludo similia*. Jerome's critique, however, was influenced by the Virgilian *cento* of Faltonia Betitia Proba (whom he had called a *garrula anus* earlier, cf. *ep.* 53.7), a pedagogic tool for young Christians studying Virgil, which did not please Jerome neither as a theologian nor as a translator of the Bible; cf. Clark 1982b:412–413 and Springer 1993:99–101.

20. Cf. Holum 1982:121 claiming that it was “Attic eloquence” to which “Theodosius listened more readily because through Eudocia he experienced the pleasures of married life.”

21. Cf. Scott 2010:119–120 arguing that the execution of Theodosius' friend Paulinus in 440 (on the date, cf. Al. Cameron 1982:262–263) and the downfall of Cyrus of Panopolis were both unrelated to Eudocia's second departure from Constantinople. *Vit. Dan. Styl.* 31 ascribes Cyrus' fall to Chrysaphius; cf. Goubert 1951:306, Al. Cameron 1982:221–222 and esp. 247–250 as well as Pfeilschifter 2013:492–493. Against Holum's idea of a pagan party, cf. Busch 2015:147–148.

22. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 47.12 with *PLRE* 2, s.v. “Valerius 6” p. 1145, Burman 1994:77 and Busch 2015:141 suggesting that no contemporary source mentions any siblings of Eudocia.

came Christian at some time during this extraordinary career, it is more likely that had been Christian all along, since a law from 415 effectively excluded pagans from imperial service.²³ While a certain Gessius was only later stylised as Eudocia’s brother in the sources,²⁴ it is possible that a man named Asclepiodotus, who advanced from *comes sacrarum largitionum* to the post of *praefectus praetorio Orientis* in 422/423 and was made consul in 423, one day before Eudocia became *Augusta*, was her maternal uncle.²⁵ While both incidents might well be unrelated (Eudocia gave birth to her first child shortly before – often a good occasion for granting the title *Augusta*), the assumption that Valerius and Asclepiodotus advanced because of Eudocia’s influence, can easily be reversed: perhaps Eudocia became empress because she was a relative of two prominent (and surely Christian) statesmen of her age. Be it Pulcheria, who through her vow of virginity presented herself as a “human *ex voto*,”²⁶ or Eudocia, whose poetry rephrased the Gospel in Homeric hexameters, both women had little direct political power, yet theirs was a different kind of power, situated in the religious sphere, via their ostentative piety, which was always in tune with the policies of Theodosius.²⁷

A visitor from Jerusalem

Towards the end of 436,²⁸ the emperor and his court welcomed an illustrious visitor: Melania the Younger, a once enormously rich noblewoman from Rome, now piously residing

23. Cf. *CTh.* 16,1021 with Haehling 1978:600–605 and Holum 1982:118–119.

24. Cf. *PLRE* 2, s.v. “Gessius 2” pp. 510–511; cf. *Chron. pasch.* 421 stating that Gessius became *praefectus praetorio Orientis*.

25. Cf. *PLRE* 2, s.v. “Asclepiodotus 1” p. 160, for his laws, cf. *CTh.* 6,20,23 and 7,4,35. He was soon dismissed from his offices, perhaps because of legislation in favour of the Jews, as *Vit. Sym. Styl. Syr.* 130–131 alludes. On Eudocia’s elevation to *Augusta*, cf. *Chron. pasch.* 423 with de Salis 1867:205.

26. Cf. Brown 2008:260; cf. Traina 2009:30 who speaks of “cultural virginity.”

27. Cf. Herrin 2000:4–5 and Harries 2013:88–89.

28. Holum 1982:183 n. 39 suggested 437/438 as the year of Melania’s journey to Constantinople, however, the traditional dating to 436/437 (cf. Clark 1982a:147 and Hunt 1982:221, both following Gorce 1962:44) appears to be more sensible, cf. Clark 1984:133–144 with Grumel 1958:268, cf. below.

in Jerusalem after having followed in the footsteps of her eponymous grandmother. Her official visit to Constantinople had, *prima facie*, political reasons as she was expected to facilitate the negotiations of the impending marriage between the emperor's daughter, Licinia Eudoxia, and the young western emperor Valentinian III. Melania had been called to the capital by her uncle, Volusianus, one of the last eminent pagans of Rome and Valentinian's intermediary for the wedding.²⁹ On the way, news had reached Melania that Volusianus was severely ill. Intertwined with her concerns for his health were those for his salvation since her uncle had not yet accepted Christianity. While Melania's visit in the capital would not bring recovery to Volusianus' health (he died shortly after his niece's arrival), she managed to save his soul as she brought him to convert on his deathbed. Besides these political and personal aspects, Melania's visit was justified for another reason: the interest the court took in her.³⁰ Stemming from an ancient Roman family, she had soon acquired saint-like fame for distributing all her (and her husband Valerius Pinianus') considerable wealth among the poor, for her long sojourn around the Mediterranean on which she met with (to name but a few) her grandmother's old friend Paulinus of Nola, the famous bishops Augustine of Hippo and Cyril of Alexandria, and, finally, for settling in Jerusalem where she founded two monasteries on the Mount of Olives and lived a solitary life. It is a commonplace in saints' *Vitae* that famous ascetics were held in highest regards by the court when they visited the capital – the same is true for Porphyrius and Arcadius (regardless of the historicity of Porphyrius' *Vita*), and, in later times, for Sabas at Justinian's court. And indeed, Gerontius, the author of Melania's *Vita*,³¹ emphasised the admiration that the entire court had for their visitor. The first person to

29. On Volusianus' family consisting of Christians and pagans alike, cf. Chastagnol 1956:247–252 and Brown 1961:6–8, on the political aspect of Melania's journey, as well as Cooper 2007:169–170 on her patronage.

30. While Melania has been recognised as an authoritative ascetic model in Jerusalem, e.g. by Horn 2006:139, the implications of her impact in the capital have been less studied.

31. On the question of authorship, cf. the summary in Clark 1982a:144 as well as Giardina 2001:190 and Barnes 2010:249 n. 45. The *Vita* was most likely written about a decade after Melania's death in 439. It is striking that Gerontius' adversary, Juvenal, is never mentioned in the *Vita*. This points, if not to a composition after the Council of Chalcedon (cf. Honigmann 1950:228), at least to a redaction that carefully expunged his name at

welcome Melania in the city was not Volusianus, but the former *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Lausus, a devout Christian with strong interests in both ancient Greco-Roman culture and religious asceticism.³² Moreover, the *Vita* describes the close ties between the ascetic and the empress Eudocia, just as in earlier passages of the same text Melania was presented as a confidante of Serena, the wife of Stilicho and cousin to the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, thereby stressing her relations to the highest echelons of late Roman society.³³

Having grown up in the old capital of the Empire, now living in God’s heavenly city on earth, one might expect that Constantinople had little to offer for Melania. Her *Vita* even states that before entering Constantinople, while in Chalcedon, Melania, accustomed to an ascetic and solitary life, became rather anxious to set foot in “so great a royal city.”³⁴ It is understandable that Melania’s hesitancy set in when she was on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, where she could cast a look upon the city across the sea, however, it seems that the narrator specifically chose this location – never having mentioned any concerns of Melania before that point – because Chalcedon with its shrine holding the remains of St Euphemia could offer instant reassurance to his heroine. Melania’s *Vita* frequently mentions her strong

that time. I would argue that the text was written after the death of Theodosius II in the summer of 450, as only Valentinian III, who was murdered in 455 (the *terminus ante quem*), is referred to as *imperator noster* (*Vit. Mel. Lat.* 50) and ἡμῶν βασιλεῖ Οὐαλεντινιανῶ (*Vit. Mel. Graec.* 50). Rampolla, the editor of the Greek and Latin texts, used this argument to propose that the author of the original text came from the western half of the late Roman Empire, and that the original text was thus written in Latin; against this view, cf. Clark 1984:6–7. If Clark’s assumption of Patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem as the recipient of the *Vita Melaniae* is true, for which she presents plausible arguments, the text could be dated exactly to 452–453, cf. 1984:20–24.

32. According to the Latin *Vita*, Melania even stayed at Lausus’ palace: Ger., *Vit. Mel. Lat.* 53 and 55. On Lausus’ career, his palace, and his extraordinary collection of art, cf. Bassett 2005:98–119. While *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 53 somewhat incorrectly calls Lausus ‘ὁ πρεπόσιτος,’ as if he was still in office, the Latin version has *ex praepositus sacri cubiculi* (*Vit. Mel. Lat.* 41); cf. Clark 1984:6–7.

33. According to the *Vita*, Volusianus spent his last days at the imperial palace where Eudocia’s own nurse attended to him; cf. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 55; the name of the empress is given as ‘Eudoxia,’ as we have seen in the previous chapter, this is a common confusion in the sources. On Serena, cf. *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 11–14 with Matthews 1975:290 n. 5, Demandt/Brummer 1977:479–502, and Clark 1989:171–173 demonstrating that the information on the meeting between Serena and Melania is quite accurate. On the ascetic as instigator of Eudocia’s pilgrimage, cf. *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 56 with Clark 1982a:148–149.

34. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 53: εἰς τηλικαύτην βασιλεύουσαν πόλιν μέλλουσα εἰσιέναι, cf. Hunt 1982:221 who describes Melania as indeed perplexed by the grandeur of the city. This is hardly plausible given her upbringing in Rome and, to mention but one other case, her sojourn in Alexandria.

devotion to relics and martyrs. Already in Rome, around the time of the birth of her second child, she had shown devotion to them, they had accompanied her in difficult situations during her life, and she sought their presence in the hour of her death.³⁵

There is little reason to doubt that the famous visitor indeed impressed the pious household of Theodosius II, and it is also quite likely that Melania enjoyed her stay in the city, where she dwelled for a mourning period of forty days following her uncle's death. The *Vita* recounts how she counselled the court in theological matters and won the friendship of the empress, and we may assume that the famous ascetic also engaged in visits to Constantinopolitan holy places. In an era when the veneration of saints was thriving throughout the Empire, Theodosius' capital was – despite its relatively young age of approximately one century – in no way inferior to the illustrious old cities in the east, not even to Rome when it came to relics. As a pilgrim in Constantinople, Melania could pray at the relics of Luke and Andrew, transferred into the Church of the Apostles in either 357 or in 360, as well as those of Timothy venerated at the same place.³⁶ For the time of Theodosius' reign, the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* mentions fourteen churches.³⁷ Among the churches that are given with a *patrocinium* are the Holy Wisdom, St Sophia, and two churches dedicated to the Heavenly

35. Cf. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 5 (on the *martyrium* of St Lawrence in Rome, where Melania prayed before she prematurely gave birth to her second child, cf. Brown 1970:69–70), 52 (Melania's visit to the shrine of St Leontius in Tripolis, where a miracle helped to convince the state official to provide the clergymen in Melania's entourage with the necessary documents so that they too could use the *cursus publicus*, cf. Greschat 2015:133), 53 (Melania's visit at the shrine of St Euphemia in Chalcedon), 64 (prayer to the martyrs shortly before her death), and 65 (her desire to die at the *martyrion*), on the development of the veneration of martyrs as intercessors, cf. Markus 1994:262–263 and Baumeister 2009b:268.

36. On the Church of the Apostles, cf. *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 238, and, on the date of the translation of its relics, Woods 1991:286–292, esp. 290 (on Timothy), cf. Ousterhout 2009:101. Constantine's building activity perhaps also included the reconstruction of the earlier Church of Irene, the enlargement of the shrine of Acacius, and the new foundation to Mocius outside the city walls, who was an alleged local martyr from the time of Diocletian's persecutions. However, the evidence for these commissions does not antedate the mid-fifth century, when “the Constantinian myth-machine” (Bowes 2008:107) was already set into motion and successfully blurred the exact chronology; cf. Angelidi 1996:64–67, and, on the potential influence of Constantine, Woods 2001:204.

37. Cf. *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 242. The text is usually dated to the end of Theodosius' reign, c. 447–450; cf. Bury 1916:442–443 and Traina 2009:28.

Peace, St Irene.³⁸ The dedication to the Holy Wisdom, the incarnated *Logos*, may partly be due to the lack of local saints in fourth-century Constantinople; however, patron saints were rather unusual except for places that actually contained relics or martyria. Moreover, the church was mainly known as the ‘Great Church’ (Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία), and the name St (Hagia) Sophia only came into use in the 430s, the time of Melania’s visit. For her and her contemporaries it was clear that Sophia and Irene were not personal names.³⁹ In contrast, three Constantinopolitan churches did carry names of specific saints, Paul, Acacius and Menas.⁴⁰ The church of St Paul commemorated Bishop Paul of Constantinople (342–350), whose remains were buried there around 381. However, the descriptions of the historians Socrates and Sozomen reveal that by the mid-fifth century the population of Constantinople was convinced that the church contained in fact the relics of Paul the Apostle.⁴¹ The church of Acacius may date to the times of Constantine, although this had been called into question; however, there seems to be no doubt of the existence of a church (and cult) of St Acacius by the time of John Chrysostom’s episcopate (398–404), who delivered two sermons in this church.⁴² The church of Paul was perhaps built by Bishop Macedonius, while Chrysostom himself is credited with the construction of a church that commemorated two of Bishop Paul’s secretaries, the *No-*

38. Neither, of course, commemorated female saints named Sophia or Irene. Cf. *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 231 (St Sophia and St Irene) and 236 (St Irene in *regio* 7). Some of the churches recorded are not mentioned with a specific *patrocinium*, cf. one in the *Caenopolis* (237), in the *Homonea* (237), in the thirteenth *regio* (*Sycena*) (240), and in the fourteenth *regio* (241). On the difficulties of establishing an exact chronology of Constantinople’s church buildings and *martyria*, cf. Angelidi 1996:62–65.

39. On the Holy Wisdom as incarnated *Logos*, cf. Proverbs 8:22–25; cf. Grégoire/Kugener 1930:16 n. 1 for a similar case of the church of St Irene in Gaza.

40. Cf. *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 235 (Menas and Paul) and 237 (Acacius).

41. Socr. 5,9 and Soz. 7,10; cf. Janin 1953:407–409 and Woods 2001:207.

42. It has been convincingly argued that the church of St Acacius was in fact a church built by Acacius, a member of Constantine’s entourage, who had supervised the demolition of the pagan sanctuary at Mamre in the Holy Land; cf. Woods 2001:203–204. Similarly, Bowes suspects that the shrines of Celerina (an obscure martyr from North Africa) and Philipp (for whom no cult is attested before the times of Anastasius, whereas Philipp in general was a common name) might not have been named after the eponymous saints but rather after their patrons, 2008:113. For a Constantinian date of the church of Acacius, cf. Mango 1986:34.

tarii.⁴³ Gregory of Nazianzus' short episcopate saw the foundation of his 'alternative see,' the house-church Anastasia, named in reference to the hoped-for resurrection of a true, pro-Nicaean faith. However, when St Marcianus (†471) came to Constantinople, he re-built this church – this time not identifying its *patrocinium* with an ideological concept, but with a saint, Anastasia, whose relics were brought into the church in a public procession.⁴⁴ What is remarkable in all these cases is the Constantinopolitan ability to very quickly associate saints and their legends with churches which were originally built without a *patrocinium*.

Relics found their way to Constantinople in different ways and accompanied by different rituals. It is striking that their heyday coincides with the time the emperor began to leave the city less and less. Important saints' relics arrived in public processions and were welcomed by the imperial house, such as the translation of the head of John the Baptist in 392, which was housed in a newly constructed chapel at the Hebdomon, thus signalling their function as imperial and dynastic symbols of power and victory.⁴⁵ Between 400 and 402 relics of Thomas were transferred from the Great Church to that of Thomas in the suburb Drypia. John Chrysostom, who presided over the translation, emphasised the role of the empress Eudoxia in the procession: she attended the saints like a handmaid, clinging to the relic box and to the linen that covered it.⁴⁶ Here, as in later cases, it is remarkable that female members of the court are associated with the relics in the same way as the emperor, while

43. On the church of Paul, cf. Socr. 5,9 and Soz. 7,10 with Janin 1953:407–409 and Bowes 2008:107, who assumes that it was dedicated as a means of proclaiming a final pro-Nicaean victory. On the Church of *Notarii*, cf. Soz. 4,3 with Janin 1953:391–392 and Baumeister 2009a:246–247 for comments on the institutionalised veneration of bishops.

44. The church is mentioned in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* 235. Cf. Greg. Naz., *or.* 42,26 and Soz. 5,7 with Bowes 2008:117 n. 373 for further references. On St Marcianus' re-foundation, cf. Saradi 1995:97 n. 44 and 45.

45. Soz. 7,21 and 7,24,2 (for Theodosius praying at the chapel and seeking the saint's help against Arbogast and Eugenius; cf. Diefenbach 1996:44–45 as well as *Chron. pasch.* 391 (cf. Rauschen 1897:356 for the correction of the date to 392); cf. Holum 1982:20–21 (on the importance and meaning of the *translatio*).

46. Cf. Holum 1982:56–58 for quotes from Ioh. Chrys., *hom.* 2 (PG 63,467–472). On Eudoxia's display of humility during the procession, cf. Kelly 2013b:223–224 and Busch 2015:70–71.

their political power was markedly smaller. One reason for this could be that an empress could mix more easily with the common people. A personal guard would have sufficed for her security; however, unlike the guards of the emperor, they did not function as a necessary status symbol that had to visibly surround her. On 19 May 406, the capital witnessed the solemn *adventus* of the bones of Samuel the Prophet, which were brought into the Great Church (by 415, the relics of Joseph and Zachariah would be there, too).⁴⁷ The court benefited from the mass appeal of the veneration of relics as their arrival offered a potent chance to the emperor to demonstrate his attachment to the city: by being Constantinople's first envoy to welcome the precious objects, the emperor could ostensibly display that despite his elevated position, he was nevertheless part of the city's population and shared their joy and devotion. In a way, such processions became an inversion of the imperial *adventus*: at the ritualised position where normally the representatives of a *polis* would greet the emperor, it was now the emperor himself who invited in the precious relics.⁴⁸ The first half of the fifth century witnessed an enormous rise in the number of religious buildings. While Bowes has rightly emphasised that many of these foundations developed from private enterprises,⁴⁹ the influence of the court should not be neglected. While high state officials played a large part in this process, women, particularly the female members of the court, were similarly important.⁵⁰

47. Cf. *Chron. pasch.* 406 and *Hier., c. Vigil.* 5: Jerome witnessed the procession passing through the Holy Land.

48. Cf. Holum 1982:90 and Diefenbach 1996:50 and 52.

49. The construction of *martyria*, however, was not restricted to members of the court. Flavius Rufinus built a shrine on his estate on the Bosphorus that housed the relics of Peter and Paul, obtained during a trip to Rome in the 380s, cf. *Call., Vit. Hyp.* 8,1–7 with Janin 1923:183 and Bowes 2008:112. Roughly at the same time, a deaconess named Eusebia ordered to be buried next to the relics of the Forty Martyrs from Sebaste, apparently in her possession, cf. *Soz.* 9,2,1–6 (relics of the same martyrs are attested in Brescia (*Gaud., tract.* 17,14–38); there is reason to assume that for both Eusebia's and Gaudentius' relics, the family of Gregory of Nyssa or other members of the landed aristocracy of Asia Minor functioned as intermediaries as they had collected these relics since the 360s; cf. Bowes 2008:111–112). A family friend of Eusebia's would later add another military saint from Asia Minor, Thyrsus, to the burial complex. This saint would eventually assist Pulcheria in the re-discovery of the relics of the Forty Martyrs, cf. *Soz.* 9,2,4–5 with Angelidi 1996:77–78.

50. Cf. Magdalino 2001:68. Theodosius' sister, Arcadia, ordered the construction of a church and monastery dedicated to St Andrew which came to be known as ἐν τῇ Κρίσει (“by the judgement”), cf. Janin 1953:34

St Stephen in Constantinople before 438

Two important church foundations in honour of saints constructed by the Theodosian *Augustae*, Pulcheria and Eudocia, must now be brought into the discussion: those dedicated to Lawrence and Polyeuctus. The veneration of these two saints as well as that of Stephen is a rather thorny issue with a complex and sometimes contradictory literary tradition. Here it must suffice to say that in all likelihood the *praefectus praetorio* Aurelianus built the first church honouring Stephen in Constantinople. However, as he could not procure Stephen's relics, he had to content himself with the body of a contemporary holy man, the monk Isaac.⁵¹ It appears, as suggested by Magdalino, that Eudocia had intended to place the relics of Stephen, which she brought from Jerusalem, in her new palace-church in the tenth *regio*, later dedicated to Polyeuctus, but that these relics seem to have found their home in Pulcheria's church to Lawrence.⁵² While over the course of the fifth and early sixth century, Constantinople would receive several churches and *martyria* dedicated to Stephen – as they likewise were to develop in Rome (where each of the *basilicae maiores* had one or more adjacent monasteries of this saint⁵³), by the time of her visit, Melania would have seen two large churches (those that would come to be dedicated to Lawrence and Polyeuctes) already under construction, but certainly no relics of Stephen.

Based on some few and late sources, Holum has suggested a first *translatio* of Stephen's relics shortly after their rediscovery in 415.⁵⁴ According to Theophanes, Theodo-

51. Cf. Cameron/Long 1993:74 and Mango 2004:28.

52. Magdalino 2001:58–59 and 61–64; cf. Bowes 2008:112. For Anicia Juliana's dedicatory inscription, cf. *Anth. Graec.* 1,10, and, for the archaeological remains of the church, Mango/Ševčenko 1961:243–247, and Harrison 1989:33. Most of our knowledge on the veneration of Polyeuctus in Melitene derives from Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 13,15–19.

53. One monastery was located next to the Lateran, two at St Peter, and one at each, St Paul and St Lawrence; cf. Costambeys/Leyser 2007:277–285.

54. While Holum's dating of the arrival of Stephen's relics was criticised by Wortley 1980 and Mango 2004, he was followed by Chew 2006:219, Diefenbach 1996:43–45, Kalavrezou 1997:66, and Diefenbach

sius II had sent a golden cross studded with precious stones to Jerusalem where it was set up at Golgotha. The incentive for this donation came from his sister, Pulcheria. In exchange the court received the relics of Stephen's right arm from Jerusalem in 427/428, which were accompanied until Chalcedon by the desert monk Passarion, and then brought in a solemn nocturnal procession into the palace, where Pulcheria deposited the precious relics in a splendid chapel which she had constructed for this purpose.⁵⁵ Certain problems arise from this account: Mango has pointed to the fact that a cross on Golgotha similar to that described by Theophanes is prominently depicted in the apse of Santa Pudenziana in Rome in a mosaic, which is usually dated to the 390s.⁵⁶ Moreover, the monk Passarion is not mentioned in the writings of Cyril of Scythopolis as an envoy bringing relics to Constantinople; this may be an *argumentum ex silentio*, but it is nevertheless striking that the author missed the chance to point to the pious gift exchange between Jerusalem and Constantinople whereas he is usually well-informed on such matters. Furthermore, in 427/428 Passarion was in the last year of his long life (he died in October or November 428); a tiresome journey to the capital appears therefore unlikely.⁵⁷ However, Theophanes' dating of a *translatio* of the relics to this year should not be taken too seriously; as the revelation of the martyr is also miss-dated and the chronicle contains no other events for a.m. 5920, it is likely that Theophanes might have placed the material there to fill a gap in his work.⁵⁸ Holum therefore altered the date of the first arrival of Stephen's relics in Constantinople to 420/421 to align it with Pulcheria's al-

2002:24.

55. Cf. Theophanes 5920.

56. Cf. Mango 2004:31–32; cf. also Matthiae 1967:68–69.

57. Cf. Delmas 1900:162–163, Devos 1980:37–38, and Flusin 1983:138–139. One could argue, that Cyril might have been biased regarding Passarion, as the latter's successor as abbot defected to Miaphysitism for a short time. However, Passarion himself is generally described in very positive terms.

58. Cf. Mango 2004:29; cf. also Angelidi 1996:78, who also regards the *translatio* of 428/429 to be unhistorical.

leged ideological involvement in the war against the Persians.⁵⁹ In this context he interpreted the Trier Ivory as a depiction of Stephen's *adventus*. However, while there is still disagreement on the exact date of the ivory, it appears sensible to date it much later to the eighth and ninth centuries.⁶⁰ While the carved scene might indeed depict the arrival of (Stephen's?) relics in Constantinople, the image might well be influenced by a later source such as Theophanes. Holum draws stronger support from the numismatic evidence, as it is true that especially Pulcheria's coinage can be interpreted as a depiction of how imperial victory was linked with religious arguments – much in line with, if genuine, a sentence by Nestorius: “Give me, o Emperor, the earth purged of heretics, and I will in return give you the heavenly realm. Assist me in destroying heretics, and I will help you in vanquishing the Persians.”⁶¹ However, even though the coins minted in the 420s suggest a certain role played by Pulcheria, they do not prove any link with Stephen's relics in this propaganda. Holum's main argument is based on a passage from the *spuria* of John Chrysostom which has been ascribed to Proclus of Constantinople (434-446).⁶² Proclus connects an unnamed empress (due to the reference to this empress' virginity, only Pulcheria can be meant) with St Stephen.⁶³

59. Holum 1977:163 n. 46.

60. The most recent studies on the Trier Ivory date it at the earliest to the years around 800 and more likely to the later ninth or early tenth century, cf. Brubaker 1999:258–285, Brubaker/Haldon 2011:347–348, and Niewöhner 2014:264–269 rejecting a fifth- or sixth-century dating and placing it to around 800. Holum/Vikan 1979:115 mention that “a majority of scholars [is] apparently favoring [the] sixth century,” while dating it themselves to 421 (1979:133).

61. Quoted in Socr. 7,29,4–5: Δός μοι [...] ὦ βασιλεῦ, καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν αἰρετικῶν, κἀγὼ σοὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀντιδώσω· συγκάθειέ μοι τοὺς αἰρετικούς, κἀγὼ συγκαθελῶ σοὶ τοὺς Πέρσας». Cf. Holum 1977:153–157 as well as 1982:109 and 150 n. 20 on the coinage of Pulcheria.

62. Holum 1982:104 n. 116. The ascription is based on Leroy 1967:158, who identified the *spuria* of John Chrysostom in *PG* 63,933–934 as a work of Proclus. Mango 2004:32–33 cautions that this ascription is not secure.

63. Proclus, *hom.* 2: ἐν βασιλείοις στέφανος· ἐθαλάμεισε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ βασιλὶς καὶ Παρθένος· παρὰ ἄρχουσι στέφανος· τὸν γὰρ τοῦ ξενοδοχίσαντος παῖδα βασιλέω; πεποίηκε πατέρα· ἐν φιλιππωχεῖα στέφανος· χηρῶν καὶ ὀρφανῶν πλούσιος γέγονε καὶ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος.

Stephen is in the palace, for the empress, who is a virgin, has housed him in her chamber. Stephen is among magistrates, for he has made the emperor's father the son of a man who has shown hospitality to strangers. Stephen is in charity towards the poor, for he has become the bountiful and faithful provider of widows and orphans.

While nothing in the homily explicitly confirms Holum's claim of a deposition in the early 420s, the statement that Pulcheria "housed" (ἐθαλάμεισε) St Stephen in her chamber seems striking. By using parallels from Proclus' *Homilia* 12, which praise the empress for having housed the Crucified One in her spirit, Mango suggested that the wording of the homily should be interpreted as purely metaphorical.⁶⁴ Ultimately, the source does not prove the presence of Stephen's relics in Constantinople before 439, and the legend recorded by Theophanes, perhaps invented to explain the transformation of the Hebdomon from a secular crowning place into a palace chapel, has to be dismissed as fiction.⁶⁵ During her visit, Melania certainly had a variety of *martyria* of saints to visit, some with more credible *translatio* pedigrees, and some whose patrons had been turned into saints only through time and misinterpretations, like St Acacius or St Paul. While she might have told stories of the discovery of the relics of Stephen at court, they referred to a saint who was not yet at home in the capital.

The first journey of Eudocia

After her uncle's death and the end of the mourning period, Melania wished to return home, as she sought to celebrate Easter in Jerusalem. While we know from her *Vita* that, thanks to her entitlement to use the *cursus publicus*, it took her a surprisingly short time to reach Constantinople on the outward journey, she might have been even faster when home-ward bound. The entire trip has traditionally been dated to 436–437, while Eudocia's arrival in Jerusalem must have taken place in spring 438 – as the empress did not leave Constantino-

64. Cf. Proclus, *hom.* 12, (*PG* 65,788b) with Mango 2004:33.

65. Cf. Niewöhner 2014:262 and Wortley 1980:382; cf. also, for a critique on Holum's dating "for reasons of his own," Mango 2004:29 as well as Magdalino 2001:61 n. 29.

ple before the wedding of her daughter had taken place on 29 October 437.⁶⁶ However, Holum has challenged the dating of Melania's journey and suggested 438 as the likely date, based on Gerontius' remark that the heroine of the *Vita* built the oratory for her Jerusalemite monastery⁶⁷ "in a few days" after her arrival and before Eudocia reached the Holy Land.⁶⁸ However, for three reasons it appears more sensible to accept the traditional chronology: First, Melania appeared surprised when she learned in Jerusalem that the empress had already reached Antioch on her pilgrimage following Melania's departure. The *Vita* stresses Melania's enormous velocity on the road which makes it highly unlikely that Eudocia, who as an empress could never travel at the same fast pace, reached Jerusalem only a few weeks after her. Furthermore, as Holum failed to notice, Eudocia was not the only person at the Theodosian court whom Melania had inspired to visit the Holy Land: Between Melania's and Eudocia's departures, Peter the Iberian, a Georgian prince living as a hostage in Constantinople, took flight to Jerusalem. Peter's arrival has traditionally been dated to 429/430, based on a passage in John Rufus' *Vita Petri Hiberi*, which records that Melania had met Peter in Constantinople, when he was still 'little,' at the occasion of the betrothal of Licinia Eudoxia to Valentinian.⁶⁹ As her uncle Volusianus is mentioned in the passage, and since the Syriac *mokūryā* can mean both 'betrothal' and 'espousal,'⁷⁰ there is no doubt that it must be Mela-

66. Melania certainly missed the marriage celebrations; however, there is no reason to assume that she had intended to attend in the first place. On the date of the wedding, cf. Socr. 7,44, who, however, gives the wrong year, cf. Marcell. com. 437 and *Chron. pasch.* 437. The entry in *PLRE* II, s.v. "Volusianus 6," pp. 1184–1185, which gives 437 as the year of Volusianus' death, is not helpful in determining the chronology of Melania's departure, as it is based on *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 50–55; cf. Chastagnol 1956:252–253. On the hasty return, cf. Hunt 1982:56.

67. In order to distinguish Melania's two monastic foundations, I will use 'monastery' for the male monastery and 'convent' for the female monastery.

68. Holum 1982:183 n. 39 with Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 57: ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις.

69. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 40–41; on the year of the betrothal at which Eudoxia was only two years old, cf. Marcell. com. 424,2. On the traditional dating of Peter's arrival in 429 or 430, cf. Markwart 1931:166, Honigmann 1952:12 and 16–17, Chitty 1966:71 and 211, and Traina 2009:110 – all following Raabe 1895:10 for the dating of the meeting between Melania and Peter to 424. Flusin 1996b:275 dates Peter's flight to 432 without giving further sources.

70. Cf. Payne Smith, s.v. "مكهورية" p. 271. Raabe's translation of the passage reads: "um ihm die Tochter des seligen Theodosius zu verloben." Cf. Horn/Phenix 2008:57 n. 9 suggesting that John Rufus may have con-

nia's journey of 437 that is referred to.⁷¹ As we have seen, the *Vita Melaniae* emphasises her excitement when first seeing Constantinople. It appears unlikely that she would have had such a response if she had visited the capital before. In this case, the silence of Gerontius regarding a first journey should be employed as an argument as well. According to the *Vita Petri Hiberi*, it was Gerontius and Melania who received Peter in Jerusalem. However, in 430 both Melania's mother and husband would have been alive and expectedly present at the welcome. Moreover, the Syriac text calls Gerontius the "priest and leader of the monastery of the holy Mount of Olives,"⁷² a position he did not assume until after the death of Pinianus. Consequently, Gerontius initiated the Georgian prince into the ascetic life and gave him his Christian name,⁷³ only after all this had taken place does the *Vita* mention the presence of Eudocia in the city.

The most important argument for Melania's return in 437, rather than 438, however, is that her *Vita* states that she had spent forty days in mourning at the capital after Volusianus' death on January 6. She therefore could not have left Constantinople before February 15 the earliest (though the Greek *Vita* reports that she departed towards the end of February). Even though she was travelling fast and was not afraid to risk winter storms in the highlands of Asia Minor, the journey must have taken at least another forty days (the Latin *Vita* 57, states that it took her forty-four days). Melania had intended to celebrate Easter in Jerusalem: in 438 Easter fell on March 27, making it impossible for her to have reached the city early enough for the feast. In 437, however, Easter Sunday fell on April 11, which would have al-

flated betrothal and espousal, while Horn 2006:282 n. 303 still argued for 'asking the hand of a girl for marriage' since her argumentation that Peter met with Passarion required an earlier departure of the ascetic; against a meeting between Peter and Passarion, cf. Devos 1980:38.

71. As the *Vita Petri Hiberi* survives only in Syriac and Georgian translations of a Greek original, it is likely that the reference to Peter being 'little' results from a translation mistake (cf. Devos 1968b:344–345), or from an allusion to Peter's innocent age that need not necessarily coincide with his infancy.

72. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 44: ܪܫܝܘܢ ܪܫܝܘܢ ܪܫܝܘܢ ܪܫܝܘܢ ܪܫܝܘܢ ܪܫܝܘܢ ܪܫܝܘܢ.

73. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 44 and 48; Peter had been known by his Georgian name Nabarnugios; his travel companion Mithridatos was named John.

lowed Melania ample time: she could have left Constantinople as late as February 25 and still have reached Jerusalem in time.⁷⁴ Establishing the correct year of Melania's departure is important as it helps to shed light on Eudocia's first journey to Jerusalem. Holum claimed that Theodosius II had released his wife because of disharmony at court;⁷⁵ a suggestion, however, for which no positive evidence exists. According to Holum's chronology, it is odd that Socrates remains silent on Eudocia's absence from the ceremony celebrating the translation of John Chrysostom's relics on 28 January 438.⁷⁶ If Melania had still been in Constantinople at that time, Eudocia would not have left for the holy city. Having established that Melania's departure happened in February 437, Eudocia's absence during the ceremony of January 438 can be easily explained by her being already on the way to Jerusalem.⁷⁷

All contemporary sources state that Eudocia left Constantinople for Jerusalem with the permission of her husband, most of them mention her pilgrimage vow in gratitude for the successful wedding of her daughter, and even though the instigation of Melania is only mentioned in the saint's *Vita*, there is no reason to doubt that meetings with Melania at court would have encouraged Eudocia's decision to undertake this journey. The modalities of Melania's journey to Jerusalem and the way Eudocia reached the city about a year later were different. A member of the imperial court, especially an empress, could not have travelled without preparation both on the side of the traveller, her entourage and personal guards, as well as on those on the hosting side, as the provincials needed to collect the necessary provi-

74. Cf. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 56–57; cf. Clark 1984:133–144 with Grumel 1958:268. For the traditional date of Melania's visit to 436–437, cf. Clark 1982a:147, and Hunt 1982:221, both following Gorce 1962:44; as well as Devos 1987b:278–279. On the length of the trip between Constantinople and Jerusalem on the *cursus publicus*, cf. Hunt 1982:57 and Wilkinson 1999:23–24.

75. Holum 1982:184–185; consequently, in his line of arguments, Socrates' account on Eudocia's pilgrimage of 438 – upon request of her husband – has to be approximated by way of an *argumentum ex silencio* as a “sanitary explanation” made by a writer who is characterised as “an admirer of Eudocia.”

76. Socr. 7,45; Marcell. com. 438,2; Theophanes 5930; Proclus, *or.* 20 (*PG* 65,827–834).

77. Cf., in contrast, Devos 1987a:270–271, who argues for Eudocia travelling later and being present at the *translatio*, implying that the absence of the empress in Socrates' account carries no deeper meaning.

sions. Hence, imperial travel was first and foremost slow.⁷⁸ Without doubt, Eudocia's pilgrimage evoked the famous journey of Helena in 326.⁷⁹

As she [*scil.* Helena] visited the whole east in the magnificence of imperial authority, she showered countless gifts upon the citizen bodies of every city, and privately to each of those who approached her.

Helena's demonstration of imperial piety linked with generosity was fitting to publicly promote the Constantinian dynasty and, to a certain extent, to amend its tarnished reputation after the deaths of Fausta and Crispus. When the *Augusta*, as Eusebius narrates, distributed donations among the soldiers, helped the poor and oppressed, granted amnesties to prisoners and those who were exiled, her imperial generosity did not so much aim at presenting herself as a pious *Augusta* and mother of the emperor, but was rather meant to construct the public image of the emerging but troubled Constantinian dynasty and to convey its new imperial concept to the provincials. The novelty of her journey was that through the aspect of pilgrimage this *iter principis* was fashioned in a new, Christian style. Evagrius Scholasticus presents Eudocia's journey in similar language as a court member's *adventus* in the provinces.⁸⁰ For obvious reasons, the main focus of his description lies on his hometown of Antioch. The ritual ceremonial of mutual deference appears relatively static and can be placed in a long tradition: Eudocia praised the city in a learned oration (*adlocutio*), of which one verse adapted from Homer is quoted in Evagrius' text, and the citizens honoured her with a brazen statue in return.⁸¹ As a result of Eudocia's entreaty, according to Evagrius, the emperor decided to en-

78. Devos 1987a:276–277. In a different article from his studies on Pulcheria and Eudocia, Holum firmly rooted Helena's journey in the tradition of the *itineraria principum*, and showed how Eudocia's journey was "patently modelled after that of Helena," thereby contradicting his chronological argumentation from 1982 that left only time for Eudocia to hurry to the Holy Land with a (necessarily very brief) stop at Antioch, cf. Holum 1990:67 and 76–77 (quotation p. 76); cf. also Hunt 1982:222 as well as Drijvers 1993:86–87 and 2011:140–141 on the public character of Eudocia's journey.

79. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 3,44: Τὴν γὰρ τοὶ σύμπασαν ἔσαν μεγαλοπρεπεῖα βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐμπεριελθοῦσα, μυρία μὲν ἀθρώως τοῖς κατὰ πόλιν ἔδωρεῖτο δήμοις ἰδίᾳ τε τῶν προσιόντων ἑκάστῳ. On Eudocia's *imitatio Helenae*, cf. Brubaker 1997:61–62. On the date and purpose of Helena's journey, cf. Drijvers 2011:138 and above, chapter 1.

80. Evagr. 1,20–22; his description is generally thought to describe the pilgrimage of 438. However, the second and final visit cannot be excluded, cf. Mi. Whitby 2000:48 n. 172.

81. On the statue, cf. Malalas Tusc. frag. 2,11–16 and *Chron. pasch.* 444. In all likelihood, Theodosius II

large the city by extending its walls up to the suburb of Daphne. However, from the evidence combined from Evagrius' and Malalas' descriptions, it becomes clear that Theodosius II commissioned the enlargement of the walls in Antioch not by instigation of the empress but rather by that of a certain *praefectus praetorio* Antiochus Chuzon. Two individuals by this name, grandfather and grandson, served in 430–431 and 448 respectively, which makes any connection with Eudocia's *adventus* in Antioch unlikely. As we have seen before, Eudocia was wrongly accredited with the construction of the Jerusalemite walls in the sources; it is therefore possible to assume that her alleged involvement in Antioch resulted from a wrong conclusion on account of Evagrius.⁸² From Socrates' description of Eudocia's journey, which was recorded closer in time to the pilgrimage, we learn that the empress did not only make donations in the holy city, but also, after her return, decorated churches in the cities of the East.⁸³

In addition to the accounts of the church historians, Melania's hagiographer added a second explanation for Eudocia's journey by having her say: "I am fulfilling a double vow to the Lord, to venerate the Holy Places and to see my spiritual mother."⁸⁴ According to this testimony, the empress went to Jerusalem for pilgrimage, however, the renewal of her ties of friendship with Melania was of equal importance. Their reunion took place (probably not coincidentally) at the martyr's shrine of St Phocas in Sidon. As we have seen before, the *Vita*

had a honorary statue of Eudocia set up in Athens, cf. Sironen 1990:373–374, who suggests that the statue was set up shortly after her wedding to the emperor, as the epigram does not yet mention the title *Augusta* granted in 422.

82. Cf. Evagr. 1,20, and Malalas 346,5–347 with Downey 1941:208 (arguing that the wall was built during the reign of Theodosius I) and Mi. Whitby 2000:49 n. 176. For Antiochus Chuzon, cf. *PLRE* II, s.v. "Antiochus 7," p. 103, and s.v. "Antiochus 10," p. 104.

83. Socr. 7,47,3: ἀλλὰ αὐτὴ μὲν καὶ τὰς περὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐκκλησίας καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἀνατολικαῖς πόλεσιν ποικίλοις ἐτίμησεν οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐν τε τῷ ἀπιέναι καὶ αὐθις ἐπανιοῦσα.

84. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 58: διπλὴν εὐχὴν ἀποδίδωμι τῷ Κυρίῳ, τό τε προσκυνῆσαι τοὺς ἁγίους τόπους καὶ τὸ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα. Note that, according to the *Vita* written by Callinicus, Eudocia's husband himself, Theodosius II, had also found a spiritual father in St Hypatius, cf. *Vita Hypatii* 112 with Hunt 1982:225. Nestorius, *Lib. Herac.* 1,3 can be understood as a hint that Pulcheria, similarly, had chosen her own clerical entourage in Constantinople, an incident that angered Nestorius. On the reciprocal hospitality between Melania and the court, cf. Whiting 2011–2012:77 and Steppa 2006b:56–57.

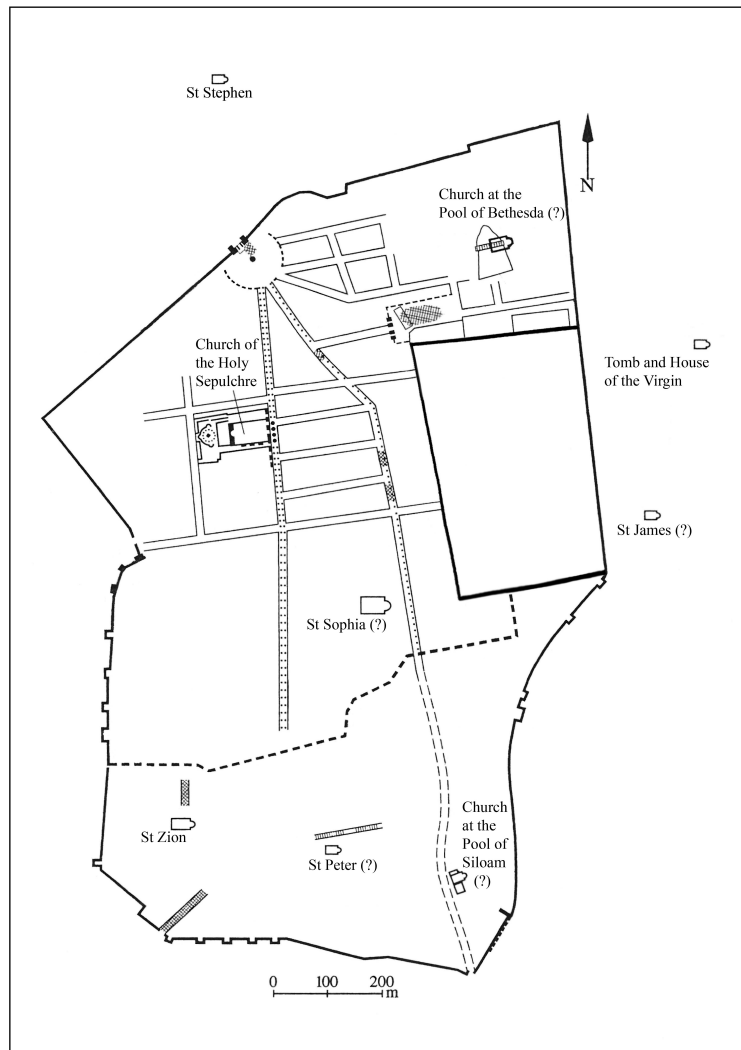
consistently stresses the importance of martyrs for Melania in particular and for late antique society in general. By linking the meeting of empress and ascetic with Phocas' shrine, the text prepares the reader for Melania's innovation of setting up a similar *martyrium* in the holy city.⁸⁵ In the company of Melania, Eudocia entered Jerusalem. In a manner very similarly to that of Helena before her, who had "avidly visited all the places [...] which bore the marks of God's presence,"⁸⁶ Eudocia prayed at the holy places. We have discussed above what Melania would have seen as a visitor in the capital. Apart from her imperial travelling style, which included attending receptions by dignitaries that would have followed her entrance into the city, Eudocia's experiences as a pilgrim in Jerusalem might have been quite similar to those of aristocratic pilgrims before her, such as Egeria or Paula. However, it is difficult to assess the exact nature of the buildings that she witnessed in the holy city. No pilgrimage account exists that dates to the mid-fifth century, and the *Vita Melaniae* is remarkably silent on the topography of Jerusalem, which may be partly due to Gerontius' conflicts with the Jerusalemite clergy at the time when he authored the *Vita* in the mid-fifth century. The sole exception within the text is the description of Melania's *martyrium*, which will be discussed below. The tour of Jerusalem, described in John Rufus' *Vita Petri Hiberi*, has been used to explain what buildings existed in 455, the year Peter left for Egypt. However, what is recorded in the *Vita* was styled as a spiritual vision only and not as a real journey. This text does therefore not necessarily record the situation on the ground of the mid-fifth century but rather of the time towards the beginning of the sixth century, when John Rufus wrote the text.⁸⁷

85. On the shrine and the discovery of the relics, cf. Van de Vorst/Peeters 1911:252–295.

86. Paul. Nol., *ep.* 31,5: *diligenter et pie locis illic et circa omnibus divinatorum curiosa insignium et oculis haurire gestiens fidem*. On the similarities between Helena and Eudocia, cf. Greschat 2015:139–140.

87. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vita Petri Hiberi* 134 for the description of Peter's spiritual pilgrimage, with Horn 2006:249–254, who leaves it open whether the journey was physically undertaken or exclusively in spirit, but tends to treat it as a real journey in her discussion of the different locations. It is important to note that even if Peter continued to visit the holy places secretly by night, the tour described would be quite impossible to carry out within one single visit, especially since John Rufus stresses that Peter the Iberian prayed extensively at all places that are mentioned. On the date of the *Vita*, cf. Horn/Phenix 2008:xcii.

Nevertheless, even with a date shortly after 500, it stands closer in time to Eudocia's first stay in Jerusalem than the remaining sixth-century pilgrim accounts, namely Theodosius (before 518) and the Piacenza Pilgrim (c. 570). By combining three texts from the fourth century (Bordeaux Pilgrim, Egeria, Paula) with these three sixth-century accounts and adding supplementary material from excavations and side-references from other sources, we can at least partially reconstruct what holy places Eudocia may have visited in 439.



III. 2: Jerusalem during the time of Eudocia's visit (439)

Apart from Melania's *martyrium* there is only one building that the Empress certainly visited, namely the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Melania had escorted Eudocia to the church after the empress had twisted her foot on the Mount of Olives. As Melania went back

to the shrine in order to pray there for the empress' relief, it is plausible to assume that – just as Melania had done twenty years earlier – Eudocia resided near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, otherwise Melania would have waited while the empress prayed.⁸⁸ In any case, no late antique Jerusalem pilgrimage would have been complete without paying reverence to this most important holy place, and it is only logical to assume Eudocia's visit even without further corroborating evidence, especially since both Melania and Peter the Iberian were attached to the place and often went there for nightly prayers.⁸⁹ Eudocia's worship was commemorated with an epigram in a Constantinopolitan church, the text of which is preserved in the *Anthologia Graeca*. In a chiasmic composition, the poem states that Eudocia, the “wise mistress of the world, [...] came as a servant, and she, who is worshipped by all mankind, worshipped the tomb of the One.”⁹⁰ At the time of her visit, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre consisted of four parts, the Constantinian *basilica*, an atrium, the open courtyard with Golgotha in its south-east corner, and the tomb in a circular edifice. While the Church of the Holy Sepulchre hosted relics of the True Cross which were solemnly presented to the pilgrims since the late fourth century, some time during the fifth century certain religious traditions that were previously linked with the Jewish Temple Mount changed their location towards

88. Cf. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 59. Recent excavations under the German-Protestant Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem have not only revealed remains of the so-called Second Wall, but also late antique cells built directly on the *temenos* wall of the Roman Temple, which could very well be the lodgings, where Melania and Pinianus had stayed when they first came to Jerusalem in 417 (*Vit. Mel. Graec.* 35), on Melania's first days in Jerusalem, cf. Hunt 1982:22–23; I would very much like to thank Dieter Vieweger for allowing me access to the excavations before they were opened to the public in November 2012. To my knowledge, the finds still await publication. Further information and a virtual tour can be found on <http://www.church-of-the-redeemer-jerusalem.info> [accessed 11.3.2015]. Poorer pilgrims seem to have slept in open air in the church's courtyard, cf. *Vit. Bars.* 82,2.

89. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 36: καθ' ἑσπέραν δὲ μετὰ τὸ κλεισθῆναι τὴν ἁγίαν Ἀνάστασιν παρέμενεν τῷ Σταυρῷ, μέχρις ὅτε εἰσῆρχοντο οἱ ψάλλοντες (“every evening, after the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was closed, she remained at the cross until the psalm-singers arrived”), and Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 59; cf. Špidlík 1996:102–103, Clark 1984:126–127, and Horn 2006:247–248 and 247 n. 99 for further references to the phenomenon of night-time prayers with an emphasis on the writings of Tertullian.

90. *Anth. Graec.* 1,105 (εἰς Εὐδοκίαν τὴν γυναῖκα Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως): ἡ μὲν σοφὴ δέσποινα τῆς οἰκουμένης, [...] πάρεστι δούλη, προσκυνεῖ δ' ἑνὸς τάφου, | ἡ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποι προσκυνουμένη [...]. For Eudocia's title, cf. the well-known dedicatory inscription from Aphrodisias calling Flaccilla, the wife of Theodosius I, “τὴν δέσποιναν τῆς οἰκουμένης,” cf. Grégoire 1922 no. 280 as well as the above-mentioned inscription from Scythopolis (*SEG* 49,2076) honouring Eudoxia as ἀνασσα ὅλης χθονός (“queen of all earth”), cf. Tsafirir 1998:217.

the most important Christian religious site, most notably the commemoration of the sacrifice of Isaac.⁹¹ Not only did the Temple Mount become devoid of its early Judaeo-Christian traditions, moreover, after the Bordeaux Pilgrim of 333 no other account mentions any buildings or objects on this place that became miraculously empty within a very short time. While the pilgrim of the fourth century would marvel at the corner stone of the Temple *in situ*, the sixth century Piacenza pilgrim would witness this stone (or a comparable one) in the church on Mount Zion, which seemed to have functioned as a storeroom for sacred objects. At Zion, the Column of Flagellation, once in the House of Caiaphas, was on display, the ‘cup of the Apostles,’ as well as the stones of St Stephen’s martyrdom.⁹² The Houses of Caiaphas and Pilate respectively, which the Bordeaux Pilgrim recorded as holy places, but not yet as churches, were transformed into churches in the middle of the fifth century (SS Peter and Sophia, respectively). While it is impossible to establish a precise date for this transformation, there is good reason to propose a date after Eudocia’s first pilgrimage of 438.⁹³ Likewise, two of the pools, Bethesda and Siloam, which were recorded as holy places by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, faced a transformation into churches roughly in the same period.⁹⁴

Leaving the city in the direction of the Mount of Olives, Eudocia would have witnessed Jerusalem’s first church dedicated to the Mother of God located in the valley of Jehoshaphat.⁹⁵ On the ascent of the hill, before reaching Melania’s monasteries, the empress would have encountered the church at Gethsemane, first mentioned by Egeria in the 380s;⁹⁶

91. Theod. 7a and *Itin. Plac.* 19.

92. Theod. 7b and *Itin. Plac.* 22. On the stones of Stephen’s martyrdom, cf. *Itin. Plac.* 22.

93. Theod. 7b (St Peter in the House of Caiaphas, and St Sophia in the House of Pilate (*praetorium*)), and *Itin. Plac.* 23 (St Sophia).

94. Theod. 8b and *Itin. Plac.* 23 (St Mary in the Probatia; cf. Panou 2005:636–637) and 24 (Pool of Siloam).

95. It is sensible to date the church to after 431; cf. Küchler 2007:686–687, cf. chapter 7.

96. *Itin. Eg.* 36,1–2. Cf. Küchler 2007:813–817 and 828–829 on the archaeological evidence and the liturgical function of the church.

an early fifth-century inscription mentions the “property” (κτησις) of Gethsemane. The religious foundation that commemorated Christ’s prayer and capture therefore would have included the garden and the cave.⁹⁷ On top of the mountain, the Constantinian Eleona⁹⁸ commemorated the Ascension of Christ. However, as we have seen in the second chapter, the localisation of this event had undergone a process of redefinition: Egeria mentioned both the church and additionally the “actual place where the Lord ascended to Heaven,” the Imbomon, which was constructed between 384 and 392.⁹⁹ In a similar way, Melania’s *aposteleion* commemorated the cave in which Christ had talked with the Disciples about the *eschaton*, a second correction of the Constantinian localisation of the Biblical events.¹⁰⁰ The famous ascetic must have deposited relics in this *aposteleion* that was located in or nearby her convent on the Mount of Olives:¹⁰¹

There she deposited also the relics of holy martyrs, I mean those of Zechariah the Prophet, of the holy Protomartyr Stephen, of the holy Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, as well as of others whose names the Lord knows.

While Gerontius does not state where Melania acquired the relics, the date of their deposition is easy to determine. The event happened after the death of her mother, but before the death of Pinianus, which narrows the timeframe to 431–432. Melania’s monastic foundations must

97. Cf. *CIIP* I,986; it has been suggested that ‘κτησις’ may be identical with ‘χωρίον’ as mentioned in Matthew 26:36 and Mark 14:32 in regards to Gethsemane; John 18:1 has ‘κηπος,’ cf. Di Segni 2009a:140* n. 13. The earliest late antique reference to Gethsemane is Eus. *Onom.* 74,16–18, s.v. “Γεθσιμανῆ”: χωρίον, ἔνθα πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ὁ Χριστὸς προσήξατο. κεῖται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν ἐλαιῶν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ νῦν τὰς εὐχὰς οἱ πιστοὶ ποιῶσθαι σπουδάζουσιν (“A place where Christ prayed prior to the Passion. It is located on the Mount of Olives, where nowadays the pious eagerly pray”). Jerome added: *nunc ecclesia desuper aedificata* (“now a church is built above it”). On the language Eusebius and Jerome used for dating, cf. Groh 1989:25–27.

98. Cf. *CIIP* I,857 = *SEG* 50,1504 for a reliquary that may have contained earth or a stone from the cave underneath the Eleona church.

99. Jerome, in *Soph.* 1,15–16 and in *Hiez.* 3,11,23.

100. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 49. Eus., *dem. ev.* 6,18,23 mentions the tradition that this grotto was a site of Jesus’ teaching. I use the name *aposteleion* for Melania’s first *martyrium* to distinguish it from the second one (here: *martyrium*) dedicated in 439, cf. below.

101. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 48: Κατέθετο δὲ ἐκέισε καὶ λείψανα ἁγίων μαρτύρων, λέγω δὴ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πρωτομάρτυρος Στεφάνου καὶ τῶν ἐν Σεβαστείᾳ μαρτυρησάντων ἁγίων τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑτέρων ὧν ὁ Θεὸς τὰ ὀνόματα γινώσκει.

have been very close to the Eleona and the Imbomon, Gerontius defines the male monastery as close to “the place of the Ascension of the Lord and in the grotto where the Saviour talked with his holy disciples about the end of time.”¹⁰² If Eudocia passed by Melania’s monasteries¹⁰³ and the Eleona, and continued to follow the road, she would soon have reached Bethany with the vault in which Lazarus was laid to rest. Similarly to what we encountered within the holy city, this place had contained no church building according to the Bordeaux Pilgrim, but evolved into one in the wake of the century, as attested by Jerome, commemorating the meeting between Christ and the sisters Martha and Mary.¹⁰⁴ Taking a different road out of the city, Eudocia would have reached Bethlehem with its Church of the Nativity.

The ecclesiastical landscape of Jerusalem impressed the pilgrims, and it certainly would have impressed Eudocia; however, a mid-fifth century visitor would have realised a striking difference to Constantinople. Even if the memorial places at the Houses of Caiaphas and Pilate as well as the two sites adjacent to the ancient pools, and the Lazarium had already been transformed into churches, Eudocia would have witnessed a maximum of eleven churches in the entire area of today’s Old City, on the Mount of Olives, in Bethany and Bethlehem (or, if they had not, a minimum of five). None of these churches carried the *patrocinium* of a saint: the importance of St Peter and St Sophia did not arise from their respective names, which were also most likely not yet in use in 438, but from the fact that they commemorated the places of Christ’s trial, just as the churches constructed over the two pools marked the

102. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 49: ἐν τε τῇ Ἀναλήψει τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, ἔνθα ὁ Σωτὴρ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς διελέγετο περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος. On the archaeological remains, cf. Corbo 1965:112–114.

103. The *Vita Melaniae Latina* put much emphasis on describing the state of seclusion in Melania’s convent. It has often been suggested that Theod. 10–11, describing a convent so completely cloistered that food was brought into it through a hole in the wall, was identical with Melania’s foundation. However, it appears now, that the monastery of these recluses should rather be identified with a large monastery excavated just on the southeastern corner of the Temple Mount, cf. Mazar 1999:15–16.

104. *Itin. Eg.* 25,11 and 29,3–6 suggests that the church already existed by the time of her visit. It is definitely attested in Jerome’s translation (c. 389–391) of Eus., *Onom.* 59,17–18, s.v. “Βηθανία”, to which he added: *ecclesia nunc ibidem extructa* (“now also a church is erected”); cf. Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994:I,156, and Di Segni 2006–2007:387–388.

place were the Lord had worked miracles. This observation is not altered by the remaining evidence for *loca sancta*, which are only attested in literary and documentary sources, and which can be attributed to a time prior to 438: The Syriac letter of (Ps-)Cyril of Jerusalem on the rebuilding of the Jewish Temple in 363 mentions a Church of the Confessors, unique to this letter. The text dates to the early fifth century and was written by an author who had certain knowledge of the topography of Jerusalem. The best explanation for the mention of this church, however, seems to follow Brock in interpreting it as a mistranslation, so that underlying the Syriac was the Greek *martyrion*, i.e. the term by which the Constantinian *basilica* of the Holy Sepulchre was generally known in these times.¹⁰⁵ A certain Euphemia, otherwise not attested in the sources, stated on her tombstone that she had founded her own monastery, which was either called “of the Consubstantial Trinity,” or was adjacent to an eponymous holy place (which might have been founded by herself?).¹⁰⁶

Private tomb of Euphemia the Byzantine, of her own monastery. This I adjure every one (who resides) in the Consubstantial Trinity and in the property of the Gethsemane [...].

As the consubstantiality of the Trinity was properly accepted in the east only after the Council of Constantinople in 381, this might provide a *terminus post quem* to the inscription, especially in combination with the mention of Gethsemane. However, it remains unclear what Euphemia described with the term *μονή*, the meaning of which could denote both a monastery or a single cell with some attendants nearby. Be that as it may, Euphemia’s inscription does not provide any evidence for the veneration of saints or martyrs in Jerusalem. The commemoration of two Old Testament prophets in the Kidron Valley is attested in the pseudo-Cyriilian letter. There is no doubt that the tombs of Isaiah and Jeremiah described in the letter are those attributed to Isaiah and Hezekiah in the Bordeaux Pilgrim’s account.¹⁰⁷ As neither a tomb of

105. Ps-Cyr. Hier., *ep.* 6; cf. Brock 1977:277.

106. *CIIP* I,986: Θήκη δι[αφ]έρουσα Εύφημια Βυ|ζαντία ἀύ[τ]ῆς[=ἑαυτῆς] μονῆς. τοῦτο δὲ ἐξ|ορκῶ ἕκαστον εἰς τὴν ὁμοούσιον | Τριάδα καὶ εἰς τὴν κτῆσιν Γηθσεμανῆς [...]. This reading was first suggested in Di Segni 2009a:138*–142*.

107. For the commemoration of Isaiah, cf. *Itin. Burdig.* 595, as well as an Armenian inscription from a monastery located in the present-day Russian convent on the Mount of Olives, dating to the late Byzantine or early

Hezekiah nor of Jeremiah is attested in the later account, it is likely to assume a corruption of Zechariah,¹⁰⁸ who was allegedly buried in the first-century AD tomb commonly known today as ‘Pillar of Absalom.’ Isaiah and Zechariah are also the only Old Testament prophets that were commemorated according to the *Lectionarium Armeniacum*.¹⁰⁹ The sixth century pilgrims knew about a common burial, purportedly discovered in the mid-fourth century, of Zechariah (the father of John the Baptist), of Symeon mentioned in the Gospel of Luke, and – in some sources – of James, the brother of the Lord.¹¹⁰ Three recently discovered inscriptions on the Pillar of Absalom, written by the same hand and dated by the editors Puech and Zias to the late fourth century,¹¹¹ seem to confirm the evidence for an early tradition of the common burial and veneration of the three holy figures:¹¹²

- a) This is the tomb of Zechariah, martyr, most pious priest, father of John.
- b) The soul.
- c) Tomb of Symeon who was a most righteous man and a most pious elder and who awaited the consolation for the people (of Israel).

The word ψυχή is a translation of the Hebrew *nefeš*, common in funerary inscriptions; it was inscribed in Greek in several examples from the region. While this might place the commemoration of Zechariah and Symeon in a Jewish context, the epithets used for Symeon testify

Islamic periods, *CIIP* I,838: Բարեխալսու ունելալ | առ Ա(ստուա)ծ գուրբ Եւսայի և զերանելի | հարսս եւ Վահան ալրարի վասն թողուլթեան մեղաց զյիշատակարանս զայս (“Having Saint Isaiah and the blessed fathers as intercessors to God, I, Vařan made this memorial for the atonement of sins”), cf. also Kuchler 2007:902.

108. Ps-Cyr. Hier., *ep.* 6, with Brock 1977:277–278.

109. *Lect. arm.* 59 (344,17–19; on Zechariah) and 62 (350,10–352,2; on Isaiah).

110. Theod. 9; Greg. Tours, *Glor. mart.* 26: *spiritum reddidit, sepultusque est in monte Oliveti, in memoria, quam sibi ipse prius fabricaverat, et in qua Zaccariam ac Symeonem sepelierat* (“He [scil. James] gave up his spirit and was buried on the Mount of Olives in a tomb that he had previously built for himself and in which he had buried Zechariah and Symeon”). A sanctuary of James had been built by a nobleman from Eleutheropolis, Paul, at the request of the monk Epiphanius; cf. Piccirillo 2008:195.

111. Cf. Puech/Zias 2003:237–331; cf. Di Segni 2006–2007:382.

112. *CIIP* I,959: a) τόδε μνεμείον Ζακκαρίας μάρ(τυρος) | πρεσβητ(έρου) θεοσεβε(στάτου) παππέας Ἰοά(ννου) b) ἡ ψυχή c) ὁ θάφος Συμεών ὃς ἦν | δικα[ι]ότατος ἄνθρωπ(ος) | καὶ γέρ[ω]ν εὐσηβήστατος | καὶ παράκλησιν | λαοῦ | προσδεχ(όμενος). Cf. the commentary on *CIIP* I,959 for the following remarks on the scribal errors in the inscription.

that the author had knowledge of Luke 2:25–35. Parts a) and c) contain several conspicuous spelling mistakes and inconsistencies: The misspelling of the name of Zechariah with *kappa* is not attested elsewhere (contrary to the claim of Puech/Zias), the use of *πάππας* for ‘father’ points to a much later date, and the spelling *θάφος* instead of *τάφος* is likewise unparalleled in inscriptions from Jerusalem or Palestine. While Di Segni cautioned that the reading of all three texts is extremely doubtful due to the faint lettering, I would not exclude the possibility that all three texts are recent forgeries, perhaps in an attempt to present the tomb as a Jewish holy place during otherwise predominantly Christian Late Antiquity in Jerusalem. It is, moreover, striking that the texts were only discovered in 2000, since they are inscribed on a rather prominent location above the entrance to the burial chamber of a relatively well-studied building. The authenticity of the inscription does not, however, alter the evidence that the building was associated with Zechariah (among others) in Late Antiquity, as a church building excavated in the 1960s and allegedly constructed by a certain Paul, testifies to this. The church might have been already standing at the time of Eudocia’s visit,¹¹³ though a slightly later date seems preferable, as the place is mentioned in the tenth-century *Calendarium Ibericum*, but not in the *Lectionarium Armeniacum*, dating to before 439.¹¹⁴ In the late sixth century, a shrine of St Pelagia, a holy woman living in repentance on the Mount of Olives, is attested near the Imbomon. The legends concerning Pelagia date somewhat earlier than the evidence for the shrine, so that the holy sinner (if a real person at all) must have been a recluse on the Mount of Olives at the time of Eudocia’s visit. However, it appears safe to place this veneration of a living holy woman Pelagia into the realm of the legendary.¹¹⁵ In

113. On the excavations, cf. Stutchbury 1961:101–113.

114. Cf. *Calend. iber.* s.v. “May 18”: *პეტრეს უწინებ(უ)ლსა, კუნებაჲ იაკობ მ(ო)ც(ო)-ქ(უ)ლის(ა)ჲ, მისა ო(უ)ფლისა)ჲ, სუმეონისი დი ზაქარია მღდელის(ა)ჲ* (“in the building of Peter, commemoration of James the Apostle, the brother of the Lord, of Symeon, and of Zechariah the Priest”), cf. Garitte 1958:227–228, and *Lect. iber.* 982. On the dates of calendar and lectionary, cf. Fraser 1996:198.

115. *Itin. Plac.* 16; cf. Usener 1879:v–vi (proposing an early fifth-century date for the legends); Limor 2007:227–228 and 230–231, and, on the archaeological remains of the shrine, Seligman/Abu Raya 2001:221–236, and Küchler 2007:874–875.

general, the phenomenon of pilgrimage to living saints seems to have been less developed in Jerusalem: Egeria, Paula, and Melania (as late as in 419) had to travel to Egypt in order to see famous ascetics.¹¹⁶ While the latter found the time to visit various saints' shrines on her way to Constantinople, no shrine proper, as we have seen, is attested for Jerusalem at the time of Eudocia's visit – with the exception of Melania's own deposition of relics in her *aposteleion*. Moreover, the two accounts on the revelations of James and Stephen corroborate the assumption that the bishops of Jerusalem were reluctant to promote the cult of saints.

Apart from the obvious argument that the veneration of Christ was the central point of worship in the holy city, there might be additional reasons for their objections: Discoveries that proved to be false might have discredited the Church of Jerusalem's reputation; it is also plausible to assume that potentially multiple tombs of one and the same person would have lowered the clergy's credibility as religious experts, as had happened with the localization of the city of Emmaus.¹¹⁷ Just as, at the spot of the Imbomon, the right place of Christ's Ascension, had to be detected, there could not be more than one place commemorating a specific martyr.¹¹⁸ However, this basic rule would soon be contested by the two travellers of the years 437–439, Eudocia and Melania.

116. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 37–39. Cf. Frank 2000:7 n. 17 for other examples of combined pilgrimages to Jerusalem *and* to living saints in the Egyptian as well as in the Judean Desert; cf. also Gordini 1961:92–93, Köting 1984:227–229, and Perrone 1998a:10–11. On the historicity of the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, a travel account of a group of Palestinian monks visiting Egypt in 394, cf. Baumeister 2004:270–271.

117. On Emmaus, cf. Halbwachs 2008:17–19. Jerome's rejection of the *Revelatio Iacobi* may result from similar thoughts; it might, however, also be based on the scholar's self-proclaimed Biblical knowledge with which the discovery of James' relics in the Kidron Valley below the Mount of Olives was simply not compatible. Cf. Jerome, *vir. ill.* 2: *quidam e nostris in monte Oliveti eum putaverunt conditum, sed falsa eorum opinio est* ("Some of us believe that he [*scil.* James] is buried on the Mount of Olives, but their opinion is wrong").

118. Cf. Di Segni 2006–2007:382–383.

Three depositions of St Stephen

The *Vita Melaniae* provides only a few details regarding Eudocia's visit. Apart from the empress' joy at seeing Melania again, her prayer at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and her hurting her foot in the holy city, the text contains only one detail of note:¹¹⁹

The deposition of the relics in the *martyrium* newly-built by Melania was about to occur [...]. The empress requested that the festival take place while she was present.

Among the relics in question were certainly those of St Stephen,¹²⁰ and most likely those of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste as well as those of some Persian martyrs, which Peter the Iberian brought from Georgia via Constantinople into the holy city. This *martyrium* was the second shrine that Melania had built, as she had ordered the construction of the *aposteleion* some time between 431 and 432. In a seminal article, Clark has identified the problem regarding the recording of the same deposition of relics in the *Vita Petri Hiberi* albeit with major differences: In the *Vita Melaniae* Eudocia is merely present at the celebration (which is carried out without the mention of any bishop) and, according to the narrative, her only noticeable act was to injure her foot. In John Rufus' text, however, Eudocia is orchestrating the scene: she had constructed a beautiful church outside the northern city gates where the relics would find a permanent home. The ceremony, on 15 May, was officiated by Cyril of Alexandria, who came to the city upon Eudocia's invitation.¹²¹ On the following day, Cyril also

119. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 58: "Ἡμελλεν δὲ γίνεσθαι ἡ κατάθεσις τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων ἐν τῷ νεωστί ὑπ' αὐτῆς κτισθέντι μαρτυρίῳ [...]. Καὶ παρακαλεῖ ἡ βασίλισσα, ἵνα παρούσης αὐτῆς γένηται ἡ ἑορτή. On the vague archaeological evidence, cf. Corbo 1965:105–110, who excavated a piece of wall with a tiny apse about eleven meters below the Church of the Ascension; Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:83–84 convincingly points out that this is too little evidence for a secure connection of the structure to Melania's *martyrium* (as Corbo had himself admitted).

120. Cf. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 64.

121. Melania knew Cyril from her visit in his bishopric in 417 en route from North Africa to Jerusalem. Cyril had received her, despite potential doctrinal differences, ἀξίως τῆς αὐτοῦ ἁγιωσύνης ("in a manner worthy of his holiness;" cf. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 34), perhaps because Melania's and Pinianus' seven years of exceptional euergetism in North Africa did not remain unnoticed in Alexandria. On the question of Cyril's presence in Jerusalem, cf. Honigmann 1950:225–226 and Špidlík 1996:96–98. The fact that Juvenal played only a secondary role in the consecration can be explained by the good relations between him and Cyril at the time, cf. the following chapter. It seems likely that the *incipit* of Cyr. Alex., *ep.* 70, ὡς διέτιβον ἐν τῇ Αἰλιέων ("when I stayed in Aelia") can be connected to the consecration of Eudocia's church, even more so since the letter contains open attacks against Theodore of Mopsuestia, a theological theme of Cyril's letters only between 438 and 442.

presided over the deposition of Melania's share of relics, which, in this account, consist only of the Forty Martyrs and of Peter's Persian relics. Her *martyrium* is compared to Eudocia's by being characterised as 'small.' Moreover, Melania is not explicitly mentioned as founder of her own *martyrium*, whereas Eudocia allegedly did have a share in furnishing the *martyrium* on the Mount of Olives.¹²² This discrepancy is difficult to explain as both *Vitae* generally agree in their respective appreciations of the protagonists present at the deposition(s): Melania and Eudocia are both positively depicted in both texts, and the same is true for Gerontius in the *Vita Petri Hiberi*, as well as for Peter the Iberian in the *Vita Melaniae*. In order to solve this problem, Clark developed a scenario of rivalry between the two women. This, however, only explains why the *Vita Melaniae* concealed any involvement of Eudocia, i.e. in order not to diminish the fame of Gerontius' heroine. Admitting that the historical context strongly suggests that Eudocia's foundation of St Stephen existed prior to the mid-fifth century, Clark nevertheless attributed more credibility to Gerontius' account. Her main argument against a Eudocian deposition in 438 is the empress' lack of time to have a martyr's shrine constructed.¹²³

As we have seen before, Eudocia could not have reached Jerusalem before Melania's arrival at Easter 437. Also in the following weeks, both women were occupied: Eudocia first with her daughter's wedding and then with traveling and giving learned speeches in the east, Melania with the construction of her *martyrium*. It is safe to assume that some time passed between Melania's return and Eudocia's arrival. However, I would argue that it was still enough for the empress to construct her own *martyrium* in Jerusalem at the spot of the later

122. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 49; cf. Clark 1982a:149–151. Clark's assertion that Eudocia is mentioned as the founder of Melania's martyrion is not supported by the Syriac text, which can be interpreted as referring to merely making a contribution to the completion of the chapel. Given the alleged friendship between the two women, a gift from a rich empress to the stereotypically impoverished ascetic is little surprising.

123. Clark 1982a:154–155, recently followed by Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:161. Religious rivalry, however, did exist in the age, a similar conflict is recorded in the sources for Constantinople, cf. Matthews 1975:120–121. On the telling absences of important contemporary figures (Juvenal (only mentioned as 'the bishop'), Melania the Elder, Palladius) in Gerontius' text, cf. Steppa 2006b:57–59 and Barnes 2010:251–252.

church of St Stephen.¹²⁴ Clark proceeds on the assumption that the deposition took place on 15 May 438. This year, however, must be excluded, as this was the exact date of the Sunday of Pentecost in 438.¹²⁵ Both Egeria and the *Lectioarium Armeniacum* leave no doubt that a solemn deposition of relics would not have been possible as the stationary liturgy would not allow enough time for any additional service or ceremony. Egeria begins her report on the feast day by stating that it “is a Sunday, and a great effort for the people,” and she concludes that “thus this is a very hard day for them, for they have never stopped all day since they kept the vigil in the Anastasis, and the services have taken so long that it is midnight by the time they are dismissed on Sion, and all go home.”¹²⁶ The *Lectioarium Armeniacum*, shows that the liturgy had not changed much from the time of Egeria’s remarks in the 380s.¹²⁷ In addition to this, it would be striking that John Rufus recorded the date, but failed to mention that the ceremony took place on such a prominent feast day. Nevertheless, although Eudocia would not have been able to build a church of St Stephen within the year or so she stayed in the holy city, there is nothing that speaks against the construction of an underground *martyrium*-crypt in 439. This seeming contradiction to John Rufus’ account, which speaks of a ‘beautiful church’ (*hayklā payā*),¹²⁸ can easily be solved: Regardless whether Peter’s tour of Jerusalem recorded in *Vita Petri Hiberi* 134 records a real incident or a dream vision, its brief description of the church of St Stephen provides valuable evidence. The monk happened to arrive at

124. On the consecration of the church, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 54,1–10; on the localisation and re-discovery of its ruins, cf. Schick 1888:249–256 and Peeters 1908.

125. Devos 1987a:272–274; cf. the considerations in Honigmann 1950:225–226, who avoids stating the exact year.

126. *Itin. Eg.* 43,1 and 9: *dies dominica, qua die maximus labor est populo [...] ac sic ergo maximus labor in ea die suffertur, quoniam de pullo primo vigilatum est ad Anastase et inde per tota die nunquam cessatum est; et sic omnia quae celebrantur protrahuntur ut nocte media, post missa quae facta fuerit in Sion, omnes ad domos suas revertantur.*

127. *Lect. arm.* 58 (338,15–344,12). For narrowing down the date of the text to between 417 and 439, cf. Fraser 1996:185–189.

128. The noun *hayklā* first and foremost denotes a temple; however, for instance, ܐܘܪܫܠܝܡ ܡܫܝܚܝܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܢܐ is the Syriac name of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, therefore a translation with ‘church’ is preferable; cf. Payne Smith, s.v. “ܡܫܝܚܝܢܐ”, p. 103.

St Stephen first on his tour “and when he went down to the cave, he venerated his [*scil.* Stephen’s] sarcophagus.”¹²⁹ The building thus consisted of an underground shrine of St Stephen (fashioned in the Jerusalemite tradition of sacred caves and dedicated in 439 by Cyril of Alexandria during the episcopate of Juvenal) and of Eudocia’s *basilica*, dedicated in 460 (during the episcopate of Anastasius), on top of the shrine.¹³⁰ John Rufus does not mention the church at all, but states that Peter went straight to the martyrium (*bet-sāhdē*) –¹³¹ simply, because there was no church of St Stephen in 439. If the testimony of the *Vita Melaniae* concerning the *martyrium* on the Mount of Olives is correct, and there is no reason to assume it is not, the holy city had two holy places commemorating Stephen in the year 439 – and with the consecration of Eudocia’s church – three in 460, though the latter church and *martyrium* should rather be seen as one entity. Melania’s devotion to saints from a young age onwards is amply demonstrated in her *Vita*. Eudocia came from Constantinople, a city that prided itself with the acquisitions of relics.¹³² Both of them, perhaps via mutual influencing, must have realised that a space dedicated to St Stephen was still missing within the sacred topography of Jerusalem. After all, the martyr’s bones had been discovered almost a quarter of a century be-

129. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 134: ܡܢ ܩܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܩܝܝܡܐ ܕܩܝܝܡܐ. On underground crypts with martyrs’ reliquaries, cf. Tsafirir 1993:5 and Tsafirir/Hirschfeld 1993:214–215, as well as Khalek 2011:114–116, discussing the fifth- and sixth-century evidence for underground crypts in Rehovot ba-Negev, Madaba, and Ḥorvat Be-rachot for her study on Umayyad Damascus.

130. Cf. the description of the Piacenza Pilgrim, who mentions tomb (the underground *martyrium*?) and church: *Itin. Plac.* 25: *et ipsa muniuit sepulchrum et basilicum sancti Stephani*. Both parts of the building are attested archaeologically (personal communication with U. Verstegen; April 2012). As the altar of Eudocia’s church needed to be consecrated too, other relics had to be deposited there; cf., for the epigraphic evidence of this altar, *CIIP* 1,808 = *SEG* 8,192 and Meimaris 1983:395–396. The two dedications, one in 439 and one in 460, also solve a chronological problem of Ps-Basil of Seleucia’s *Homily* 41, a text which attributes the introduction of celebrating the birth of the Lord in Jerusalem to Juvenal. The text mentions the dedication of the church of St Stephen during this time, which brought, among others, Honigmann 1950:226–227 to the conclusion that there must have been a separate church of this name before 460, while it is clear by now that this church was Eudocia’s underground shrine.

131. This can be seen as an argument for the historicity of Peter’s visit, as the state of construction around c. 455 is reflected and not that of c. 500, the time John Rufus wrote the *Vita*.

132. In the period between 350–450 Wortley 1980:383 counted approximately twenty-five alleged acquisitions of relics by the court and elites in Constantinople.

fore and were still (temporarily) stored in the Church of Zion, which commemorated the events of Pentecost and had little to do with the Protomartyr.¹³³

The account of Stephen's martyrdom in Acts 7:54-60 leaves it unclear where exactly outside the city the stoning occurred. Most traditions located it to the east, most likely in the Kidron Valley, and the *Revelatio of St Stephen* recorded "outside the north-eastern gate which leads to Kedar."¹³⁴ The pilgrim Theodosius, however, writing less than a century after the deposition and only shortly after John Rufus, was certain that Eudocia's church (not the *martyrium*) commemorated St Stephen at the correct place: "Saint Stephen was stoned outside the Gate of Galilee, and his church is there, which was constructed by Lady Eudocia, the wife of Emperor Theodosius."¹³⁵ The gate mentioned by the pilgrim was the one that would soon become known as St Stephen's Gate, modern Damascus Gate. Eudocia's foundation – just as Melania's on the Mount of Olives – therefore had nothing to do with the assumedly correct space of Stephen's martyrdom. In the late fourth century, a western bishop stressed in his sermons that relics were indivisible and omnipresent, that meant that within the smallest particle of a relic the martyr's entirety was present.¹³⁶ However, two places of remembrance for the same saint within one city might prove problematic. It remains open whether John Ru-

133. *Relatio Stephani* B8,48: *Et ita cum psalmis et hymnis asportaverunt reliquias beati Stephani in sanctam ecclesiam Sion*. ("And so, while chanting psalms and hymns, they had carried the relics of the blessed Stephen into the holy church of Sion"). Given the fifth-century date of the text it is highly unlikely that 'sanctam ecclesiam Sion' means the city of Jerusalem as a whole, a translation into the church of Zion in 415 is quite likely; in 570, the Piacenza Pilgrim still witnessed the stones of Stephen's martyrdom there, cf. *Itin. Plac.* 22. On the deposition of the relics of James at the same church, cf. Z. Rubin 1999a:154–155, Abel 1919:487–489, and Corbo 1962:69–74. Peeters 1908:361 reckons that one reason why the relics were brought to the church of Sion was, that it was there that Stephen had been ordained as deacon. On the veneration of Stephen in other places in the Holy Land, cf. Meimaris 1986:134–136.

134. *Revelatio Stephani* A10: *foris portam quae est ad Aquilonem quae ducit ad Cedar*. Cf. the overview of localisations in Küchler 2007:677–679; while it is linguistically difficult to equate *Cedar* with the Kidron Valley, Küchler suggests that the *Revelatio* meant this place. The same location is given in *Passio Stephani Iberica* 9, cf. van Esbroeck 1984a:104–105.

135. Theod. 8a: *Sanctus Stephanus foras porta Galilaeae lapidatus est; ibi et ecclesia eius est, quam fabricavit domna Eudocia uxor Theodosii imperatoris*.

136. Gaud., *tract.* 17,35–36: *pars ipsa, quam meruimus, plentitudo est*; cf. Hunt 2001:175. Cf. also Paulinus of Nola's remark on the regrowing of the True Cross, *ep.* 31,6: *detrimenta non sentiat et quasi intacta permaneat* ("it feels no diminution and seems to remain whole").

fus simply was not aware of Melania's deposition of relics of Stephen, or whether, sixty years after the depositions, he was confused by the existence of two *loca sancta* for one saint of which one was still the most famous place of Stephen's veneration in the city, while the other one was mainly linked to the martyrs from Armenia and Persia.

The omnipresence of the martyr in the smallest particle of relics makes it unlikely that Melania was sparing with her share of relics – least of all to Eudocia. It is likely that she gave some of Stephen's relics to her. After all, Melania had divided her collection already once before.¹³⁷ Be that as it may, Stephen's relics spread far and fast: in Minorca they proved vital in the conversion of the Jews, and Augustine witnessed the growing cult of the saint in North Africa.¹³⁸ Eudocia knew about the considerable popularity of the Protomartyr throughout the whole Empire. Just as Stephen's death was interpreted as an echo of the Crucifixion, Eudocia's engagement with his relics can be interpreted as resembling the – fictional – revelation of the True Cross by Helena. Given the circulation of relics of Stephen soon after the discovery of his bones in 415, it could not have proved difficult for an empress to receive some of them, if not from Melania, then from the clergy of Jerusalem.¹³⁹ Of the two promoters of St Stephen's cult in Jerusalem, Eudocia would become the person principally linked to this memory, whereas Melania's subsequent fame would rest in her ascetic achievements. Beyond this, there is nothing in the sources to suggest a rivalry or enmity between the two women: Five days before her death, Melania would visit Eudocia's *martyrium* on the feast-day of the

137. Melania's *Vita* makes it clear that even after the deposition of 439 some relics remained in her *aposteleion*, where she explicitly asked to be buried in order to be in the vicinity of the martyrs; cf. Clark 1982a:147 with Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 65. As it makes sense that Melania wanted to be buried near the most important relic she had acquired, i.e. Stephen, some of this martyr's bones would have remained in the *aposteleion*.

138. Clark suggested that the Augustinian texts indicate by their language (most sentences contain words such as 'nuper' or 'modo') that the cult of Saint Stephen was relatively recent; cf. Clark 1982a:142 n. 16. It is likely that the revelation of the relics in 415 had kick-started the veneration of the saint in this region; soon the cult is also attested in inscriptions.

139. Against the view that the Jerusalemite clergy generously distributed the relics at its disposal to the nobility, cf. Wortley 1980:382–383.

saint, celebrated in Jerusalem on 27 December.¹⁴⁰ Arguably there is, however, a case of religious rivalry alluded to in the *Vita Melaniae*, albeit not between the ascetic and the empress. As we have seen, shortly after her return from Constantinople, Melania had instructed Gerontius to build a shrine in the male monastery. When pointing out the location to him, she characterised the place as that “in which the feet of the Lord stood,”¹⁴¹ an assertion that agrees with Gerontius’ description of this monastery’s construction earlier in the *Vita*.¹⁴² We have seen that the exact places of Christ’s Ascension and his teaching of the Disciples were highly contested in the late fourth century. It seems that Melania too entered the debate by claiming that her monastery and subsequently her *martyrium* were marking the correct location. It is not so much the claims on the bones of St Stephen that occupied Melania, but rather the claim on the exact place of the Ascension. One could argue that she was less concerned with the historio-theological investigation than with the fact that the place of the Ascension should be located no-where else than on her property.

Homeward bound with St Stephen

The frequent mentions of Eudocia’s foot injury in Jerusalem, which happened during the consecration of Melania’s *martyrium* on 16 May 439, can best be explained by the imminent departure of the empress shortly after the ceremonies. After Melania had accompanied her back to Caesarea, Eudocia continued alone – surely following the ceremonial of the *iter principis*. That she sought treatment for her foot at the mineral baths of Ḥammāt Gader on the

140. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 64. She also read out the account of Stephen’s martyrdom in Acts; on the role of Scripture for Melania, cf. Av. Cameron 1991:148.

141. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 57: [ὁ τόπος,] ἐν ᾧ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες τοῦ Κυρίου (a free quotation of Ps 132:7 (LXX: 131:7)).

142. Cf. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 49. Gerontius mentions that some people alleged that she would not be able to fund such an undertaking because of her poverty. I would argue that, if Melania’s monetary situation was indeed as precarious as the *Vita* continuously asserts, the clergy of Jerusalem might not have been overly enthusiastic about her building project close to such an important holy place. Eventually, the necessary funds were miraculously procured.

southern shore of the Sea of Galilee is highly unlikely,¹⁴³ just as she never passed through Safranbolu in Paphlagonia, where a nineteenth century inscription alleged the deposition of Stephen's foot by the diseased empress.¹⁴⁴ Together with her travelled the relics of the Protomartyr, and perhaps some other objects – the *Vita Barşawmae* claims that Eudocia acquired the saint's cloak in exchange for her veil.¹⁴⁵ The *Vita Melaniae Latina* contains an additional note, not transmitted in the Greek version, on who did not join Eudocia: the empress had tried to take some Jerusalemite nuns from Melania's monastery with her to Constantinople, a plan the ascetic did not agree with. It is likely that Melania recalled the situation of the Egyptian monks imported into the capital by Rufinus.¹⁴⁶ While she did not envisage a similar destiny for her attendants, one should still not ascribe too much anti-Eudocian criticism in this passage.¹⁴⁷ Without nuns, but with relics, Eudocia reached the capital later the same year, perhaps in the autumn:¹⁴⁸

143. Cf. E. Rubin 1996:112–114 for this suggestion based on the bogus inscription from Paphlagonia; if Eudocia went from Jerusalem to Caesarea, a trip to Ḥammāt Gader would constitute a considerable detour.

144. The text was first mentioned by Doublet 1889:293–299, esp. 294. The inscription was assumed to be genuine by Clark 1982:150–151, Holum 1982:186 n. 52, Maraval 1985:368 and especially by Livrea 1996, who dedicated an entire article to it, trying to justify the linguistically oddities and ascribed it with complete assurance to the empress. Sowers 2008:44–48 raised doubts but did not exclude a Eudocian authorship. Hunt 1982:233 knew of the young age of the stone, however, he assumed that it was a modern copy of a fifth-century original. Scepticism concerning the historicity of this piece of epigraphic evidence has been expressed by a small number of Austrian and German scholars as well as by Mango 2004.

145. Cf. *Vit. Bars.* 83,26–27 for Eudocia begging Barşawmā to grant her his cloak; cf. Nau 1914:115–166. The entire dialogue (*Vit. Bars.* 83) is remarkable: While the fact that only the meeting with the holy man brought out the charitable side of the empress is to be regarded as a hagiographical commonplace, her argument that imperial donations happen, as a rule, at the expense of the poor since it is their labour that emperors donate, is an unusual (though arguably justified) objection against patronage.

146. Cf. Call., *Vit. Hypat.* 8,5 on the Egyptian monks installed at the Bosphorus who run away after Rufinus' death; cf. Matthews 1975:134, calling the monks "the genuine article, imported from Egypt."

147. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Lat.* 65; cf. Clark 1984:23.

148. Marcell. com. 439,2: *Eudoxia uxor Theodosii principis ab Hierosolymis urbem regiam remeauit, beatissimi Stephani primi martyris reliquias, quae in basilica sancti Laurentii positae uenerantur, secum deferens.* On the church of Saint Lawrence, cf. Janin 1953:312–315 locating it near modern Ayakapı, and Berger 1988:530 locating it to the north-west at modern Balat. On the translation, cf. Wortley 2005:172.

Eudo[c]ia, the wife of the emperor Theodosius, returned from Jerusalem to the imperial city, bringing with her the relics of the most blessed Stephen, the first martyr, which were placed in the *basilica* of St Lawrence where they are venerated.

The entry in the *Chronicon* of Marcellinus Comes gives no explanation as to why relics as important as those of Stephen brought to the capital by someone as important as Eudocia were deposited in a church commemorating a different saint, St Lawrence, and built by a different founder, Pulcheria. Holum has argued that Theodosius' sister had founded this church upon Eudocia's arrival to receive the newly translated relics, and that "in this way Pulcheria turned Eudocia's downfall to her own profit."¹⁴⁹ The latter claim can be easily dismissed, as the deposition in 439 could hardly be connected to Eudocia's alleged downfall of 443. It is odd that – if Pulcheria was indeed Eudocia's rival – the latter permitted for no obvious reason that her sister-in-law would reap the benefit of her successful translation, especially as Eudocia had her own church of St Polyeuctes constructed roughly at the same time.

Although the rivalry scenario is tempting, none of the contemporary sources reports any detail on enmity between the two *Augustae* "who appear[ed] to be one," as Cyril of Alexandria put it. There is no reason to interpret the latter line as a sarcastic statement, as Holum did.¹⁵⁰ If one steps aside from the notion of competition between the two *Augustae*, and accepts that they even may have cooperated (appearing to be one), the sources arguably make more sense. Sozomen, who is very keen on portraying Pulcheria in panegyric terms and emphasises her building projects in the capital,¹⁵¹ does not mention a church dedicated to Lawrence, the saint to whom Melania had demonstrated much devotion already in her Roman

149. Holum 1982:137, cf. p. 139 for an alleged foundation in 439; the notion of rivalry between the two *Augustae* can also be found in Armstrong 1969:18, James 2001:156, and Horn 2004:200–202. Recently, Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:162 n. 278 repeated the rivalry scenario conjecturing that it was between the 'attractive' Eudocia and the 'pious' Pulcheria.

150. Cf. *ACO* 1,1,3,77,79–80. A cooperation of the two *Augustae* in the religious sphere has already been suggested by Al. Cameron 1982:278 and Brubaker 1997:55–56. Cooper 2004:51 sees the two empresses as rivals in general, but assumes a cooperation between 437 and 450.

151. Angelidi 1996:74–76 argues that the role of Pulcheria in the ecclesiastical landscape of Constantinople should not be neglected, but cautions that Sozomen's depiction largely overestimates the *Augusta's* importance.

days. It is true that Sozomen's *Historia ecclesiastica* terminates in the year 439, however, there must have been a church foundation structurally complete enough to house the relics by that date. The historian's silence can be explained with a later entry in Marcellinus Comes' *Chronicon*: Only in 453, fourteen years after the deposition of the relics from Jerusalem, did Pulcheria's church receive the relics of St Lawrence sent from Pope Leo I from Rome in the wake of negotiations at the Council of Chalcedon.¹⁵² Sozomen could not have reported on a church of Lawrence, since it did not exist as such at the time of his writing. On the other hand, the statement concerning the year 439 made by Marcellinus Comes is likewise not wrong, as in his times the church was, of course, dedicated to and known as St Lawrence. From the available evidence of the sources it appears as if both Pulcheria and Eudocia built churches in Constantinople without exactly knowing which relics they would eventually hold. This does, of course, not mean that these buildings were mere blank canvasses, but rather that both *Augustae* had certain hopes and aspirations concerning the relics that they desired for their religious foundations. We can compare these pious hopes to the grand plan for the Church of the Apostles a century earlier, which ideally would have housed relics of twelve important saints, an enterprise that proved unrealistic as time went on.¹⁵³ Moreover, it seems that we could determine the envisaged patron saints of the two churches, which must have been under construction in the 430s.¹⁵⁴ For Pulcheria's church it was St Lawrence from the very beginning. In comparison with this saint, however, St Polyeuktos, who eventually became commemorated in Eudocia's church, appears as a rather minor figure. We do not need to imagine that both empresses avidly listened to the stories of their famous visitor of 437, in which both St Lawrence in Rome and the recently discovered St Stephen would have

152. Marcell. com. 453,5.

153. Cf. Mango 2009:53 and 55–57.

154. Cf. Magdalino 2001:61–65 suggesting that the church of Polyeuktos may have been planned to be dedicated to some other saint.

figured prominently, to assert that the fitting match for the deacon Lawrence was no-one else than the deacon Stephen. It is true that Polyeuktos was martyred in the hometown of Euthymius, a figure of authority for Eudocia in Palestine. However, there is nothing to suggest that Eudocia ever met the desert monk during her pilgrimage of 438/439, let alone came under his influence. It is possible to assume that she never even heard the name of St Polyeuktos until her second stay in the Holy Land. Upon her return in the capital in 439, the relics of Stephen were deposited in Pulcheria's church. Assuming that the empresses collaborated, this act is not surprising: the conjunction of the two saints made sense, both were deacon-martyrs, and both were housed together in Rome.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps Eudocia and Pulcheria had hoped to accelerate the translation of Lawrence's relics to Constantinople by offering the bones a place near to Stephen; or Pulcheria's church simply was further in its building progress – Eudocia's foundation may have fallen behind due to her absence of approximately one year and a half.

Eudocia's last years in Constantinople

Just as the sources do not support Eudocia's rivalry with Pulcheria, the same is true for her alleged banishment from court. We have already seen that no pagan party with the empress as its figurehead existed at the Theodosian court. The first reference to Eudocia's adultery and banishment from court is the apple story recorded in John Malalas' *Chronographia*, written down about a hundred years after the empress' death. Evagrius Scholasticus testifies to the fact that stories like this must have been circulating; however, he states that he does not believe them. Burgess, van Esbroeck, and Scott have convincingly argued that the story originated with different protagonists in an anti-Chalcedonian *milieu*, and was only later ascribed to Eudocia.¹⁵⁶ Likewise, modern scholarship pointed out that Malalas' account and

155. It is worth noting that the *translatio* of the bones of Saint Stephen from Constantinople to Rome (dating, most likely, to the late eighth century) mentions that the relics of the Protomartyr were deposited in the Roman Church of St Lawrence; however, no such translation is recorded in other sources, cf. Costambeys/Leyser 2007:279–282.

156. Cf. Evagr., 1,21 with Scott 2010:116–118, arguing that the story was invented after 451 to counter de-

those elaborating on it, contain material that is to a large extent legendary, similarly to his account of how Theodosius looked for a suitable wife.¹⁵⁷ There is no doubt that the later historians were prone to omit, or sometimes downplay, what they could not explain.¹⁵⁸ These omissions cannot always be completely explained. Sozomen's silence on Eudocia, on whose activities in the Holy Land he might have been better informed than Socrates, can best be explained if there was indeed some rivalry with Pulcheria, the female heroine of his *Historia ecclesiastica*. However, Socrates, who was recording events after Eudocia left the court, praises her in the preceding chapters, and remains silent on Pulcheria.¹⁵⁹ Ultimately, the contemporary source material on Eudocia's second and final journey to Jerusalem may not allow a definitive answer, but equally supports a version of the story according to which the empress left Constantinople for Jerusalem utterly in accordance with, perhaps even encouraged by her husband.

As we have seen at the beginning of this chapter, the entirety of sources on Theodosius agrees on one single aspect, the exceptional piety of the θεοφιλέστατος βασιλεύς.¹⁶⁰ With a few exceptions, the same is true for Pulcheria and for Eudocia. However, modern scholars were reluctant to credit the latter with these merits, mostly referring to her alleged

famatory anti-Chalcedonian stories appearing earlier in the Syriac and Armenian versions of Theopistos' *Vita Dioscori*. Here the apple is given by Theodosius to Pulcheria who then passes it on to her secret lover Marcian; cf. Burgess 1994:50–54 (for the Syriac version) and van Esbroeck 2001a:109–111 (for the Armenian versions). An echo of these allegations can be found in one of the *vaticinia ex eventu*-visions in Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 3, in which Pelagius of Edessa complains that the Augusta will give up her vow of virginity and become a heretic. Ioh. Nic. 87,13, finally, recounts the story from Malalas, just to add: **ወንግሥትስ ፡ አውጣኪያ ፡ ኮነት ፡ ጠባቦ ፡ ወንጽሐተ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ነውር ፡ ወፍጽምት ፡ በተሉ ፡ ምግባራ ፡፡** (“But the empress Eudocia was wise and chaste, spotless and perfect in all her conduct”), cf. Burman 1994:65. On Pulcheria's secret love affair in anti-Chalcedonian biographical writing, cf. Mouterde 1951:597–598.

157. Cf. Hans 1988:34–36 and Scott 2010:127–128.

158. Cf. Chew 2006:209.

159. Cf. Holum 1982:114, who connects Socrates' silence with Eudocia's fall into disgrace. Boyce 1954:134–139 attempted to deduct the date of Eudocia's banishment from the numismatic evidence, an endeavour which even Holum 1982:194 n. 85 judged unsuccessful.

160. Socr. 7,42,4 and already 7,23,9; cf. Soz. 9,3,1 who credits Pulcheria with θεοφιλεία. On the ostentatiously pious public face of the Theodosian house and the imperial *consistorium*, working in the background, cf. Harries 2013:71–75

pagan upbringing. Holum claimed that Eudocia was forcedly baptised, which nevertheless did not make her “an impassioned Christian [or] altered her priorities,” because she “had adopted Christianity for practical reasons.”¹⁶¹ However, everything the contemporary sources (Socrates, Gerontius, John Rufus) record about her after the marriage is entirely related to her faith, and her building and literary activities are centred on Christian religion. Just as Pulcheria and Theodosius fostered monasticism, and Hypatius seemed to have acted as a spiritual father to the emperor, there is no reason not to accept that Melania was indeed influential on Eudocia, as Gerontius claims in his *Vita*. While her visit in Constantinople shares certain stereotypes with how Porphyry’s or Sabas’ stays are recorded in later hagiography, there was one important difference: Melania came from a noble background, markedly different to, for instance, the peasant Sabas. Her life story was, as we have seen, exceptional; as a result of her noble background, however, it is likely that her audience could much better empathise with her. There is no reason not to accept that Eudocia’s intentions (if she had any before 437) to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem were surely supported by Melania’s presence. Perhaps the ascetic also recounted how her late husband Pinianus finally agreed on a solely spiritual marriage – at the age of seventeen: “If and when by the ordinance of God we have two children to inherit our possessions, then both of us together shall renounce the world.”¹⁶² Indeed, John of Nikiu claimed that Theodosius had abandoned conjugal relations with Eudocia, however, his account is both late and extremely negative towards Pulcheria (the instigator of Chalcedon), so that the story he presented may be an attempt to defend Eudocia’s honour.¹⁶³

161. Holum 1982:174 and 224, similarly Haffner 1999:67–68.

162. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 1; the vow is eventually fulfilled in *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 6–9 after the death of their children, and the death of Melania’s father. Gerontius calls Pinianus henceforth Melania’s brother in the Lord; cf. *CIL* 13,7813 or 9,332 for a similar use of language in the epigraphic evidence. On the model character of the spiritual marriage between Melania and Pinianus, cf. Alwis 2011:92–94 and 136–138 as well as Giardina 2001:191–192 and Traina 2009:30–31.

163. Ioh. Nic. 87,14–16: ወንገሥ ፡ ታኦራሽዮስ ፡ ፈነወ ፡ መጽሐፈ ፡ መልክክት ፡ ጎበ ፡ ገዳመ ፡ ሲሐት፡ዘምስር ፡ ከመ፡ደስኦሎሙ፡ለቅዱሳን ፡ በክንተ ፡ ዘክልቦቱ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ተባዕት ፡ ከመ፡ደንሣኦ ፡ መንግሥቶ ፡ ኦምጽሳሌሁ ፡፡ (15) ወነገርም ፡ ቅዱሳን ፡ ኦንዘ ፡ ደብሉ ፤ ኦምኦመ ፡ ፊለስክ ፡ ኦምዘንቱ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ደትዌለጥ ፡ ሃደማኖ ተ ፡ ክበቁክ ፤ ኦስመ ፡ ኦንዘክብሎር ፡ ያፈቅረክ ፡ ወኢወሀበክ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ተባዕተ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢደኩን ፡ ውስተ ፡ ኦከይ ፡፡ (16) ወበክንተ ፡ ዘንቱ ፡ ግብር ፡ [ኮነ ፡] ንገሥ ፡ ታኦራሽዮስ ፡ ጎዘነ ፡ ልብ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ብክሲቱ ፡ ጎቡረ ፤

And the emperor Theodosius sent a letter to the wilderness of Scetis in Egypt in order to consult the saints because he had no male offspring to succeed him on the throne. And the saints wrote as follows: ‘When you quit this world, the faith of your fathers will be changed; for God out of love to you has not given you a male offspring lest it should become wicked.’ And the emperor Theodosius and his wife were alike pained by this communication, and they abandoned all conjugal intercourse and lived, by mutual consent, in befitting chastity.

Similarly, a legendary conversation between Theodosius II and a monk, preserved in a tenth-century manuscript, has the emperor state: “For thirty-two years I did not have intercourse with my wife, but lived my life in chastity.”¹⁶⁴ Both texts are late and it is unlikely that they preserve any historical facts on the marriage between Theodosius and Eudocia. The fact that childbearing was crucial in the fourth and fifth centuries stands against the idea that the imperial couple would have entered a spiritual marriage; and it is not difficult to find counterexamples: Eusebia, the wife of Constantius II, died after a practitioner attempted to restore her uterus,¹⁶⁵ and Theodosius’ own mother, Eudoxia, had been pregnant for exactly half of her 9.5 years of marriage. A fragment of a homily that Barnes convincingly attributed to Nestorius and dated to January 430, when Eudocia was pregnant with Flacilla (who died the following year), shows the pious wish of the bishop that the emperor may finally produce a son.¹⁶⁶

Let us ask of Christ the Lord of the universe that he [*scil.* Theodosius] be given many consular years and that, by the grace of God, he may be able to say to the whole inhabited world of a son who is being baptised and administering rule over the globe with him: “This is my beloved son, obey him.”

The scenario of a Roman emperor agreeing to a chaste marriage on the basis of religious convictions appears plausible for Theodosius of all emperors, who instigated penitential proces-

ωϩϩⲗ : ϩϩϣⲣϸ : ϩⲏⲏⲓ : ϩⲏⲗ : ωⲏⲉⲟⲩ : Ⲡⲧⲏⲥⲏⲩⲣ : Ⲡⲏⲉⲥⲏⲧⲏⲩ : ⲏⲉⲟⲩⲩⲏⲩ :: On this episode, cf. Kelly 2013a:59–61 and esp. Scott 2010:121–122, who calls it a ‘counter-counter-story’ that responded to the Chalcedonian counter-story about Eudocia to an originally anti-Chalcedonian story about Pulcheria.

164. *Cod. Par. gr.* 881, ed. in Nau 1910:173: “Ἐχω λβ’ χρόνους οὐκ ἐπλησίασα πρὸς τὴν γυναικά μου, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀγνείᾳ διάγομαι.

165. Cf. Holum 1982:27–28.

166. Nestor.(?), *hom. in Epiph.* (ed. Wenger 1977:73–90, here p. 90; quoted from Barnes 1989a:12): “Υπὲρ δὲ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου βασιλέως, αἰτήσωμεν παρὰ τοῦ τῶν δεσπότης Χηριστοῦ αὐτῶ πολυέτους δοθῆναι ὑπατείας, λαβεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τῆ παρ’ αὐτῶ βοθηείᾳ ἐφ’ υἰῶ βασιζομένῳ καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου μετ’ αὐτοῦ διοιοῦντι βασιλείαν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην· Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός μου ἀγαπητός αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε. Cf. Barnes 1989a:10–12.

sions and was capable of transforming the crowds of the hippodrome into a church, as we have seen at the beginning of this discussion. It is true that the imperial couple had not yet produced a living son, but precisely because of this they might have been able to relate to Melania's and Pinianus' situation: They had namely renounced intercourse only after the birth of two children. One of them, however, died in infancy, the other was stillborn – coincidentally the same was true for Theodosius' daughter Flacilla and his son Arcadius. Unlike Melania, the imperial couple had at least one living child, Licinia Eudoxia, at whose wedding preparations Melania had been present. Although this assumption cannot be verified, the parallels between the lives of Melania and Eudocia remain striking.¹⁶⁷

The novelty of St Stephen

There is evidence to suggest that Eudocia did not fall in disgrace: First and foremost, Eudocia had funds at her disposal,¹⁶⁸ which clearly exceeded those of ordinary pilgrims. She commanded property in the Holy Land and resided in a suitable palace.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, if we believe the witness of the *Vita Barşawmae*, Eudocia had access to imperial troops to use for her own purposes.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, her defection to Miaphysitism had no consequences for her. Secondly, there is reason to assume that at least two church buildings in Jerusalem and Constantinople respectively show interaction between the capital and the Holy Land dating to after the time of Eudocia's second departure: The church of St Stephen was decorated with costly Constantinopolitan column capitals, and Eudocia's Constantinopolitan church received its

167. Cf. Scott 2010:121: "This would fit the whole image of the reign (at least in its propaganda) of supporting sexual abstinence [...]."

168. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 166.

169. Cf. *Vit. Barş.* 93,4 locating Eudocia's residence in Bethlehem, cf. Nau 1913–1914:115–116.

170. Cf. *Vit. Barş.* 93,4–96,20; cf. Scott 2010:120, calling Eudocia's activities in Jerusalem "incompatible with any notion of her being there in disgrace." The historicity of the episode and the accepted chronology of dating it to 438 have been questioned by Stemberger 1987:249–250.

patrocinium (and relics) of St Polyuktos only after the empress had met the desert monk Euthymius in the Judean Desert in the late 440s. Finally, if Eudocia was indeed banished, Jerusalem would have been the strategically worst place to send her to – a pious exiled empress would clearly challenge Theodosius’ and Pulcheria’s religious prestige. While it is unlikely that Eudocia would have been sent to her alleged hometown Athens (or to Antioch), Ravenna, where Licinia Eudoxia lived, would arguably have been a more suitable place of exile. For all these reasons, one should interpret Eudocia’s second and final journey to Jerusalem as a journey in accordance with the court. We have seen, that Theodosius was not only described as a new Constantine, it is quite likely that he noted these similarities himself and encouraged such comparisons. Theodosius had understood that Constantine’s sending of his *Augusta*, Helena, had resulted in an imperial success story – he might also have realised that a travelling *Augusta* did contribute to and not diminish the ruling emperor’s fame. At the same time, Jerusalem, as a place of Christian memory, had become so important within the Empire, that it was an acceptable dwelling place for a late antique empress to spend her post child-bearing years.

Eudocia returned to Jerusalem between 443 and 444. She would not find Melania there, as the famous ascetic had died in 439; however, Peter the Iberian was still living nearby.¹⁷¹ The empress certainly was supervising the progress of the constructions of her church of St Stephen; however, she is also epigraphically attested as benefactor in other parts of the Holy Land, most notably for her contribution to the renovation of the famous baths in Ḥammat Gader: Even though her metric dedicatory inscription is surely no example of fine poetry, it contributes not only to the general image of a literary active poet, but also to imperial euer-

171. Tsafir 2012:251–253 has suggested that Peter left Jerusalem not, as John Rufus claimed, because he tried to avoid the motherly love of Eudocia, but rather due to a boundary dispute with lethal consequences: Peter and John the Eunuch had been insulted, and John even struck by a neighbour who belonged to the local clergy. The man was found dead the next morning, punished by the Lord. However, it is doubtful whether everyone in Jerusalem was convinced that the death of the priest had been an act of God without any involvement by Peter. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 65 (on the boundary conflict) and 71–73 (on Peter fleeing from Eudocia’s affection and relocating to Maiuma).

getism for sites which were not exclusively Christian: Eudocia's poetical *ekphrasis* of the restored building praises the sixteen springs or fountains which were known by mythological, Christian, and Jewish names.¹⁷² In the remaining sixteen years of her life, Eudocia would witness the Christological controversies in the wake of the Chalcedonian Council, and also play a certain part in them. Her church in the north of the city was only consecrated when she knew that her end was near.¹⁷³ From the short report that Cyril of Scythopolis provided, the celebrations must have been less impressive than those of 439, but this was not important, as the prominent relics were already housed in the foundation's *martyrium*. While Eudocia's involvement in the Christological controversies after 451 will be discussed in the following chapter, it is worth to reflect in conclusion on her building activity in the city and its surroundings. We have observed that in Jerusalem the veneration of Christ was, for understandable reasons, so important and dominant that the commemoration of saints and martyrs was less distinctive than in other cities of the late antique world. Likewise, the clergy did – at least until the episcopate of Juvenal – not contribute much to the promotion of the veneration of saints and martyrs. For the entire fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, St Stephen remained the only larger church in Jerusalem that was not commemorating an event that was related to Christ. Moreover, the sacred topography for smaller foundations connected with saints remained extraordinarily sparse even during the time Eudocia resided in Jerusalem. Be-

172. On the poem in general, cf. Green/Tsafir 1982:78–91 and Meimaris 1983:390–395. Apart from names such as 'Hygieia,' 'Elijah,' 'Antoninus' (in all likelihood referring to a statue of Antoninus Pius) and 'Galatia,' line 14 of the inscription mentions also 'the nun' (Μονάστρια) and 'the (spring) of the Patriarch' (ἡ Πατριάρχου); the latter name seems to refer to a legendary story that contained a historical nucleus, namely a rather foolish Jewish Patriarch who visited the mixed baths of Hammat Gader and caught sight of a beautiful Christian woman. Cf. Epiph., *Pan.* 30,7 with E. Rubin 1996:116–117 and Dvorjetski 2006–2007:15–16. Just as in Hammat Gader, Christianity and paganism lived side-by-side in the realm of the arts in Jerusalem, in the famous Orpheus mosaic, the tomb of two late antique matrons, Theodosia and Georgia, on which Christian and pagan iconography were equally represented, or in a synagogue floor in Sepphoris, on which a centaur held up a religious Jewish inscription. On these and similar cases, cf. Bowersock 1997:8 and Figueras 2003:50–51 and 55–56.

173. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 54,1–11. Eudocia died in 460 and was buried in the church of St Stephen. This funeral forms an exception, as she was not laid to rest in the so-called South Stoa, a cruciform annexe to Constantine's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople like the rest of the Theodosian dynasty; cf. Johnson 1991:330–339.

sides the *martyria* constructed by Melania and Eudocia, we can only find a very small amount of sacred places which were not connected directly to the life and passion of Christ: Rufinus of Aquileia and Palladius of Hierapolis mention that a shrine on the eastern Mount of Olives was dedicated to John the Baptist. However, the sources remain very vague on this place.¹⁷⁴ In the wake of the Council, a *martyrium* (*bet-sāhdē*) of St Stephen and St John is mentioned by John Rufus, which was visited by a holy nun (*ḥātā [...] qadīštā*) who reached such a degree of sanctity and purity that the two saints would converse with her; however, no place in Jerusalem is known that commemorated these two saints together.¹⁷⁵ In the 450s, the monk Gabrielius, who stemmed from Euthymius' monastery in the desert, became a protégée of Eudocia. According to Cyril, Gabrielius used to withdraw for certain periods of the year to a recluse's cell on the Mount of Olives where he had set up a martyr's shrine.¹⁷⁶ Cyril also refers to a shrine of the military saint Theodore, however, it cannot be dated more precisely than with a *terminus ante quem* of 532 and is not archaeologically attested.¹⁷⁷ The distribution of these chapels honouring saints shows a concentration of *martyria* on the Mount of Olives. This is confirmed by the sixth century pilgrims, who mention certain tombs there,¹⁷⁸ however, all of these were small and most likely private shrines.

It is important to note that the fact that no more places of remembrance are recorded in the sources does not necessarily mean that other *martyria* did not exist. The small number of mentions may result from the nature of the sources; the few existing examples were almost

174. Cf. Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994:III,416.

175. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 79.

176. Similarly, Melania used to withdraw into a cell her mother Albina had built on the Mount of Olives; the noblewoman stayed there from Epiphany until Easter over the course of fourteen years, cf. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 40.

177. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 185,4 with Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994:II,98.

178. Theod. 6 mentions twenty-four churches on the Mount of Olives; he also refers to the common tomb of James, Zachariah, and Symeon discussed above (Theod. 9). The Piacenza Pilgrim mentions the tombs of Pelagia (*Itin. Plac.* 16) and of Hesychius of Jerusalem (*Itin. Plac.* 27).

exclusively recorded by Cyril of Scythopolis who was an insider to the area. This does, of course, not mean that saints were not venerated in the holy city. Egeria's account on Jerusalem's liturgy does not contain any reference to a saint; the description of her pilgrimage in the Holy Land, in contrast, mentions a large number of *loca sancta* that precisely located the assumed dwelling-places of almost thirty saints (most of them Old Testament figures).¹⁷⁹ It is safe to assume that she had a certain interest in *martyria*. Her description of Jerusalem, however, is lost, and the liturgical account cannot be taken as evidence that there was no liturgy for saints, as it becomes clear from her description that her focus lay solely on the major feast days, which throughout the empire were centred on Jesus Christ.¹⁸⁰ The case is slightly different for the *Lectonarium Armeniacum*, dating to the period before 439, although this text can also not be used as a source on how many individual saints were privately honoured by the Christian community in the early fifth century. In contrast to Egeria, the *Lectonarium* did record those saints that were annually commemorated by the clergy of the city. The number, which included for instance Antony of Egypt and the pious Emperor Theodosius I,¹⁸¹ is surprisingly small with only nineteen feasts recorded.¹⁸² Interestingly, their celebrations took place almost exclusively at the Holy Anastasis (*Sowrb Yarowt'ean*) and there

179. *Itin. Eg.* mentions sites connected with Moses (2,1), Elijah (4,2), Aaron (4,4), Joshua (5,4), Joseph (7,7,9), Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh (10,4), Balak the son of Beor (12,10; it should be 'son of Zippor;' cf. Wilkinson 1999:124 n. 2), Balaam the Seer (12,2), Job (13,1), Melchizedek (13,4), Abraham (14,2), John the Baptist (15,1), Thomas (17,1), King Abgar and his servant Ananias (17,1), Rebecca and Eleazar (20,4), Helpidius (20,5), Terah, Sarah, and Lot (20,9), Nahor and Bethuel (20,10), Rachel (20,11), Jacob (21,1), and Laban (21,4). The large amount of Old Testament shrines was, of course, not a sign of new inventions of their tombs, but rather points to their previous Jewish veneration – already existing sites were gradually taken over by the Christians, cf. Wilkinson 1990:49–50.

180. Cf. Baldovin 1987:94. In contrast, Caesarea (just like Constantinople a city which had no distinctive Christian past) had many *martyria* to saints much earlier than Jerusalem, cf. Holum 2003:157–159 and Baumeister 2009a:249–250.

181. Cf. *Lect. arm.* 11 (226,1–2, on Antony) and 12 (226,15–16, on Theodosius I). January 19 was Theodosius' *dies imperii*, cf. Kienast 2011:332–333.

182. Cf. Renoux 1971:188; the feast-days are a) for saints: Peter Apseamus, Antony, the Forty Martyrs, the Holy Innocents, Thomas, Philipp, Andrew, Stephen, Peter and Paul, James, and John; b) for Old Testament figures: Jeremy, Zechariah, Isaiah, the Maccabees, Jacob and David; c) for bishops: Cyril and John; d) for emperors, Theodosius I and Constantine; cf. Baldovin 1989:42–43.

were few specific places destined for their cult. This practice seemingly continued, as a homily by Hesychius of Jerusalem on the martyr Procopius, authored most likely after 439 (as the saint is not mentioned in the *Lectionarium Armeniacum*), was likewise delivered in the Anastasis.¹⁸³ Unlike in other cities, most of the early monasteries in Jerusalem did not carry the name of a certain saint. Eudocia built a hospice and a chapel dedicated to George which again formed an exception,¹⁸⁴ as did her church dedicated to St Peter in the Judean desert.¹⁸⁵

Eudocia and Melania were the first patrons in the city who acknowledged the growth in importance of the public veneration of relics and saints starting at the end of the fourth century. Coming from the centre of power in Constantinople with its numerous churches, the cult of saints was well-known to Eudocia. A second novelty of Eudocia's foundation was that Stephen's stoning was located at a different place to that on which the *basilica* was placed. Every single church built in Jerusalem before the 440s was meticulously located at what was thought to be the exact places hallowed by divine presence; as a result of this, the late antique religious buildings in Jerusalem are characterised by a near-obsession with the search for the correct place. Eudocia's church was placed at the main arterial road leading to Neapolis and Damascus, thus resembling a pattern of building large churches outside the centres of cities as in Rome or Milan¹⁸⁶ rather than following the local traditions in Jerusalem. With this

183. Hesych Hier., *hom.* 14,11: εἰς τοῦτον τὸν σταυρὸν τὸν βασιλικὸν ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀπόβλεπε, εἰς αὐτὸν θεώρει καὶ κατασκόπει μετὰ τοῦτον τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην παστάδα, τὴν Ἀνάστασιν (“direct your gaze with zeal toward this royal cross, contemplate it, and, after it, consider this holy temple, the Resurrection”).

184. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Ioh. Hes.* 204,9; cf. Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994:II,51–52. Eudocia's hospital is, in my view, not identical with the chapel excavated in Giv'at Ram on the western outskirts of Jerusalem, where an inscription stating Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸς) τοῦ ἁγίου Γε[ω]ργίου μνήσθητι τοῦ | [κα]ρποφορήσ[αντος] (“O Lord of St George, remember the donor”) has been found; cf. *CIIP* 1,846. John the Hesychast stayed in Eudocia's hospital after his arrival in Jerusalem, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Ioh. Hes.* 204,7–9; at some time, a hospital was added to the church of St Stephen, which seemed to have been specialised in the care of children, as a large number of burials suggest, cf. Leyerle 2002:360 and 369–372. Later in the fifth century, the emperor Arcadius built a monastery of Saint George in Jericho.

185. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 53,10; cf. below. Cf. Burman 1991:57–58 observing that Eudocia's patronage in Jerusalem is focused on the veneration of martyrs.

186. Cf. Krautheimer 1983:29–30 and 1993:510–514. One could argue that in Constantinople the relics of Saint John were also deposited in the Hebdomon, which was located on the Via Egnatia, the most important outward road of the city.

choice of location, the new church was both influenced by the city's street layout and proved influential itself: Everyone who entered the city had to pass by it; and many wrote about it. Similarly, Eudocia's church of St Polyeuktos in Constantinople was carefully positioned on the processional route on the Mese from the Forum of Theodosius to the Church of the Holy Apostles.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the construction of Eudocia's church in Jerusalem still shows how dominant the connection between places of events and places of remembrance was in people's minds: we have seen before that the pilgrim Theodosius naturally assumed that Eudocia's church was built on the correct place. A little later, the local priests were even able to show pilgrims the stones of Stephen's martyrdom in the church – perhaps the same ones the Piacenza Pilgrim had seen at Zion; however, there has never been a lack of stones in Jerusalem. We may draw comparisons to similar phenomena in Constantinople where the church commemorating bishop Paul was a hundred and fifty years later thought to be a church to St Paul the Apostle; and where the church to Acacius, as Woods could show, was in fact a church originally built by a member of Constantine's entourage, the *comes* Acacius, and relatively soon thereafter was thought to be commemorating the martyrdom of St Acacius.¹⁸⁸

It appears that in the Holy Land, Eudocia was particularly careful in choosing functional locations for her building projects. The church she dedicated to St Peter in the Judean desert,¹⁸⁹ functioned as a pilgrim station on the notoriously dangerous road from Jerusalem to Jericho¹⁹⁰ just as, for example, Hicelia's Kathisma Church provided services to the pilgrims

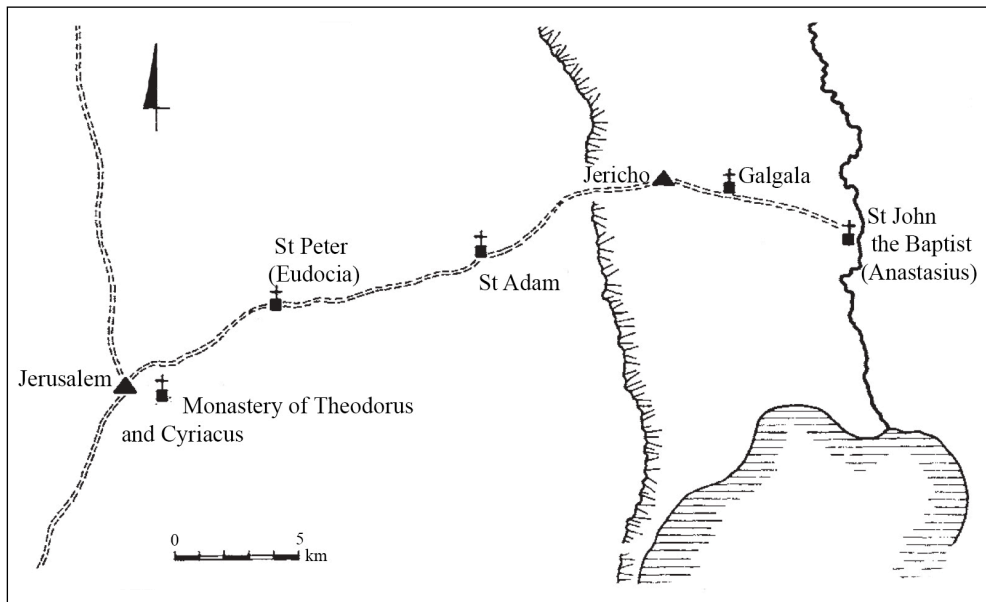
187. Cf. Harrison 1989:34.

188. Cf. Bowes 2008:113 with similar thoughts on the places of remembrance of Saint Philip and Saint Celerina in Constantinople

189. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 53,10. Binns 1991:90 n. 86 remarks that the monastery and the adjacent cistern probably should be identified with the ruins of Ḥirbat al-Murassaṣ (cf. Ovadiah 1970:no.111). It seems more plausible, however, to identify the site with the ruins of Qaṣr 'Alī (as has been done by Schneider in 1934, followed by Hirschfeld). Excavations carried out by the latter in 1982 also revealed the existence of residential buildings and a tower next to the church, cf. Hirschfeld 1990a:287–292 and 1992:56–58.

190. Already the Gospel story of the Good Samaritan demonstrated the dangers which travelers faced journeying on this road. It prompted Jerome to comment that it was called Maledomni (Ma'aleh Adūmīm), ἀνάβασις

seeking rest on the way between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. Four of such stations have been discovered between the holy city and the site associated with Jesus' Baptism in the River Jordan.¹⁹¹ Eudocia's church (and monastery), however, appears to be the earliest of them.



III. 3: Halting posts on the Jerusalem–Jericho road (after Hirschfeld 1990:291)

The so-called Monastery of Theodosius and Cyriacus, discovered only a decade ago below the German Protestant Institute, might have constituted the first station of this pilgrims' route to Jericho.¹⁹² It is striking that the distances between these four sites are always more or less 7 kilometers (with 5 and 10 kilometers being the minimal and maximal distances), roughly

πυρρῶν in Greek, because of the blood which has been spilled by the brigands, cf. Eus. *Onom.* 25.9–16, s.v. “Ἀδομίμ” with Wilkinson 1975b:19–20 on the modern Arabic name Ṭalʿat ad-Dam; cf. also *Vit. Charit.* 9–11 for Chariton's encounter with highway robbers on this road.

191. Cf. Hirschfeld 1993b:152. On the route from Jerusalem to Jericho with its pilgrim stations, cf. Beauvery 1957:86–94 and Wilkinson 1975b:12–20.

192. The monastery and hostel have two building phases, one in the fifth to sixth, the other in the seventh to eighth centuries; three inscriptions have been discovered, one Greek (consisting of five fragments too short to make out the context), and two Armenian ones, dating to the late fifth or early sixth centuries; cf. *CIIP* I,817a and 817b and Stone/Amit/Seligman 2011:232–234. On the monastery, named after two benefactors of the seventh century, cf. Amit/Seligman/Zilberbrod 2003:139–148, cf. also Seligman 2011:371–374.

equating one hour of walking. Two of them, the monasteries of St Peter and of St George were built with imperial donations.¹⁹³ These monasteries, prominently situated along the road, differ from the majority of desert monasteries both in location and in their ground plan. Their closeness to relatively prominent pilgrimage sites was not accidental: While Anastasius' monastery of St George overlooked the Baptismal Site,¹⁹⁴ Eudocia's foundation was built at the first spot from which one could directly catch sight of Euthymius' own monastery. All pilgrims traveling this route down to the Jordan River would feel the imperial presence at these places. Even if Eudocia's church of St Peter did not commemorate an important Biblical happening and was a mere pilgrim station, its location was obviously carefully chosen. Differing from Hirschfeld's views, who tried to bring this building into line with an exiled empress' building activities focusing on charitable monastic foundations,¹⁹⁵ it seems more likely that this site served a larger imperial propaganda function and that pilgrims could relate it not only to Eudocia's good deeds in the Holy Land but also to a thoughtful imperial court in Constantinople.

Despite the fact that St Stephen may have been a large church for Jerusalem, it still was a rather small one when compared to other foundations in the late Roman Empire. However, one cannot compare Eudocia's church with the small private *martyria* on the Mount of Olives. The construction of St Stephen therefore constituted a new form of congregational space by its sheer size. Likewise, the decoration of the church was remarkable for the city, as

193. On the baptismal site at the River Jordan, cf. Theod. 20, who ascribes the construction of the monastery's church to the emperor Anastasius; cf. Patrich 1995:8. In 570, the Piacenza Pilgrim visited the thriving monastery that had by then two large guesthouses, cf. *Itin. Plac.* 12. On travel conditions and daily distances, cf. Wilkinson 2002:30–37, and, in general, Kolb 2001:95–105.

194. It is interesting, that the large water reservoir built below Eudocia's church and monastery of St Peter resembles the building technique of those built in Dara during the reign of Anastasius, cf. Mango 1974:39 and Hirschfeld 1990a:289. Even though Cyril of Scythopolis described the cisterns as built by Eudocia, it may well be that they date to half a century later and were actually part of a larger plan of monastic infrastructure on the Jerusalem-Jericho road during the reign of Anastasius, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 53,10–11. Theod. Petr., *Vit. Theod.* 55,2–15 alleges that this emperor donated the extraordinary high amount of thirty pounds of gold to the patriarch Theodosius; cf. Binns 1994:87.

195. Cf. Hirschfeld 1992:70 and 224 as well as Patrich 1995:153–154; cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 53,10–20 for the location of the spot where Eudocia herself first caught sight of Euthymius' monastery.

large parts of it were directly imported from the capital – another hint that Eudocia kept good contacts with the court – and its style reflected current Constantinopolitan architectural trends.¹⁹⁶ We have seen that Eudocia’s church proved innovative in terms of its choice of a martyr *patrocinium*, its choice of location, and its size and decoration. However, while only few patrons could afford a sizeable foundation as St Stephen, the empress still set an example with her church and her innovative choices soon became imitated: The noblewoman Bassa founded a chapel for the military saint Menas. Cyril of Scythopolis’ description, which immediately follows on a passage in which Eudocia’s administrative arrangements for the Church of St Stephen are discussed, suggests that the chapel may have been built in imitation of the empress’ church and was perhaps directly influenced by her foundation.¹⁹⁷ When in 1963 a mosaic inscription¹⁹⁸ was discovered in the area of the Armenian Garden, which contained the beginning of a personal name starting with the Greek letters BA, the excavators were quick to restore it to Bassa and identified the place as her chapel or church. The mosaic itself, however, was dated on stylistic grounds to the sixth century which corresponds to the dating of the small finds to the Justinianic restoration of the Monastery of the Iberians.¹⁹⁹ While the nearby Armenian Cathedral of St James still contains a chapel dedicated to St

196. Cf. Versteegen forthcoming [personal communication]. Cf. Fowden 1995:563–564 n. 85–96 for examples of Constantinopolitan architectural influence on churches in the Balkans and in Greece.

197. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 49,20, on the chapel of Menas, cf. Tsafirir 1999b:306. A side chapel dedicated to Menas in today’s Armenian Cathedral of St James may date back to Bassa’s foundation, however, no serious excavations have been undertaken; cf. Tchekhanovets 2009:117–118 with Galoustian 1958:293 (*non vidi*), mentioning fragments of a mosaic floor. However, none of the discovered evidence is certain proof that the late antique remains belonged to an ecclesiastical building apart from its later inclusion into the church.

198. *CIIP* I,808: [Υπ]έρ μνήμης καὶ καρποφορίας τῶν | φιλοχρίστων Βασίλου ἐπ[ι]άρχου] καὶ Βα[---] or Βασιλοῦ[ς ---] καὶ Βα[---] (“For the remembrance and offering of the Christ-loving Basilos praetorian prefect (?) and Ba... or Basilô (female name) and Ba...”); the inscription was first mentioned in Kenyon 1964:7–18, Pl. 9b and is now located in the Mardigian Museum of Armenian Art and Culture (Jerusalem); its *editio princeps* was in Tsafirir 1975:81–82; cf. Klein 2011–2012:93 n. 44.

199. *Proc. aed.* 5,9,6, cf. Tushingham 1985:101 and, for the entire Byzantine stratum from this excavation, pp. 77–78 and 97–98. On the dating of the mosaic, Campbell 1985:87–88, on the inscription (suggesting a date in the mid-fifth century) Jones 1985:88–90 and Tsafirir 1999b:305.

Menas that dates back to the late fifth or sixth century,²⁰⁰ the monastery mentioned by Cyril was in most likelihood not identical with this church, although the two buildings presumably were located close to each other. The exact location of Bassa's convent therefore remains unknown, as do all further questions concerning her country of origin and her family ties.²⁰¹

In 454/455, the monk Theognius "arrived in Jerusalem in order to pray at the Holy Places. There he was received by pious men in the so-called monastery of Flavia."²⁰² While Theognius' biographer, Paul of Elusa, simply mentions the monastery, which is only attested in literary sources and may be identical with the so-called "building of Flavia" mentioned in the *Georgian Calendar*, Cyril of Scythopolis adds that Flavia had also built a church of the martyr Julian.²⁰³ Again, this church post-dates Eudocia's St Stephen by more than a decade. We see that most of the places commemorating saints were erected by Roman noblewomen, not by the clergy of Jerusalem but by outsiders to the city such as Eudocia herself, as well as Melania, Flavia, Bassa, and with her foundation of the Kathisma outside of the city, Hicelia.²⁰⁴ Only two years after the Council, two Eastern monks discovered the head of John

200. Cf. Kuchler 2007:545 with ill. 296 (p. 547).

201. Di Segni speculated that if the name in the inscription would indeed be Bassa's, it would make sense to reconstruct the (hardly readable) letters following the name Basilos to *eparch* and identify the latter with Flavius Caecina Decius Basilius, the *praefectus praetorio Italiae* of 458 and 463–465 (*PLRE* 2, s.v. "Basilius 11," pp. 216–217), cf. *CIIP* I,808.

202. Paul Elus., *Vit. Theog.* 5: [...] καταλαμβάνει δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, εὐχῆς ἕνεκα τῶν σεβασμιῶν τόπων. Κάκεῖσε παρὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ Φλαβίας καλουμένῳ μοναστηρίῳ εὐλαβῶν ἐδεξιώθη ἀνδρῶν. The monastery was located "outside the holy city, in the place called Gethsemane", cf. *Vit. Theog.* 5: ἔξω τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Γεθσημανῆ. On Theognius, who also authored a Palm Sunday homily, cf. Halkin 1971:128–136.

203. On ფლავიანის შენობა ("the building of Flavia), cf. *Calend. iber.* s.v. "June 3," "September 4," and "October 15." Cf. Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994:II,412. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Theog.* 241,20. Flavia founded the monastery in the 450s, made Theognius its administrator, and then soon left for her homeland. One of the numerous graffiti inscriptions in the so-called Cave of the Sisters of Mercy in Bethany, discovered in 1950, has been tentatively reconstructed with Ὁ θεὸς [τοῦ ἁγίου] | Ἰουλιανοῦ | βοήθι Μερ| [κουργίου?] ἀρχιε[π(ισκοπον)], "God of saint Julian, help Mercurius archbishop (?);" cf. *CIIP* I,842.27. The editors speculated that the pilgrim who carved the inscription may have come to the cave directly after a visit of the shrine of Julian. The saint does not seem to be Saint Julian of Gaul, however, there were several Julians (and one Juliana) among the martyrs of Palestine and other nearby regions. Therefore it is impossible to exactly determine to whom Flavia's chapel was dedicated. For the invocation ὁ θεὸς followed by the name of the saint to whom a holy place is dedicated, cf. commentary to *CIIP* I,842.1.

204. There is a certain analogy to what Haensch showed in his un-published *Habilitationsschrift*: the phenomenon of churches built on top of pagan temples in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem was similarly restricted to donors from the elite, and was not a common practice of the local clergy. Perhaps further investigation on the

the Baptist buried near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,²⁰⁵ and a chapel immediately commemorated the place; the following chapter will show how quickly the monastic community of Jerusalem picked up Eudocia's innovations and employed the cult of saints in their fight for or against Chalcedon. Her building activity in Jerusalem and its surroundings goes beyond enhancing places of remembrance with religious buildings in the manner of the Jerusalemite building tradition before her. Whether this was a deliberate action or not, is hard to tell; it shows, however, that the Constantinopolitan influence in the fifth century should not be underestimated and points to a continuing imperial activity in Jerusalem. The evidence shows that in the years after Eudocia's death, the strict observation of correct locations had become more blurred. For Jerusalem this was completely new – and somewhat visionary. When almost a century later, Justinian decided to launch a large-scale building project, his main church, the *Nea*, was in fact a church dedicated to the Virgin and inaugurated on the feast day of the presentation of Mary in the Temple, but it did not commemorate a particular spot in which the event had taken place and which was preserved in any honourable local tradition.

topic would help define a pattern of how outsiders influenced the local mechanisms of building history, cf. Haensch 2005:47-58. Sivan 2008:211, when discussing the invention of the relics of Stephen, calls Jerusalem “a city where relics constituted its soul” – this might be true for relics, however, certainly not for their cultic veneration.

205. Marcell. com. 453,1; cf. Kuchler 2007:490.

4) Chalcedon and its consequences

At some time in the second half of the fifth century, a Christian woman who had retired to Jerusalem visited one of the city's churches in order to pray there in silence. She was surprised by a group of fellow-citizens who entered the same church in order to celebrate their service and locked themselves in. Instead of joining them, the woman tried in panic to hide behind a column; a few hours later, she fell mortally ill. Death caused by church-going may sound like a bizarre episode to take place in a holy city. Yet after the year 451 this was only logical, at least in the perspective of John Rufus, who recorded the story in his collection of divine signs and visions, the *Plerophoriae*.¹ The woman was a Miaphysite who found herself locked up in a religious meeting of the opposing group of Dyophysites. On her deathbed, the tale's protagonist tried to defend herself, arguing that she was orthodox, not heretical, and that her misfortune consisted in having been physically present at the wrong place and at the wrong time. This, however, was an excuse that was neither accepted by her Miaphysite peers, nor, we may assume, by the divine powers. She uttered these last words in her defence and succumbed to her illness.² At least she found mercy in the afterlife: Her son learned in another vision that, after she had declared in a double confession at heaven's gates that she was neither a Nestorian nor a Dyophysite, she was ultimately admitted into the Heavenly Kingdom.³

Similarly, when a Miaphysite noblewoman named Cosmiane wanted to pray at Christ's tomb, the Virgin appeared and told her: "As you are not of us, you are not to come

1. The text was in all likelihood written slightly later than the *Vita Petri Hiberi* and contains eighty-nine anecdotes, often visions, attesting to the falsehood of the Chalcedonian doctrine. The title of the *Plerophoriae* names John Rufus as the bishop of Maiuma, however, this is not confirmed by any other source; cf. Schwartz 1912:11–12. On the purpose and structure of the text, cf. Steppa 2004:90–92. On the power of signs, cf. Av. Cameron 1991:47–48 as well as 61–64, particularly on Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*.

2. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 80; cf. also Perrone 1998a:26–27 as well as Steppa 2004:103 and 2005:160–161.

3. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 81, cf. Horn 2006:329.

here, for you are none of ours.”⁴ Cosmiane was refused entry until she became a Dyophysite. Likewise, the *dux Palaestinae*, Gibimer, was prevented from entering the same church by a ram sent by God. The author of these two miracle stories, John Moschus, presents Gibimer as reflecting on all potential reasons why the animal blocked the church’s entry, until he finally realised the problem: “Could it be that I am forbidden to enter because I am in communion with Severus, and not with the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church?”⁵ Just as in the case of Cosmiane, only after a conversion to the correct faith, was the *dux Palaestinae* able to continue his religious duties. Pilgrimage, at least as presented by John Moschus, was only possible when adhering to the right party. However, this rift was noticeable from both sides: Roughly at the same time when both the Virgin and the divine ram guarded the doors of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from Miaphysite intruders, Catholicos Nerses II of Armenia would try to ban pilgrimage to Jerusalem so as not to have his Miaphysite flock exposed to Dyophysite propaganda.⁶

These three tales may stand as symbols for a much broader phenomenon: Adhering to the wrong side was detrimental to people’s hopes for salvation. This was a highly important matter for Christians in the fifth and sixth centuries, a time that witnessed a high level of personal piety publicly displayed, and also a time when there was no shortage of dogmas to choose from, and certainly no lack of religious authorities eager to explain and ultimately convince or convert those eager to listen.

4. Ioh. Mosch., *Prat. spir.* 48: Ἡμῶν μὴ οὐσα, ὧδε οὐκ εἰσέρχη, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμετέρα τυγχάνεις. Cf. Perrone 1998a:29. On Mary as the guardian of thresholds, cf. Krueger 2011:31–33. Cosmiane was the wife of a *patricius* called Germanus, cf. *PLRE* 3, s.v. “Cosmiane” p. 360.

5. Ioh. Mosch., *Prat. spir.* 49: Ἄρα μὴ τῷ κοινωνεῖν τῇ ἀγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἀποστολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Σευήρου, κωλύομαι εἰσελθεῖν; Cf. *PLRE* 3, s.v. “Gibimer (Γιβίμερ) 2” p. 536; while the printed edition of the *Pratum spirituale* has Γήβημερ, the best manuscript tradition as well as Gothic etymology suggest the form Γιβίμερ.

6. Cf. *Nar. de reb. Arm.*, 74: καὶ ὥρισαν [...] ἀποστῆναι τῆς κοινωνίας Ἱερουσαλήμ. Cf. Garitte 1952:171, Maraval 1985:75, and Perrone 1998a:31 n. 54.

A hurried departure from the Bosphorus

The holy city of Jerusalem had weathered several doctrinal separations relatively well. Most late antique Christians in fifth century Jerusalem would have agreed that the Origenist and Pelagian controversies had caused disputes. However, they were minor compared to the rift that was caused by the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which had taken place in the small suburban town opposite of Constantinople. The Council's speeches and disputes were noted down in shorthand and published a little later in a corpus which was enriched by additional letters from the time shortly before and after the important church meeting.⁷ Even though these *Acta* also contain the reactions of the audience, such as applauding, catcalls, anathemas, and speaking choirs in acclamation of the emperor and his wife, we are not informed on individual reactions during the Council's sessions.⁸ Therefore, we may only assume that two Palestinian bishops, Stephen of Jamnia and John Bishop of the Saracens, could hardly believe their own eyes and ears: The Archbishop of Jerusalem, in whose entourage they had travelled to the capital, had just changed sides – quite literally – in the church of St Euphemia: during the first session, he ostentatiously left his seat next to Dioscorus of Alexandria on the right side of the nave and sat down on the left, applauded by all but the Egyptian bishops.⁹ This apparent shift of allegiances occurred over the most important dogmatic matter, the one that had brought all of these priests and monks together in this small town on the shore of the Bosphorus.¹⁰

7. The latest documents added to the corpus suggest a date of publication in c. 455, cf. Price 2009b:92.

8. Cf. *ACO* 3,2,6,11,177 on the acclamations of Marcian and Pulcheria, the new imperial couple, as a new Constantine and a new Helena respectively, cf. Drijvers 1993:88, Roueché 2009:169–170, as well as Mi. Whitby 2009:180 on the importance of acclamations and noise at Chalcedon.

9. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,1,115,20–26 on Juvenal and many other bishops crossing over to the other side. On the seating order, cf. Price/Gaddis 2005:I,119–120.

10. Cf. Price 2009a:73 n. 17 on the attendance lists attached to the Acts being “mainly bogus,” and Price/Gaddis 2005:III,193–196 on their calculation of c. 370 attending bishops; cf. also Price 2009b:103–104. The anti-Chalcedonians saw the change of location from Nicaea to Chalcedon as a sign of God's providence so that the city of the first Council was not taunted by this heretical meeting, cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,1d with Mouterde

The dispute that had made the Council necessary concerned the nature of Christ. For the two bishops, who had once been monks in Jerusalem, this matter must have been particularly acute when they considered the moment of Christ's Crucifixion: He was the Son of God, "very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father," as the Creed of Nicaea had pronounced.¹¹ However, Jesus Christ also died on the cross. How did the divine and the human aspect, called natures, of Jesus Christ relate to each other? One party argued that the human nature in Christ was totally absorbed by his divine nature. This means that after the union of the divine and the human in the Incarnation, Jesus Christ had only one single nature which was either divine or a synthesis of divine and human. Hence, they have later been labelled, in particular by their opponents, as Monophysites.¹² This was the theological position held by the venerable School of Alexandria, and – at least for political reasons – by the Church of Jerusalem until those fateful autumn days of 451. The other party condemned these views as heresy and affirmed a doctrine of the union of two natures in Jesus Christ, the divine and the human, without separation and without mixture, just as the Virgin of John Moschus' tale had explained it to Cosmiane on the threshold of the church commemorating the place where Christ had manifested this union of the divine and human natures by rising from the dead. Those adhering to this dogma have been called Dyophysites, i.e. those who believe in two natures.¹³ This Christology had basically been suggested by Pope Leo the Great, who expressed it in a letter to Patriarch Flavian of Constantinople in June 449, the so-called *Tomus Leonis*. With hindsight, one would call those adhering to Leo's or Chalcedon's Christology 'orthodox', although it is important to stress that Orthodoxy is and was very

1951:590–591 and Steppa 2005:3 n. 10.

11. On the reception of the Creed of Nicaea as an authoritative text which still needed additions, cf. Ortiz de Urbina 1951:392–393, Price/Gaddis 2005:1,7–8, Gwynn 2009:10–11, and Price 2009b:95–96.

12. Throughout this thesis, I will use the terms 'Miaphysites' and 'anti-Chalcedonians' respectively, cf. also Gray 1979:74 and Steppa 2005:xx.

13. On the *formula* of Chalcedon, cf. Frend 1972:1–5.

much a question of perspective. Of course, the seemingly heretical anti-Chalcedonians used the term ‘orthodox’ in describing their own positions as well, while they labelled their opponents as heretics.¹⁴

For Stephen of Jamnia, and especially for John, the Bishop of the Saracens, a community of sedentary Arab tribesmen settling close to Euthymius’ monastery,¹⁵ the *volte-face* of Jerusalem’s archbishop signified a great risk: John was relatively new in his position as bishop, and he had been sent to the Council not so much because of his theological credentials, but rather to be the eyes and ears of Euthymius the Great. This was in accordance with a certain tradition. His predecessor Auxolaus had been sent to Ephesus in 449 and before him his predecessor Peter was present at the First Council of Ephesus in 431.¹⁶ John had arrived in the capital together with the impressive figure of Juvenal, the archbishop of the holy city since 422, who had already been present at both Ephesine Councils of 431 and 449. In 431, Juvenal had emerged as a very influential figure, since he had understood that the religious importance of his episcopal town, even though it was low in hierarchical rank within the Patriarchate of Antioch, could turn the scales in the constant power struggle between the four Patriarchal sees Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople.¹⁷ In Ephesus, Juvenal had sided with the man who was arguably the most important church leader of his days, Cyril of Alexandria.¹⁸ Therefore, the Bishop of Jerusalem was perceived as a powerful man of the

14. On the misunderstandings of Chalcedon on both sides, partly due to translation mistakes of the *Tomus Leonis*, already noted by Leo the Great himself (cf. *ep.* 124), cf. Honigmann 1950:255, Steppa 2005:xviii-xix, and Price/Gaddis 2005:I,19. Cf. also Stockmeier 1989:213–217 on the evidence that a large number of manuscripts of the *Acta* has the formula ἐκ δύο φύσεων, and not ἐν δύο φύσεων, as assumed to be the *Urtext* by Schwartz and Ortiz de Urbina 1951:390–391.

15. On this tribe, cf. below, chapter 5.

16. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 32,25–33,10 (on Peter) and 41,5–19 (on Auxolaus).

17. Alexandria, Antioch, and, of course, Rome, were considered as Petrine sees, since Mark was Peter’s disciple, and Antioch claimed that Peter had been the city’s bishop before he came to Rome; cf. Price 2009a:84.

18. On Juvenal in Ephesus, cf. Vailhé 1899:50–52, Bacht 1953:231–232, Steppa 2005:1–2 and Schick 2008:171–172. An Ephesine homily preached by Juvenal after the deposition of Nestorius is transmitted in the Ethiopian collection *Qerellos* 4,1,5; on its Christology and Juvenal’s cautious choice of words, cf. Weischer 1979:35–36, Perrone 1980:82–83, and Stroumsa 1999b:427. Concerning the Council of Ephesus 431, Leo the Great commented on Juvenal in *ep.* 119,4 (=ACO 2,4,75,13–15) that the latter had forged documents, and that

Church at the next meeting in Ephesus in 449 where he again proved his loyalty to Alexandria and, together with Cyril's nephew and successor, Dioscorus, had directed the course of the Council. Bishop John, a mere bystander, surely was aware why Juvenal had sided with the Alexandrine party: He had aimed at separating the provinces of Palestine and Arabia from the Patriarchate of Antioch and at becoming himself the Patriarch of these regions. Cyril appeared as the natural and most powerful partner, and Jerusalem's chances were good, not only because of the temporary weakness of Antioch, but also because Juvenal could point to the example of the quick rise of Constantinople, which barely half a century after its foundation had become a preeminent see, in the sense of the later term 'Patriarchate,' at the Council of Constantinople in 381.¹⁹ However, in 431, Juvenal's plan did not work. At least, thanks to Cyril's interventions, he advanced from Bishop to Archbishop.²⁰ The Alexandria–Jerusalem alliance was strong and powerful at Ephesus in 449 as well, and until early in 451 no-one could foresee that Juvenal would not back Dioscorus.²¹ However, when it became clear in Chalcedon that the alliance between Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch was too strong, and that the episcopates of Dioscorus and Juvenal were at risk, the latter deserted the Alexandrines, clearly anticipating that he did not want to suffer the imminent destiny of Dioscorus but rather survive the Council as a bishop.²² Therefore, he signed the Christological formula

even Cyril of Alexandria shuddered at Juvenal's unlawful attempts. Cyril was in many ways more successful in the preparations of his council activity in 431 by having brought Pope Celestine to his side via a series of letters. Unlike his successor, Cyril made sure that the letters were rendered into Latin, so that the Roman clergy would understand (and read) them; cf. Price/Gaddis 2005:I,19–20.

19. Cf. Honigmann 1950:213–214. On the weakness of Antioch in the fifth century, cf. Price/Gaddis 2005:I,13.

20. This is clearly implied in the order in which the participants in Ephesus were named and placed their signatures. However, the title itself does not appear in the *Acta* of Ephesus, yet this is not surprising, since even Cyril of Alexandria is only labelled as 'bishop,' cf. Honigmann 1950:222–223. The epithets, e.g. ὀσιώτατος καὶ θεοσεβέστατος, which were applied to Juvenal and Cyril, were the same.

21. Juvenal's situation had worsened significantly from 13 April 451 onwards, when Leo the Great had suggested to Anatolius of Antioch to remove the names of Dioscorus, Juvenal, and Eustathius from the diptychs, cf. *ep.* 80 (=ACO 2,4,40,3–9); on Juvenal in Leo's letters, cf. Honigmann 1950:240.

22. The vagaries of Juvenal's position during the council are rather remarkable: he was deprived of his episcopal dignity during session two and three, re-admitted in the fourth session and received an honorary seat

declared by the winning party, “one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-Begotten acknowledged in two natures.”²³ His seemingly sudden change of mind was duly rewarded: While Dioscorus was deposed and exiled,²⁴ Juvenal left the Council as the first Patriarch of Jerusalem.²⁵ John Rufus records in his *Plerophoriae*, that Peter the Iberian saw three suns in the sky on that day, a vague echo of the miraculous heavenly apparitions of the previous centuries. However, this time they did not foreshadow any good tidings.²⁶

Thanks to the *Vita Euthymii* we are informed about how Bishop John of the Saracens left Chalcedon: he did so in the utmost hurry, hasting to Palestine, to be the first to break the news to the old monk. For this, we can discern two reasons: Firstly, John as well as Stephen of Jamnia knew that they were not the only ones who wanted to reach Jerusalem as quickly as possible: A large group of Palestinian monks adhering to the Alexandrine dogmatic convictions, was even more puzzled by Juvenal’s seemingly egotistical move. Their mere presence in Chalcedon may point to the fact that they had little trust in their archbishop, who may have rejected the *Tomus Leonis* once before, but was known for his aspirations to power.²⁷ This

next to the Patriarch of Antioch from the fifth session onwards; cf. Honigmann 1950:242–244.

23. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,2,128–130 with Price 2009a:81.

24. One should note the charming, if surely fictitious, account recorded in the Coptic tradition on how Pulcheria pulled Dioscorus’ beard and struck out his teeth as a violent response to his refusal to sign the Chalcedonian definition; cf. Chébli 1905:57. Similarly, Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,1k alleges that the Bishop of Side only signed the definition because Aetius, archdeacon of Constantinople, hit him over the head; cf. Mi. Whitby 2009:185 n. 32.

25. Honigmann 1950:237–238 suggested that Juvenal claimed and received the Palestinian territories already in 450 at a local Constantinopolitan synod (taking place between April and late July) on the occasion of Maximus of Antioch’s consecration. This was a moment when Juvenal was in a much more powerful position than his Antiochean colleague; nevertheless, the ratification of the decree only happened in Chalcedon 451; cf. also Vailhé 1899:56–57 and Frend 1972:84. Stemberger’s assumption that the bestowal of the title ‘patriarch’ had any connection with the dwindling power of the Jewish Patriarchate seems too far-fetched, cf. Stemberger 2007:4–5. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,3c seems to be the first text that mentions the rumour that Marcian invited Juvenal to a banquet and promised him the three provinces of Palestine.

26. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 53; cf. Cramer/Bacht 1953:322–323. According to John Rufus, similar miraculous signs happened all over the empire, for example when Timothy Ailurus approached the altar in Alexandria in the days of the Council, the bread was rotten and the wine turned into vinegar, cf. *Pler.* 65. On the geographical scope of the miracles, cf. Perrone 1989:467–468. On the role of celestial apparitions of the True Cross in Jerusalem, cf. Drijvers 2009:*passim*.

27. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 76 on Juvenal’s rejection of the *Tome*; Horn 2006:79 suspects that Theodosius and other monks were suspicious about their bishop’s moves in Chalcedon and therefore neglected

party, led by the monk Theodosius, aimed at organising resistance to Juvenal who eventually was welcomed not by enthusiastic crowds, but by a mob of angry monks who drove him out of the city and elected Theodosius as their new patriarch.²⁸ The latter's role in the events is ambiguous, and it is quite likely that – despite a tendency for learning and theological discourse displayed by anti-Chalcedonian leaders in general – the former monk Theodosius spread misinformed reports of a revival of Nestorius' teachings in Chalcedon. A letter of the emperor Marcian to the monks of Sinai contains rumours which were even worse: Theodosius allegedly gave warning of a dogma that proclaimed two Sons, two Christs, and two Persons.²⁹ There was, however, another reason for Bishop John to hurry back to Euthymius: He knew that the old monk had a reputation for being somewhat inconsistent in his theological convictions,³⁰ – an inconsistency that may also be interpreted as incompetence. John surely bore in mind the misfortune of his predecessor, Auxolaus, who had not been as cautious as him: Auxolaus thought that agreeing with Juvenal in 449 was a safe choice and did not foresee that Euthymius might judge the matter quite differently: When the bishop returned with Juvenal, Euthymius immediately had Auxolaus deposed – something the eminent monk obviously had the capacity to do with a rather unimportant cleric, not, however, with the powerful

Pulcheria's instructions that no monks should be allowed in Chalcedon in the wake of the council; cf. her letter to Strategius, the governor of Bithynia, *ACO* 2,1,1,29. Binns 1994:185, however, suggested that Juvenal's volte-face was not borne of egotistical motives but signified a theological change of thinking by the Patriarch.

28. On the arrival of Theodosius in Palestine, cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,3c–d. Little is known about the background of the monk-made-patriarch; he seems to have come from the region of Antioch and probably attracted attention already before Ephesus II; cf. Frend 1972:31, Perrone 1980:89–91, and Grillmeier 1991:113–114. On the emerging influence of monastic mobs expressing their disapproval with the councils before Chalcedon, cf. Bacht 1953:200–206 as well as 244–245.

29. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,3,131,20; cf. Honigmann 1950:248 and MacMullen 2006:32–34.

30. Cf. Roldanus 1998:130 as well as Honigmann 1950:236 and Blázquez 2007:292–293. On Euthymius' doubtful theological competence, cf. Wilken 1999:242. One has to be careful, however, not to ascribe too much importance to Cyril's account of Euthymius' theological position, since his hagiographer of the sixth century aimed at fitting the information available to him into one coherent image. Cf. also Gray 2001:238–239 suggesting that Euthymius might have been a less staunch supporter of Chalcedon than represented in Cyril's account, and reckoning that the monastic leader would most likely have given his consent to the union of 478, discussed in chapter 6. Euthymius gave, in a way, indeed his consent, according to a later passage in Cyril's writings, when he appeared (seven years after his death) to the deacon Fidus; cf. *Vit. Euth.* 63,4–27.

Juvenal, so that the sources keep silent on the latter's *faux pas* in Ephesus and describe a friendly yet professional relationship between the two leading figures of the Church in Jerusalem.³¹ John presented the matters to Euthymius and kept his thoughts to himself. The strategy was successful: Euthymius decided that Juvenal had acted correctly, and John remained in office. Cyril of Scythopolis was a skilled author – and the fact that he wrote down the events a considerable time later surely helped him in his endeavours. He positioned a chapter into his text, which according to the text's internal chronology, takes place in time right before John's return to the Holy Land. Cyril described Euthymius, who had not joined the travelling monks and bishops to Chalcedon, as sitting and pondering about all the dogmatic matters that were so ardently discussed in their days. None other than the Holy Spirit instructed the old man with the right views on the natures of Christ – in a wording that resembles very closely the definition of Chalcedon.³² Hence, in the argumentation of Cyril's text, when John explained all these matters to Euthymius, the monk did not hear the dogma for the first time (as, one might argue, must have been the case), but rather he understood that the decrees of Chalcedon were affirming what he had already learned from a much more authoritative instance, from the Holy Spirit.

In any case, John was right in his decision to travel as fast as he could. The monks who rejected the council had deposed Juvenal upon his arrival that the newly archbishop-made-patriarch had planned as a triumphal entry into the city.³³ Within days, Euthymius' decision to accept the Chalcedonian dogma and not to forsake his allegiance to Juvenal seemed

31. Cf. Bacht 1953:232 and, on Auxolaus, Binns 1994:3 and Z. Rubin 1999b:221–223. Cyril of Scythopolis did not even mention Juvenal's name in his report on the departure of the Jerusalemite delegation to Ephesus in 449.

32. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 40,5; cf. also Grillmeier 2004:II,2,253, who interprets the dogma echoed by Euthymius as a neo-Chalcedonian conceptualisation of the sixth century, similarly Perrone 1980:75–77 and Gray 2001:238.

33. We indeed encounter Juvenal carried in triumph, albeit only in a vision in Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 4: Before the Council, Pelagius of Edessa, a friend of Peter the Iberian, had a vision of Juvenal being carried in triumph by monks and clergy first, but then later on the shoulders of demons and Roman soldiers.

like an insane act. Suddenly, he and his monks were isolated. At least this is how Cyril of Scythopolis presented the episode in the mid-sixth century, when the Chalcedonian victory was long established. However, given Euthymius' rejection of Auxolus in 449, one may safely assume that he himself was at least critical of Juvenal. We may even interpret the hasty flight of the two bishops from Chalcedon into Euthymius' monastery not solely in terms of giving report to the old monk, but rather because they assumed the *laura* was the safest hiding place in the expected case of a turmoil. Cyril remarked that Euthymius and many of his followers withdrew into the desert for two years, allegedly because the new anti-patriarch repeatedly tried to tempt them into denouncing the Council. It seems just as likely, however, that Euthymius and his adherents were simply hiding and returned to the *laura* only when Theodosius had been expelled in 453.³⁴

The bishops in Chalcedon anticipated that protests in Egypt were inevitable.³⁵ The *Apostasia Palaestinae*, however, happened rather unexpectedly. The monks who did not accept the Council's decrees, which were regarded as official imperial laws and were forbidden to be discussed in public from February 452 onwards,³⁶ were quick in rallying together as a relatively unified group. Several monastic leaders formed the nucleus of this party which was led by a renowned ascetic figure equalling the fame of Euthymius, Peter the Iberian. He was quite a different character compared to his Chalcedonian counterpart: about forty years younger, charismatic, better educated, versed in theological matters, and of royal blood: Peter was the son of a Georgian king and had lived as a hostage at the court in Constantinople and, according to his hagiographer, was once in close contact with Theodosius II and Eudocia.³⁷

34. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Eut.* 45,5 (on Euthymius' retreat into the desert) and 42,6–9 (on his *laura* as the only Chalcedonian stronghold in these days).

35. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,2,48,112–113, cf. Winkelmann 1985:74–75. Egypt and Palestine were the only regions where the clergy possessed a broad enough base of monastic and popular supporters, cf. Price/Gaddis 2005:1,13.

36. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,3,119–120 with Honigmann 1950:251, Bacht 1953:247–248, Ueding 1953:569–570, Brennecke 1998:27–28, and esp. MacMullen 2006:37–38 on the imperial motivation for a ban on lay discussion of council matters.

37. One aspect that points to a special relationship between Peter and the court, albeit in earlier times, was

The anti-Chalcedonians won over many men and women, clergymen and monks, as well as most importantly, no-one less than the empress dowager of the empire.³⁸ While we do not know anything about the level of Eudocia's involvement in these matters, it is clear that her name and rank sufficed to lend considerable support to the group. That a large number of people quickly rejected the Council had a simple reason: All those whom Cyril of Scythopolis called 'aposchists' just followed the theological path already known to them. Moreover, Jerusalem had always been theologically closer to Alexandria than to Antioch, let alone Rome or Constantinople. It is safe to assume that the majority of clerics, monks as well as other laymen did not understand why they should now follow a Roman dogma. They were also appalled at being expected to condemn Dioscorus and the long tradition of theological contact and exchange with Egypt. In any case, as so often, much of the violence of the emerging conflict was expressed not in deeds, but rather in texts that have been written in the wake of the controversy. In its initial phase, there was a certain openness to discuss the doctrinal matters. While Zachariah briefly mentions that after the Council, most likely early in 452, Juvenal was refused entry into Jerusalem,³⁹ the *Plerophoriae* report in more detail on a meeting between Peter the Iberian and Juvenal in Caesarea.⁴⁰ This attempt at a unification, however, failed. It is likely that the monks misjudged Juvenal's ability to cling to his see: The weak position of several Antiochean patriarchs as well as the dramatic endings of the episcopates of John Chrysostom and Nestorius in Constantinople might have suggested that patriar-

that nobody pursued him during his flight from Constantinople; also once in Jerusalem, where his presence was common knowledge, no-one tried to escort him back; cf. Kofsky 1997:211.

38. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 105; cf. Gray 2001:238–239. It seems more likely to interpret the close connections of Eudocia to the anti-Chalcedonians as a result of her actual doctrinal convictions between 451 and 456, and not, as Horn 2004a:203–205 suggests, as a result of her love for a young boy that Eudocia had cared for in Constantinople (namely Peter), cf. Perrone 1980:91 and 2009:195*.

39. Cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,3c; cf. Perrone 1980:91–92.

40. Di Segni 1996:588–589 convincingly argued that the monks tried to meet Juvenal in Caesarea where he either embarked from his return journey or where the travelling party was dissolved. News circulated from the provincial capitals, hence it was paramount to prevent Juvenal from officially proclaiming the outcome of the Council there. Notably the other incident involving violence happened in Scythopolis, the capital of Palaestina II.

chal office holders were easily replaceable. Juvenal was well-aware of his precarious situation and looked to Constantinople for support instead of hoping for a local reconciliation: Rejecting the Chalcedonian decrees would have brought him peace with the revolting monks, but in all likelihood it would have not only cost him his own episcopate but also the city its new status as Patriarchate: Jerusalem's elevated rank depended on its acceptance of the Council.

John Rufus wrote that Juvenal resorted to violence in Caesarea. Apparently he was accompanied by imperial troops, which he ordered to attack Theodosius, and which could only be stopped by Peter's charismatic authority. Whatever the historicity of this episode, it became clear that this was the moment when direct dialogue between the two parties ended.⁴¹ The anti-Chalcedonian party was aware that they also had to seek imperial support. From the answers they received from Constantinople, it appears that they aimed at Pulcheria, perhaps, but not necessarily, due to Peter the Iberian's childhood contacts.⁴² Given that the empress had been approached by Leo the Great from an relatively early time before the Council, when her brother was still alive, and that she was on friendly terms with the Roman clergy after she had started to reign and after Chrysaphius' discharge,⁴³ it is hardly surprising that she did not suddenly change her mind and support the anti-Chalcedonians. The first reply to Palestine therefore was sent from Pulcheria's husband, the emperor Marcian, the driving force behind the Council.⁴⁴ His imperial letter was still coined in rather friendly terms. He insisted that the

41. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 56 with Schwartz 1912:15 and Steppa 2005:7–9; the fact that the *decurio*, whom Juvenal had asked to eliminate Theodosius and who was stopped by Peter the Iberian, addressed the latter with his Georgian name as *ჰაბარნუგის* (“Lord Nabarnugi”), suggests, at least from the perspective of the author, that Peter's imperial connections were not forgotten by the Roman soldier; cf. Horn 2006:85–86.

42. Cf. the replies by Marcian (*ACO* 2,1,3,127,32) and by Pulcheria (2,1,3,128,9); cf. Grillmeier 1991:115.

43. Cf. Rahner 1951:333, Bacht 1953:233–236 and Price/Gaddis 2005:I,88–89 as well as, on Chrysaphius, Goubert 1951:307–312. From Leo's letters before 450, we can deduct that he expected them to be intercepted. Some of them he sent in several copies, since he did not expect that all were delivered.

44. Cf. Mi. Whitby 2009:182–183. Haacke 1953:105–107 remarked that Marcian, even though he knew how to maintain his rights, nevertheless recognised the leadership of the Church in council matters, cf. *ACO* 2,3,1,17,27.

monks should re-unite with those who had accepted the decrees of Chalcedon.⁴⁵ Instead of a peaceful reconciliation, however, fights had already broken out between the two parties, which culminated in the killing of the Chalcedonian bishop Severus of Scythopolis and of his entourage. This may have been, so the Chalcedonians alleged, a result of the frustration of a hitman who had failed to accomplish his actual mission, namely to kill Juvenal. Marcian surely was enraged, even more so when he also learned about burnt houses in Jerusalem and the killing of a deacon, whose dead body had been dragged through the streets of the holy city.⁴⁶ Yet, the emperor did not consider a military intervention at first. In his letter he went on explaining the new Christology over and over to the insurgents. Apparently he was instigated to do so by the actual Patriarch of Jerusalem, who in the meantime had withdrawn from Caesarea to Constantinople, as a passage in Marcian's letter shows.⁴⁷ Pulcheria's reply to the rebellious monks in Jerusalem was similar to Marcian's. Since both letters mention a *comes* Dorotheus, *dux Palaestinae* in 452–453, who was ordered to depose Theodosius, while at the same time he was investigating a Samaritan uprising, it seems plausible to date the imperial replies to early 453, thus constituting rather late missives.⁴⁸ Meanwhile in Jerusalem, Patriarch Theodosius and his newly ordained band of anti-Chalcedonian bishops, among them Peter the Iberian, were under pressure. Apart from destruction caused by the Samaritans, who so often in times of unrest took the chance to express their discontent, a severe famine is likely to have caused further hardships.⁴⁹

45. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,3,125 with Honigmann 1950:251 and Steppa 2005:9–10.

46. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,3,124–127 with Bacht 1953:245, Perrone 1980:91–92 and Millar 2009:160*–161*. The deacon is named “Anastasius” by Theophanes 5945.

47. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,3,127,33: πολλὰ ἰσχυρὰ παρακλήσει χρησαμένου τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἰουβενάλιου, δι’ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐξεδυσώπησε ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰ θεῖα χαράξει γράμματα (“Especially since the holy Bishop Juvenal has asked us, begging again and again, to send you these letters”).

48. On the *comes* and *dux Palaestinae* of 452–453, cf. *PLRE* 2, s.v. “Dorotheus 7” pp. 377–378; on the date of the letters, cf. Honigmann 1950:253.

49. We know of the famine, which is also mentioned by Evag. 2,6, from the anti-Chalcedonian assertion that it forced Juvenal to action after his return in 453, however, the food shortage was already felt since 451, cf.

While Marcian was in regular contact with Juvenal, he was still relatively lenient towards Theodosius, even though, from an imperial perspective, the monk-made-patriarch had committed high treason by introducing novelties (νεωτερίζων) against the Roman State (κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς [sic] πολιτείας).⁵⁰ The verdict from the perspective of Leo the Great in Rome was much clearer. He wanted to learn more about the reasons behind the uprising, especially, whether the actions of the insurgent monks were motivated by heretical thinking or by Juvenal's sudden change of mind as is made clear in a letter sent on 11 March 453 to Julian of Cios in Bithynia, his main informant on the *Apostasia Palaestinae*.⁵¹ He expressed his surprise that the inhabitants of the Holy Land did not understand the testimonies for Christ's life on earth, which they could visit everyday and which so evidently attested to a Dyophysite Christology. Just like Marcian, he wanted to correct the aposchists, and in order to do so, it was necessary to learn whether they were fighting *against* the true belief, or whether they were fighting *for* the correct belief but only with a misguided motivation.⁵² For the Pope, it was clear that the *Apostasia* was caused by monks, i.e. laymen, who had no entitlement to teach or preach, as he expressed in a letter sent to Maximus of Antioch.⁵³ Leo's hostile attitude towards the insurgent monks is important in relation to his verdict on Juvenal. Even after

Stathakopoulos 2004:238.

50. ACO 2,1,3,131,3–4, cf. Winkelmann 1985:77.

51. On Julian of Cios, apparently the only of Leo's representatives who was fluent in Greek, cf. Frend 1972:147 and Price/Gaddis 2005:I,42–43.

52. Cf. ACO 2,4,66,15–23: [...] *cupio me super his plenius edoceri, ut etiam talium correctioni congrue studeatur, quia aliud est contra fidem impie armari, aliud pro fide immoderatus commoueri*. Cf. Winkelmann 1988:169, Steppa 2005:xvi–xvii and Price 2009a:72–73 on Leo's insecurity concerning the reactions of Egypt and Palestine in general.

53. Cf. Leo, *ep.* 119 (=ACO 2,4,74,35–75,5): *ut in uno Chrii corpore et excellentiora membra suum officium impleant et inferiora superioribus non resultent*. With these words, Leo was referring to an example from the long history of his own episcopal city of Rome: Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, who gave his famous speech to the Plebeians at Mons Sacer in 494 BC (cf. Liv. 2,32 and Dion. Hal., *Ant.* 6,83–88). However, Leo styled this into a much less equitable version: In Christ's sole body all of the more excellent members (i.e. the clergy) were administering their offices, while the less important body parts (i.e. the monks) should not hinder those parts which were more important. Leo was surely aware of Paul's version of the parable (1 Corinthians 12,12–30), nevertheless, his abridgement was less an eirenic, and more a very direct and clear statement on the role he envisaged for insurgent monks. Cf. Rahner 1951:334 on Leo's dislike of eastern monks.

all that the Bishop of Jerusalem had done, he remained a fellow-bishop, as Leo wrote to Marcian in January 454.⁵⁴ However, already on 25 November 452, Leo had urged that not only the leaders of the uprising itself, i.e. Dioscorus and Eutyches, should be sent into exile, but anyone who spoke up for the rejection of Chalcedon, i.e. the insurgents in Egypt and Palestine.⁵⁵ Leo in particular singled out the monk Theodosius who had snatched the episcopate of a still living bishop, and was just like the people who chose to adhere to him, an evil enemy of the true faith.⁵⁶ Because of Theodosius, Juvenal's present misery was pitiful, however, to some extent – and Leo did not mince his words – it was Juvenal's own fault: Even though he had changed his doctrinal stance in 451 at last, the bishop had remained on the side of Eutyches and Dioscorus for too long, and had instructed his followers in these heresies. Juvenal's flock had turned against their own shepherd because they had drunk the poison he administered them for too long.⁵⁷

Even after the abatement of the rebellion, Leo's letter to Marcian sounds rather cynical, writing that he was happy that it was finally possible for his fellow-bishop Juvenal to return to the see of his priesthood, no longer opposed, but desired by his flock.⁵⁸ Leo knew that this was not entirely true. When Juvenal – after an absence of eighteen months – was re-installed in his episcopal city with the help of imperial troops, one of the first acts was to write to Leo, reminding him of the wholehearted acceptance of the *Tomus Leonis* in Jerusalem, and declaring that his own doctrinal views were in conformity with those of the Pope. Moreover,

54. Cf. Leo, *ep.* 126 (=ACO 2,4,82,3–5); cf. Winkelmann 1988:174.

55. Cf. Leo, *ep.* 109 (=ACO 2,4,137, 27–32): *nec tantum Eutyches et Dioscorus, sed etiam quicumque studiosius furiosam adiuvant prauitatem.*

56. Cf. Leo, *ep.* 109 (=ACO 2,4,138,14–16): *qualis autem sit qui in locum episcopi uiuentis obrepsit, ex ipsa qualitate facti non potest dubitari nec ambigendum est eum esse peruersum quem inpugnatores fidei dilexerunt*; cf. Winkelmann 1988:173–174. Marcian, too, castigated Theodosius' usurpation of the office of a living bishop, cf. ACO 2,1,3,131–132.

57. Cf. Leo, *ep.* 109 (=ACO 2,4,138,8–14), cf. Honigmann 1950:253–254 and Steppa 2005:12 arguing that Leo considered Juvenal as nothing other than a heretic.

58. Cf. Leo, *ep.* 136 (=ACO 2,4,91,2–3).

it is likely that Juvenal thought it helpful to send a splinter of the Holy Cross along with the letter, hoping the Bishop of Rome might see him in a better light, if he gave away a particle of the most precious relic. We know this from some of the manuscript witnesses of Leo's reply, which is a letter that shows that even after the re-installation of Juvenal, Leo thought it necessary to reprimand his Jerusalemite colleague: A bishop should know what he preaches, and Juvenal should know this even better than others, since he had not only Holy Scripture, but also the holy places: In Jerusalem, a Christian had no excuse for error in the faith.⁵⁹

A cold reception in Jerusalem

The anti-Chalcedonian attempt to convince the empress Pulcheria to support their cause, proved unsuccessful. Even if Peter the Iberian was indeed on good terms with the court, his imperial connections were ineffective for the Miaphysite party in Palestine. Given that Marcian and Pulcheria, however, did not replace the much-hated Juvenal by a less contentious candidate, it seems that his imperial connections were better than those of the anti-Chalcedonians – and presumably much older: Juvenal's preeminent role from the late 420s onwards becomes particularly apparent by his consecrations of churches and ordinations of bishops in a geographical region far beyond the authority of his episcopal see. This can only be explained by the fact that from an early time in his episcopate he had been backed by Theodosius II. The respective official mandates favouring the See of Jerusalem by granting the emperor's approval to Juvenal's claims, were not integrated in the *Codex Theodosianus*. However, they must have existed, since the wording of Maximus of Antioch's agreement with Juvenal at Chalcedon clearly implies that such mandates were known at the Council.⁶⁰

59. Leo, *ep.* 139 (=ACO 2,4,91,25–93,26); cf. Honigmann 1950:259–260, Bacht 1953:254 and Price/Gaddis 2005:III,188. There are several more letters sent by Leo on these matters, among them one to the Palestinian monks, explaining them the decrees of the council once more, and one to Eudocia from June 15, 453, urging her to reconcile with the Chalcedonians. This very cautiously written letter (*ep.* 123) clearly shows the ecclesiastical-political assumption that no member of the imperial family should accept a wrong doctrine.

60. Cf. ACO 2,1,3,7,3–5, and, for a date of the edicts that preceded 431, Honigmann 1950:217–220.

Moreover, the important role of Theodosius II as an Orthodox emperor supporting the Holy Land can be glimpsed from some visions recorded in the *Plerophoriae*, for example one depicting Marcian in hell and Theodosius in heaven, and another, attributed to Peter the Iberian, who claimed to have seen Juvenal's cloak ascending to heaven in the moment of Theodosius' death, foreshadowing that the legitimacy of this bishop would be taken away at the Council of Chalcedon.⁶¹

Juvenal returned in 453 in the company of imperial soldiers who would make sure that he could take up his see without disturbances.⁶² Only days before, most of the leaders of the anti-Chalcedonian opposition had fled to Egypt. On his flight, Theodosius of Jerusalem spent time at the Sinai monastery, long enough that his whereabouts became known in Constantinople. Marcian sent another letter to the abbot ordering him to hand over the insurgent to the administration,⁶³ however Theodosius safely made it to Egypt. What followed was a brief witch-hunt of anti-Chalcedonians, at least according to John Rufus.⁶⁴ All bishops ordained by Theodosius were to be deposed, and it was indeed Theodosius himself, who had advised them to leave their sees and not to stay in Palestine, so that they were preserved and could support the anti-Chalcedonian cause and would not become martyrs.⁶⁵ Two prominent Miaphysite abbots, Romanus of Teqoa and Timothy of an otherwise unknown 'Monastery of Hypatius,' were arrested and imprisoned in Antioch. Theodosius would eventually, more than four years later, also make his way to Antioch in order to see Timothy who apparently had defected from his anti-Chalcedonian stance. Upon reaching the city on the Orontes, Theodo-

61. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 27 and 54 with Devos 1980:34–35 and Watts 2013:272–273. On the depiction of Juvenal in anti-Chalcedonian writings, cf. Perrone 1989:483–485 – for visions of Marcian's end in the Coptic tradition, cf. Devos 1976:313–314.

62. It seems that the soldiers were accommodated in the monastic guest-houses by imperial order, cf. *ACO* 2,1,3,124–127, esp. 127,15–27, and 2,1,3,128–129, esp. 129,12–19.

63. Cf. *ACO* 2,1,3,131,1–132,41.

64. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *De obit. Theod.* 2.

65. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 81, cf. Frend 1972:151.

sius too was arrested and spent more than four years under torture in a Constantinopolitan prison cell. After the death of Marcian in 457, Theodosius was pardoned by Marcian's successor Leo I. The dying man perhaps wanted to return to Egypt, however, he only made it to a monastery on the Asian side of the Bosphorus where he passed away a few days after his release. Afraid that the Chalcedonians of Constantinople would snatch the body in order to prevent a potential shrine of Theodosius from becoming the target of anti-Chalcedonian veneration, his followers took the body to Cyprus where he was interred.⁶⁶ Anti-Chalcedonian memory celebrates Theodosius' death on December 1, only one day after the commemoration of James the Just, the brother of the Lord and the first bishop of Jerusalem.⁶⁷ The proximity of the two commemorations shows, in the view of the Miaphysite sources, that the rightful heir of James was Theodosius, while Juvenal unlawfully occupied the See of Jerusalem.

All texts mentioning Juvenal entering the city in 453 originated in an anti-Chalcedonian *milieu*, all of them about fifty years after the events, and their historicity is quite doubtful. Nevertheless, they are valid testimonies of how from a very early moment on, the Miaphysites remembered the return of the man who for them became a personification of the horrors of Chalcedon. The so-called *Panegyricus in Macario*, a peculiar compilation dating to the early sixth century but containing various older passages, presents a particularly grim image of Juvenal's return which it dates to 451.⁶⁸

And the men of the holy city stood up against the despised Juvenal. They would not allow

66. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *de obit. Theod.* 5–6 with Schwartz 1912:11.

67. This may be a certain twisting of dates on account of John Rufus, since none of the known feast days or celebrations of James the Just is conform with the day mentioned in his biography of Theodosius, cf. Horn/Phenix 2008:292–293 n. 7. For the problematic dating of Peter the Iberian's death, according to John Rufus coinciding with the commemoration of Peter the Apostle, cf. Schwartz 1912:17–21.

68. Cf. *Pan. Mac.* 7,2: ΝΡΩΜΕ ΔΕ ΝΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΠΟΛΙΟ ΔΥΔΖΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΟΥΒΕΝΗΔΛΙΟΟ ΠΕΤΧΩ ΜΠΟΥΚΑΔΑΙ ΕΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΟΙΩΝ· ΟΥΔΕ ΓΑΡ ΜΝΤΑΙ ΠΑΡΡΗΟΙΑ ΟΥΔΕ ΜΕΡΙΟ ΝΖΗΤΟ· ΑΥΩ ΝΕΥΤ ΝΑΙ ΝΖΗΝΗΟΟ ΝΟΩ ΕΥΧΩ ΜΜΟΟ· ΧΕΩ ΠΠΑΡΑΒΑΤΗΟ ΙΟΥΒΕΝΗΔΛΙΟΟ ΔΚΒΩΚ ΕΚΜΕΖ ΔΚΕΙ ΕΚΩΟΥΕΙΤ· ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΟ ΜΝΤΑΙ ΜΕΡΙΟ ΜΝΠΕΧΟ· ΟΥΔΕ ΝΕΟΜΔΘΗΤΗΟ· ΔΚΒΩΚ ΕΚΟ ΝΩΩΟ· ΔΚΕΙ ΕΚΟ ΝΟΥΩΝΩ· ΔΚΒΩΚ ΕΚΟ ΝΟΥΩΖΕ ΝΡΕΟΔΕΠΡΩΜΕ· ΔΚΕΙ ΕΚΟ ΝΖΙΒΩΙ ΝΡΕΟΔΕΠΤΕΒΤ ΕΤΧΑΖΜ· ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΕΙΖΙΒΩΙ ΕΤΧΑΖΜ· ΧΕΝΝΕΟΔΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΤΕΒΤ ΕΤΗΑΝΟΥΟΥ· ΝΤΑΥΤΕΡΒΟΟΥ ΖΗΤΚΟΥΜΒΗΘΡΑ ΜΠΕΧΟ· ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΙΒΑΩΟΡ ΕΘΟΟΥ· ΧΕΝΝΕΟΤΑΚΟ ΜΠΜΑ ΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ ΜΠΧΟΕΙΟ Ο[ΔΒΑΩΘ]. On the text, its date and structure, cf. Johnson 1980:8*–11* and Klein (forthcoming).

him to enter Sion, for he possessed neither freedom of speech nor a share in her. And they kept heaping scorn on him, saying: 'O Juvenal, the traitor, you left full and you have come (back) empty. Throw out Judas. He does not have a share with the Christ or his disciples. You left as a shepherd, and you returned as a wolf. You left as a fisherman, a catcher of men, and you came (back) as an ibis, a catcher of polluted fish. Throw this polluted ibis out lest he catches the good fish which have been purified in the pool of Christ. Throw out this evil fox lest he destroy the vineyard of the Lord Sabaoth.'

Contrary to Zachariah's account, this scene takes place in front of the city walls of Jerusalem and not in Caesarea. Also, Peter the Iberian is missing, however, he is replaced by a lawyer named Paul, whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem had sought as a spokesperson. There is a battle of words between the two protagonists in which Paul declared that Juvenal was not allowed to enter the city unless he rejected the Council. The bishop was consequently driven out of the region and went over to the emperor in rage. According to the *Panegyricus*, Juvenal returned on 21 Touba 453, i.e. 16 January, the feast day of the Virgin's Dormition.⁶⁹ He was accompanied by Roman soldiers and found the entire city gathered at the church of Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat celebrating the Eucharist. Juvenal's first step was to take vengeance for an earlier affront caused by the lawyer Paul, whom he ordered to be beheaded. The episcopal blood thirst was far from being quenched, and since the community in the church kept cursing Juvenal, he consequently ordered the soldiers to kill everyone in the church including a large number of children. Meanwhile, one of the celebrants, a certain Silas, had a vision of Christ and Mary ordering a host of angels to carry these new Jerusalemite martyrs to heaven, while the Virgin remarked that on her feast day, all these martyrs were presents to her son. As is often the case in a number of miracles in the *Plerophoriae*, Silas then found the altar devoid of bread and wine, i.e. the Lord's body and blood.⁷⁰ While, according to the author of the passage, five thousand souls were martyred, Silas and his fellow-celebrants began with the doxology. Juvenal, however, upon hearing them, arrogantly asked to join them. Another battle of words between Silas and Juvenal fol-

69. On the Coptic Marian feast of the Dormition on 16 January, cf. van Esbroeck 2001b:137 and Mimouni 1995:429.

70. Cf. e.g. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 70–71, 73 and 86.

lowed which concluded with the priest anathematising the patriarch, who then proceeded to order his soldiers to also kill the entire clergy. Silas found his martyrdom by being hung head downwards between two pillars, only worrying that his liturgical vestments may not be taken away from him.⁷¹ The massacre was far from being over, and the focus of the narrative moves on to Silas' wife who wanted to recover her husband's body, but at the same time was afraid for her two virgin daughters. According to the text, this fear was justified, since Juvenal himself had ordered his soldiers to rape all Christian women: "Arise come and seize the women and stay with them."⁷² This dilemma for Silas' wife is solved by means of a miracle: While outside brave virgins have the power to lift and carry bodies much heavier than their own weight, Silas is miraculously brought to his home, where his family finds him lying on his bed.

The *Panegyricus* is the only account we have which contains any details on the opposition faced by Juvenal upon his return to Jerusalem.⁷³ While the historicity of the episode appears to be highly doubtful, there are, however, certain hints that suggest that cases of violence did occur, perhaps not in Jerusalem, but certainly in Neapolis, where local monks would not enter into communion with Juvenal after 453.⁷⁴ Cyril of Scythopolis very carefully glossed over any potential Jerusalemite resistance in six of his seven *Vitae*; in his short *Vita Theognii*, however, he mentioned that as late as 455 the anti-Chalcedonians controlled the city.⁷⁵ Juvenal had to be careful. His re-installation thanks to military support was already far from how the relationship between a bishop and his community should be. It was rather the

71. Cf. *Pan. Mac.* 7,3–8,10.

72. Cf. *Pan. Mac.* 8,12: ΧΕΤΩΟΥΝ ΔΗΗΤΗ ΝΤΕΤΝΩΠΕ ΝΝΕΖΙΟΜΕ ΝΤΕΤΝΔΝΕΠΕΥΕ ΗΜΩΤΗ ΝΜΜΔΥ.

73. Cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,8a mentioning killings following Juvenal's return to the holy city.

74. Cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,5b and Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 10; cf. Bacht 1953:252–253. Also Chalcedonian sources mention that certain monks would refuse communion with Juvenal, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Theod.* 236,14–19 and *Vit. Theog.* 241,15–17.

75. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Theog.* 241,15–17.

inversion of what Leo the Great had written on the happy return of a shepherd desired by his flock. Therefore, it was certainly not part of Juvenal’s plan, to pursue his goals in the holy city by means of more bloodshed. The violence in Neapolis, even if exaggerated by Zachariah, does not fit well with a much more merciful image of Juvenal which, rather surprisingly, is recorded in a different passage by the same anti-Chalcedonian historian: A monk called Solomon approached Juvenal under the pretext of receiving a blessing by the hand of the patriarch much to the latter’s joy. However, instead of kneeling down to receive the blessing, Solomon took out a basket filled with dust and ashes, poured it over the patriarch’s head, and chastised him: “Shame on you, shame on the liar and persecutor!”⁷⁶ While the imperial soldiers – apparently still present in the holy city – were about to strike down the monk, Juvenal kept calm and ordered that Solomon be given reimbursement for his journey expenses to somewhere outside of the patriarchal jurisdiction. While Juvenal was generally portrayed in good terms before the controversial council, for the anti-Chalcedonians he became the paragon of a reckless traitor after 451, a man who judged power more important than faith. One tale in the *Plerophoriae* explains that Juvenal became “a friend of Judas,” and that it therefore was only logical that his former monastery outside the city walls of Jerusalem became deserted, since “on this topic it was written by the blessed writer, let his [*scil.* Judas’/ Juvenal’s] homestead become desolate, and let there be no one to live in it.”⁷⁷ For John Rufus, Juvenal was one of three traitors to Jerusalem – coincidentally all their names began with the same syllable: Juvenal was a new Judas, who had betrayed the Lord, however, he was

76. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,8a: ܠܘܥܝܘܢ ܠܩܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ. Cf. Steppa 2005:11 and Honigmann 1950:230, who called the episode a “literary revenge,” attesting the actual lack of power of the Miaphysites.

77. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 16: ܠܘܥܝܘܢ ܠܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ [...] ܠܘܥܝܘܢܐ ܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܢܝܘܬܐ. The Biblical quotation is Acts 1:20; cf. Perrone 1980:41. Also the author of *Pan. Mac.* 7,2 has the people in Jerusalem call out ΝΟΥΧΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΙΟΥΔΑΔΟ ΠΕΠΡΟΔΟΤΗΣ (“Throw out Judas, the traitor”). Zach., *hist. eccl.* 3,3c compared Juvenal to Pilate, putting the latter’s words “What I have written, I have written” (John 19:22) into the Patriarch’s mouth as a reply to the monks’ request to withdraw his signature from the Chalcedonian decisions; cf. Horn 2006:82. Labels such as ‘Jew,’ ‘murderer,’ ‘Nestorius’ teacher,’ ‘Manichaeon,’ and ‘enemy of Orthodoxy’ were frequently used during the sessions of the Council of Chalcedon. E. Mühlberg 1998:2–7 interpreted them as utterances of collective fears which were used on purpose to disturb the reading of the minutes of previous synods in order to distract the attendees; cf. also Price 2009a:74–75.

also “Juvenal the Infidel”⁷⁸ (*kopūrā*, equivalent to the Greek ἀποστάτης, ‘apostate’), the epithet that had been applied to the emperor who had betrayed the Christian city of Jerusalem by attempting to rebuild the Jewish Temple.

For the remainder of Juvenal’s episcopate – he died in 458 – the sources report only sparsely on his activities. While there is a considerable amount of anti-Chalcedonian propaganda on the one side, Juvenal’s own peers remained silent. Cyril of Scythopolis mentions him only in passing and often only by his ecclesiastical rank, ‘the bishop.’ Combining the entirety of short references to Juvenal after 453, a rather different image emerges, namely that of a patriarch aiming for peace: It was him who had asked the emperor to pardon the anti-Chalcedonian insurgent Romanus, imprisoned in Antioch, and allow him to return to Palestine.⁷⁹ One episode in the *Plerophoriae* describes this monk as pondering what to think about the Chalcedonian doctrine in the wake of the Council. Eventually, he anathematised Juvenal after receiving not less than three divine visions to do so. This initial reluctance may point to a certain openness of Romanus towards debate with the Chalcedonians.⁸⁰ We also encounter Romanus among the discussants of the second union of 478.⁸¹ Even though Romanus would in the end not accept Chalcedon’s decrees, he seems at least to have been open to discussing doctrinal matters with his perceived enemies. As a bishop, Juvenal exemplified the dogma of two natures to his flock by moving the celebration of Christmas and Epiphany to two different dates (rather than celebrating it together on 6 January, as was the case in Jerusalem before him).⁸² This was a visual and ritual manifestation of the human and divine

78. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *de obit. Theod.* 2: ⲕⲓⲛⲉⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗⲁ, cf. Payne Smith, s.v. “ⲕⲓⲛⲉⲁ” p. 222.

79. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *de obit. Theod.* 9; cf. also below, chapter 5. Perrone 1980:121 speaks of an atmosphere of tolerance, the same purport emerges from Pulcheria’s letter to the archimandrites, stating that the imperial couple prefers a call to repentance over severe sanctions.

80. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 25 and Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 49,11 and 67,16 with Steppa 2004:94–95.

81. Cf. below, chapter 6.

82. Ger., *Vit. Mel. Graec.* 63 mentions that in 439 Melania celebrated Christmas in Bethlehem (by attending a nocturnal mass from December 24 until Christmas morning). This passage, however, is of little help in order to determine when exactly Juvenal introduced two separate feasts, since Melania was born in Rome and was

natures which was also in accordance with common and, in particular, Roman, use. This liturgical innovation is mentioned in a homily that has been falsely attributed to Basil of Se-leucia, but originated most certainly in Jerusalem and was read out in Juvenal's presence. The identification of the bishop mentioned in the text (generally thought to be Juvenal), who wit-nessed the consecration of a Jerusalemite church of St Stephen during his episcopate, has until now caused problems, since it has been assumed that Eudocia's church was consecrated during the episcopate of Anastasius in 460.⁸³ Having established that at least a part of Eudo-cia's church, namely the underground crypt, had been consecrated as early as 439,⁸⁴ there is now no reason not to identify the bishop mentioned in the homily with Juvenal and credit him with the separation of the celebrations of Christmas and Epiphany. While this particular litur-gical practice did not last long in Jerusalem, Juvenal's successors seem in general to have fol-lowed his episcopal policies which were much more tolerant than the anti-Chalcedonian sources make them out to be. This attitude was only abandoned at the beginning of the sixth century, during the Patriarchate of Elias, when the relationship between the Empire and Jerusalem had grown stronger, or – seen from a different perspective and attributing it to a different cause – during Severus' times in Palestine and Antioch, when the division between the two parties became more permanent.⁸⁵ Unlike what John Rufus' tale about the Miaphysite woman locked up in church during a Dyophysite service suggests, there was in fact much common ground in Jerusalem from the late 450s until the end of the century. The situation

used to celebrating Christmas on December 25; cf. also the letter (3,6) of Justinian trying to 'correct' the Jerus-alemite dating traditions, quoted in van Esbroeck 1968:357 as well as 369–370 (on Juvenal's introduction of the new date). Similarly to Melania's Christmas rituals, Jerome's sermon on the Nativity, was a defence of the west-ern date against the practices in Jerusalem before Juvenal, cf. Hunt 1982:112 n. 19. It seems that in the mid-fifth century a form of stationary Christmas liturgy evolved in Bethlehem, reenacting the Gospel story and starting on the Shepherds' Field, cf. Tsiferis 1993b:204–205 and Bradshaw 1999:252–253.

83. Cf. Honigmann 1950:226–228 and Perrone 1980:54–58.

84. Cf. above, chapter 3.

85. Cf. Zach., *Vit. Sev.* 143 who ascribes these tendencies to Nephalius' connections to the patriarchate of Jerusalem; Frend 1972:62–63 locates the parting of the ways in the time of Severus.

was far from what, for example, Augustine described for the Donatist controversy in North Africa: In Jerusalem there was no “altar set up against altar.”⁸⁶

Reforming the ecclesiastical landscape

The most important innovation instigated by Juvenal, however, was of an administrative nature: During his long episcopate, he defined the two offices of archimandrite and chorbishop. Both titles existed since the second century, and in the early fifth century they were both held at the same time by the old monk Passarion.⁸⁷ It was only after the latter’s death in 428 that the duties were more clearly defined and distinguished from each other: The title of archimandrite was reserved for the heads of important monasteries and constituted a leadership position superordinate to all Palestinian desert monks. The chorbishop, in contrast, fulfilled the tasks of an auxiliary bishop, however, not in the city, but in a rural area (χώρα). Through Juvenal’s organisational innovation, the monasteries became much more integrated into the episcopal hierarchy, clergy and monks had to work closer together since a chorbishop was appointed over them.⁸⁸ While the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon, heading towards a stricter episcopal control over the monasteries, was perceived as restrictive by most monks,⁸⁹ it came as a blessing for Euthymius and his followers: In 453 they had re-emerged from their hiding places in the desert, and returned to the *laurae*. However, they would not enjoy their tranquil lives for too long. Juvenal had always paid special attention to the political voice of the monks,⁹⁰ perhaps too much, given that the *Apostasia Palaestinae* arose in a

86. Cf. Aug. *c. Cresc.* 2,1,2: *altare contra altare [...] erexit.*

87. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 26,18–19: χωρεπίσκοπος καὶ τῶν μοναχῶν ἀρχιμανδρίτης. Cf. Meimaris 1986:239–240 and Patrich 1995:287–290 for a thorough discussion of both offices, and Horn 2006:279–287 on attempts to localise Passarion’s monastic foundations.

88. Cf. Patrich 1995:9–10.

89. For examples, cf. Ueding 1953:672–673.

90. Not least, the two arguably most important bishops of late antique Jerusalem came from a monastic background, John and Juvenal, cf. Perrone 1980:36–38. Chitty 1966:88 saw in Juvenal a parvenu who was des-

distinct monastic *milieu*. Now, however, those monks who had supported him (if only in spirit) were duly rewarded. Three distinct developments are noticeable in the sources: Firstly, there was a considerable influx of monks from Cappadocia, who all would prove themselves as supporters of the Council of Chalcedon, the most famous among them was, of course, Sabas the Great. While we do not know whether this wave of new monks was encouraged to come to Jerusalem by Juvenal, it clearly helped to improve his standing as a Chalcedonian bishop. Secondly, Juvenal (or Euthymius, or even both) very deliberately placed disciples of Euthymius in administrative leadership positions which deemed potentially critical (and perhaps also lucrative) to them. This concerned all monastic foundations made by noblewomen discussed in the previous chapter: A certain Gabriellus joined Eudocia at her monastic foundation of St Stephen, he also became the administrator of her will. Bassa's monastery of St Menas received the monk Andrew as a supervisor, whose brother, Stephen of Jamnia, had been one of the two Palestinian bishops hurrying back from Chalcedon. The Cappadocian monk Theodosius administered Hicelia's foundation at the Kathisma. Finally, the monastery of Flavia was run by the Chalcedonian Theognius, about whom Cyril of Scythopolis would write one of his shorter *Vitae*.⁹¹

The third and most substantial development can best be exemplified by two brief case studies. The first is the career of one of Passarion's disciples, Anastasius: He was guardian of the sacred vessels of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 428, when he succeeded Passarion as one of the two chorbishops (Juvenal had added a second office holder upon Passarion's death). In his capacity as chorbishop, Anastasius grew close to Eudocia, and it was he whom

pised by a "somewhat aristocratic monastic society" of the desert monasteries. This is certainly not the case, since Juvenal's career began in the same *milieu*, cf. also Winkelmann 1985:79.

91. On Eudocia's and Bassa's cases, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 53,5–54,11. Bassa was apparently faster in joining the Chalcedonian cause, as Pulcheria addressed her in a letter asking her to convince Eudocia to reconcile with those accepting the council's decrees (cf. *ACO* 2,1,3,494–495). Cf. *Vit. Theod.* 236,19–237,2 (on Theodosius and Hicelia) as well as *Vit. Theog.* 241,15–21 and Paul Elus., *Vit. Theog.* 5 (on Theognius and Flavia). On how the seemingly independent lives of female ascetics was under the scrutiny of the monks, cf. Giardina 2001:201.

she sent to enquire about doctrinal matters with Symeon the Stylite. Together with Euthymius' disciple Cosmas, Anastasius was authorised to publicly report on the empress' reconciliation with Juvenal in 456. Upon the latter's death, Anastasius became Patriarch of Jerusalem and fostered the rapprochement of monks and city clergy, for example by turning Euthymius' tomb into a Chalcedonian memorial site. When he died in 478, he was succeeded by another one of Euthymius' disciples, Martyrius.⁹² The second example concerns the immediate events following Euthymius' death: In 473, twenty-two years after the Council of Chalcedon and thirteen years after the death of Eudocia, who had introduced the cult of saints in Jerusalem, the time was ripe for the transformation of a living holy man into a new saint: Euthymius the Great passed away peacefully, on a Saturday,⁹³

20 January of the eleventh indiction in the year 5965 since the creation of the world, from when time began to be measured by the course of the sun, and in the year 465 since the Word of God became man from the Virgin and was born in the flesh, according to the chronologies composed by the holy fathers.

Then, things happened very quickly: At the recommendation of a certain Chrysippus, Patriarch Anastasius invited two men, Martyrius and Elias, to attend upon Euthymius' dead body, leaving a certain Fidus with the responsibility for building a burial vault for the translation of the precious relics to a becoming place.⁹⁴ Fidus employed craftsmen and workers from Jerusalem who demolished Euthymius' original cave and built a large vaulted chamber with the saint's tomb in the middle. Anastasius had already sent the tombstone in advance together with a silver crucible and surrounding railings, since he anticipated many visitors and pil-

92. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 35,1–5 (on Anastasius as guardian of the sacred vessels and his advancement to chorbishop), 42,10–14 (on the addition of a second chorbishop) and 60,29–61,3 (on the construction works on Euthymius' tomb).

93. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 59,16–61,4, esp. 59,24–60,8: ἡ δὲ τελείωσις αὐτοῦ γέγονεν κατὰ τὴν εἰκάδα τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνὸς τῆς ἑνδεκάτης ἰνδικτιόνος ἀπὸ μὲν κτίσεως κόσμου, ἀφ' οὐπερ χρόνος ἦρξατο τῆ τοῦ ἡλίου φορᾶ μετρεῖσθαι, ἔτους πέμπτου ἑξηκοστοῦ ἑνακοσιοστοῦ πεντεκισχιλιοστοῦ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἐκ παρθένου ἐνανθρωπήσεως καὶ κατὰ σάρκα γεννήσεως ἔτους πέμπτου ἑξηκοστοῦ τετρακοσιοστοῦ κατὰ τοὺς συγγραφέντας χρόνους ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων. On the solemn formula of dating, cf. Flusin 2001:120–121.

94. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 60,27–61,3. On the archaeological evidence matching Cyril's description, cf. Hirschfeld 1990c:17–18 and 1993a:367–370; an additional burial hall was excavated by Meimaris who identified a burial slab mentioning the name Peter as the tomb of the Saracen chieftain; cf. 1989:34–35; however, the evidence for this identification appears somewhat weak.

grims in the future. On 7 May, he came up to the *laura*, located about six kilometers north of Jerusalem, and translated the relics to the prepared place, carrying them with his own hands.⁹⁵ This account of the construction works at the *laura* in the spring of 473 reads even more remarkably, when we look at the close network between its five protagonists: All of them started their monastic careers in desert monasteries near Jerusalem. All but one, Anastasius, were former disciples of Euthymius. By 473, Chrysippus had advanced to the important office of guardian of the True Cross, while Fidus was a deacon in Euthymius' monastery. Both Martyrius and Elias would later become patriarchs of the holy city. Since the time of the *Apostasia Palaestinae*, the monks in the desert kept a much closer connection to Jerusalem, even though Euthymius himself allegedly never again set foot into the holy city after his arrival at the spot of his first hermitage.⁹⁶ However, this was also not necessary, for in the time following Juvenal's return, almost every office was filled with a desert monk coming from Euthymius' inner circle of disciples.⁹⁷ Besides the positions of archimandrite and chorbishop mentioned above, Juvenal had institutionalised some further position: That of the guardian of the Cross (σταυροφύλαξ), commanding over the city's most treasured relic and, more importantly, over its distribution.⁹⁸ The office of guardian of the Cross henceforth became a vital post for the political communication of the Patriarchate. Another new position was that of teacher of the Church (of the Holy Sepulchre), a special Jerusalemite office responsible for catechetical instruction and preaching, which seems to have been an official institution and

95. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 61,18–62,1.

96. Sabas, according to Cyril of Scythopolis, was not as strict and made a pilgrimage to the Gallilee, and took his leave from Jerusalem just before dying; cf. *Vit. Sab.* 182,5–6. On the ideal of isolation from society in the texts of Cyril, cf. Perrone 2015:156–157.

97. On the involvement of desert monks in the ecclesiastical politics of Jerusalem, cf. Hirschfeld 1993a:346, and 1993b:149, as well as Egender 1998:134–135 and Perrone 2006:156–157.

98. On the importance of the True Cross as a relic, cf. Hunt 1982:129–130. On the office, cf. *Itin. Eg.* 37,2, and an inscription on a altar plate containing perhaps a dedicatory inscription, by a [--- τῶν πανσέπ?]των ξ[ύ]λων φύλαξ (“guardian of the venerable(?) wood”), *CIIP* I,815, cf. also Z. Rubin 1998:50–51. Places which could not get hold of a splinter of the True Cross, would occasionally venerate stones (e.g. from Golgotha) instead, cf. Dauphin 1993:96.

not only a honorific title.⁹⁹ If we look at it from the perspective of Euthymius, the careers of his disciples were ecclesiastical success stories: Marinus and Luke founded their own monasteries; the three Cappadocian brothers, Cosmas, Chrysippus, and Gabrielius, became Bishop of Scythopolis, guardian of the Cross, and superior of Eudocia's monastery; the three Melitenian brothers, Stephen, Andrew, and Gaianus, became Bishop of Jamnia, superior of Bassa's monastery, and Bishop of Madaba; Domnus became Patriarch of Antioch, if only for a short time until he was deposed at the Second Council of Ephesus in 449.¹⁰⁰ While Fidus became Bishop of Dor, Martyrius and Elias advanced to the position of Patriarch of Jerusalem. The monasteries not only monopolised the most important ecclesiastical posts, they also exerted considerable influence on the administration of the *loca sancta*, some of them were even built on holy places, such as the monasteries at the site of the Kathisma or of the assumed resting place of the Three Magi.¹⁰¹ Moreover, Euthymius' tomb was not the only memorial which was promoted to become a pilgrimage site: Around the same time the hanging cave of Chariton at Souka was also transformed into a shrine in honour of this early desert monk,¹⁰² while the tomb of Hesychius and the small cell of the Cappadocian Gabrielius on the Mount of Olives likewise were rebuilt and visited by many fifth and sixth century pilgrims after the respective deaths of the monks in c. 453 and 491.¹⁰³

99. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Eut.* 26,20: τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλος, cf. Perrone 1980:65 and 2006:157 as well as Stroumsa 1999b:427–428; Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 10 called Hesychius ܗܫܝܚܝܘܨ ܪܗܘܒܪܐ (“the rhetor of Jerusalem”), the Armenian translations of his homilies render it to Էրեց վարդապետ (“priest [and] teacher”), cf. Renoux/Abineau 1981:49 and 57–58 with Thomson 1962:367–384 on the origin of the title ‘Vardapet’ (“teacher”) in Armenian; on his preaching talents, cf. Gładyszewski 1982:93–94.

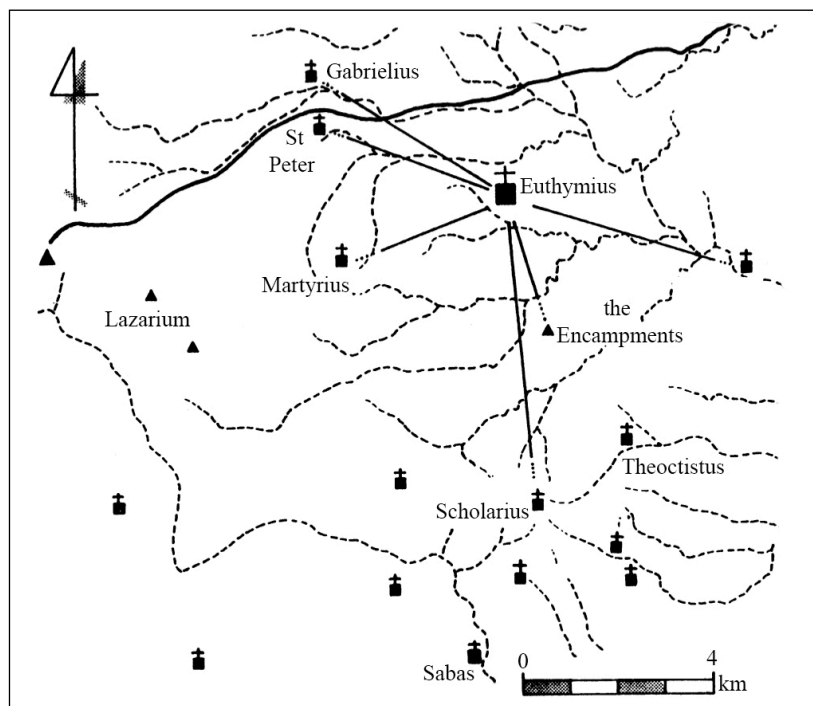
100. On Domnus' episcopate, cf. Frend 1972:25–29.

101. Cf. Theod. Petr., *Vit. Theod.* 15,4, for Theodosius' monastery, which was constructed on the cave where the Magi lodged after their visit to the Holy Family, cf. Hirschfeld 1990c:26–28 and Perrone 2012:14. In the fifth century, there were also several monasteries constructed on the assumed places of Christ's life and ministry in the Gallilee; on these, cf. Tzaferis 1989–1990:45–46 and Bar 2005:54–55.

102. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Cyr.* 231,27–28; cf. Hirschfeld 1990b:442–446. On the location, called Mu'allaq Խրայփուն (κρεμαστόν Χαρίτωνος), cf. Chitty 1966:14–15.

103. Cf. *Itin. Plac.* 27 (on Hesychius' tomb) and Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 56,6–12 (on Gabrielius' memorial).

If they did not enter the clergy of Jerusalem, Euthymius' most notable disciples founded *laurae* and *coenobia* of their own. Still in the days of Juvenal and his successor Anastasius, a star-shaped pattern of satellite monasteries and churches developed in the desert east of Jerusalem, all connected along communication arteries: The monastery of Theoctistus, the church and settlement of the encampments, Eudocia's tower, her church and small monastery of St Peter on the Jerusalem–Jericho highway, and, a little later, the monasteries of Martyrius and Gabriel.¹⁰⁴ The Euthymian monks very proudly yet poignantly spoke of



III. 4: Euthymius' *laura* and its satellite monasteries (after Hirschfeld 1993a:348)

'Jerusalem's desert,' when they referred to the location of their monastic homes.¹⁰⁵ Euthymius may have been a citizen of heaven (ὁ οὐρανοπολίτης), who, according to Cyril of

104. Cf. Furrer 1880:234–235 and Hirschfeld 1993a:347–348 with all sites connected with Euthymius' *laura* depicted on a map.

105. Cf. Stroumsa 1989:32.

Scythopolis, longed for nothing more than the tranquillity of his hermitage. However, the deliberate placing of his disciples in important positions as well as the close network between them does suggest a high level of political involvement in ecclesiastical politics, which concerned the holy city on a daily basis, and which was welcomed by the Patriarchs Juvenal and Anastasius. One generation later, Sabas, would be called a coloniser of the desert,¹⁰⁶ who propelled the monasteries into the world, as the seventh chapter will demonstrate. Sabas rightly deserved this title, however, it was thanks to the cooperative endeavours of Euthymius and Juvenal, monk and bishop, that the spheres of city and desert became indistinguishable. Together, they had transformed the monastic foundations into a training ground for church leaders.¹⁰⁷

106. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 24,8–10: πόθῳ τῆς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἡσυχίας, and *Vit. Sab.* 126,5 and 158,17. Cf. Binns 1994:163–165 for a thorough discussion of the titles applied to Euthymius and Sabas. In a way, the efforts in the Jericho area by Euthymius and Sabas can be seen as a form of colonisation, since the foundation of monasteries ultimately altered the equilibrium of Jewish-Christian populations clearly in favour of the Christians, cf. Stemberger 2007:55.

107. Binns 1994:161, cf. also Hunt 1982:245, Flusin 1983:151–153 and Traina 2009:108.

5) Fighting with ink: the hagiographical response to Chalcedon

By the combined efforts of Juvenal and Euthymius, the *loca sancta*, and in particular those places related to the only recently established veneration of saints in Jerusalem had come under the sway of the Chalcedonians. Moreover, Leo the Great had stressed that the *loca sancta* were unassailable proofs of the true faith in his post-Conciliar letters.¹ By the mid-fifth century, the soil of Jerusalem had acquired theological importance as visible demonstration of the two-nature doctrine of Chalcedon since it attested that Jesus Christ was true God and true man. For those who did not accept the dogma, this implied that they either had to collaborate with the enemies of their faith and keep their attachment to the holy places – or that they had to leave them for good.² In almost all cases, the Miaphysites opted for the latter. In their writings, one can notice a tendency to denigrate the concept of holy space. It is likely that the number of recently installed saints' shrines in Jerusalem, located at places which were previously unrelated to the veneration of a specific saint, helped this development to dissociate worship and place. Nevertheless, according to Zachariah Rhetor and John Rufus, the often difficult decision to give up a holy place had to be aided by saintly visions: At the tomb of John the Baptist in Sebaste, a certain Constantine guarded the shrine. He was heavily attached to the place, and found himself in an inner conflict, when the Miaphysite priests were forced to leave: should he also go and thus stay true to his doctrinal ideas, or should he remain and become an apostate himself? In a dream St John appeared to him, telling him to leave.³

1. Cf. Leo, *ep.*, 139 (=ACO 2,4,91,25–93,26) with Hunt 1982:246, Kofsky 1997:218–219, and Z. Rubin 1999b:221.

2. Cf. Kofsky 1997:216–219; cf. also Perrone 1989:491 and 1998a:15–16 on more eirenic attitudes concerning shared holy places.

3. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 29: ἡθελουσα ἵνα σοι ῥηθῆ ἡθελουσα ἰσαεθῆ, ὁμολῶ ἡμεῖς ἰσοθῆ ῥηθῆ

Priest, do not forsake your soul because of me and desert your faith, but go away and keep your faith without prevarication.

The saint promised that he would always be with Constantine wherever the latter venerated him. Similarly, a monk called Zosimus, who had retreated to Bethel, the place of Jacob's dream, considered yielding to the pleas of his Chalcedonian fellow-monks who asked him to stay. In a nightly vision, the Biblical Patriarch himself expelled Zosimus:⁴

How is it that, although you are orthodox and in communion with the Orthodox, you seek to continue here? Do not transgress your faith because of me, but take care and flee from the communion with the apostates. You are not in need of anything good [from here], neither the place, nor any necessities.

The same patterns can be observed in Jerusalem: a Miaphysite devotee to St Stephen and John the Baptist, continued to make her customary visits to their shrines, heavily tormented by the anxiety of separation from them. Suddenly, both saints appeared and requested that in future she remained at home, for "wherever you are, we are with you and abide with you."⁵ This implied that saints did not need to be venerated at a specific place. Private worship counted just as much as praying at the shrine of St Stephen now administered by the Chalcedonian disciple of Euthymius, Gabrielius. Even the most holy place of all, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was nothing more than a place that could lose its sanctity, once defiled by the Dyophysites: According to John Rufus, a Chalcedonian priest had fornicated with a woman after prayers in a room situated right above the rock of Golgotha. The next day, a voice from above sounded through the now tainted church: "With how much impurity Juvenal has filled my house!"⁶ Even though he had merely installed this priest, in the view of the

4. Cf. Horn 2006:326–327.

4. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 30: ... Cf. Horn 2006:327 (also translation).

5. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 79: ...

6. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 41: ... As a consequence, Peter the Iberian claimed, according to John Rufus, that Gerontius, who did not leave Jerusalem in 453, would fast two days in advance before conducted a service in the church. Cf. Perrone 1998a:17–18 suggesting that the Chalcedonian party in Jerusalem avoided open persecution of anti-Chalcedonians and accepted their presence in

Miaphysites Juvenal was the one to blame for the desecration of the *omphalos* of Christendom. However, if there were Miaphysite attempts to develop a theology that implied that the veneration at such places was unnecessary for a good Christian, we can only glimpse traces of it in Miaphysite imagination, for example in a vision recorded in the *Panegyricus in Macario*, describing how Christ himself departed from Jerusalem:⁷

Behold, I shall go up to my Father with those who have loved me [*scil.* those martyred by Juvenal in 453] and I shall leave my city of Jerusalem behind me, (the city) in which I underwent all these sufferings. I shall leave their house a desert place for them because they have blasphemed my divinity.

Nevertheless, Miaphysite Christians wanted to have their own holy places as well. As a consequence, one can note a shift away from Jerusalem, which they had lost to the Chalcedonians, towards previously less important *loca sancta* in areas inhabited by their peers: In Gaza, they seemed to have centred their attention on the shrine of the monk Hilarion.⁸ Nearby, in Maiuma, they constructed a chapel to the Egyptian martyr Victor Stratelates on whom Theodosius of Jerusalem allegedly had authored a homily.⁹ While there are several saints with this name, it makes sense to connect the protagonist of this text with the saint venerated at the shrine in Maiuma, especially since Peter the Iberian was ordained priest on the feast day of Victor.¹⁰

the city.

7. *Pan. Mac.* 8,1: ΕΙΣΖΗΗΤΕ †ΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΞΡΑΙ ΨΑΠΑΕΙΩΤ ΜΗΝΕΝΤΑΥΜΕΡΙΤ ΤΑΚΩ ΝΟΩΙ ΝΤΑΠΟΛΙΣ ΘΙΑΗΜ ΤΑΙ ΝΤΑΨΠΝΕΙΖΙΣΕ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΖΗΤΟ †ΝΑΚΑΠΕΥΗΙ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΦΟ ΝΧΑΙΕ. ΧΕΔΥΑΛΑΦΥΜΕΙ ΕΤΑΜΗΤΗΟΥΤΕ.

8. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 137. The continuity of Hilarion's veneration can be deduced from the Madaba map, which contains traces of the label τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰλαρίωνος, a formula the map uses for venerated tombs, cf. Di Segni 2005:35 n. 48 as well as, on the archaeological remains, Hirschfeld 2004:67–69.

9. As with the *encomium* on St George, the question of authorship by Theodosius has been contested: The main argument in favour of the authenticity is the assumption that the former Patriarch of Jerusalem remained a very minor character in the Coptic tradition, henceforth, it would make little sense to forge literature transmitted under his name (when compared to more famous figures serving as pseudo-authors, such as Cyril of Alexandria or John Chrysostom). Cf., in favour of his authorship, *The Coptic Encyclopedia* s.v. "Victor Stratelates, saint" pp. 7.2303a–2308a (M. van Esbroeck), accessible online: <http://cdl.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm/ref/collection/cce/id/1928> (accessed 29 February 2016), and, against his authorship, *LACL* s.v. "Theodosius von Jerusalem" p. 686 (G. Röwekamp) as well as *Lexikon byzantinischer Autoren* s.v. "Theodosios von Jerusalem," forthcoming (K. Klein).

10. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 75; with Horn 2003:116–117 and 2006:213–215. The Madaba map locates a shrine τοῦ ἁγίου Βίκτορος near Maiuma. Archaeological excavations near Gaza brought to light a late antique

The most important anti-Chalcedonian holy place, however, developed in the region which Peter the Iberian regularly visited on his missionary tours: the hinterland of Madaba with Mount Nebo. Some seventy-five years earlier, Egeria had experienced some frustrating moments there, when the monks on the mountain had shown her the tomb of Moses, while she insisted that the religious leader had been buried by angels, and that therefore no-one knew his burial place. The explanation of the monks, that they did not show the tomb, but rather its place, a tradition that had come down to them by a chain of knowledge via generations of monks, proved slightly unsatisfying to the knowledgeable pilgrim.¹¹ In contrast to this late fourth-century witness, the *Vita Petri Hiberi* speaks very fondly of pilgrimage to Mount Nebo. Thanks to Peter's presence, the body of Moses had miraculously been discovered. The legend evolving around the discovery may have had some weak points, but it gained credibility through the authority of the famous monk. Since the entire region was not influenced by the recent Dyophysite claims on holy places, Peter could easily turn Mount Nebo into a new anti-Chalcedonian pilgrimage centre, certainly facilitated by the presence of Egyptian monks who had settled there after their flight from Scetis because of increased barbarian incursions in the first decades of the fifth century.¹²

For the anti-Chalcedonian clergy, Juvenal's re-installation meant that they were expelled from the Holy Land and had to flee to Egypt, the only patriarchal see that held on to the Miaphysite dogma. While in their imagination, Jesus Christ retreated from Jerusalem to high heaven, the Virgin Mary joined them into what was for her the second exile in Egypt. A

mosaic which may well be part of the shrine to Victor, cf. Sadek 1999:60 – or, as Horn 2003:126 suggests, may even have been part of Peter the Iberian's monastery containing Victor's shrine.

11. Cf. *Itin. Eg.* 12,2 with Deuteronomy 34. On the importance of Moses for Egeria and this episode in general, cf. Drijvers 2001:175–177 and Klein 2010:166–167 as well as Sivan 1990:57 on the readiness of pilgrims to accept monastic interpretations of the Bible. On pilgrimage to Mount Nebo, cf. Saller 1941:338–340, Vretska 1958:132 n. 1, and Sivan 2008:64. On the *inventio* of Moses's tomb and pilgrimage to Mount Nebo in the mid-fifth century, cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 120 with Bitton-Ashkelony 2004:117–119.

12. Cf. Kofsky 1997:220 and, for John Rufus stylizing Peter as a new Moses, Satran 1995:97–105, Flusin 1996b:276, Bitton-Ashkelony 2004:111–114, Horn 2006:242, and Perrone 2009:198*–200*. On the Scetiote monks, cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 118 with Horn 2006:181–182 and 307 n. 457.

events has influenced modern perception of the sources' historicity. Honigmann spoke of the "sober objectivity of [Cyril of Scythopolis'] work [which] contrasts strikingly with the vehement partiality of Monophysitic authors like John of Bēth Rufinā."¹⁷ There has been a recent re-appraisal of the latter, and it has become increasingly clear that anti-Chalcedonian monks were not a dangerous crowd of conservative fanatics but in many cases more intellectually and spiritually advanced than their Dyophysite counterparts.¹⁸ Yet, Cyril's writings have never been called into question as the main narrative of the fifth-century events, whereas Miaphysite authors were used merely to extract information in cases when Cyril did not provide enough details. This chapter aims at studying anti-Chalcedonian and Chalcedonian hagiography as compositions of equal value and as texts that stood in an eager competition with each other. Given that Cyril's *Vitae* were written more than fifty years later, they need to be seen as a response to John Rufus' accounts.¹⁹

Heirs to Hilarion and Antony: models of monastic life

With few exceptions, monasticism in the Judean Desert and in the Gaza region has not been studied together, even though monastic life in the holy city was influenced by both,

17. Honigmann 1950:267; similarly Roldanus 1998:128–129 and Hasse-Ungeheuer 2015:237. A thorough assessment of Cyril of Scythopolis as a skillful author of historical writing can be found in Trampedach 2005:285–292, who, however, is very much in favour of this author. That much of Cyril's remarks on the doctrinal affiliations of his monastic heroes has been adapted to fit into Justinian's theology after the Council of Constantinople in 553, has already been noted by Flusin 1983:76.

18. Cf. Rist 2005:335–336 and especially Steppa 2005:xxii–xxiv and 2006:249–250 against Bacht 1953:296–297 and Frend 1979:136.

19. Cf. Flusin 1996a:46–47 and Steppa 2004:93–94, and, more generally on the role of literary competition, Av. Cameron 1991:91–93. Devos 1980:27–31 and Flusin 1983 have explored the literary sources of Cyril of Scythopolis in Greek writings, however, van Esbroeck 1984b:238–240 remarked in his review of Flusin's monograph that it would be necessary to study Cyril's *Vitae* first and foremost as a response to anti-Chalcedonian texts (i.e. primarily those authored by John Rufus). While Binns 1994:58–66 also carefully lists an abundance of parallels from mainly Greek hagiographical writings, the absence of the *Vita Petri Hiberi* in Binns's study is just as telling as the absence of the *Vita Melaniae* and the *Vita Porphyrii* in Cyril's *Vitae*. Horn 2006:8 notes that her study is not concerned with the literary aspect of John Rufus' writings, however, certain parallels did, of course, not escape her notice, cf. p. 54: "[T]he rivalry between the two doctrinal and ascetic factions in Palestine, or rather between the leading historical and biographical *literati* of both camps, is traceable [...] even down to the very details of the literary works these writers composed for their respective communities." The literary models for John Rufus are discussed at length in the first chapter of Steppa 2005.

and they shared many common spiritual traditions.²⁰ The perception that monastic life in both regions advocated completely different models, is mainly due to the different focuses of the *Vitae* from which most of our information on this matter derives as well as due to the different state of archaeological research: while the monastic foundations of the Chalcedonians have been largely excavated, almost no research has been carried out near Gaza while new findings are not to be expected given the continuous settlement history of the region.²¹ The common perception is that monasticism in the Judean Desert was more involved with society than in Gaza. This is, of course, hardly surprising since Euthymius' and his disciples stayed on in the Holy Land, whereas monasticism in the Gaza region had to deal with a gap of at least twenty years when its most important leaders were exiled.

Cyril of Scythopolis stressed that all protagonists of his *Vitae* longed for a solitary life. Nevertheless, the urban society was the theatre of the activities of the monks that he described. Necessarily and over the years, ascetic life in the wilderness was turned into a merely metaphorical “nostalgia of the desert.”²² Neither the archaeological evidence nor the literary sources point to ascetic extremes as known from Egypt. This can be exemplified by archaeological evidence from the cave-hermitage of John the Hesychast, one of the solitary cells of the Great Laura: Its entrance is located 11 meter higher than the path underneath, however, after the climb via a ladder, its entrance opens into a large two story cave with a deep cistern and a carefully constructed spacious chapel. Even more impressive is a hermit cave in Wādī Danūbia north-west of Jerusalem. Although it was so difficult to reach, that it seemed unlike-

20. One exception is Perrone 2012; cf. also Bar 2005:53–54.

21. For an overview, cf. Hirschfeld 2004:61–63 and Sadek 1999:*passim*.

22. The term is borrowed from Perrone 2012:21; cf. also Egender 1998:125–128, Bar 2008:118–119, and Schwartz 2009:158–159, who showed that Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity had a completely opposite attitude towards the desert which was discharged from their discourses. On the ideological significance of the desert for the Palestinian monks and on their balanced community, which in a way forms a contrast to their founders aiming for abstinence from the world, cf. Tzaferis 1989–1990:51 and Perrone 2015:160–162. On the activities of the monks in the urban sphere, cf. Di Segni 2015:32–33. On extreme forms of Palestinian monasticism, cf. Wortley 2001:42–45.

ly that the hermit living there visited the *laura* on a daily or even weekly basis, the space itself was quite comfortable. It contained a spacious garden plot, a small chapel, and, located slightly higher and accessible via hewn steps invisible from afar, a stone couch for one person with a lower area on which to comfortably place one's feet. Inside the cave, a hewn water bassin was located underneath a large stalactite that dropped a drop of water every twenty seconds, amounting to about one litre in twenty-four hours – apparently the hermit's only source of water, since no cistern or similar reservoir has been discovered.²³ Both hermitages were spaces where monks lived a solitary life; they were permanent structures corroborating Cyril of Scythopolis' descriptions that anchoritic life in the Judean Desert was a stable one, not resembling the wandering ascetics of other deserts and the hardships which monks had to endure elsewhere. Those, who wanted to withdraw from the worldly life in the Holy Land would live in similar hermitages.

The involvement of Judean monks with society becomes clearer when we look at the monastery of Theodosius which administered two hospitals, a lunatic asylum, an old-age home, a guesthouse for foreign brothers and one for well-to-do pilgrims, as well as an almshouse.²⁴ Space in the *coenobia* was usually divided between different social groups. Larger foundations often had three separate hospitals: one for monks, one for the poor, and a third one for rich pilgrims who were likely to recompense the monastery for the care they received. Lavishly built and containing a luxurious bathhouse, the so-called Monastery of Theodorus and Cyriacus just outside of Jerusalem has recently been interpreted as an exclusive lodging place for well-off pilgrims who might have been carried in litters into the holy city.²⁵ According to Cyril of Scythopolis, Euthymius the Great had exhorted his disciples on

23. On the archaeological evidence for the cave of John, cf. Tzaferis 1989–1990:59, Patrich 1993b:238–240 and 1995a:95. On the cave in the Wādī Danūbia, cf. Tzaferis 1989–1990:59–60, on the generally spacious cells of the desert monks in Palestine, cf. Patrich 1993b:233–234.

24. Cf. Theod. Petr., *Vit. Theod.* 34–35 and 40–42; cf. Perrone 1998b:85–86 and Di Segni 2001:34. On the care for the sick in Jerusalem and the desert monasteries, cf. Patrich 1995:183–185.

25. On the spatial division according to social classes, cf. Binns 1994:96–97 and Patrich 1995:184. On the

his deathbed that they should never close the monastery gates to anybody. They clearly followed his instruction, and the social and charitable engagement of the monks grew rapidly over the generations up to the time of Sabas, who was very keen on his monasteries' involvement with the clerical and urban society.²⁶

In contrast, anti-Chalcedonian monastic life appears from the sources as much more focused on anchoritic or semi-anchoritic forms of asceticism, which has been ascribed to its Scetiotite origins and close connections to Egypt.²⁷ Gazean monasticism was indeed more centred on the individual and on individual spirituality. While the monks in the Judean Desert regulated communal liturgy with innovative new forms of services, such as the all-night vigils in preparation for the Sunday eucharist, the Gazean monks placed emphasis on individual praying and psalmody. The notion of individuality also influenced the daily life of the monks: We hear next to nothing of Gazean monks farming land or tilling the soil, but rather that they hired themselves out for reaping and producing baskets.²⁸ Moreover, the sources on monastic life in Gaza suggest a higher level of fluidity and less *stabilitas loci* than in the Judean Desert monasteries. However, that the sources place more emphasis on the ideal of the wandering

Monastery of Theodorus and Cyriacus as a hostel for rich pilgrims, cf. Di Segni 2003:150–151.

26. Euthymius' exhortation is described by Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 59,1–12, cf. Caner 2006:363–364. At the same time, many episodes from the *Vita Sabae* suggest, that the ascetic had a considerable number of quarrels with his immediate neighbours, and that poor laymen were rather a nuisance to him; cf. Perrone 1998b:82–83 and Di Segni 2005:28. Arguably, the highest level of interaction between the monastic and urban sphere was reached in 614, when a monk, Modestus, attempted to organise a military defence for Jerusalem during the Persian onslaught, apparently against the will of Patriarch Zachariah, who opted for surrendering the city, cf. *Expug. Hier. iber.* 5,19–20, cf. Di Segni 2005:31 n. 34.

27. Cf. Chitty 1966:14, Tzaferis 1989–1990:45, Flusin 1996b:281, Chryssavgis 2003:97–98, Di Segni 2005:43–44 and Perrone 2012:12. For the literary connections among Miaphysites in Egypt and Palestine, cf. also Cramer/Bacht 1953:315–317. Gaza and its hinterland were also culturally influenced by Egypt via commercial contacts, cf. Marc. Diac., *Vit. Porph.* 58,5–8 with Hay 1998:162–163.

28. Cf. Perrone 2012:17–18 (on the liturgical innovations of the Chalcedonians). On differences in daily life, cf. Di Segni 2005:40–41 and Zach., *Vit. Sev.* 130, that only a small portion of the day was devoted to manual work. The evidence may, of course, be due to the nature of the sources. Basket production was, however, not only restricted to the Gazean monks, but also important in the desert monasteries, cf. Patrich 1995:181 and Brenk 2004:448–449 on how the monastic production was locally marketed by the guest master of the Great Laura, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 135,4–5, and, on further economic activities, Binns 1994:110–111. While most *coenobia* in the Judean Desert cultivated their own vegetables, some solitary monks fed exclusively on the plants they found in the wilderness, cf. R. Rubin 2002:348–352.

monk, is certainly due to the course of history: unlike Chalcedonian monks they could not stay in the Holy Land, and Peter the Iberian functions as a good example.²⁹ He was influenced by a certain Zeno (†451), a follower of the Egyptian monk Silvanus, who had moved with his disciples to Palestine. There are twenty-six sayings in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* coming from this group.³⁰ Being mentioned in Egyptian and Palestinian contexts, Silvanus and Zeno, in a way, connect the literary traditions of both areas – especially since the *Apophthegmata* were highly popular in the Holy Land and might even have been collected there.³¹ In John Rufus’ writings, Zeno is described as a wandering monk, continuously consulted by Peter, whom he admonished to follow this model of life: “If you love the Orthodox faith, continue wandering.”³²

What Euthymius and Peter had in common, was their thinking, at least in the way it was described by their hagiographers. It was influenced both by Syrian and Cappadocian models of spirituality (especially by the writings of Basil the Great) *and* by Egyptian models which both admired.³³ The contacts between Egypt and the Holy Land were traditionally close, not least due to the coastal artery from Antioch to Alexandria which facilitated travelling and the quick exchange of ideas and spiritual traditions.³⁴ We know of several individuals who travelled back and forth between Egypt and the Holy Land. Melania the Elder, for

29. The aspect of wandering – in contrast to a required *stabilitas loci* – as well as the intellectual endeavours of the Gazean monks (as John Rufus presented them) contradicted the restriction of monastic life as presented in the fourth canon of Chalcedon; cf. Ueding 1953:570–571 and 607–612.

30. Cf. Chryssavgis 2003:101–103; on Silvanus, cf. Soz. 6,32; cf. Chitty 1971:52–53, Binns 1994:158–159, and Hay 1998:163, as well as Hirschfeld 2004:70–72 on the monastery of Silvanus.

31. Cf. Regnault 1981:328 and Rubenson 1995:35–46. It is interesting to note that other Egyptian texts, for example the Pachomian rules, were not popular in Palestine.

32. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 8: ܐܘܬܝܡܝܘܣ ܕܥܘܬܝܡܝܘܣ ܕܥܘܬܝܡܝܘܣ ܕܥܘܬܝܡܝܘܣ ܕܥܘܬܝܡܝܘܣ. Cf. also *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 68–71 (on the connections between Peter and Zeno). In *Pler.* 8 Zeno is described as a wandering monk (*metkatkānā*), cf. Payne Smith, s.v. “ܥܘܬܝܡܝܘܣ” p. 317; the Greek equivalent is κυκλευτής. Cf. Hirschfeld 2004:72–73 on the archaeological remains and identification of Zeno’s monastery near Gaza.

33. Cf. Binns 1994:63 and Patrich 1995:45–48. On Basil’s influence on Peter the Iberian, cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 150 and 179 with Horn 2006:157 and Horn/Phenix 175 n. 4.

34. Cf. Hunt 1982:51–53.

example, had reached Jerusalem in the company of Nitrian monks who had fled from the Arian dominance during the reign of Valens and later moved back, whereas Evagrius Ponticus first stayed at Melania's Jerusalemite monastery before departing for Egypt for good.³⁵ The main figure that symbolised the connection between both regions, however, was Hilarion the Great. According to a tradition starting with Jerome, he was the first monk of Palestine – before this, however, he had been schooled in Alexandria and lived with Antony the Great in the Egyptian desert.³⁶ Back in his days, Jerome had to defend the protagonists of his three *Vitae*, since his opponents claimed that these monks never existed. And indeed there is only little contemporary information mentioning Hilarion. Jerome himself may have learned the substance of his tale from Epiphanius who himself had been a monk in Besanduc near Eleutheropolis. What is important, however, is that by the mid-fifth century, Hilarion was fully recognised as a real saint who had dwelled in and around Gaza. The number of mentions of his name in inscriptions is surprisingly high (be it as a personal name or in connection with memorial shrines): Hilarion clearly was the most important Christian figure for the Gaza region.³⁷

Contesting saints: Peter the Iberian and Euthymius the Great

A large number of episodes in John Rufus' *Vita Petri Hiberi* share common motives with other hagiographical texts. This is typical for the genre and not very surprising, were it not for the particularity that John Rufus' text abundantly draws parallels from lore on Hilarion, albeit with Peter the Iberian as the protagonist styled as a worthy successor of the Gazean proto-monk who himself had become the literary counterpart of the famous Egyptian

35. Cf. Pall. *hist. Laus.* 38,8–9, cf. Hunt 185–190 and Di Segni/Tsafirir 2012:447–450; cf. above, chapter 2.

36. Cf. Stroumsa 1989:31.

37. Cf. Chitty 1966:13–14. For the epigraphic evidence connected with Hilarion, cf. *CIIP* III,2444, 2459, 2531 and 2560. On the archaeological evidence for the saint's veneration, cf. below.

Antony.³⁸ The dominant motives of Hilarion's life were his attempts to flee from wordly attention, his missionary activity, and his miraculous powers. John Rufus presented Peter as equalling Hilarion in all three points. Just as in Hilarion's case, who never set foot into Jerusalem,³⁹ a defining feature of the *Vita Petri Hiberi* was Peter's decision to not enter the city ever again after his flight from Eudocia's quasi-motherly affection. At the same time, Peter's withdrawal from the holy city is styled in the tradition of Egyptian tales. It resembles several sayings in the *Apophthegmata*, even though his departure might actually be connected to his involvement in a brawl or even a case of murder, as has recently been suggested.⁴⁰ Hilarion's refusal to found a monastery, only allowing disciples to live in his vicinity – most likely an echo of Scetiotic ideas – is closely reflected in Peter's reluctant attitude concerning the foundation of a monastery and disciples in general.

Hilarion's mission and miracles are echoed in the longest part of the *Vita Petri Hiberi*, the passages on the time after Peter returned from his exile in Egypt that had lasted for about two decades. The outlook of the monk who once, according to his *Vita*, only longed for a solitary life, had decisively changed. Having witnessed how the majority of the inhabitants had come under the sway of Chalcedonian Christianity, Peter now placed much more emphasis on mission. For the next twenty years until his death in 491, he would embark on missionary tours to the Levantine coastline and the semi-deserts of Arabia.⁴¹ At first glance these des-

38. Cf. Horn 2003:114–115.

39. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 58,3 with Wilken 1999:242. On Peter the Iberian taking over Hilarion's custom of blessing the vineyards of Gaza, cf. Mayeron 1985:75–77.

40. On Hilarion's flight, cf. Hier. *Vit. Hil.*, *passim* and Soz. 5,10, with Egenter 1998:129. On a similar case of Apa Arsenius reprimanding a female pilgrim not to turn the Mediterranean into a highway of Roman women curious to visit famous ascetics, cf. Klein 2010:161–164. Peter's departure is described in Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 71–73; cf. Perrone 1998a:19–20 on his deliberate decision not to visit Jerusalem, and Tsafrir 2012:251–253 on the boundary dispute, resulting in the miraculous death of Peter's opponent (already also Tsafrir 1999b:303–304; cf. above, chapter 3). It should be noted that in later times Chalcedonian monks were also not immune to property quarrels within their community, e.g. when a certain James founded a *laura* of his own on land belonging to Sabas, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 129,3–130,15 with Strobel 1987:173–174, Hirschfeld 1990c:40–41 and 2003:190–191 as well as Patrich 1995:110–111.

41. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 105 with Perrone 1980:120–121. On Peter's role as a wandering missionary, cf. Perrone 1998a:18–19 and Horn 2006:233.

tinations appear as rather odd choices. However, they can be explained by the simple fact that both were regions in which supporters of Chalcedon were not in the majority, i.e. where the chances of winning people over for a dogma that rejected the Council were higher.⁴² For the desert regions south-east of Jerusalem, there were other reasons as well: Peter and his companions were perfectly prepared to convert all kinds of people through their exceptional command of different languages. The Iberian prince knew Georgian and Greek, perhaps also Coptic after having spent twenty years in Egypt, and, more importantly, his companion John Rufus was fluent in several vernaculars spoken in the Provincia Arabia, from where he hailed.⁴³ According to the sources, however, they won over the hearts of the ordinary people not by their intellect or language skills – which we can see as prerequisites of successful conversion – but rather thanks to Peter’s piety and his ability as a miracle worker: When the region around Madaba in modern-day Jordan suffered from a terrible drought, Peter prayed, the rain set in, and as a result, the people declared their allegiance to the Miaphysite conviction.⁴⁴

Cyril of Scythopolis wrote his seven *Vitae* about fifty years later than John Rufus. While it has often been observed that Cyril had a good knowledge of earlier texts, for example the *Apophthegmata* or Jerome’s *Vita Hilarionis*, the striking similarities between his texts and John Rufus’ *Vita Petri Hiberi* have received little attention, even though it is quite apparent that Cyril aimed at emulating John.⁴⁵ It is therefore not surprising to find that Euthymius

42. Peter the Iberian visited the desert region also because he sought the healing powers of the hot springs in Livias for therapeutic reasons, cf. Dvorjetski 2006–2007:17–18 and Green/Tsafriir 1982:85 on the regions’ mineral baths in general.

43. Cf. Schwartz 1912:2–4, Horn 2005:137 and 141–142 as well as 2006:35–36; on John Rufus’ origins from the *provincia Arabia*, cf. *Pler.* 22; cf. also Fowden 2015:188–189 on the importance of language in acts of conversion.

44. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 122. Peter’s act was, of course, echoing Elijah and Moses, however, John Rufus’ description is styled in the same way as Peter’s namesake’s, St Peter’s, speech to the multitude (also the temporal closeness to Pentecost, that is stressed by John Rufus, alludes to this), cf. Acts 2:14–42 with Horn 2005:144–145; cf. Stathakopoulos 2002:84–87 on Biblical models for rain miracles as well as Flusin 1983:214 and Binns 1989:4–5 and 1994:227–229 on the importance of nature miracles in the writings of Cyril of Scythopolis.

45. A similar competition between hagiographical texts can be seen in the competition between the sixth-century *Vita Charitonis*, authored by a monk who clearly was influenced by Cyril’s *Vitae*, and the *Vita Hilarionis*. *Vit. Charit.* 2–3 and 41–42 claim that Chariton lived during the episcopate of Macarius (314–334) and the

is also credited with performing a rain miracle very similarly described as the one performed by Peter.⁴⁶ In their texts as well as in their deeds – if we assume that the miracle and conversion episodes are based to some extent on historical facts – anti-Chalcedonians and Chalcedonians used the same techniques.⁴⁷ In the desert, Peter the Iberian prayed for a Saracen couple, and by saintly intercession, they begat a healthy child. In general, saints praying for divine help for sterile women and men is a common theme in accounts which deal with Saracen conversions, perhaps, as Sozomen reckoned, because it was of great importance for them to have offspring.⁴⁸ However, Peter the Iberian’s missionary activity in this case again resembles that of Hilarion, who had converted an entire city of Arabs from their former paganism to Christianity. This theme became common for the genre of hagiography, so that Sozomen could claim that long before the reign of Theodosius II the Arabs became familiar with the Christian faith through their encounters with hermits in the desert.⁴⁹ It is only a logical consequence that Peter went on similar missions to Arabia, and it is little surprising that there is a response to John Rufus’ description authored by Cyril of Scythopolis, who described a corresponding episode in his *Vita Euthymii*.⁵⁰ His account became arguably the most famous case which made Euthymius appear as the paragon of a fifth-century lawgiver to barbarian nations. The formerly pagan Arab nomads descended into a cave with the charismatic ascetic for forty days and re-emerged as baptised Christians who immediately began

reign of Aurelian (270–275). By choosing a far earlier emperor’s name, the anonymous author might have attempted to better sustain his claim that the Judean monk Chariton lived earlier than the Gazean Hilarion. On the chronological problems, cf. Di Segni 1990a:394, Binns 1994:46–47, Perrone 1998b:68 and 78–79 as well as Chryssavgis 2003:99, who takes the text at face value.

46. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 38–39,16 with Stathakopoulos 2002:76–77. The interesting difference is, that Euthymius first did not want to perform the miracle since he initially saw the drought as something sent by God to teach the people self-control.

47. On stereotypes in conversion stories, cf. Av. Cameron 2015:9

48. Soz. 6,38; with Horn 2005:149–149, who assumes that for the newly converted Saracens the Christological aspect might not have been important.

49. Cf. Soz. 4,38,14; cf. Fowden 2015:182–183.

50. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 18,19–21,10, cf. Z. Rubin 1999b:221–222 and Klein 2015:24–26.

leading a settled life – an exceptional case, since Euthymius had not asked the new converts to do so.⁵¹ The episode has frequently been used in scholarship to illustrate the mechanisms of conversion in the desert. Because Cyril is a relatively reliable author and the parish of the tribe and some of its members are also attested in documentary sources, the episode has often been taken at face value without making a distinction between its content and the way the description follows literary conventions. For Cyril, the act of settling down was a clear demonstration of the spiritual depth of their conversion. One should, however, not assume that by changing their lifestyle the former nomads were automatically accepted in the Greco-Roman *oikumene*, as for example Fisher did, when he writes of “political opportunities [...] packaged together with becoming Christian.”⁵² One has to be cautious with this particular episode since it cannot be excluded that Cyril elaborated on the topic to such a degree because he aimed at outdoing John Rufus’ account of Peter’s mission among the Arabs. In a way, both authors entered an uneven competition: John Rufus described remarkable cases of conversion, in part using Jerome as a model, Cyril, however, managed to come up with an even more memorable story.

The common motifs of the rain miracle and the conversion of Arab tribemen were not singular or accidental. Both *Vitae* share striking similarities, and the line of parallels begins already before the two saints were born. In both cases the births of the respective saints were miraculously announced.⁵³ Both authors made sure to connect their protagonists with Egyptian traditions, from where they received the basic concepts for their spirituality: Peter the Iberian via the monk Zeno who was a disciple of the Scetiotie Apa Silvanus, and Euthymius

51. Cf. Stroumsa 1989:33–34 and Fowden 2015:180.

52. Cf. Fisher (forthcoming). As Cyril indeed had reason to exaggerate the Arab chieftain Aspebetos’ position, one should be careful not to read too much into his depiction of the tribe’s life before their encounter with Euthymius. Cf. also Shahîd 2003:229–230, and, on the localisation of the encampments, cf. Féderlin 1907:177–184.

53. Cf. Horn 2006:53–54.

during his lifetime, they were worked by an active holy man, not by the powers emanating from the proximity of his dead body.⁶²

Eudocia: a heroine in both narratives

Even in competing texts, some protagonists could become heroes for both sides, always depending on who wielded the pen.⁶³ One of these figures was Hesychius of Jerusalem, who was still alive to witness the apostasy of 451. While he figures as one of the Chalcedonian heroes in Cyril of Scythopolis' writings, John Rufus does not exclude him from his work and explicitly calls him a confidant of Eudocia.⁶⁴ The empress herself, however, constitutes the most prominent case of a heroine for both Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians. Because of the letters sent to her by Leo the Great and (via Bassa) by her sister-in-law, Pulcheria, as well as in particular because of the account describing her reconciliation with the Chalcedonians by Cyril of Scythopolis, it is beyond doubt that for some five years she must be counted among the aposchists. However, there is scholarly consensus on the fact that until her death she kept a foot on both sides. For several reasons this seems highly unlikely considering her rank, her *milieu*, and also (from what we can reconstruct concerning her previous activities) her personal devotion: The claim of doctrinal ambivalence is a modern concept and difficult to imagine for a member of the imperial house of Theodosius II. Moreover, if we assume that Eudocia was concerned for her afterlife (and all her foundations in Jerusalem and Constantinople suggest this), adherence to two opposing groups at the same time would have

62. Cf. Binns 1994:34–35 and Krueger 1997:713–714.

63. Cf. Steppa 2006b:61.

64. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 10: Hesychius, called *ἡσυχίου ῥητοῦ* (“the rhetor of Jerusalem”), sent stones to Constantinople that had rained from heaven in the time when the Council of Chalcedon convened. The stones had caused blindness and were for Hesychius, according to John Rufus, apparent demonstrations of bad omens. On Hesychius' distinct pro-Chalcedonian dogmatic views, cf. Jüssen 1931:152–160 and Gładyszewski 1982:95. Cf. also Perrone 1980:67–69 who demonstrated how the teacher of the Church interpreted in his exegesis of Leviticus 15, how the two rams, one for sacrifice, the other sent as scapegoat into the desert, could be interpreted as symbols of the two natures of Christ.

been considered insane by any educated pious Christian of the age.⁶⁵ Not only John Rufus' *Plerophoriae* make it clear that a double-allegiance in these matters was unthinkable for anyone who seriously fostered hopes of entering the gates of heaven. If we wish to consider the evidence for Eudocia's doctrinal allegiances after 456, we are confronted with the literary accounts by Cyril of Scythopolis and by John Rufus. The slandering Chalcedonian stories, beginning with Malalas, are of little help. As we have seen, they originated later, and could be demonstrated to be a mirrored response to earlier anti-Chalcedonian stories on Pulcheria.

It seems obvious to state that Eudocia supported the anti-Chalcedonians.⁶⁶ John Rufus narrates that Juvenal asked Eudocia to petition Marcian for an amnesty for the monk Romanus. When he returned from exile, it was the empress who endowed him with land near Kfar Ṭurban to found a new monastery.⁶⁷ The passage abounds with hatred against Juvenal, who is prompted to action only because of public unrest during a severe famine.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, John Rufus cannot hide the fact that it was the patriarch who initiated the petition, not the empress. This was the ordinary procedure: We have seen that Juvenal aimed at a reconciliation and that he approached prominent yet moderate anti-Chalcedonians like Romanus. Throughout Antiquity, petitions to the emperor had better chances to be read if they were seconded by an important supporter, one of the emperor's *amici* or a member of the imperial household, often female. Eudocia's intercession was successful, and Marcian granted the amnesty. The location of the new monastery, however, is important: Kfar Ṭurban or Caphartobis, as Josephus called it, had been conquered and depopulated by Vespasian during

65. Cf. Frend 1972:104 stressing the deep questions of human salvation which existed behind the seemingly unending quarrels over Christology. On Eudocia's reconciliation with Juvenal, cf. Z. Rubin 1999b:225 and Grillmeier 2004:8.

66. Cf., for example, Honigmann 1950:251, Frend 1972:154, Patrich 1995:6, Grillmeier 2004:8, Horn 2004a:*passim*, Sivan 2008:214–215, and Horn/Phenix 2008:296 n. 8.

67. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *de obit. Theod.* 9. The new foundation was necessary, because the monks in Romanus' previous monastery, Teqoa, would not take him back as an abbot.

68. Evag. 2,6 mentions a series of famines in Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Palestine, cf. Stathakopoulos 2004:238.

the Jewish War. Even though Josephus' claim, that the whole of Judaea became crown property, is an exaggeration, we know that Kfar Tūrbān was indeed an imperial estate far into Late Antiquity.⁶⁹ The second location that the anti-Chalcedonian sources associate with Eudocia, fits the overall image too: The *Vita Petri Hiberi* recounts that Peter died in a place that was called "the fortress" (*mohūzā*) near Jamnia, which "was [part] of the imperial property and once had been a dwelling place of empress Eudocia."⁷⁰ From the historiographical and epigraphical evidence we know that Jamnia was re-founded by Alexander Jannaeus, and that after the death of Herod, the city and its territory came into the possession of his sister Salome who again bequeathed it to Livia. After the latter's death, the place became imperial property administered by a procurator (ἐπίτροπος). It seems to be no coincidence that the same area is described by John Rufus as an imperial estate in the fifth century:⁷¹ Imperial property did *de facto*, but not *de iure* belong to a specific imperial family. It was part of the institution of 'Empire' itself and remained part of it, with the respective reigning emperor as its highest administrator who could command over the property. In the case of Jerusalem, this is exemplified by Eusebius' account on Helena's activities: The construction work in Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives was attributed to her, however, the introductory para-

69. Cf. *Ios. bell. Iud.* 7,6,6 (on crown property) and 4,8,1 (on the utter destruction of Caphartobis and the neighbouring Betaris, i.e. Eleutheropolis); on crown property in Roman and Byzantine Palestine, cf. Safrai 1994:182–184. Patrich 1995:6 interprets the geographical position of Kfar Tūrbān as in the centre of anti-Chalcedonian power, however, it was also (especially in comparison to the old monastery in Teqoa) remotely enough from Jerusalem to not cause problems on a regular basis. On the archaeological evidence from Teqoa, its *basilica* church and a series of farmhouses, cf. Hirschfeld 1997:49.

70. Cf. *Ioh. Ruf., Vit. Petr. Hib.* 166: ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ. On the name of the estate, cf. Payne Smith, s.v. "ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ" p. 263. The most famous imperial estates, however, were the balsam estates at Jericho and En Gedi, cf. *Plin. nat. hist.* 12,54 with Eck/Cotton 1997:153–161. While most imperial possessions in Palestine dated back to the first century, some new estates were carved out of lands belonging to various cities, most notably Eleutheropolis, even in Constantinian times, cf. Avi-Yonah 1966:123.

71. For the historical sources on the history of Jamnia as an imperial estate, cf. the introduction by B. Isaac (p. 151–157) in *CIIP* III. Also note *CIIP* III,2268, a Latin funeral inscription of Iulia Gratia, the wife of a freedman named T. Iulius Mellon, who was the administrator of Jamnia in the time of Livia's son Tiberius, who also was responsible for the manumission of Iulius Mellon. Since imperial property remained in imperial possession (unless it was otherwise bestowed to persons or institutions), it makes sense to see a continuity of imperial estate in Jamnia from the times of the early Principate to the 450s. Horn 2004a:202 states that Eudocia kept control over considerable imperial and private property after she was deprived of her imperial retinue, this appears highly unlikely; on crown land cf. also Hunt 1982:144–145.

graph made clear, that the buildings were Constantinian, since he provided her “with the right arm of imperial authority.”⁷² There are several late antique laws prohibiting the endowment of imperial property,⁷³ implying that this constituted a problem for emperors. While it seems imaginable that one or another *comes* may have circumvented these regulations, the same seems highly unlikely for a member of the imperial household as Eudocia. In John Rufus’ words it was she who bestowed the property on the anti-Chalcedonians, and the author was correctly presenting the matter like this, since the endowment was carried out in her name.⁷⁴ However, what John Rufus did not mention – for good reasons – was that Eudocia had no authority to decide on this bestowal of imperial property without having consulted Marcian and asking for his agreement. Marcian thus did not only agree to the amnesty of a leading anti-Chalcedonian, he also facilitated the donation of a plot of crown land where Romanus could build a new monastery. However, the two donations (if ‘the fortress’ was a donation at all, John Rufus does not explicitly state this⁷⁵) may have been considered as charitable donations from and *for* both parties: The two official anti-Chalcedonian returnees established monastic foundations at a great distance from Jerusalem, thus avoiding potential problems with the Chalcedonian monks living much closer to or even in the holy city. If we compare these donations with those Eudocia made specifically intended for Chalcedonians (church and monastery of St Peter on the Jerusalem–Jericho road) or those administered by them at her

72. Eus., *Vit. Con.* 3,43,4: δεξιὰν αὐτῆ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας [...] παρασχομένου. On Constantine as the one providing the resources, cf. *Vit. Con.* 41,1–2 and 42,2–4; cf. Cameron/Hall 1999:292. Yarnold 1989:105–17 saw Helena as the main initiator of the planning of the Eleona and the Church of the Nativity, an idea that appears not very convincing.

73. On the administration of imperial estates, cf. MacMullen 1962:277–278.

74. Cf. Harries 2013:68–69 for how, rather similarly, Theodoret of Cyrrhus assumed that Pulcheria could independently grant tax exemptions; cf. also Millar 2006:192–234.

75. There is a third mention of imperial property in the *Vita Petri Hiberi*, the estate of Beṭ Tafshā (Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 131–133), where Peter stayed upon the invitation of a household member of Eudocia, Elijah. The *Vita* states that Elijah brought the ascetic to the estate north of Jerusalem; this may point to the fact, that Beṭ Tafshā belonged to the imperial house; cf. Safrai 1994:50 as well as Delekat 1968:185–186 on a potential localisation of the place. Ziad 1986:183–186 suggested that Eudocia established a *leprosarium* at Herodium. While this claim seems relatively far-fetched, this site too would have been an imperial estate belonging to the imperial family.

4:19), however, it is particularly fitting for Peter's journey traveling southwards on the Mediterranean seaside of modern Lebanon.⁷⁸ Among these particularly great catches, a young woman, Eugenia, was perhaps the biggest one: The converting Arabs had been one challenge, Eugenia and her peers were another: The girl was a young Jewish woman from Tyre who had listened to Peter's teaching and was eager to convert. The story sounds reliable since we know from Jewish literature that there was a considerable level of attraction between the different religions. Therefore, contact between Christian missionaries and young Jews – even Jewish girls – in Tyre should not be excluded *per se*, and it appears likely that someone like Eugenia was attracted by Peter's teaching.⁷⁹ Her conversion and entry into the anti-Chalcedonian party is compared to the bridal procession celebrated with Psalm 45. A clever move, as Horn could show, since this Psalm, the only example of profane lyric in the psalter, was a wedding song or *epithalamium* on the marriage of the King of Israel to a foreign woman from Tyre. Similarly, Eugenia, once belonging to the foreign race of the Jews, was married to the heavenly bridegroom.⁸⁰ One should note that the young convert from Tyre is called Eugenia throughout the passage, but we do not learn her former Jewish name. This fits well into John Rufus' tendency for anti-Jewish polemic, suggesting that only after her baptism and her commitment to the anti-Chalcedonians, did Eugenia become 'of a good race' as her Christian name indicated.⁸¹ As we have seen, John Rufus was a skilled author, and so his anti-Jewish polemic serves a double purpose: The anti-Chalcedonians conceived the decrees

78. Cf. Horn/Phenix 2008:226 n. 1 and Perrone 1998b:89–90.

79. Cf. Rosen 1991:62 and Perrone 2009:202*. The somewhat psychological interpretation suggested by Horn 2006–2007:40, that Eugenia saw in Peter a figure of authority who replaced her late father, can not be excluded, however, it seems to be too far-fetched.

80. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 153 with Ps 45:13–15.

81. Cf. Horn 2006–2007:42. An inscription from Jerusalem, *CIIP* I,59, mentions two Jewish sisters, Εὐγένια and Εὐτοχία (perhaps a corrupted form of Εὐτυχία); however, the name seems to be quite rare among Jews.

of the Council as a plot by the Jews.⁸² From their perspective the adherence to Chalcedonian Christianity resembled a form of Nestorianism, denying Christ’s godliness at the moment of the Crucifixion – just as Jews would consider Jesus only as a man. It is therefore only understandable that John Rufus slanders the Chalcedonians as “Nestorians sick with the disease of the Jews.”⁸³ Eugenia’s conversion thus served as a powerful example. Her commitment to her new community was not a small one and the well-educated girl eventually became the abbess in a monastery in Aphthoria at the end of the fifth century.⁸⁴ This shows a connection to a general phenomenon within the conversion stories in John Rufus’ text, for example when the magistrates of Tyre and Beirut come to Peter to ask him for his blessing.⁸⁵ Different from the previous conversions in the desert, where miracles play an important role, at the coastal cities, many of the adherents and converts to the anti-Chalcedonian cause are rather high-placed people. They valued Peter’s theological competence, something Euthymius could not really keep up with. This becomes apparent when we look at the methods that, according to Cyril, Euthymius used to convince Eudocia to re-convert to pro-Chalcedonian Christianity: theological matters were fairly unimportant in his argumentation. On the contrary, Euthymius explained to Eudocia that her personal misfortunes (her son-in-law had just been killed and her daughter as well as her granddaughters been kidnapped to Africa) were a warning sent by God. Euthymius, therefore, easily convinced the aged empress, who reckoned that towards the end of her life, she should frequent the inspired men and “learn” from them “which was the more sound faith.”⁸⁶ The direct circle of respective disciples is another case in point on

82. Cf. Horn 2006–2007:44–45.

83. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 14: ⲉⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲓ. In *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 76 Juvenal himself originally considers the *Tomus Leonis* as being Jewish. Frend 1972:87–88 pointed out that the accusation of being Jewish was often directed against Chalcedonians from Antioch with its large Jewish community.

84. Cf. Horn 2006–2007:38 arguing for a time between 495 and 510, while Rosen 1991:61–62 suggested a slightly later date, c. 510–517.

85. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 155.

86. Cyril, *Vit. Euth.* 47,5–20: τὴν βεβαιωτέραν πίστιν καταμαθεῖν. Cf. Blázquez 2007:294–295.

Instead of a toga, he put on the monastic habit; instead of law books, he was occupied with divine matters, exchanging the toils of the legal profession for the sweat of the monastic and philosophical calling.

In the following years, Severus followed a typical Gazean pattern of withdrawing into the desert and coming back to the monastery. At same time he left the monastery in Maiuma and joined the one founded by Romanus on the imperial estate in Kfar Ṭurban, until eventually he founded his own monastery where he turned to the study of the writings of the Fathers and established himself as a renowned writer and theologian. However, for the rest of his life, Severus would keep close relations to the Miaphysite monks in Palestine, as well as stressing the importance that the monastic experience there had had for him.⁹¹

91. Cf. Zach., *Vit. Sev.* 135 (staying in the monastery of Romanus) and 137 (foundation of his own monastery), and Ps-Ioh. Beth Apht., *Vit. Sev.* 24–38; cf. Hay 2003:167–169 and Alpi 2009:1,43–44.

6) From rapprochement to conflict: patriarchal politics in the late fifth century

About a decade before the fates of Peter the Iberian and the young law student Severus would collide on the shores of the Mediterranean, the deacon Fidus, who had supervised the construction of Euthymius' shrine, had been hastily dispatched to the port of Ioppe.¹ He carried an important letter written by Patriarch Martyrius of Jerusalem addressed to the emperor Zeno. Boarding a ship to Constantinople, Fidus may have remembered the Biblical prophet Jonah, who had embarked from the same harbour and was later devoured by a whale. Just off Cyprus, the ship carrying the messenger Fidus came into a storm too and sank. The deacon grasped hold of a plank and prayed to God as well as to his former teacher, who by now was venerated as a saint in Jerusalem. And indeed, Euthymius the Great appeared, walking over the waves, and saved his disciple, for the saint too had important information for Fidus to deliver to Patriarch Martyrius.

The patriarchates of Anastasius, Martyrius, and Sallustius

The twenty-five years following the *Apostasia Palaestinae* had been relatively quiet in Jerusalem,² while elsewhere the Church faced tumultuous times. In Constantinople, Marcian had found a pitiful end in 457, dying of a stroke following a collapse as a result of physical exhaustion during a penitential procession.³ His successor, Leo I, was a devout Christian and the first emperor to be crowned in Constantinople by the Patriarch. However, it became

1. Ioppe was also the bishopric of Fidus' grandfather, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 35,3 with Fedalto 1983:36.

2. The best discussion of this little-studied period in the history of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem is still Perrone 1980:116–139; cf. also Gray 2001:237–238.

3. On the circumstances of Marcian's death, cf. Croke 1978:5–9, and on its depiction in the Coptic tradition, Devos 1977:152.

clear that he would not back the Council of Chalcedon in the way his predecessor Marcian had done. He did not react to the riots in Alexandria in the wake of the murder of the Chalcedonian patriarch Proterius. It would take Leo two years until Proterius' anti-Chalcedonian successor, Timothy II Aelurus, was eventually replaced by the Chalcedonian Timothy III Salophaciolus.⁴ Juvenal of Jerusalem had died in this period, and it is hardly surprising that the choice for his succession in 458 fell on a man who was likely to continue his predecessor's lines of a rapprochement between the two parties. Without any objections, the people of Jerusalem chose Anastasius, a disciple of Passarion.⁵ Anastasius was trusted by both parties, perhaps because he had played a vital part in the first union two years earlier, when Eudocia reconciled with the Chalcedonians. In any case, we have no mentions of internal strife in Jerusalem for the twenty years of his episcopate. Among the many monks who came to the Holy Land in this time, one new arrival would leave a significant imprint on Jerusalem: In 456, Sabas the Great decided to leave the monastery in Cappadocia, where he had spent the first decade of his monastic life, and to relocate in Jerusalem, where he soon sought the spiritual advice of Euthymius. Because of Sabas' young age, the old monk refused him as a disciple and sent him to Theoctistus' monastery instead, which in these days was closely connected to Euthymius' *laura* and functioned as a training facility for novices.⁶

Emperor Leo I passed away in 474 and was succeeded by his grandson, the infant Leo II, who died the same autumn, so that the boy's father and Leo I's son-in-law, Zeno, advanced from co-emperor to sole ruler. His accession was contested by many, and he had to flee from Constantinople following the usurpation of Basiliscus, the brother of Leo I's wid-

4. Cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 4,2a–3b with Haacke 1953:108–109. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 96–98 claims that Timothy II Aelurus was installed by Leo I. On the death of Proterius, cf. Evagr. 2,8 and Theophanes 5950 with Haas 1993:299–300 and Panagopoulos 2010:49. On the coronation of Leo, cf. Siebigs 2010:201–215 and 727.

5. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 52,2–4 (on Anastasius' election $\psi\eta\phi\omega$ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς) and 35,2–5 as well as 54,15–55,13 on his admiration for Euthymius.

6. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 49,24–50,19 and *Vit. Sab.* 90,5–91,27. On the monastic foundations of Theoctistus, cf. Hirschfeld 1990c:12–13.

ow.⁷ Basiliscus aimed to rally the well-connected anti-Chalcedonians on his side, issuing the *Encyclicon*, a decree which annulled the dogma of the contested Council of 451 and condemned the *Tomus Leonis*.⁸ The deposed Miaphysite Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, Timothy II Aelurus and Peter the Fuller, were called back from their exiles, and a large number of bishops throughout the Empire signed the *Encyclicon*. One of them was Patriarch Anastasius of Jerusalem, a fact Cyril of Scythopolis passes over in silence.⁹ Anastasius' willingness to sign the document seems only surprising, if he had been a staunch supporter of the Chalcedonian dogma, but it seems that the opposite was the case. Juvenal's successor was at least so open to the Miaphysites that their authors would list him among their supporters. Had Anastasius refused his signature, a new rebellion might have been sparked, similar to that of 452, especially since many of those who had rejected Chalcedon at that time had by then returned to the Holy Land (or had never left to begin with), as was the case with Gerontius. Having witnessed the return of powerful Miaphysites to the patriarchal sees of Alexandria and Antioch, Anastasius was wise to sign Basiliscus' decree. In general, it seemed that in Jerusalem the acceptance of Chalcedon had become a formality which clearly stood in stark contrast to the ardent fights over the decrees in 451.¹⁰ Zachariah Rhetor and John of Nikiu mention that Timothy II Aelurus planned to convene a synod in the holy city aiming to depose Patriarch Acacius of Constantinople. While other authors remain silent on the meeting (which after all never materialised), Jerusalem as its envisaged location appears as a good

7. On Basiliscus' usurpation, especially its auspicious beginning, cf. Bacht 1953:112–116 and Pfeilschifter 2013:564–584.

8. For the text of the *Encyclicon*, cf. Evagr. 3,4 and Zach., *hist. eccl.* 5,2a–d, cf. Kötter 2014:162–163 and Greatrex 2011:177 n. 22 on the different versions of the text. Pfeilschifter 2013:568–570 explains Basiliscus' favouring of the Miaphysites mainly as an attempt to pacify Egypt and Syria, two regions vital to the subsistence of the Empire, as well as by the influence of Alexandrine monks over his wife, Zenonis, and, thirdly, to clearly distance himself from Zeno, whose rule he had usurped.

9. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 62,9–15 in contrast to Zach., *hist. eccl.* 5,2e and Evag. 3,4–5, cf. Perrone 1980:122 and Millar 2009:162*.

10. Cf. Perrone 1980:117, who calls the period “l'epoca del ‘calcedonismo minimale’.”

choice to test the allegiances on the ground: Timothy would have made sure that Anastasius was on his side, while at the same time the Patriarch of Jerusalem would have understood that his position was only safe if he complied.¹¹ However, rumours of his planned deposition spurred Acacius to action. After some initial hesitation, he succumbed to the pressure of the Chalcedonian clergy and of the predominantly Dyophysite population of Constantinople and sought the support of the city's most famous ascetic, Daniel the Stylite. The holy man descended from his column and eventually obliged Basiliscus to rescind the *Encyclicon*.¹² In the summer of 476, he issued a rejection of the previous decree, the so-called *Antencyclicon*, which, however, failed to save his precarious rule: In August, Zeno entered the capital, and the usurper had to seek asylum in a church. Patriarch Acacius tricked Basiliscus to leave the church and revealed his whereabouts to the emperor. Zeno proved himself merciful and promised not to shed Basiliscus' blood. Instead, the defeated usurper and his family were thrown into a dry cistern, where they eventually died of thirst.

Contemporary to Zeno's establishment as uncontested ruler in 478, Martyrius succeeded Anastasius as Patriarch of Jerusalem. According to Cyril of Scythopolis, one of Martyrius' first official acts was to write an enraged letter to the emperor asking him to reject the *Encyclicon*. Either the news that Basiliscus had done so himself two years earlier had not reached the holy city, or, more likely, Anastasius had acted as if the *Antencyclicon* had never been issued, as Zachariah Rhetor reported.¹³ In any case, while Zeno had Timothy II Aelurus and Peter the Fuller deposed, Anastasius remained Patriarch until his death, be it because he

11. Cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 5,5a and Ioh. Nik. 88,33 with Perrone 1980:125. Greatrex 2011:187 n. 76 suggests that the synod was planned in Jerusalem to reassure Patriarch Martyrius of Timothy II Aelurus' support; this makes little sense since in these days Anastasius, not Martyrius, was Patriarch of Jerusalem.

12. Cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 5,5a and *Vit. Dan. Styl.* 83 with Redies 1997:215–217 as well as Dijkstra/Greatrex 2009:223–225 on the swift retraction of the *Encyclicon* and Constantinopolitan resentment against it. On the city's predominantly Chalcedonian population and Acacius' hesitancy, cf. Pfeilschifter 2013:569–570.

13. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 62,3–12. Cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 5,5b and 5,6a stating that both, Anastasius and Martyrius, refused to sign the *Antencyclicon*. Already Perrone 1980:127–128 remarked that Martyrius was much less supporting a Chalcedonian dogma than Cyril's account suggests, cf. also Z. Rubin 1999b:229–230.

had not usurped his see (contrary to Timothy and Peter), or simply because of his old age.¹⁴ His successor, however, sent the afore-mentioned deacon Fidus to Zeno, when divine intervention in guise of the shipwreck prevented the letter's delivery. In Fidus' vision, St Euthymius gave advice on Jerusalem's future:¹⁵

Know that your voyage is not pleasing before God, for your present journey to Constantinople brings no benefit to the mother of the churches. Return, therefore, and say to him who sent you [*scil.* Martyrius], "Thus says the servant of God Euthymius: be entirely without anxiety over the Aposchists, for God in these days will grant perfect unity, and in your episcopacy there shall be in Jerusalem one flock under one shepherd."

According to Cyril of Scythopolis, Euthymius' words uttered at sea were fulfilled, since soon thereafter unity was reached. However, it is less clear, which group joined the other. As Patriarch Martyrius learned about the revelation, Marcianus, the leader of the anti-Chalcedonians, came to reason, perhaps helped by divine inspiration, as Cyril suggested. Marcianus suggested casting lots. Interestingly, he classified the two parties as follows: "If the lot falls on the monks, let us remain where we are; but if on the bishops, let us join the Church."¹⁶ Even Cyril's biased words suggest that in 478 the rift was perceived as one between monastic and episcopal dogmatic convictions. The lot fell on the bishops, and the anti-Chalcedonians voluntarily returned to the Orthodox Church – or rather accepted the novelties of Chalcedon. There were some exceptions who opposed this more definite union which followed upon the fragile one achieved during the lifetime of Euthymius in 456. Gerontius and Romanus refused to join, all others, however, were filled by a cheery mood, which manifested itself in public festivals on the squares of the holy city.¹⁷ Zachariah Rhetor's account, however, reads

14. Cf. Blaudeau 2006:191 n. 507 and Panagopoulos 2010:51; cf. the discussion in Greatrex 2011:189 n. 84.

15. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 63,17–23: γίνωσκε δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἀστεία ἡ ὁδὸς σου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. οὐδὲ γὰρ τινα ὄνησιν φέρει τῇ μητρὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τὸ σὲ νῦν ἀνέρχεσθαι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. πορεύου τοίνυν καὶ τῷ μὲν ἀποστείλαντί σε εἶπον· τάδε λέγει ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ Εὐθύμιος· μηδὲν περὶ τῶν Ἀποσχιστῶν τὸ σύνολον μεριμνήσης. παρὰ γὰρ κυρίου γίνεται ἐν ταύταις ἡ τελεία ἔνωσις καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς σῆς ἱεραρχίας γενήσεται ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις μία ποίμνη ἐνὸς ποιμένος.

16. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 67,4–6: εἰ μὲν ὁ κληρὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς ἔλθῃ, μείνωμεν ὅπερ ἐσμέν· εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κοινωνήσωμεν. The events are somewhat misleadingly presented as an enormous struggle in Grillmeier 2004:41.

17. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 67,14–20; cf. Binns 1994:188–189, Blázquez 2007:295–296, and Schick

quite differently: Instead of presenting the anti-Chalcedonians as cheerfully surrendering, he quoted Martyrius' unification speech, which – at least in Zachariah's version – condemned the synods of Ariminum, Serdica, and Chalcedon.¹⁸ Moreover, while Cyril attributed all events to God's will (via a shipwreck and the casting of lots) and downplayed Martyrius' involvement, according to Zachariah, the union came together orchestrated by the Patriarch, who is presented as an agitator not against the *Encyclicon*, but against the *Antencyclicon*. Given the chronological gap of almost two years between the rejection of the *Encyclicon* by Basiliscus in 476 and Martyrius' alleged resistance against this imperial decree, it makes more sense to accept Zachariah as the more reliable source on these events. In any case, the common ground reached in Jerusalem in 478 was simple but effective: instead of discussing the problematic dogma of Chalcedon, Martyrius and Marcianus opted for silently ignoring it and instead stressing the importance of the dogma they both accepted, Nicaea. However, there was no place in Jerusalem for those who went one step further and insisted on a public anathema of the decrees of Chalcedon: Gerontius and Romanus were among them and had to leave, but also a certain Urbicia from Crete and her brother Euphrasius. Both had acquired a monastery on the Mount of Olives, where they hosted the anti-Chalcedonian bishop Epiphanius from Pamphylia, who was driven from his see. The imperial authorities sent an archdeacon of the Church of the Ascension requesting them to adopt Martyrius' (and Marcianus') doctrinal policies. Urbicia's response, according to the *Plerophoriae*, is a remarkable speech, since, in contrast to the remainder of the work, it renounces visions: Even if Enoch, Noah,

2008:172. Cyril alludes, that Gerontius and Romanus were expelled from their respective monasteries as a consequence of their refusal to join the union, cf. *Vit. Euth.* 67,14–19. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 5,9b mentions that the figureheads of anti-Chalcedonian resistance, among them Peter the Iberian, Apa Isaiah, and Romanus, stayed in communion with Timothy Aelurus' successor, Peter Mongus, cf. also Chitty 1971:50. However, while it is likely that they did so in the beginning, this appears less probable in the phase between his acceptance of the *Henoticon* and his subsequent condemnation of Chalcedon and the *Tomus Leonis*, cf. Perrone 1980:136–138. On the good relations between Patriarch Sallustius of Jerusalem and Peter Mongus who both opposed Patriarch Euphemius of Constantinople, cf. Grillmeier 2004:46–47.

18. The alleged speech is quoted in Zach., *hist. eccl.* 5,6b. Gray 2001:238 n. 7 observed that Zachariah depicted no less than three Jerusalemite Patriarchs as anti-Chalcedonians; apart from Martyrius, this claim is also made for his predecessor Anastasius (5,2e) and for his successor Sallustius (7,1b).

and Daniel told her to do so, or if she heard a voice out of high heavens, she would never accept Martyrius' minimal Chalcedonian position.¹⁹ Consequently, Urbicia's monastery was expropriated, and the three had to leave, first for Alexandria and eventually for Maiuma. Their case shows that after Martyrius' union it was fully acceptable to ignore the decrees of Chalcedon, but not possible to openly denounce them. Three years after the union of 478, Zeno would adopt the very same strategy, not least because the emperor had learned from Basiliscus' mistake not to position himself too openly on one side. The Palestinian union should be considered as the prototype for Zeno's *Henoticon*.²⁰ However, what had worked in Jerusalem, where over a period of thirty years of episcopal rapprochement the dogmatic distances were obviously much less distinct, ultimately failed to satisfy either side in an empire-wide context. On the contrary it produced a dangerous atmosphere of hollow peace, which allowed both parties to organise themselves for dissent. Juvenal's successors, Anastasius and Martyrius, were not anti-Chalcedonians themselves, however, they appear to have looked very tolerantly upon them in order to secure peace in the Holy Land. Their strategy functioned and manifested itself in a period of calm and prosperity that ushered a busy phase for Jerusalem's craftsmen.

The foundation of Martyrius' own monastery should be dated to the time when he sat on the Patriarchal See, since only then did he command over the financial facilities to build such a large compound.²¹ The monastery is situated in the modern settlement of Ma'aleh

19. Cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 44 with Perrone 1980:138–139 dating the episode to the last years of Martyrius' episcopate.

20. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 5,6; cf. Gray 2001:238, and Gwynn 2009:21. Gray suggested that the union in Jerusalem formed the prototype of the *Henoticon*; the same thought has already been postulated by Schwartz 1939:370–371 and repeated by Bacht 1953:271–274, Frend 1972:174–175 and Perrone 1980:131–133; cf. the summary in Kötter 2014:166–167 and the cautious remarks in Greatrex 2011:29 suggesting that Pseudo-Zachariah only stylised Martyrius of Jerusalem as the author of the *Henoticon*, while its real initiator was Acacius of Constantinople. Similarly, Binns 1994:188–189 argued that Cyril of Scythopolis misdated the whole episode, so that the union in Jerusalem only came together after the promulgation of the *Henoticon*. On the failing of the imperial unification attempt, cf. Moeller 1951:670, Grillmeier 1991:274–279, Allen/Hayward 2004:3–4, and Kötter 2014:163, as well as van Esbroeck 1998b:62–65 on the controversy between Peter the Fuller and Peter the Iberian concerning the *Henoticon*.

21. Cf. Rieß 1882:227–228, Tzaferis 1989–1990:55–58, and Magen 1993b as well as Caner 2006:371–372 on the high degree of material affluence of the monastery. However, Cyril of Scythopolis did mention founda-

Adūmīm outside of Jerusalem.²² The square-shaped monastery was entered via an impressive gate complex, which was 1.8 m wide and had wooden doors as well as a rolling stone (2.5 m in diameter), which moved in a rock-cut track between two walls and was intended as a protective mechanism in times of attack.²³ The cisterns could collect approximately 20–30 thousand cubic meters of water,²⁴ which were needed not only for humans and animals, but also for the garden plots in the courtyard with their sophisticated irrigation system.²⁵ This system functions until the present day, allowing wild flowers to grow on the otherwise dusty and dry archaeological site. The monastery's refectory with its marvellous mosaics could house several hundreds of guests. While the refectory was enlarged in the times of Justinian (the extensive and imposing scale points to an imperial donation), a luxurious Roman bath complex was planned as a part of the monastery from the very beginning of the construction works.²⁶ The natural cave in the north of the central courtyard, Martyrius' own cell and later his tomb,

tions of monasteries by private donours, e.g. a local bailiff building a cell for Sabas near Nicopolis which would turn into a *coenobium*, cf. *Vit. Sab.* 120,25–12,2, while a certain lawyer called Theodore is credited with donating the majority of funds needed for the enlargement of Peter the Iberian's monastery in Maiuma, cf. *Ioh. Ruf., Vit. Petr. Hib.* 191. Hirschfeld 1990c:20–21 dates the monastery prior to 474, which appears unlikely given its considerable size and elaborate decorations.

22. On the identification of the site called Ḥirbat Muraṣṣaṣ, today in Ma'aleh Adūmīm, cf. Meimaris 1989:12, Magen/Talgam 1990:91–92, Magen 1993b:172–173, and Patrīch 2004:428: Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 51,20–23 gives the distance of fifteen *stadia* westwards of Euthymius' *laura* (and later *coenobium*). While the distance of the two sites is in fact somewhat larger, no other monastery has been discovered further west. Additionally, a funerary inscription mentions a certain Paul, priest and archimandrite, who can be identified with Paul, who succeeded Martyrius' and became archimandrite together with Theodosius in 492 AD, cf. Cyr. Scyth. *Vit. Sab.* 115,22–24. On the inscription, cf. Di Segni 1990b:153 and Magen 1993b:178, the text reads: Θήκη Παύλου | πρεσβυτέρου | καὶ ἀρχιμανδρί|του. Di Segni 1990b:155–156 reconstructed a dedicatory inscription of which only 16 letters have survived to a commemoration of Martyrius. The reconstruction is highly hypothetical, yet not unlikely.

23. On the gate construction, cf. Magen 1993b:175–176.

24. Note that the larger of the two cisterns was built in the 480s, when Euthymius' *laura* was changed into a *coenobium*, had a capacity of 'only' 3.000 cubic meters; cf. Hirschfeld 1993a:359.

25. The literary sources mention some other monasteries which had kitchen gardens, among them the monasteries of Euthymius, Choziba, and Marda; cf. Magen/Talgam 1990:104–105, Di Segni 2001:32, and Brenk 2004:462–463.

26. A similar bathhouse has been discovered in the so-called monastery of Theodorus and Cyriacus founded in the fifth century on the eastern slope of Mount Scopus, cf. Amit/Seligman/Zilberbrod 2003:144–155. The archaeological survey of towns and hamlets by Hirschfeld 1997:65–66 could show that even in small settlements bathhouses were not uncommon. On a mosaic floor in Ḥorvat Berachot, in all likelihood made by the same workshop, cf. Tsafirir/Hirschfeld 1993:218.

was marked as the religious focal point of the entire complex, similar to Euthymius' tomb in his *laura*. At the same time, this latter place was completely razed to ground and rebuilt as a *coenobium* in 478.²⁷ Cyril of Scythopolis claimed that these building works were in accordance to a prophecy given by Euthymius seven years before his death and conveniently renewed in his miraculous appearance to Fidus on the waves of the Mediterranean.²⁸ However, Euthymius' prophecies should rather be seen as a legendary cover-up for patriarchal orders given by Martyrius, who himself had once left this *laura* because of its small cells.²⁹ While Martyrius had ambitious dreams, a considerable number of monks was not happy with this movement towards an increase of monastic communal life. Many of them left the *coenobium*-turned *laura* of Euthymius and, around 483, entered the circle of Sabas, who by then had left Theoctistus' monastery and was living as a recluse in the lower Kidron Valley. Others, like Cyriacus, also left Euthymius' *laura* and relocated to the much more traditionalist *laura* of Pharan, which had been founded by Chariton.³⁰ Sabas too would soon disappoint the hopes of many hermits, who thought of him as a worthy successor propagating life in the *laura* in the footsteps of Chariton and Euthymius. However, the shift towards coenobitic life was unstoppable, and several new *coenobia* developed, sometimes using older structures like the Herodian fortress Hyrcania in the case of the *coenobium* Castellium. Over the centuries, they also existed longer than the *laurae*. Castellium again is a good example, where an uncle of Stephen the Sabaite is mentioned in the latter's *Vita* as abbot as late as 749.³¹ In the days of

27. Cf. Hirschfeld 2001:344–345.

28. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 63,13–27 with Hirschfeld 1990c:15.

29. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 51,17–21; cf. Patrich 1995:126 and Roldanus 1998:126. On Martyrius' departure from Euthymius' *laura*, cf. below.

30. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 99 and *Vit. Cyr.* 226. The same traditional attitude towards the high ascetic ideals of the Egyptian fathers can be noted in contemporary anti-Chalcedonian writings, cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Pler.* 59 with Steppa 2005:24 and 94–95, this sentiment may also have played a role in writing down the *Apophthegmata*, cf. Rubenson 1995:44–46.

31. Cf. Patrich 1995:137–145. On the coenobium, cf. Milik 1961:21–25 and Hirschfeld 1990c:33–35. The reference on Stephen's uncle in Leont. Damas., *Vit. Steph. Sab.* 9,1: ثم انه صير رأس دير على دير القسطل ودير ماري جرجس المغارة: (“Then he was made abbot of the monastery of Castellium and of the monastery of Mār Ġirġis of the Cave”)

Martyrius and Sabas, a proper curriculum of monastic training evolved: novices would first be sent to the rebuilt *coenobium* of Euthymius (as well as, slightly later, to Gerasimus' monastery) before they were allowed to join the Great Laura of Sabas.³² However, even the close-knit community of monasteries was not immune to competition. The once brotherly connection between the foundations of Euthymius and Theoctistus broke up in 485 when monks of the monastery of Theoctistus claimed the body of a Saracen bishop for themselves. We might interpret this as an attempt by Theoctistus' monks to obtain a relic rivalling that of St Euthymius. The other party considered this as theft, and consequently a fence was put up between the lands belonging to the monasteries. The Euthymian monks eventually sold their parts of the shared hostel in Jerusalem and acquired their own one in the western hills of the holy city.³³ Similarly, Sabas' monastic foundations expanded into the urban space: Since monks were forbidden to lodge in lay guesthouses, he ordered the construction of one hostel in Jericho as well as at least four additional ones in Jerusalem.³⁴ He further regulated monastic life by introducing a written rule. In the sources, Sabas is therefore presented as a legislator, a "ruler and lawgiver of all the anchoritic life and of all those who chose to live in cells"³⁵ – neither Euthymius, Theodosius nor Chariton were presented in similar terms, and of all Palestinian monks we know only of Gerasimus as having established a rule.

Sabas became archimandrite of the desert monks in 492, sharing his office with Theodosius, on whom Cyril of Scythopolis and Theodore of Petra authored two shorter *Vitae*.

suggests that both monasteries were administered together.

32. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Cyr.* 224,21–27; cf. Patrich 1995:162–163 and 258–266 as well as Hirschfeld 1990c:19–20 (on Gerasimus' monastery which had been founded around 455). On the gradual admission into desert monasticism, exemplified by the example of the author, Cyril, cf. Binns 1994:30–33.

33. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Cyr.* 226,3–17; cf. Hirschfeld 1993a:351–352.

34. Cf. Patrich 1995:165–166.

35. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 166,15–16: ἄρχων ὑπῆρχεν καὶ νομοθέτης παντὸς τοῦ ἀναχωρητικοῦ βίου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ταῖς κέλλαις ζῆν προηρημένων. Sabas' rule survives only in later versions, however, several paragraphs of it could be shown to be authentic, cf. Patrich 1995:255–258 and 205–206 (on Gerasimus' rule).

Both archimandrites were appointed by Martyrius' successor, Sallustius who had become Patriarch in 486 and was bedridden for at least two years before his death in 494. Juvenal had separated the office of archimandrite from that of chorbishop by specifying the range of responsibilities and distinguishing it from mere honorific titles. However, it is less clear whether there were, as a rule, always two office holders, or whether the number of appointed archimandrites was at the discretion of the patriarch. For a longer period, the office was held by a certain Lazarus and by Melania's biographer Gerontius, who throughout his life rejected the decrees of Chalcedon. Either after his expulsion from the Mount of Olives or after his death, his succession was contested among staunch anti-Chalcedonians and more moderate ones until eventually Lazarus was joined by one Anastasius, who was not identical with the eponymous patriarch. The dislike which Cyril of Scythopolis displayed for these two archimandrites might suggest that they were openly against Chalcedon. In any case, Sallustius discharged both around the year 491 and appointed Marcianus, who had been the leader of the anti-Chalcedonians before the union of 478.³⁶ Having observed that Cyril of Scythopolis' depiction of this event presented it in a much more pro-Chalcedonian version than had probably been the case, also calls his claim of a series of staunchly pro-Chalcedonian archimandrites into question. There is no reason to assume that Marcianus dramatically changed his dogmatic stance towards a position in favour of Chalcedon, nor that Sallustius' decision to appoint this monk differed from the patriarchal policies of Anastasius and Martyrius, who aimed at accommodating the Miaphysites. While Cyril reported next to nothing on Sallustius, Zacharias alluded that he was an anti-Chalcedonian.³⁷ Sabas' office partner, Theodosius, was assisted by a certain Paul (perhaps a third archimandrite), who had been Patriarch Martyrius' successor as abbot of the lavishly built monastery in Ma'aleh Adūmīm. It would be surprising

36. The list of archimandrites is taken from *Cyr. Scyth. Vit. Sab.* 114,24–115,26, a passage which is not always clear on the specifics of shared holding of and accession to this office.

37. Cf. *Zach., hist. eccl.* 5,6, cf. Perrone 1980:142–145 and Millar 2009:162*.

if Paul's dogmatic convictions were different from those of his predecessor. Sabas the Great was likewise described as a good friend of Martyrius, and Cyril reported that the monk had paid a visit to an anti-Chalcedonian monastery before the union of 478.³⁸ All this suggests, that for the first forty years of his time in the Holy Land, Sabas' pro-Chalcedonian stance was much less distinct than the later hagiographic tradition would claim. From Juvenal's reinstatement in 453 until Sallustius' death in 494 all patriarchs had followed a religious policy which first and foremost aimed at a reconciliation of the two parties which appear much less in opposition than during the tumultuous but also short twenty months of the *Apostasia Palaestinae*. Even after two Patriarchs of Alexandria, Peter Mongus and Athanasius II, had openly denounced the Chalcedonian dogma, Sallustius seems to have upheld relatively friendly and cooperative terms with Egypt.³⁹ It seems sensible to also add the next patriarch, Elias, to this group which shared a similar mindset. Together with Martyrius he had left Egypt in 457 – apparently because of doctrinal differences with Timothy II Aelurus. However, just like Martyrius, Elias soon also left Euthymius' *laura* because of its small and uncomfortable cells.⁴⁰ The fact that both lived as hermits in the following years, rendering Cyril's explanation of a separation because of harsh living conditions in the *laura* somewhat less credible. The two future patriarchs might just as well have left the place because they were more sympathetic to the anti-Chalcedonians and more prone to a reconciliation than Eu-

38. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 97,24–26; Chitty 1966:106 and Patrich 1995:154 wondered what Sabas was doing at the monastery of St Peter, and tried to explain his (perhaps brief) contact with the anti-Chalcedonian monks by suggesting that he was merely searching for a place to stay for one night – an explanation that does not sound likely if Sabas really was from the beginning among the most staunch supporters of Chalcedon. On the close relations between Sabas and Martyrius, cf. Gray 2001:239 and, for a different view, Roldanus 1998:124–125. One should, however, also take into account that when Sabas arrived in the Holy Land, he quickly chose to align himself with the attitudes expressed in Euthymius' monasteries, and this can be seen as some sort of a doctrinal allegiance, cf. Patrich 1995:39–40. The Miaphysite inhabitants of the monastery of St Peter had to leave this place after the second union in 478; cf. *Vit. Sab.* 127,15–19 with Perrone 1980:113 n. 62.

39. Cf. Perrone 1980:142–143 (followed by Grillmeier 2004:9) who sees a turning point in patriarchal policies already with Sallustius' episcopate, while it seems more sensible to interpret the accession of Elias as the watershed event, since their relations with Egypt differed and they are differently judged by Miaphysite sources, cf. e.g. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 7,10d; cf. also Kötter 2013:239–240.

40. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 50,20–51,22.

thymius the Great had been in the late 450s. From the sources authored by both sides, we gain an image of a great level of flexibility and an openness to change – which likewise may account for why figures such as Sabas and Patriarch Elias turned towards a more distinct pro-Chalcedonian position only after the latter had followed Sallustius on the patriarchal see.⁴¹ A common theme of the episcopates of Anastasius, Martyrius, and Sallustius was that in doctrinal matters they followed what was deemed as appropriate by the majority of local monks and clerics. At the same time they kept a low profile in imperial religious matters. Juvenal had been backed by the emperor Marcian who, despite of Juvenal's precarious position in 452–453, continued to favour this bishop as Theodosius II had done. Ultimately, letting go of Juvenal would have questioned the imperial involvement in the Council of Chalcedon and its decrees. This bishop's successors, however, were less prominent figures, and their actions were hardly in opposition to imperial religious politics. Still, it is somewhat astonishing that Anastasius had not been deposed by Zeno in 476. However, it is likely that in comparison to Timothy II Aelurus or Peter the Fuller, Anastasius was too unimportant for the emperor to make an example of by having him sign the *Encyclicon*. In Jerusalem, the years between 453 and 494 were a period for both clergy and monks to gather their powers. After all, the city's elevation to patriarchal rank was still a fairly recent event which the office holders would not want to risk. At the same time, the close connection between the desert monasteries and Jerusalem's clergy, which had begun during the episcopate of Juvenal, allowed the monks to eventually become more influential than the patriarchs, even though the latter came from the same circles. The career of Elias marked the watershed for the demise of patriarchal influence.

41. On the changing doctrinal allegiances of Palestinian monks, cf. Roldanus 1998:125.

The monastic takeover

Elias left his imprint on the topography of Jerusalem as well. Like Martyrius, he built a monastery. His monastic foundation, however, was located in the heart of the city next to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It appears that before his episcopate, anyone was allowed to build a hermit's cell or a monastery in the area of the deserted legionary camp south of David's Tower without having to pay for the ground. This was the part of the city where Peter the Iberian or Bassa had once founded their respective monasteries. The freedom to construct buildings would come to an end during Elias' term of office. He rounded up the hermits living in this area, not without resistance, and moved them into his newly constructed monastery next to the episcopal palace. This made it possible for him to sell the land to Sabas, who then constructed one of the Jerusalemite hostels there.⁴² Apparently, not all monastic foundations could easily be dissolved, and we might glimpse a repercussion of Elias' development plan from a funerary inscription of a bishop of the Iberians and their monastery, which clearly had been Peter the Iberian's original foundation. The tomb stone contained the rather remarkable additional information that the Iberian monks had bought (ἡγόρασαν) the monastery, which in Peter's times was build on free land.⁴³

Elias and Sabas were close. The patriarch backed the monk in an argument he had with a large group of monks in 506, which was followed by an uprising culminating in the

42. On Peter's monastery as well as on free land in this area, cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 64. We know from Theod. Petr. *Vit. Theod.* 13,7–15 and Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Theod.* 236,11–13 that in 454 or 455 the monk Theodosius was first hosted there by a *spoudaios* named Longinus, who used to live μελίσσης γὰρ τρόπῳ οἶον σίμβλῳ τιῶν ἐν κελλίῳ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ θεσπεσίπου Δαυὶδ (“like a bee in a beehive in a cell in divinely sweet David's Tower”); cf. Pétridès 1900–1901:226. Cf. *Vit. Sab.* 116,5–11 on Elias' building plans in Jerusalem with Avi-Yonah 1958:47. He also built two monasteries in the Judean Desert close to Jericho, in all likelihood prior to 474, when he was appointed priest of the Anastasis, cf. Hirschfeld 1990c:22–23.

43. Cf. *CIIP* I,1000, a tombstone dating to the late fifth or early sixth century. Tsafirir 2012:253–255 connects the explicit statement, that the monastery was purchased (cf. Di Segni 1993a:164–165), with the property conflict mentioned in Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 65. It makes more sense, however, to relate it to Elias' aspirations to convert the area into prime property for the patriarchate. *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 64 states that the monastery still stood, when the *Vita* was written (c. 500), and was called ⲛⲉⲛⲓⲁⲓⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛⲓⲁⲛ (“of the Iberians”), just as it is named in the Greek inscription.

destruction of Saba's cell and the departure of insurgent monks founding the New Laura. It seems that the controversy originated over contesting ideas concerning the simplicity of life in Saba's *laura*. The insurgent monks can be described as a traditionalist group adhering to the regulations of Chariton, whereas Sabas gradually moved towards coenobitic ideas and an increased involvement of his monks in urban politics. After the eruption of violence, matters calmed down, and a cooperation was negotiated. Sabas obtained one pound of gold (equivalent to 72 solidi) from Elias to re-build the New Laura in cooperation with the separatist monks as a dependance of the Great Laura. Sabas also obtained Elias' *ex post facto* permission for the foundation, a necessity deriving from the fourth canon of Chalcedon. The design of the cells in new the *laura* appears to have been a concession to the traditionalist monks: The ground plan was modelled on the *laura* of Pharan, where the monastic founding-father Chariton had once lived.⁴⁴ Likewise, a few years later, Elias supported Sabas after one monk, a certain James, had separated from the Great Laura and built his own *laura* on Sabas' land near a cistern called Heptastomos. The patriarch sent workmen to demolish James' construction, and Sabas had a new *laura* constructed nearby which eventually took over the cistern's name.⁴⁵

Elias broke with the cautious politics of his predecessors and ended communion with Alexandria. At the beginning of his episcopate, he was also not on good terms with Antioch, so that Patriarch Euphemius of Constantinople was by then his only ally.⁴⁶ For the inhabitants

44. The New Laura later figured in the Second Origenist Controversy, when about sixty of its monks were expelled. This number can be corroborated by the archaeological evidence of so far more than forty discovered cells, which significantly differed from other *laurae*, since they were homogenously built in 506/507 and, according to the requests of the traditionalist insurgent monks, marked by more simplicity; cf. Hirschfeld 2001:330 and 341–343, Patrich 1995:108–109 as well as Perrone 2006:169–170; cf. Price/Gaddis 2005:I,17 on the regulations formulated in the fourth canon of Chalcedon on new monastic foundations. Different interpretations for the revolt of 506 have been suggested by Patrich 1995:198–199 (tensions associated with the different origin of the monks, i.e. urban vs. rural), Binns 1994:206–207 (tensions due to an “intellectual gap” between more spiritually interested monks and the rustic Sabas) and Flusin 1983:52 (the motif of uprising as a necessary part of the hagiographical genre, giving similar examples for the Pachomian monasteries). On the development of the *laura* in Pharan, cf. Hirschfeld 1990c:6–7.

45. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 129,3–130,15 with Hirschfeld 1990c:40–41.

46. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 139,29–141,5 with Perrone 1980:145–146 and Grillmeier 2004:46–47.

of Jerusalem, Elias' alignment with Euphemius who openly defended Chalcedon must have been perceived as a distinct dogmatic foray. From the course of events, it is obvious that Elias could only act in this way because he initially had the support of important monks, first and foremost the two archimandrites, Sabas and Theodosius.⁴⁷ At the same time, two important figureheads of the first generation of anti-Chalcedonian resistance in Palestine died, Peter the Iberian and Isaiah of Scetis. In Constantinople, Euphemius' pro-Chalcedonian stance was much to the dismay of the reigning emperor, Anastasius, who focused his religious politics on maintaining Zeno's *Henoticon*. From the time of the decree's promulgation onwards, it had caused problems exactly because it ignored Chalcedon. The intended doctrinal flexibility only generated new divisions to the already existing groups. In Palestine, some anti-Chalcedonians accepted the *Henoticon*, for example Marcianus, while others, such as Peter the Iberian or Gerontius rejected it. The patriarchs of Jerusalem, for example Sallustius and Elias, could accept both Chalcedon and the *Henoticon*, whereas the Patriarch of Constantinople rejected the *Henoticon* exactly because it ignored Chalcedon. For this reason, Euphemius had been a *bête noire* of the emperor since the beginning of Anastasius' reign. His eventual deposition in 496 was aided by the fact that his patriarchal authority had been undermined by the previous endeavours of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, joined by Sallustius of Jerusalem.⁴⁸ The new Patriarch of Constantinople, Macedonius, only half-heartedly supported the *Henoticon*, something he had in common with Elias of Jerusalem as well as with the new Patriarch of Antioch, Flavian II, with whom Elias had entered into communion. The triad of these three patriarchs, all critical towards the *Henoticon*, however, was one consisting of three men who were far from being powerful leaders of their sees. Nevertheless, at times they attempted to act as if they were: When Anastasius, who believed that supporting the Mia-

47. Cf. Kötter 2013:239.

48. Cf. Haas 1993:307, Kötter 2013:122–128, and, on Euphemius' deposition, Dijkstra/Greatrex 2009:227–230.

physites would help his imperial politics, had invited Philoxenus of Hierapolis to Constantinople, Macedonius and Flavian treated this Syrian Miaphysite with inappropriate pride. Macedonius even instigated riots in the capital, forcing Philoxenus to leave Constantinople.⁴⁹ Similarly, Elias in Jerusalem embarked on a dogmatic policy which was more outspokenly pro-Chalcedonian than all the pronouncements his predecessors had made over half a century. He was spurred by Sabas and Theodosius, but also gained support from the learned monk Nephalius, an elusive figure about whom we are only informed by Miaphysite sources, which are unanimously hostile against him, and whom they considered as a traitor, since Nephalius had entered the stage as an anti-Chalcedonian in 482.⁵⁰ Indeed, he changed his mind; however, in all likelihood he did so slowly and over a long period: The next time, he was mentioned in the sources, was twenty-six years later, in 508, when he delivered a speech in front of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. It was directed against Severus, the former law student, who over the equally long period of eighteen years had become one of the leading Miaphysites in the Holy Land.⁵¹ It is likely that Nephalius had moved to one of Sabas' monasteries. His theology was influenced by the conciliatory policies of the desert monks and previous patriarchs, at least this is the image that derives from Severus' response to Nephalius, since nothing of the latter's writings has survived. He attempted to find a more precise wording than the "in two natures" chosen in 451 in order to avoid any connections to Eutyches' theology. Nephalius seems to have suggested terms such as "two united natures" or "two united and indivisible natures" – aiming to demonstrate that this was exactly what those rejecting Chalcedon meant, when they used the formula "one incarnate nature."⁵²

49. Cf. Bacht 1953:275–278 and Dijkstra/Greatrex 2009:255.

50. Cf. Zach., *hist. eccl.* 6,2a.

51. Cf. Zach., *Vit. Sev.* 144; cf. Gray 2001:240–241 and Allen/Hayward 2004:7–8 as well as Brock/Fitzgerald 2013:3–4 on Nephalius and Severus traveling to Constantinople in 508.

52. These formulations can be deduced from Severus' second oration against Nephalius, cf. *Sev., c. Neph.* 2,11.12.29–31. (trans. 9, 10, 22, 23, 46); cf. Gray 2001:241 n. 24 arguing for an irenic approach chosen by Nephalius. Bacht 1953:278–279, Allen/Hayward 2004:8–9, Kofsky 2007:46–47, and Alpi 2009:I,44–45 present

There were several reasons that the local conflict between Nephalius and Severus escalated and became an empire-wide affair. Patriarch Elias clearly aimed at using the situation to expel once and for all the anti-Chalcedonians from his Patriarchate.⁵³ He had reason to be optimistic, since this had previously worked with certain individuals, for example Gerontius and Romanus during the episcopate of Martyrius, as well as in the case of the less prominent Urbicia, whom Sallustius had banished from the Mount of Olives. Patriarch Macedonius' seeming success to oust Philoxenus from Constantinople might also have spurred Elias to action, and Nephalius' own slow rapprochement from an anti-Chalcedonian position towards the competing faith may point to an actual weakness of Miaphysite positions in Palestine, especially after the death of Peter the Iberian in 491. Peter, however, had found a worthy successor in Severus. While the emerging pro-Chalcedonian climate in Maiuma caused him to be driven out of the city, Severus, who must have been worried that Nephalius' eirenic arguments could have universal appeal, sought the help of Anastasius. In 508, both Nephalius and Severus travelled to the capital to present their cases. Surely upon recommendation of his patriarch, Nephalius quickly gained the support of Macedonius of Constantinople. Severus, however, was introduced at court and won over the emperor. It seems that the three patriarchs, Macedonius of Constantinople, Flavian of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem, had underestimated Severus and his potential. It took a series of fierce provocations on account of Macedonius, until the patriarch was deposed by Anastasius in 511 in the wake of the *Trishagion* controversy between Severus and Macedonius, concerning the phrase "who was crucified for us," added to the doxology by Peter the Fuller some forty years earlier.⁵⁴ Macedonius

Nephalius as a much more violent character.

53. Cf. Grillmeier 2004:42–44 and Kötter 2013:240.

54. Cf. Moeller 1951:652–653, van Esbroeck 1996:389–394, Allen/Hayward 2004:9, and Ashkenazi 2009:120–122. The addition was ultimately rejected one year later by Anastasius himself following the uprising of the Chalcedonian sleepless monks in Constantinople. A reflection of the events was not only noticeable in the capital, but also in the desert monasteries, where Sabas forbade the Armenian monks to add the *Trishagion* to the doxology; cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 117,19–118,3; cf. Bacht 1953:280–282, Torrance 1988:4–6, Perrone 1998a:31–32 and 1998b:84–85 as well as Gray 2001:239–240.

was convinced that in the case of a deposition, he would be saved by the pro-Chalcedonian clergy and population of Constantinople. However, the fact that there was no resistance to his deposition at all, should have been a warning sign for Elias of Jerusalem.⁵⁵ He condemned the deposition, yet accepted the doctrinal positions of and remained in communion with Macedonius' successor, Timothy, a puppet-patriarch, who had no influence while Anastasius kept religious matters firmly in his and Severus' hands. While Elias' predecessors had focused on reconciliation and their actions were hardly noticed by the emperor, his more confrontational approach was promptly answered: In 512 Philoxenus was granted imperial permission to convene a synod in Sidon to discuss the depositions of Flavian and Elias. Cyril of Scythopolis retrospectively remarked, that a fierce storm hung over the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch.⁵⁶

After Nephalius and Severus, the early sixth century saw another illustrious visitor from Palestine at Anastasius' court. It was not the Jerusalemite Patriarch, who traveled to the Bosphorus, but Sabas the Great. Apparently it was necessary to send a figure as influential as him to the emperor to prevent Anastasius from deposing Elias. In his commendatory letter, the patriarch had labelled Sabas as "the coloniser and guardian of our desert and luminary over all Palestine."⁵⁷ Sabas' mission to Constantinople is presented by Cyril of Scythopolis as a success, but in fact, it had no influence on the emperor's ecclesiastical politics.⁵⁸ Anastasius did not reaffirm the *Tomus Leonis*, as Sabas would have hoped, however, he agreed to the pe-

55. Cf. Evagr. 3,44 and Zach., *hist. eccl.* 7,7–9; cf. Steppa 2005:54–55, Blázquez 2007:296–297, and Pfeilschifter 2013:411–412.

56. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 141,4–5: κλύδων μέγας ταῖς ἀμφοτέραις ἐπέκειτο ἐκκλησίαις.

57. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 141,8–11: [...] τὸν πολιστὴν καὶ πολιοῦχον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐρήμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς Παλαιστίνης φωστῆρα.

58. Cf. Hasse-Ungeheuer 2015:241–243 and esp. Kötter 2013:240 arguing that Sabas had very explicitly requested from Anastasius to adhere to the *Tomus Leonis* (as opposed to the problematic *Henoticon*), this was denied by the emperor. Sivan 2008:41 and Trampedach 2005:279–284, however, interpret Sabas' journey as a success, believing Cyril's report to be true, which speaks of an angelic vision Anastasius had, when Sabas entered the audience chamber, and calls the emperor φιλομόναχος.

tition not to depose Elias, at least for the moment. On the contrary Flavian of Antioch was deposed, and it was clear whom Philoxenus would successfully put forward as a successor: Severus, who presented Anastasius with a theologically articulate leadership⁵⁹ and a clear Miaphysite interpretation of the *Henoticon*, which remained the main tool in the emperor's ecclesiastical policy. As Patriarch of Antioch, Severus upheld good connections with his counterparts in Alexandria and Constantinople. Elias of Jerusalem broke off communion with him, according to Zachariah, because of the influence which Nephalius wielded on the patriarch.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, it seems that Elias hastily changed his politics and reverted to the more cautious strategies of his predecessors, making concessions to the Miaphysites.⁶¹ However, again, he had chosen a wrong path, because by doing so, he lost the support of Sabas and Theodosius, who eventually would do nothing against his deposition. In a way, the empire-wide practice that patriarchs could easily be exchanged, had by that point finally reached Jerusalem too. Stability was granted not by the occupant of the See of James, but by the monastic leaders in the Judean Desert. While Elias soon would spend the remainder of his life in exile,⁶² Sabas evolved as a figure that was much more than the coloniser of the desert: within a short time, he would propel the desert monasteries into the politics of the Empire.⁶³

59. On Severus as a captivating preacher who was actively engaging with his audience, cf. Allen 1998:178–179 with several examples, and, on his lost correspondence, Vööbus 1975:2.

60. Cf. Zach., *Vit. Sev.* 143.

61. Cf. the allusions in Zach., *hist. eccl.* 7,10d with Kötter 2013:241 n. 788 and Sivan 2008:222–224.

62. Elias died ten days after the emperor on July 20, 518 in Sabas' arms, who had travelled to Aila; cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 161,5.

63. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 126,5 and 158,17 with Wilken 1999:243. Cf. Binns 1994:163–165 for a thorough discussion of the titles applied to Sabas. On Sabas' mission forming a contrast to the solitary and tranquil life, for which, according to the hagiographical sources, the monks generally longed for, cf. Hay 1996:120–121.

7) Towards universal importance: the holy city from Anastasius to Justinian

A little before the *Apostasia Palaestinae*, a saintly woman, Sophia, lived in Constantinople where she was married and had three sons. After the death of her husband, she considered entering a convent, however, she was afraid of the disapproval of her children. While praying before a golden cross at night, Sophia was suddenly transferred in a cloud by the Virgin to Jerusalem, where she met the anti-Chalcedonian patriarch Theodosius. Her sons began to search for her, however, they arrived in Jerusalem only at the moment of Sophia's death. Later, the woman, whose name not coincidentally was identical with that of Holy Wisdom, was brought back to Constantinople, where she was venerated in the great church, Hagia Sophia.¹ Van Esbroeck showed that this Coptic legend originated in an anti-Chalcedonian *milieu* during Anastasius' reign. For a Miaphysite reader in the late fifth century, the message was clear: Holy Wisdom was widowed from all that kept her in the capital during the reign of the Chalcedonian emperor Marcian and his wife Pulcheria. Sophia could only live on in the holy city, where the true faith, unpolluted by the Chalcedonian dogma, had been preserved. In the days of Anastasius, however, Hagia Sophia could finally come home to Constantinople, where she was aptly venerated. While for leading anti-Chalcedonians the first decade of the sixth century brought them recognition in the capital, and for the first time the open support of an emperor, the situation in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem became tense. The approaching storm, which Cyril of Scythopolis had mentioned, finally descended upon the holy city.

1. Cf. van Esbroeck 2001b:132–133 as well as 136, on the name of the patriarch, which is given as 'Theodore,' and 136–138 on the dating and interpretation of the legend. On Anastasius as an orthodox emperor in Miaphysite hagiography, cf. Kofsky 2007:44.

A violent conflagration

It must have been a long and hard day for the monks of the desert. It started early, for some had to come from as far as the solitary cells scattered around the Great Laura or even from further south in the Judean Desert. Others may have begun their march from the network of monasteries located on the road leading down to Jericho, whereas some resided in the holy city itself and arrived there after a less exhausting journey.² It was Elias' successor, John III, who had summoned them to hasten to Jerusalem. The year was 516, and matters were urgent: The inevitable deposition of Elias had taken place three years earlier in 513 after he had again refused to sign synodical letters by Severus of Antioch which condemned the decrees of Chalcedon.³ Anastasius had sent the *dux Palaestinae* Olympus to Jerusalem in order to re-enforce a strict anti-Chalcedonian theology.⁴ It was Olympus, who had appointed John, a deacon of the Anastasis, upon the latter's promise to accept Severus' theology. As soon as he was made patriarch, however, John immediately pronounced himself in favour of Chalcedon. On learning this, Anastasius now sent Olympus' successor, a man also called Anastasius, to Jerusalem in order to force John as well as Sabas and all the monks of Palestine to accept the anti-Chalcedonian letters, or to otherwise oust John from his Patriarchal see, just as Olympus had done with Elias a few years earlier. And indeed, John was thrown into prison where he again promised to speak out against Chalcedon in two days, as a result

2. On the network of paths connecting the desert monasteries, cf. Hirschfeld 1992:9–10 and 205–212 as well as Patrich 1990:206 and 1995a:54–55, Binns 1994:81–82, and Wilken 1999:243. Dagron 1970:236 has noted that the monks (in Constantinople) were able to adapt to the social mechanisms of big cities more quickly than the clergy, particularly by being quicker to assemble in large numbers.

3. At the same time, Severus of Antioch preached against the Chalcedonians of Palestine in *hom.* 62, entitled “On the pieces of glass which were sent from Palestine and on the pieces of coal which were vomited by the possessed, and which were exhibited in the holy church of God at Antioch.” It seems that after some form of exorcism, those ‘healed’ vomited such items which consequently were sent to Severus and publicly displayed; cf. Allen 1998:178.

4. Cf. Patrich 1995:306–307, Haarer 2006:160–161, Blázquez 2007:298, and Ashekanzi 2009:123–126. For a discussion of Anastasius' religious policy after the accession of Severus in 512, cf. Haacke 1953:124–128, and Dijkstra/Greatrex 2009:233–234.

of which he was released. John knew of the influence of the desert monks with Sabas and Theodosius as their leaders. Unlike the emperor in Constantinople, they were very much present and influential in Jerusalem, one reason for him – beyond all Christological convictions – to adhere to the doctrine of Chalcedon that Sabas by now strictly maintained.⁵ Given that we learn nothing about the monks trying to prevent John from being thrown into prison in the first place, it seems that the new patriarch knew very well that he was replaceable.⁶ Contrary to the situation in 451, when Juvenal relied on the seemingly distant emperor, John was aware that his office depended on the benevolence of Sabas. This time, the monastic sphere around him was more important than the imperial. Therefore, John immediately summoned “all the monks to the holy city.”⁷ Upon hearing about the emperor’s plans to imprison and exile their bishop, they came in very large numbers. Cyril of Scythopolis claimed that ten thousand monks came together, so many that they had to gather at Eudocia’s church of St Stephen outside the walls. The number is surely exaggerated, since there were never more than three thousand monks living at the same time in the desert.⁸ Nevertheless, especially if we add to this number the sizeable community of Jerusalemite monks as well as citizens and pilgrims, this must definitely have been an impressive gathering that also included Hypatius, a nephew of the emperor, who happened to be in the city.⁹ While the *dux Palaestinae* still expected the triad of John, Sabas, and Theodosius to anathematize Chalcedon, they ascended the pulpit of St Stephen and unanimously proclaimed anathema upon Severus and everyone

5. For a thorough discussion of the power-political aspects of this episode (recorded in Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 148,5–157,19) and of the relations between the Palestinian monks and the emperor in Constantinople, cf. Trampedach 2005:274. On the prison in Jerusalem, cf. Di Segni 1996:583.

6. Cf. Bacht 1953:286–287 and Kötter 2013:241–242. On the weakening of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem after Juvenal, cf. Millar 2009:164*–165* as well as Binns 1989:5.

7. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 151,8–9: ἅπαν τὸ μοναχικὸν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μετεπέμψατο πόλιν.

8. Hirschfeld 1992:78–79 and Patrich 1995:8–9, cf. also Bacht 1953:295 and Trampedach 2005:274.

9. On Hypatius as a potential pro-Chalcedonian candidate for Anastasius’ succession in 518, cf. Haacke 1953:142.

who did not accept the Council's rulings.¹⁰ Certainly impressed by the number of the assembled monks, the *dux* thought it better to quickly depart from the city, while Hypatius, the imperial nephew, proclaimed that he honored the communion of the Palestinian monks and not the communion of Severus of Antioch. His uncle, the emperor, however, prepared to condemn to exile both Patriarch John as well as the monastic leaders Sabas and Theodosius.¹¹

When this plan became known in Jerusalem, Sabas and Theodosius, the “captains of the monks, combatants for piety, and generals and champions of Orthodoxy,”¹² as Cyril of Scythopolis called them, again summoned the monks and, unanimously wrote a petition and supplication (δέησις καὶ ἱκεσία) to the emperor.¹³ It is interesting to note, however, that Patriarch John himself is not named as a sender of this letter, which was signed only by Sabas and Theodosius.¹⁴ They explained to Anastasius that his rule rested on God's command that he may bestow peace on all churches, and in particular on “the mother of the churches,” Jerusalem.¹⁵ They stressed the importance of the venerable Holy Cross and, echoing Leo the Great's words in 453, the godly status of the holy places which they, the inhabitants of the Holy Land, had received.¹⁶ Sabas and Theodosius expressed their disapproval that the city of Jerusalem was in turmoil and that the patriarch, the priests, and the monastic crowd had been expelled from the holy city, and that they were “compelled to do things harmful to the

10. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 151,24–152,2 with Frend 1972:151–153.

11. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 152,12–15. Hypatius also donated hundred pounds of gold coin to three Jerusalemite churches and another hundred each to Theodosius and Sabas to distribute among their monks.

12. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 152,16–18: οἱ τῶν μοναχῶν ταξιάρχαι καὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγωνισταὶ καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας στρατηγοὶ καὶ πρόμαχοι.

13. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 152,21–26.

14. On the considerable influence of the archimandrites on the patriarchs, cf. Hirschfeld 1992:14.

15. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 153,2–3: μήτερ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. Trampedach 2005:277 with n. 13 pointed to the fact that this formula appears no less than three times in the letter (*Vit. Sab.* 153,25 and 155,8).

16. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 153,7–9.

faith,”¹⁷ which left all those who had sojourned there for the sake of prayer filled with confusion (this referred to the pilgrims, as always, an important source of income for the city). The two monks did not fail to allude to Isaiah 2:3, “out of Sion shall go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem,” or to repeat the important claim first made by Bishop Cyril in the fourth century: “If [Jerusalem’s] inhabitants touch as it were with their own hands the truth each day through the venerable places [...], how then,” Sabas and Theodosius added, “more than five hundred years since the coming of Christ, were [they] [...] to learn the faith [anew]?”¹⁸ They named Severus as the originator of all this anarchy with whom they would never enter into communion. “If,” they threatened, “life and death depend on our account of the faith, it is death that we prefer.”¹⁹ If the emperor insisted on their acceptance of Severus’ anti-Chalcedonian beliefs, they assured him,²⁰

that the blood of all of [them] will willingly be shed and all the holy places be consumed with fire before such a thing come to pass in this holy city of God. For what benefit is there in the bare title of the holy places if they are so ravaged and dishonored?

What Sabas and Theodosius stated in this letter was nothing less than religious blackmail: The Chalcedonian monks of Jerusalem would rather die than accept Severus’ theology, but before their martyrdom they would set fire to the *loca sancta*. Their threat met its goal: The emperor left Sabas and his monks in peace, and Patriarch John remained in his see. In a letter sent to Alcison, bishop of Nicopolis, the monks of Palestine concluded that “the monasteries here and Jerusalem itself [were], through God, in accord concerning the correct faith,”²¹ and

17. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 154,7–8: τινα πρὸς βλάβην τῆς πίστεως ποιεῖν ἀναγκαζομένων.

18. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 154,14–20: ἐκ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται νόμος καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ οἰονεὶ χερσὶν οἰκείαις καθ’ ἑκάστην τὴν ἀλήθειαν ψηλαφῶντες οἱ ταύτης οἰκήτορες δι’ αὐτῶν τῶν σεβασμίων τόπων [...] πῶς οὖν μετὰ πεντακόσια καὶ περαιτέρω τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας ἔτη οἱ Ἱεροσολυμίται πίστιν μανθάνομεν; Cf. Cyr. Hier., *catech.* 13,22.

19. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 155,11–13: ζωῆς γὰρ καὶ θανάτου κειμένων ἐν τῷ περὶ πίστεως λόγῳ ὁ θάνατος ἡμῖν ἐστὶν προτιμότερος.

20. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 157,14–19: ὡς τὰ αἵματα πάντων ἡμῶν προθύμως ἐκχέηται καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι τόποι πυρὶ ἀναλίσκονται πρὶν ἂν τι τοιοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτῃ πόλει γένηται. τί γὰρ ὄφελος τῆς ψιλῆς τῶν ἁγίων τόπων προσηγορίας οὕτως αὐτῶν πορθουμένων καὶ ἀτιμαζομένων. Cf. also Egender 1984:311–312, Patrich 1995:306–309, Hamilton 1998:297–299, and Stroumsa 1999b:431–432.

additionally mentioned that they were by far not the only region where the clergy adhered to Chalcedonian orthodoxy.

The self-confidence that Sabas, Theodosius, and their monks displayed had reached a hitherto unknown level: Anastasius requested the archimandrites to come to Constantinople – however, they refused to comply. The emperor, who did not even ask to see the patriarch, seemed to have recognised their authority which they legitimised through the sanctity of the holy city; Anastasius allowed the matter to rest. From the imperial perspective, the power exerted by the two monks was advantageous: At least, there was concord in Palestine in the unanimous rejection of Severus. The desert monks may not have acted in accordance with the imperial plans, yet, unlike Antioch with its rivalling parties, Jerusalem was quiet. Anastasius, whose politics had caused riots in the capital that had nearly cost him life and purple, could focus on Constantinopolitan religious politics as well as on the conflicts in Antioch in the wake of the rebellion of Vitalian, and so he refrained from further actions in the holy city.²² Anastasius even donated money to the Holy Land, however, from what we can gather from the sources, with the notable exception of Jerusalem itself.²³ Some members of the imperial house, especially the afore-mentioned Hypatius and his sister-in-law, Anastasia, maintained closer contacts to the holy city.²⁴

21. Evagr. 3,33: τὰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα μοναστήρια καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁμονοοῦσι σὺν θεῷ περὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστιν. Cf. also 3,31 for an earlier lengthy quotation from the same letter; cf. Haarer 2006:148, 155 with n. 176, and 160 with n. 208, as well as Charanis 1974:75 n. 147.

22. Cf. Bacht 1953:283–384, Haacke 1953:136 and Kötter 2013:242. Whether Anastasius' reply to the monks is recorded in Theod. Petr., *Vit. Theod.* 60,17–61,25 has been debated, cf. Schwartz 1939:386, Hombergen 2001:119–130, and Trampedach 2005:277–278, who suggested that Theodorus of Petra falsely inserted a different imperial reply to the monk; cf. also Patrich 1995:308.

23. Cf. Theod. 20 (on the church of St John the Baptist at the Baptismal site, built by orders of Anastasius). Cf. Di Segni/Hirschfeld 1986:265 (on restoration works at the harbour of Caesarea, cf. also Di Segni 1996:577), 253–257 (for an imperial inscription in the baths of Ḥammāt Gader), and 258–260 (for a second inscription at these baths by the governor Mucius Alexander, mentioning that he was δεξάμενος μέγα δῶρον Ἀναστασίου βασιλῆος (“received a great gift from the emperor Anastasius”) for the renovation); cf. also Ashkenazi 1995:57 on the continuation of imperial patronage at places which were not unambiguously Christian.

24. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 147,6–9 names Anastasia, the widow of Hypatius' brother Pompeius, as his main source on Sabas' first mission to Constantinople. Hypatius, Pompeius, and Anastasia appear to have held Chalcedonian convictions. After the executions of Anastasius' nephews in the wake of the Nika riot in 532,

When Anastasius died in 518 and was succeeded by the former *comes excubitorum*, Justin I, perhaps aided by his nephew Petrus Sabbatius, the resistance of Sabas and Theodosius was duly recognised. Justin enforced a Chalcedonian restoration, and immediately the imperial orders were publicly displayed in Jerusalem where a number of bishops assembled for a synod on 6 August, less than a month after the new emperor's accession. Since John of Jerusalem urged Sabas to travel to Caesarea and Scythopolis, to insert the Four Ecumenical Councils in the local diptychs (as well as the names of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem adhering to the Councils' decrees), it becomes clear that the Synod of Jerusalem had been a minor event attended only by those bishops who happened to be in the city on that day, and certainly not by the bishops of the provincial capitals of Palaestina Prima and Secunda.²⁵ In an empire-wide context, Justin's action to reject the *Henoticon* (as well as the various attempts made by his predecessors to adapt it) was a step backwards, yet it was a necessary one: because of the *Henoticon*, the Church was confronted with groups which accepted it and those who did not; by 518, however, both parties had produced various subgroups according to whether they adopted a more moderate or more rigorous stance in their general acceptance or rejection.²⁶ Justin's religious policies thus meant to reduce the large number of doctrinal attitudes to those two that had existed in the *status quo* of the year 451: Adherence to or rejection of Chalcedon. Ultimately, Rome and Constantinople were heading towards a reconciliation, at the cost of the disintegration of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. In Antioch, Severus had to flee the city towards Egypt on 29 September. Vitalian, who had been discontent with the ordination of this patriarch in the first place and had rebelled against Anastasius largely for this

Anastasia retired to Jerusalem and founded a monastery, also Di Segni/Tsafirir 2012:422. *CIIP* I,835 and 899 mention a woman of this name, however, both inscriptions cannot securely be attributed to Pompeius' widow.

25. Cf. Patrich 1995:309 and Millar 2009:166*–167*.

26. Cf. Moeller 1951:645–646, Haacke 1953:126–130 and Kötter 2014:170–171. Similar situations arose already earlier: Cf. Zachariah, *hist. eccl.* 5,4d on the case of bishop Theodotus of Ioppe, who had been ordained by Theodosius yet accepted the *Tomus Leonis* and the decrees of Chalcedon; cf. Frend 1972:176 and Perrone 1980:123–125.

reason, sent a military commander to capture Severus and cut out his tongue. Severus barely made it to Egypt, where his last years found only a small echo in Coptic literature.²⁷

Sabas at the imperial court

In the Holy Land, Justin's Chalcedonian restoration brought about a noticeable change. It was the death blow to most of the anti-Chalcedonian monasteries in the Gaza region.²⁸ At the same time, the clear arguments that Sabas and Theodosius had employed in their letter to Anastasius, evolved into the city's very own legitimation, its *raison d'être*: the special status of Jerusalem was accepted by Justin I without any questions, more so by his successor, Petrus Sabbatius, who had adopted the *cognomen* Justinian, as well as by all future emperors until the city was conquered by Abū 'Ubayda and 'Umar ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb in 637. Compared to the attempts of the fourth- and fifth-century bishops and patriarchs to promote the Holy Land's importance (even to Juvenal's bold change of mind in 451), it becomes clear that the monks and priests had understood the clear potential of the empire-wide importance of the Holy Land with its *loca sancta* only in the last decade of the fifth century. Sabas successfully cultivated this claim that, in a way, had so often been put to the test during the fifth century.²⁹ When he visited the dying Elias in Aila in 518, he was already eighty years old. At the age of ninety-three, he would travel even further – to Constantinople, for the second time in his life.³⁰ He enjoyed several audiences with the emperor, who received him with highest

27. Cf. Cramer/Bacht 1953:327–328 and *PLRE* 2, s.v. “Vitalianus 2” pp. 1171–1176. On Severus' flight, cf. Millar 2009:168*, Brock/Fitzgerald 2013:4–5, and Crum 1932–1933 on his hiding disguised as a simple monk in Egypt and on the Coptic texts (“d'une valeur historique presque nulle”), which describe this last phase of his life, cf. also Youssef 2015:342. On accounts describing the miraculous arrival of Severus in Scetis, cf. Brakmann 2004:279–281.

28. Cf. Horn 2003:125–128, Kofsky 2004:183–184, and Steppa 2005:18–19.

29. Cf. the frequent repetition of the phrase παρ' ἡμῖν (“among us”), e.g. in παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς αὐλὰς καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἐπήξατο· παρ' ἡμῖν τῆς διακονίας τὸν κληρὸν καὶ τὴν μερίδα τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἔλαχεν (“it is in our midst that he fixed his abode and his tents; it is in our midst that he obtained the election to his ministry and the part of his martyrdom”) in Hesych. Hier., *hom.* 9,2. This was a statement which was only possible in Jerusalem; cf. Wilken 1999:241.

30. On the date of Sabas' second journey to Constantinople, cf. Stein 1944:171–180; cf. also Z. Rubin

honours. The old monk predicted to the emperor the future conquest of Africa, Rome, and all the rest of the empire of Honorius. The monk's clairvoyance can be easily explained, since Justinian was the first emperor after the fourth century, who adopted triumphal names. Among the eight titles he had adopted, some related to past battles, others to victories yet to come. It seems to be more than a coincidence, that the earliest Justinianic inscription, which contains these titles, has been found in Jerusalem.³¹ The prophesy, however, came at a price, as Sabas presented Justinian with five requests, so that the outcome of the audiences was characterised by reciprocity: Sabas and all monks in Palestine would pray for the emperor, and this included that they would completely and utterly support his religious policies. At the same time, they could be reassured of undivided imperial support, not least financially. Sabas also made sure that Justinian would not forget about this agreement and left a group of Palestinian monks in the capital, among them the future theologian Leontius of Byzantium. Similarly, there were also cases of connections between the religious and the political sphere, a certain Summus, for example, who had been an advisor to Sabas and John of Jerusalem since the early 520s, was appointed *dux Palaestinae* shortly after Sabas' visit to Constantinople.³² In general, Sabas' new and bold self-conception regarding the importance of the Holy Land would pave the way for subsequent generations of desert monks who perceived themselves as a central elite whose prayers at the holy places were indispensable for the welfare of the Empire.³³

1999b:230–233.

31. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 175,20–176 with Flusin 1983:207–208, Trampedach 2005:282–283 and 2015:157. On the inscription, cf. Di Segni 2011:352–357. It is not clear whether the statement of Prok., *bell.* 3,10,18–21, that an eastern bishop prophesied to Justinian that the emperor would be successful against the Vandals and in Libya, refers to Sabas' mission.

32. On Leontius of Byzantium, cf. Binns 1994:252; on Summus, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 168,10–18 and 178,5.

33. Cf. Trampedach 2005:293–295 and, on Sabas' mission, Di Segni 2012:259–261.

Apart from tax exemptions and the construction of a hospital in Jerusalem, Sabas urged the emperor to rebuild the churches which had been destroyed in the wake of a recent uprising of the Samaritans. Their religion was closely connected to Mount Gerizim near Neapolis in Samaria. The hill was, according to Samaritan belief, identical with the place where Joshua had set up an altar after the Children of Israel came to the promised land: rather than the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, God had chosen Mount Gerizim as the place for his sanctuary. The rival temple was a cause of permanent tension between Samaritans and Jews until it was destroyed in the second century BC under the reign of the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus. Later, a temple of Jupiter was constructed on the spot, often ascribed to Hadrian, while it seems more likely according to the archaeological evidence that it was built during the reign of Antoninus Pius,³⁴ at a time when also other monumental buildings were constructed in Neapolis. The sources record increased tensions between Samaritans and Christians from the reign of Zeno onwards, endangering pilgrimage to Jerusalem.³⁵ Samaritan texts report that the emperor wanted to transform their sanctuary into a church or a shrine for his deceased son,³⁶ thus causing an uprising. Christians in Neapolis were killed, and the rebellion spread until Caesarea where several buildings were destroyed, prompting the emperor to have his soldiers employed to subdue the insurgents. Regardless, in the wake of these events, a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary was built on top of the mountain, most likely between 484 and

34. Cf. Schneider 1951:212–214, who ascribes the construction of the temple to Hadrian, but notes that its earliest depiction on coins dates to the reign of Antoninus Pius; cf. s.v. “Samaritan Temple on Mt. Garizim” in *EAH* XI:6584–6585. An good overview over the history of the Samaritans in Late Antiquity is presented in Sivan 2008:107–142.

35. Cf. *Vit. Dan. Styl.* 10, cf. Di Segni 1993b:200. While it cannot be excluded that a small Samaritan community lived in late antique Jerusalem, the mention of a quarter of the Samaritans (cf. *Expug. Hier. arab.* A,23,21: وقبرت من حارة سمرة قبا سبع مائة وثلاثة وعشرين نفسا: “And I buried 723 souls from the Samaritan quarter”) in 614 seems to be a scribal error and refers in all likelihood to a street named after the Samaritan woman of the New Testament; cf. Milik 1960–1961:163–167 and Di Segni/Tsafirir 2012:410. On the problems for pilgrimage, cf. Sivan 2008:127.

36. The Samaritan sources also give the parallel story that Zeno intended the building on Mount Gerizim to become his own tomb; cf. Magen 1993a:83 n. 6 and, for a more cautious view concerning the intensity of the uprising of 484, Di Segni 1998:62–65 and Ribak 2005:18–19 against Bowersock 1997:4 and Holum 2003:160–161.

489.³⁷ The sources are not entirely clear whether the Samaritan uprising was a result of the construction works or whether the erection of the church was partially meant to be a punishment for the revolt, though the latter seems to be the more likely option which is also given by Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale*; Procopius, however, records the opposite, namely that the uprising was a consequence of Zeno's intention to build a church.³⁸ In any case, it is likely that the mountain came into a Christian focus already about a century earlier, when, financed by the Roman matron Poemenia, pagan remains were cleared away.³⁹ In the years following the construction of Zeno's church, a small Roman garrison was stationed on the mountain. In 495, under the reign of Anastasius, Samaritan sources write that a woman convinced some men to seize the church and massacre the soldiers, a plan that utterly failed and only resulted in a new military intervention.⁴⁰ In 529, led by the Messianic figure Julian ben Sabar, the Samaritans launched their most violent attacks: The sources speak of the murder of the bishop of Neapolis as well as of massacres on local priests and the destruction of several churches⁴¹ – this is the uprising Sabas mentioned at the imperial court in 531. Justinian granted the wish of the old monk, and he also built a high outer wall around the church on Mount

37. On the church, cf. Schneider 1951:218–213, Armstrong 1969:21–23, Magen 1993a:83–85, and Tsafir 1998:199 all following the chronology of Procopius and therefore dating the church to before 484, when Zeno detached ten soldiers to guard the site. On the architectural similarities to the earlier Kathisma Church, cf. Avner 2003:183 as well as Avner/Puni 2012:265.

38. Cf. Malalas 383,48–78, *Chron. pasch.* 484, and Proc., *aed.* 5,7,1–17. Cf. Sivan 2008:119–120 (following the course of events described by Malalas and the *Chronicon paschale*).

39. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 43. An inscription demonstrates that (parallel to other cases, e.g. in Dor, cf. *CIIP* II,2117 with Dauphin 1993:96) a stone from Golgotha was displayed on Mount Gerizim, cf. *SEG* 8,134 (Λίθος ἐκ | τοῦ ἁγ[ι]ου | Κρανίου) with cf. Schneider 1951:230, Di Segni 1990c:343, and Magen 1993a:88. While the Samaritan sources do not mention a synagogue on the mountain, and it seems that they were not banned from accessing it until the reign of Zeno, Malalas and the *Chronicon Paschale* attribute their anger as a result of the conversion of an existing building, cf. Magen 1990:333–334.

40. Cf. Di Segni 1993b:201 and Sivan 2008:124–125, who interprets the revolt as a sign of female authority among the Samaritans, while it appears more sensible to read the passage as an attempt of the author to dissociate himself from a revolt which was so 'unreasonable' that only a woman could have initiated it.

41. Cf. Proc., *aed.* 5,7,17. On the depiction of the Samaritan revolts in Procopius' *De Aedificiis*, cf. Av. Cameron 1985:92–95.

Gerizim in order to protect it,⁴² however, the emperor would have to face another Samaritan uprising in 556. This time, it seems that they sided with the Jews, perhaps as a reaction to imperial favours granted to the Christian Church by Justinian. Again, there were uprisings in Caesarea, but they seemed to have spread to various other places as well: In all likelihood, fights in Bethlehem resulted in the burning down of the Church of the Nativity, which as a consequence was rebuilt by the emperor using traditional Constantinian decoration types.⁴³ The revolt was defeated by a special imperial envoy, Irenaeus, while several *duces Palaestinae*, among them Patriarch John's former advisor, Summus, were occupied with combatting the guerrilla warfare that followed.⁴⁴ Justinian's successor, Justin II, also had to face an uprising in 572, this time on the slopes of Mount Carmel, where around the same time the Piacenza Pilgrim described the hostile atmosphere between Samaritans and Christians.⁴⁵ Ultimately, the series of uprisings of the late fifth and sixth centuries resulted in a harsh legislation against the Samaritans whose population numbers dwindled dramatically. Sabas, pleading Justinian to reconstruct the churches destroyed in the uprising of 529, would not live to witness the even more devastating destructions of the 550s, since he died two years after his sojourn at Constantinople. Among the remaining requests on his list, there was the construction of a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, in Jerusalem – another wish to which Justinian would favourably respond.

42. Cf. Magen 1993a:88–89, arguing that the original church already had a protective enclosure.

43. The destruction has often been ascribed to the uprising of 529, cf. e.g. Tsafirir 1993:13. However, Justinian's rebuilding is not mentioned in Procopius' account (which mentions the renovation of Bethlehem's wall as well as the construction of a monastery, cf. *aed.* 5,9,12–13). Di Segni 1998:52 therefore doubts a prior destruction through the Samaritans as the reason for Justinian's rebuilding of the church which can be dated to c. 555–655 due to radiocarbon dating, cf. Bacci 2012:5–26 and, on the rebuilding of the church, Versteegen 2013:1136–1140.

44. Cf. Chor., *Laud. Sum.*, 11–13, esp. 12 on Summus taking action against ἄνδρες σοβαροὶ καὶ φιλοκίνδυνοι καὶ μισοῦντες τὴν ἡσυχίαν. On the passage and identification of the mentioned unrests with the Samaritan revolts, cf. Litsas 1980:178–179 and Pummer 2002:250–251.

45. Cf. *Itin. Plac.* 8; cf. Di Segni 2009b:217.

Tracing Mary's footsteps in Jerusalem

There had already been a plan to build a large-scale church of the Virgin during the Patriarchate of Elias. However, only the foundations had been laid, when the project was abandoned perhaps due to financial problems or because of Elias' exile.⁴⁶ Justinian adopted the building plans and sent an engineer from the capital,⁴⁷ while in Jerusalem a completely new quarry had to be dug for the construction works. The new building was located at the south end of the *cardo maximus* close to the church of St Sophia,⁴⁸ however, in most likelihood not at the spot where Elias had begun building a generation earlier.⁴⁹ When the church was eventually inaugurated in November 543, on the feast day of Mary's Presentation in the Temple, it had become Jerusalem's largest ecclesiastical building.⁵⁰ The sources unanimously call it the new church (νέα ἐκκλησία), the *Nea*.⁵¹ From the literary evidence on Justinian's

46. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 175,13–15 with Gutfeld 2013:32–33. Elias' financial problems may have derived from the contemporary foundation of his monastery for the *spoudaioi* of the Anastasis, who previously had lived in the deserted legionary camp near David's Tower (cf. above, chapter).

47. Cf. Trampedach 2015:160 n. 12 suggested that the μηχανικός, named Theodore in the account of Cyril of Scythopolis, was identical with the one who excelled as an engineer at Dara (cf. Proc., *bell.* 2,13,26); cf. *PLRE* 3, s.v. "Theodorus 13" p. 1249.

48. On the Jerusalemite church of St Sophia and its localisation, cf. Milik 1961:151–155, Benoit 1984:163–166, Piccirillo 2008:191, Tsafirir 2012:261 n. 4, and especially the argumentats of Bieberstein 1989:117–120 who mentions a comment by John of Würzburg (c. 1165) that a crusader church was built *de novo*, which might imply that John still saw remains of the late antique church or learned about their recent removal. It is important to note that the church "that [was] called [that] of Pilate" (ⲛⲉⲁ ⲉⲕⲕⲗⲏⲥⲓⲁ; cf. Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 134, soon re-named 'St Sophia') was not built at the place where the Gospels located Jesus' trial, cf. Pixner 1979:57–61. While Egeria does not mention the places of Jesus' trial, in her account of the Easter liturgy, the *Lect. arm.* 151 (276,12) records celebrations ἡ ὑψηλὴ πραιωνιαυαυηβωλ ("in the court of the high priest," MS. J.) or ἡ ψαλῆα ἑσπρησπησπη ("at the house of Caiaphas," MS. E.). By the time of the *Lectionarium Iberium*, this had been turned into a church of St Sophia. Long before the discovery of the ruins of the *Nea* church, Vincent 1914:429–436 assumed that he had discovered the remains of the *Nea* at the location of today's Porat Yosef Yeshiva. Given that he indeed discovered ruins of a late antique church, it is likely that they were the foundation walls of St Sophia, (against this view, cf. Benoit 1984:170–171).

49. Cf. Trampedach 2015:165–166.

50. The inauguration is securely dated by Cyril of Scythopolis, who was himself present in Jerusalem, cf. *Vit. Euth.* 71,19. The date is also confirmed by numismatic and pottery finds; cf. Bijovsky/Berman 2012:348 and Magness 2012:282–283.

51. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 177,17 and especially Proc., *aed.* 5,5,2: νέα ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσι τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ("This is called by the natives the 'New church'"). Bieberstein 1989 argued, that the church took its name from a quarter named 'Neapolis' (containing two churches, the *Nea Theotokos* as well as the *Nea Sophia*, and a *porta Neapolitana*). However, this suggestion has failed to convince and seems to be a mis- or overinter-

foundation, two basic assumptions can be made: It is clear that the *Nea* was not the first Jerusalemite church dedicated to Mary, otherwise the sources would not distinguish it with the epithet $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$. Secondly, there must have been a need to build a new church, either because the original church of Mary was too small, or because (similarly to the large number of holy places of Christ) a different aspect of the veneration of the Virgin required a place that could be visited by the faithful.

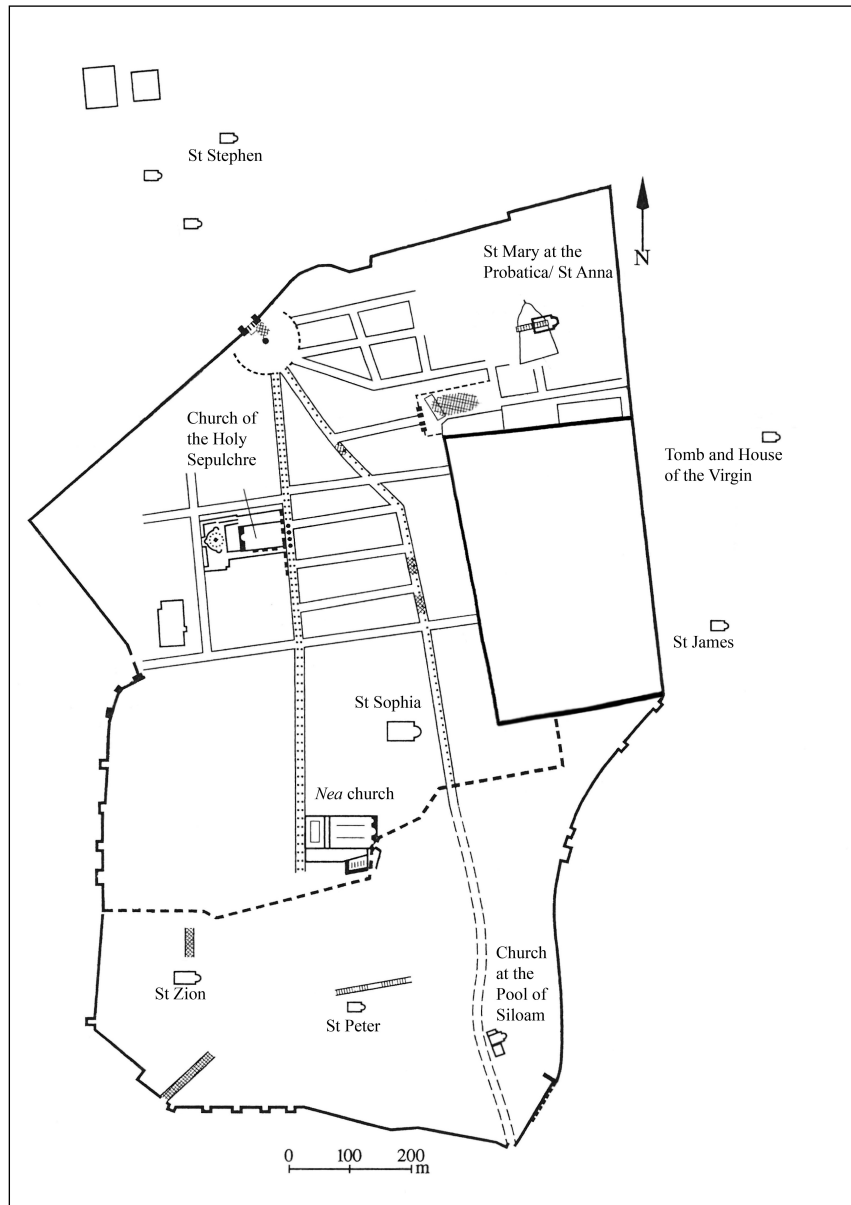
The origins of the cult of the Virgin in the city of Jerusalem are as opaque as they are for the rest of the Empire where Mary made a late appearance in popular veneration, especially when compared to the early cults of female saints, such as St Thecla.⁵² In theological treatises, the Virgin served as a role model for virginity and chastity, and the Immaculate Conception constituted a key element in the discussions on the two natures of Christ. Nevertheless, the evidence for a public veneration of Mary is sparse for the entire late Roman Empire, yet it seems that one of the first church buildings dedicated to her commemoration had been constructed on the outskirts of Jerusalem. Both the literary and archaeological evidence points to the existence of a shrine on the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem from the second quarter of the fifth century onwards. The spot was known as the ‘Kathisma,’ commemorating Mary’s rest on the way to the City of David, as described in the second-century *Protoevangelium Iacobi*. The feast is first mentioned in the *Lectioarium Armeniacum*.⁵³

pretation of the Bordeaux Pilgrim’s words, cf. *Itin. Burdig.* 593: *Inde ut eas foris murum de Sion, euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam* – which simply means “in the direction of the *porta Neapolitana*,” i.e. northwards. The only solid hint for this suggestion is a line in *Lect. Iber.* 1368: $\text{ვსენებად ისტუნანე მეფისად. რომელმან აღაშენა ღმრთისმოზღლისად ეკლესიად ქალაქსა შინა. რომელსი ჰქვან ნია.}$ (“Commemoration of the king Justinian, who built the church of the Theotokos in the city, called Nea” – yet here too, the attribution ‘called Nea’ seems to relate to the church, not to the (quarter of the) city). This name of the church was also transcribed into Arabic, e.g. in the manuscripts of Strategius’ account, as كنيسة النية (*kanīsat an-Nīyah*), cf. Milik 1961:145. All late antique sources, however, make it clear that St Stophia and the *Nea* church were located in close vicinity, cf. Pixner 1979:69–71 and Ehrlich/Bar 2004:42–47.

52. Cf. Av. Cameron 1978:87–88 and 2004:5–6.

53. Cf. *Lect. arm.* 64 (216,10–13): $\text{Աւգոստոս ամսոյ որ ար ժե է Մարիամա Ածածնի. յերրորդ մղովիմ Բեդլահեմի.}$ (“On August 15, [celebration of] Mary Theotokos, at the third mile from Bethlehem”); cf. Shoemaker 2002:82–83 and 2008:74–75 on the Jerusalemite feast, as well as Constan 1995:172–176 on the earliest celebrations in Constantinople. The relevant passage on Mary’s rest is *Protoevangelium Iacobi* 17,2–3.

Since this text records the Jerusalemite liturgy in the time before 439, the celebration mentioned certainly was the earliest Marian feast in Jerusalem – and, in lack of contemporary



Ill. 5: Jerusalem in the mid-sixth century

sources, it is the first public celebration of the Virgin attested so far in an empire-wide context. What is important is that this feast was not connected with the cycle of Christ's life and passion in Jerusalem.

The Kathisma site itself had long been wrongly identified with ruins in Ramat Raḥel near the road to Bethlehem, until some twenty years ago, an octagonal church building with several side-chapels centred around a rock has been discovered close to a nearby water reservoir that has been known as Bi'r al-Qadīmū.⁵⁴ It is now generally accepted that this church was the late antique Kathisma mentioned by the hagiographers of the Chalcedonian monk Theodosius from Cappadocia (not to be confused with the contemporary anti-Chalcedonian Patriarch). This monk came to Jerusalem in the reign of Marcian and soon, i.e. still at the time “when the blessed Juvenal was archbishop,” joined the Kathisma church and monastery which had been built by a noblewoman called Hicelia “at that time” (τηνικαῦτα).⁵⁵ These remarks by Theodore of Petra and Cyril of Scythopolis firmly date the construction of Hicelia's church to around 450. However, it seems that the founder of the church had arrived in Jerusalem slightly earlier: Theodosius was sent to Hicelia by his mentor Longinus, it therefore seems plausible that she must have at least acquired some fame, especially since Theodosius arrived in Palestine at the heyday of the Christological controversy, when Chalcedonian monks (many of whom, just like Theodosius, hailed from Cappadocia) were placed at the

54. On the discovery of the site, cf. Avner 2003:173 and 2006–2007:546 (on the potential function of the side chapels as storage space for secondary relics of Mary. Note that the late antique Marian church at Gethsemane also had multiple apses, cf. Bagatti 1975b:49–50) as well as Rieß 1889:22–23 (on the identification with Bi'r al-Qadīmū).

55. Cf. Theod. Petr., *Vit. Theod.* 14,3–4: ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων μακαρίου Ἰουβενάλιου γεγονότος ἀρχιεπισκόπου – as well as Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Theod.* 236,19–21: αὐτὸν τῇ μακαρίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀγίοις παρέθετο Ἰκελία τὴν τοῦ Καθίσματος τῆς θεοτόκου ἐκκλησίαν τὸ τηνικαῦτα οἰκοδομοῦση (“[Theodosius was sent] to the blessed and sainted Hicelia, who was then building the church of the Kathisma of the Theotokos”). On Hicelia's monks, cf. Pétridès 1900–1901:226–228, and on the dating of the construction of the Kathisma Church, Shalev-Hurvitz 126–138, esp. 127, arguing that the church must have been built earlier, since it was functioning at the time of Theodosius' arrival. While it makes sense to look for an earlier date of construction, this argument is hardly convincing, as Cyril's brief information on Theodosius' duties is no proof for the age of the institution. Avner 2006–2007:543 dates the church to around 456 (following a mere assumption in the chronological table of Chitty 1966:212). However, there is likewise no evidence for this exact year in the sources.

religious institutions of noblewomen to prevent the latter's defection to Miaphysitism.⁵⁶ It is tempting to connect Hicelia's church to the growing veneration of the Virgin starting in the 430s, however, it seems impossible (as has recently been suggested) to link her with the earliest celebrations of the Marian feast mentioned in the *Lectioarium Armeniacum*. While it makes sense to attribute the innovation of a celebration of the Virgin to Juvenal of Jerusalem, in all likelihood in the wake of the Council of Ephesus,⁵⁷ the ruins of the Kathisma church must belong to a building phase constructed over some structures of an older shrine, perhaps dating to the times of the Council of Ephesus.⁵⁸ For the present study, however, it is not important when exactly the second octagonal building was constructed, but rather that Mary's rest on the way to Bethlehem was commemorated at this place in the 430s.

56. Usener 1890:191 assumed that Hicelia came from Rome, since she introduced the liturgical novelty of a candle procession to the Jerusalemite feast of the Hypapante, perhaps in accordance with the Roman celebrations of the *Lupercalia* on the same day. On the importance of psalmody in Hicelia's monastery, cf. Pétridès 1904:343.

57. Cf. van Esbroeck 1972:364, Perrone 1980:51–52, and Baldovin 1989:43, similarly Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:117–118 suggests an early beginning of the construction closer in time to the First Ephesine Council. While it cannot be denied that during the 430s, the imperial house and especially Pulcheria had an interest in the veneration of the Virgin, late antique authors ascribe much less importance to a fourth-century Mariology than modern scholarship has done: Cf. Baumeister 2009a:234 and esp. Limberis 1994:144–145 following Holum 1982:154–170; against this view, cf. Av. Cameron 2004:10–11, Cooper 1998:41–43 and 2004:39–42, Price 2004:31–32 and 2008:91–92, as well as, for a slightly different opinion, Atanassova 2004:119–120. It is little surprising that most Marian churches in Constantinople have been, at various times, ascribed to the patronage of Pulcheria, while in fact they are all later (cf. Price 2004:37 and Wortley 2005:171), and not connected to Pulcheria by the contemporary ecclesiastical historians. The case is somewhat similar to Eudocia's presence in Jerusalem, the empress being named in modern scholarship as the founder of all those churches on which no further information is transmitted in the sources (e.g. recently also for the church of the Virgin at Gethsemane, cf. Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:160–161, however, without providing any further proof apart from an assumed contemporaneity).

58. Cf. Avner 2011:28 (on the archaeological evidence for an earlier shrine) as well as Capelle 1943:22 and Taylor 1993:101–103. Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:129–130 strongly rejects Avner's dating of the Kathisma Church to after 451, since an early dating of the octagonal building is indispensable for her art historical argument. There is a certain confusion with what Theod. Petr., *Vit. Theod.* 13,21 meant, when he writes that Theodosius is sent ἐν τῷ [...] Παλαιῷ Καθισματι ("to the old Kathisma"). Shoemaker 2002:84–95, 2003:32 and 2008:75 argued that the nearby *basilica* in Ramat Raḥel (previously identified as the Kathisma, before the octagonal building at Bi'r al-Qadīmū had been discovered) was the 'old' Kathisma, which was then rebuilt by Hicelia in the 450s at the present spot as the 'new' Kathisma. This suggestion has to be rejected, cf. Avner 2011:15–16 with Capelle 1943:31–32. It seems more likely that at the time of Theodore's authoring of the *Vita Theodosii*, Hicelia's church was in need of serious repairs (which are also archaeologically attested). A further problem with Shoemaker's proposition is that the excavations in the church in Ramat Raḥel did not reveal any traces of a rock similar to the one venerated at the Kathisma Church. On the problems of dating the findings at Ramat Raḥel, cf. Magness 1993:88–89. Sivan 2008:231 argues that there were two Kathisma churches at the same time functioning, a claim which sounds unlikely.

While it is beyond doubt that there was a feast and a specific place for it by the second quarter of the fifth century, the origins of the feast day, August 15, are unclear. It may have its roots in early traditions on the Dormition of the Virgin in the Oriental Churches or else could be interpreted as a response to local Jewish traditions, for example the mourning day for the destruction of the Temple (Ninth of Av).⁵⁹ A distinctive anti-Jewish mood features prominently in the contemporary Marian homilies by Hesychius of Jerusalem, which were preached between 431 and 451. The Biblical readings in Hesychius' texts (just as in the later homilies by Chrysippus of Jerusalem) are identical with those mentioned in the *Lectioarium Armeniacum*, which suggests that the homilies were delivered at the Kathisma church and not in Jerusalem.⁶⁰ It is surprising that the readings, however, do not focus on Mary's and Joseph's journey to Bethlehem, as described in the *Protoevangelium Iacobi*, but rather on the Virgin's motherhood. Before the construction of the Kathisma church, the third mile to Bethlehem was the place where Jews and early Christians would commemorate Rachel's tomb, liturgically commemorated in Judaism on the Fifteenth of Av. It therefore makes sense to attribute the origin of the Christian feast day to a local tradition from Jerusalem which expressed itself as a fifth century Biblical typology contrasting the weeping mother Rachel, who knew that her children would die, with the joyful mother Mary, whose son would conquer death.⁶¹

59. Cf. van Esbroeck 1981:284–285 (on the oriental traditions) as well as Sivan 2006:444–446 and 2008:232–242 (on dating parallels with the Jewish day of mourning, the Ninth of Av). The latter view has been challenged by Avner 2015:46–48, who successfully argued, that it was not the Ninth of Av, but the Fifteenth of Av with its commemoration of Rachel giving birth to Benjamin which was replaced by the feast of Mary on August 15.

60. Cf. Hesych. Hier., *hom.* 5 and 6, cf. Aubineau 1982:349, Sivan 2006:445 and Shoemaker 2008:75. Cf. Gładyszewski 1982:94–95 (on the importance and anti-Jewish tendency of Old Testament typologies and allegoric interpretations in Hesychius' homilies) and Jüssen 1957:651 (on where the homilies were delivered).

61. The first Christian mention of Rachel's tomb on the road to Bethlehem is *Itin. Burdig.* 598. Cf. Avner 2015:41 on the Biblical readings of August 15 focusing on the Virgin's maternity as well as pp. 43–46 with several references to Midrashim on Rachel's tomb. Cf. also Mary's speech in the *Protoevangelium Iacobi* 17,2: Ἰωσήφ, ὅτι δύο λαοὺς βλέπω ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου, ἓνα κλαίοντα καὶ κοπτόμενον καὶ ἓνα χαίροντα καὶ ἀγαλλιώντα (“Joseph, I see two peoples with my eyes, one weeping and lamenting, the other rejoicing and exulting”). The text actually does not refer to Jews or pagans, but, following Luke 2:34 to believers and non-believers.

It seems likely that during the reign of Maurice (582–602) the Marian feast at the Kathisma, originally celebrated on August 15, advanced two days, since on the original day, the Assumption of the Virgin was by then commemorated directly outside the city gates of Jerusalem at Gethsemane.⁶² This is in accordance with Maurice’s adoption of the feast of Mary’s Assumption on this day.⁶³ While some sources (either late or unreliable) mention a Marian church built at Gethsemane by the emperor Marcian or even by Theodosius I, there is neither archaeological evidence for a veneration of the Virgin in the mid-fifth century, nor any contemporary literary source mentioning this.⁶⁴ All attempts to reconstruct a chronology of the cult of Mary in Jerusalem so far have relied on conjecture by using the unreliable witnesses of the *Panegyricus in Macario* and of a passage of an otherwise lost *Historia Euthymiaca* inserted into a homily by John of Damascus⁶⁵ as well as the late testimony of the *Annales* of Eutychius of Alexandria (†940), which is the only source mentioning the patronage of

62. Cf. *Calend. iber.* s.v. “13 June,” “14 July,” and “23 October” for celebrations გესმანის მავროკ მეფისა შენებულისა (“in Gethsemane, in Maurice’s building”), cf. Capelle 1943:3 n. 5, Garitte 1958:224–225, and van Esbroeck 1972:365.

63. Cf. Av. Cameron 1978:86 and 95–96.

64. Cf. the discussions in Taylor 1993:202–206 and Avner 2011:20–21, both arguing against a local tradition of a Marian cult at Gethsemane that dates back to the first century. Lacking any securely datable archaeological evidence, the excavator (Bagatti:1975a:16–18, followed by Testa 1984:101) took most of the later literary sources at face value and therefore speculated that Maurice did not build the underground crypt surrounding the Virgin’s Tomb, but the upper church. Given that all literary sources describing a church in the mid-fifth century are of a later date, this hypothesis seems unnecessary.

65. On the *Panegyricus*, cf. above, chapter 4; for the insertion of the *Historia Euthymiaca*, cf. Ioh. Damas., *hom.* 2,18 with Wortley 2005:181–182 and 187 on the unreliability of this text. While *Pan. Mac.* 7,5 presents us with an impression of how anti-Chalcedonian writers imagined Juvenal’s return to Jerusalem in 453, the text can hardly be used for drawing precise information on the topography of the city. Moreover, I would argue that this episode of the compilation which forms the *Panegyricus*, shares so many common motifs with John Rufus’ *Plerophoriae*, that the author of the original passage might have been familiar with it. Even the most optimistic attempts to set an early date for the *Panegyricus* arrive at some time in the last days of the fifth century (while the mention of Theopaschism suggests a date in the mid-sixth century), which, in any case, renders its value as a source for the mid-fifth century topography practically worthless; cf. Moawad 2010:43–44. Shalev-Hurvitz, however, assumes that both lower and upper church at Gethsemane were built at the same time, cf. 2015:142–143, since she takes *Pan. Mac.* 7,5 at face value (referring to a church ἘΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΝΘΑΓΙΑ ΜΑΡΙΑ ΣΗΠΙΑ ΝΙΩΣΑΦΑΤ (“in the place of St Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat”). She argues that it was one of the largest churches in Jerusalem, claiming that the *Panegyricus* meant the upper church (allegedly destroyed in 614), 2015:148–149. Exchanging almost all names of emperors, empresses, and patriarchs as well as Marian relics mentioned in the episode from the *Historia Euthymiaca*, she arrives at a conjecture that Pulcheria and Marcian asked Juvenal, who allegedly built the church at Gethsemane, to send Mary’s shroud to Constantinople, cf. 2015:152–153.

Theodosius I.⁶⁶ While it is tempting to employ these three sources for speculations on the veneration of the Virgin in Jerusalem, it is possible to arrive at a chronology that is more reliable in general, yet still contains some conjectures and leaves some questions unanswered.

The earliest secure reference to a church of Mary at Gethsemane is the longer and later version of the *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, dating to c. 500: “There too [*scil.* on the lower slope of the Mount of Olives] is the basilica of St Mary and also her tomb.”⁶⁷ However, even this short statement is problematic – does it describe one single or two different *loca sancta* (namely *basilica* and tomb)?⁶⁸ There are good reasons to assume that the statement indeed refers to only one site: While the Gethsemane church was built on top of a first century necropolis, the chronologically next reference, a Dormition narrative of the mid-fifth century, claims that Mary’s house was located at Gethsemane (in all likelihood identical with the church mentioned by the *Breviarius*).⁶⁹ For reasons unknown to us, the new church of Mary then was begun during the Patriarchate of Elias (494–516). At the latest when Justinian’s continuation of this project, the *Nea*, was inaugurated in 543, the veneration of Mary’s house and tomb drifted apart: With the fixation of the tomb tradition at Gethsemane, there then was a need for a new place commemorating the Virgin’s house.⁷⁰

About two hundred years earlier, the Bordeaux Pilgrim had been the first to mention the double pool of Bethesda, constructed on a very large scale by Herod in the first century to answer the needs of large pilgrim crowds for purification on the high holidays. The Bordeaux

66. Eutyech., *ann.* 8,17 with Testa 1984:91–93.

67. Cf. *Brev. de. Hier.* 7(B): *Et ibi est basilica sanctae Mariae et ibi est sepulchrum eius*; on the date of this recension, cf. Wilkinson 1977:8–9.

68. Shoemaker 2002:101–104 strongly argues for a seniority of the tomb tradition. While this sounds understandable, it is not attested in the literary sources nor reflected in the archaeological evidence. For the opposite opinion, a late association of the Tomb of Mary with the church at Gethsemane, cf. Mimouni 1995:577–578.

69. Cf. Ps-Melito, *trans.* 1 with Shoemaker 2002:103 n. 54. On the necropolis, cf. Bagatti 1975:49–50.

70. Cf. van Esbroeck 1981:280 on traditions that the Disciples have to ‘go out of Jerusalem’ to bury the Virgin, which may well point to attempts to search for new locations of Mary’s house *intra muros*.

Pilgrim knew Bethesda as the place where Jesus healed the paralytic (John 5:1–5) and from John Rufus’ account on Peter the Iberian’s journey in Jerusalem we know that around 500 this was still the “church of the paralytic.”⁷¹ Only about twenty years later, the account of Theodosius describes that at this place “my Lord Christ cured the paralysed man [...]. Beside the Pool of Probatica [*scil. i.e.* Bethesda] is the church of my Lady Mary.”⁷² Theodosius’ description points to a transformation of holy places in the city which took place in the course of the sixth century. He also mentions Mary’s church at Gethsemane (without specifying whether this was her house, or, presumably, her tomb). Moreover, Theodosius has information on the veneration of Mary in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: Probably in the times of Anastasius, perhaps earlier, the Kathisma rock should have been brought to Constantinople by orders of the former *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Urbicius. However, after it was carried by an oxcart to Jerusalem, the beasts of burden refused to bring it anywhere further, so that it remained in the holy city and was set up as an altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁷³

Towards 570, the Piacenza Pilgrim seems to record the situation on the ground at a time when the strands of the three traditions concerning the Virgin had temporarily come together: At Gethsemane, he saw a *basilica* of Mary, which was her house *and* the place of her Dormition. It seems, however, that the tradition of the house was less important than the commemoration of her death at the Gethsemane church, which a little later was renovated with funds provided by Maurice. The Piacenza Pilgrim wrote:⁷⁴

71. Cf. *Itin. Burdig.* 589 and Ioh. Ruf., *Vit. Petr. Hib.* 134: רביתו אמת [*scil. רביתו*] ,מל. On Herodes’ building activity and the Pool of Bethesda, cf. Gibson 2005:286 and 2011:24.

72. Theod. 8b: *Ibi dominus Christus paralyticum curavit [...]. Iuxta piscinam probaticam ibi est ecclesia domnae Mariae.* Cf. also Theod. 10 on another church of the Virgin, presumably her tomb.

73. Theod. 28. Urbicius’ time of service is of little help to date the episode, since he was in office from 434 onwards and is last recorded seventy years later; cf. *PLRE* 2, s.v. “Urbicius 1” pp. 1188–1190 as well as *DNP* s.v. “Urbicius.” However, since *Vit. Jos. Styl.* 84 records that Urbicius travelled in the east in 504/505, it seems likely that the incident happened during the reign of Anastasius. It would also be closer in time to the account of Theodosius (written before 518), so that the pilgrim may have heard the lore as relatively recent news. Cf. also Rieß 1889 suggesting that any date during the lifetime of Urbicius is possible.

74. *Itin. Plac.* 17: *Descendentes de monte Oliueti in ualle Gessemani [...] [scil. venimus]. Et in ipsa ualle est basilica sanctae Mariae, quam dicunt domum eius fuisse, in qua et de corpore sublatam fuisse.* Wilkinson

Coming down the Mount of Olives we arrived at the valley of Gethsemane [...]. And in this valley is a *basilica* of St Mary. People say it was her house and in it [*scil.* the *basilica*] she also was taken up from life.

At Bethesda, he remarked that there was the *basilica* of Mary, where many miracles take place – while the pools had become muddy. The notion of the double pools as a place where once miracles had been performed, seems to have moved from Christ to Mary, in whose *basilica* the miracles took place – at least for the Piacenza Pilgrim.⁷⁵ It is little surprising that he was more impressed by the church, since the newly constructed *basilica* was dramatically located: One would enter it via a passage (very much resembling a bridge) on top of the barrier wall between the two pools, an exceptional and unparalleled architectural layout. A colonnaded atrium was placed on a platform that on its southern side was suspended and partially built over the pool so that the water could flow underneath it.⁷⁶ Also the new association of this church with Mary's house, her childhood home, to be more precise (a little later the church would become known as St Anne's, commemorating the mother of the Virgin), was comprehensible: The pools and the church were located in close vicinity to both the only entrance to the Temple Mount which does not involve a steep ascent as well as to the city gate where Anne, according to the *Protoevangelium*, had embraced Joachim after she had learnt of her pregnancy.⁷⁷

2002:138 translated “There is also a basilica of Saint Mary in the valley, which people say was her house, and the place at which she was taken up from this life” – the imprecise translation of *in qua* seems to have misled a considerable number of scholars to assume that there were two separate places; cf. also Drobner 1998:322–322 who correctly calls it ‘Sterbehaus.’ On Maurice's renovation, cf. Garitte 1958:250, 278 and 365, van Esbroeck 1988:181–190 and 1994:77–78 as well as Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:157. Four monumental capitals inscribed with Maurice's and his family's names have been discovered in secondary use in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which further points to his building activities in the city, cf. *CIIP* I,786 and Di Segni/Tsafirir 2012:420.

75. Cf. Gibson 2011:33–34. Sophronius of Jerusalem mentioned in his *Anacreonticon* 20,81–94 (dating to 635) the floor where the paralytic went. While this tradition clearly had not been forgotten, the commemoration of Mary, however, was much more dominant, also in Sophronius' text.

76. Cf. Tsafirir 1999b:328–329 and Gibson 2011:34 n. 50 pointing to the church of John the Baptist at the Jordan River, built by order of Anastasius. This church also had underlying vaults to grant access to the water for Baptism.

77. *Protoevangelium Iacobi* 4,4: Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦκει Ἰωακείμ μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἔστη Ἄννα πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ καὶ εἶδεν Ἰωακείμ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ τῶν ποιμνίων αὐτοῦ. Καὶ εὐθύς ἔδραμεν καὶ ἐκρέμασεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ. It is not entirely sure from the text whether Anne stood by the door of her house or by the city gate. However, when locating the house at the Pools of Bethesda, next to the modern Lion's Gate, this makes no

And, behold, Joachim came with his flocks, and Anne stood by the gate and saw Joachim coming with his flocks. And full of joy she ran and hung upon his neck. [...] And Joachim rested the first day in his house.

While for the Piacenza Pilgrim, the Gospel story about Jesus' miracle was only a faint memory, the pools of Bethesda had primarily become a Marian site during the sixth century. For the pilgrim, however, the main church of Mary was already clearly Justinian's *Nea*, which he described at large, especially its spacious guesthouses for pilgrims and its great congregation of monks, who could care, according to his account which is prone to exaggerations, for over three thousand people at the same time.⁷⁸

Justinian, Procopius, and the *Nea*: a new Temple for the Virgin

When the *Nea* was re-discovered in the 1970s and the sheer size of the building became known, scholars were quick to assume that the church was planned as a counterweight to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁷⁹ While it is true that the *Nea* was not commemorating an event from the life of Christ, and therefore, even in the 540s, was still exceptional in Jerusalem, it seems, that the architectural point of reference for the new church was a different Jerusalemite landmark: In his Marian homilies, Hesychius of Jerusalem had called the Virgin “another Temple larger than Heaven.”⁸⁰ Procopius of Caesarea, whose *De Aedificiis* is the main source on the building plan and decoration of the *Nea*, has left us with a description which strongly suggests that the church was planned as an architectural response to the Temple – albeit to its Biblical description, not to the ruined mountain within the city.

difference.

78. Cf. *Itin. Plac.* 23 (on the *Nea*) as well as 27 (on the Pools of Bethesda) with Panou 2015:637–638.

79. Cf. Pullan 1999:166–167. The excavations began in 1969 and were concluded in 1982, cf. Gutfeld 2012a for the introduction to the final report.

80. Cf. Hesych. Hier., *hom.* 5,1: ἄλλος Ναὸν οὐρανοῦ μείζονα, cf. Sivan 2006:445. On the depiction of Mary as the Temple in the *Akathistos Hymn*, cf. Peltomaa 2011:112–113.

The age of Justinian was a time when Marian feasts took shape and miracle stories with a focus on the Virgin became increasingly common.⁸¹ This pre-eminence of Mary also becomes apparent from the beginning of *De Aedificiis*, where the author pointed to the importance the Virgin had for Justinian – which was duly reflected by Procopius’ following it up by describing the Marian churches built by the emperor in the capital at the beginning of his account on Constantinopolitan churches.⁸² In Jerusalem, Justinian, however, did more than merely add a new church to the religious landscape. The connection seems to have been deeper as well as reciprocal: The feast of the Hypapante (Presentation of the Lord) had been introduced in Jerusalem by Hicelia in the mid-fifth century. In 542 Justinian integrated the celebration into the liturgical calendar of Constantinople with a distinct focus on Marian devotion.⁸³ The inauguration of the *Nea*, however, took place on the feast of Mary’s Presentation in the Temple, a celebration hitherto not commemorated at a specific place in Jerusalem. Justinian thereby provided the holy city with a very fitting place for this new feast day.⁸⁴ From Procopius’ description of the construction works, it becomes clear that the *Nea* was a special church for both city and emperor. At first glance, Procopius seems mainly interested

81. Cf. Av. Cameron 1991:201–202.

82. Cf. Proc., *aed.* 1,3,1: Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας νεῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξεπιστάμεθα βουλομένων εἶναι, καὶ διαφανῶς εἰσηγείται ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος ὅτι δὴ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα ἰτέον (“We must begin with the churches of Mary the Mother of God. For we know that this is the wish of the emperor himself, and true reason manifestly demands that from God one must proceed to the Mother of God”) with Av. Cameron 1985:90–91.

83. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Theod.* 236,23–25 with Avner 2006–2007:545 as well as Av. Cameron 1978:105. Meier 2002:100–101 assumes that the Hypapante was a dominical feast of the eastern churches, and that it was Justinian himself who added the emphasis on the Virgin Mary. Since Cyril of Scythopolis credits Hicelia, the patroness of the Kathisma church, with the invention of the candle procession, this claim appears less convincing. Egeria mentioned a *quadagesima de epiphania* (*Itin. Eg.* 26,1), however, in the form of a procession inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Her silence on the celebration of the Hypapante as a Marian procession with candles starting in Bethlehem is, of course, no proof that this commemoration might not have existed in her times, cf. Baldovin 1987:94 and Shoemaker 2008:76 on Egeria’s focus on dominical feasts. Cf. MacGregor 2008:140–142 on the pagan aspects of the celebration of Candlemas in Rome, a feast which, as it appears, had different origins (first and foremost the *Lupercalia*, celebrated on 15 February) than the Jerusalemite feast, cf. also Meier 2002:90, 97–98, and 102, as well as, on Justinian changing the date of the feast in Jerusalem, van Esbroeck 1968:351–352 and 1994:79–81.

84. While the fourth-century *Lectionarium Armeniacum* does not record any celebration of Mary’s Presentation, the feast is mentioned in the seventh-century *Lect. iber.* 1373 (20 November) and in the tenth-century *Calend. iber.* s.v. “21 November,” cf. Baldovin 1989:8.

in the engineering feat involved and less in the finished building.⁸⁵ This too is somewhat exceptional, since the author of *De Aedificiis* did not often explain building plans nor did he generally relate building works to their geographical location.⁸⁶ In these regards, however, Procopius was very explicit on the *Nea*, which was build “on the highest of hills.”⁸⁷ This was certainly correct: while in fact it may not have been located on the highest elevation in Jerusalem, it was built on a uniquely dramatic spot where the hill falls sharply towards the Tyropoeon Valley. Unlike all other buildings in Jerusalem, which in the city’s hilly terrain were situated either on an elevation or in a valley, the new church was so spaciouly designed that parts of it, namely the apse, had to be constructed on heavy substructures: “Thus the church is partly based upon living rock, and partly carried in the air by a great extension artificially added to the hill by the emperor’s power.”⁸⁸

Before the construction of the *Nea*, the late Roman city of Jerusalem had an unusual shape. The area where the church was to be built in the modern Jewish Quarter as well as many parts of the modern Armenian Quarter were to a large extent deserted in Late Antiquity, in all likelihood because the area contained ruins from the destruction following the Jewish War in 70 which had not been cleared away.⁸⁹ Two recent excavations, one on the West-

85. The same can be observed in Procopius’ description of the Hagia Sophia, where he places little emphasis on the interior and the liturgical use of space, but rather on the engineering feats involved in the construction of the church; cf. Howard-Johnston 2000:26–27, arguing that Procopius was mainly interested in engineering, and Ma. Whitby 2000:55–56. On Procopius’ description of Justinian’s church building activities, cf. Av. Cameron 1985:92–95.

86. Cf. Av. Cameron 1985:86.

87. Proc., *aed.* 5,5,3: ἐν τῷ προὔχοντι [...] τῶν λόφων.

88. Proc., *aed.* 5,5,8: ταύτη τε ὁ νεὼς πῆ μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἰσχυρᾶς ἵδρυται, πῆ δὲ ἠώρηται, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεως μέγεθος ἄλλο ἐπιτεχνησαμένης τῷ λόφῳ. On the archaeologically attested substructures and the expensive building process of the *Nea*, cf. Armstrong 1969:26–27, Avigad 1993:129, and Z. Rubin 1999b:231. The building technique of the vaulted structure with thick layers of mortar augmenting the courses of rather small stones was common in Constantinople but has not been discovered elsewhere in Jerusalem; cf. Tsafirir 2000:150–155, esp. 150. Similarly to Procopius’ description, Cyril of Scythopolis was full of praise concerning the emperor’s financial involvement in the new church, cf. *Vit. Sab.* 177,14–24.

89. Cf. Gutfeld 2012d:481; the blockage of the area south of the *cardo maximus* may, perhaps, also account for the construction works on the eastern *cardo valensis* in Hadrianic times.

ern Wall Plaza and the other in the so-called ‘Givati-Parking Lot’ area south of the Temple Mount, have decisively altered our understanding of Jerusalem in Roman and late antique times: It is now clear, that the eastern *cardo valensis* had been built early in Hadrian’s reign, probably in the 120s.⁹⁰ This extension of the city towards the south therefore had nothing to do with this emperor’s well-attested visit to the region in 129–130. Along the eastern *cardo* earlier structures were only removed in Hadrianic times to enforce an orthogonal ‘grid’ layout – which further demonstrates that buildings stood there that were left from the destruction following the destruction of 70. The heart of the city was located in the north (modern Christian and Muslim Quarters). Further south, only a relatively small strip along the eastern *cardo* was inhabited, confined by the empty Temple Mount to the east, and the deserted military camp south of David’s Tower to the west.⁹¹ The latter area was almost exclusively populated by monks’ cells until the construction works of Patriarch Elias at the turn of the sixth century. Furthermore, it was recently demonstrated that areas even more to the south-east (towards the so-called City of David), however, were not uninhabited in Late Antiquity as was previously thought. The southern extension of the main *cardo maximus*, however, appears now to have been undertaken in Justinianic times and not, as had been previously assumed, already earlier. Justinian therefore created a processional route, flanked by shops, from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to the *Nea*.⁹²

90. Cf. Weksler-Bdolah/Onn/Ouahnouna/Kisilevitz 2012:47 and Weksler-Bdolah 2014:55–58. Magness 2000:335–337 argued that the northern wall of the Hadrianic town extended about 500 meter north of today’s Damascus Gate (which she interprets as the centre of the city), a reconstruction that still awaits further acceptance, however, cf. Geva 2011:299–301 presenting a similar plan for Jerusalem before the destruction of the year 70, yet assuming that the northern part below the Third Wall was less densely populated; cf. also Ben-Arieh/Netzer 1974:106. In March 2016, however, further parts of this wall have been excavated at the so-called Russian Compound, where also the second half of a Hadrianic inscription has been discovered (R. Avner, personal communication). The foundation of Aelia Capitolina has definitely been established by recent numismatic evidence, cf. Eshel 2006:107 and Magness 2011:313. Cf. also Wilkinson 1975a:134–135 and, for the older view, cf. the discussion of the city’s limits in Wightman 1993:195–200.

91. Cf. Magness 2011:313–316.

92. Cf. Gutfeld 2012a:98, 2013:34–36 as well as Wightman 1993:217–219. Tsafirir was the most prominent voice among the minority of scholars who argued that the Justinianic *cardo* was replacing an earlier street from

In the description of the ambitious construction plan, Justinian appears as the architect of the whole project, specifying all measurements and details of the building. His personal involvement with the layout of this church alone is singular within the context of *De Aedificiis*; moreover, Justinian, who is mostly portrayed as a superhuman figure, in this case is confronted with an impossible mission which could only be resolved with God's help:⁹³ When no stone seemed available for columns of a size to carry the weight of the church's ceiling, God revealed a natural supply of stone perfectly suited to this purpose in the nearby hills. The ash-lars of the church were also of a considerable size; some of those which have been excavated had a weight of more than eight tons.⁹⁴ In terms of dimensions there was only one other building that eclipsed the size of these stones: the foundation walls of Herod's Temple, known today as the Western Wall. Just as in the Constantinian *basilica* of the Anastasis complex, cedar wood was used for the construction of the roof. This use of timber was costly and meaningful at the same time, since cedars never grew in Palestine,⁹⁵ but had been used for the construction of the Solomonic Temple. Finally, the entrance of the *Nea* was flanked by two columns made out of a stone in a colour that resembled "flames of fire." This seems to point to the local red stone called Mizzī Aḥmar, which is difficult to quarry and has not been broadly used in Jerusalem until the 19th century, when machines and explosives made the

the third century, cf. Tsafirir 1999b:295–298 and 2000:157 with examples of the lowering of Roman streets in late antique times elsewhere in the Holy Land, against Tsafirir, cf. Reich 1987:165–167. Cf. Amitzur 1996:165 has argued that Justinian followed a pattern of imperial construction projects on the outskirts of the city. However, the sample of churches founded by the imperial house (St Stephen, and perhaps the renovation of the church at Gethsemane at the time of Maurice) is so small, that allows no general rule to be deduced based on this evidence.

93. Cf. Proc., *aed.* 5,5,4 and 9–19. On the episode and the similar problem of controlling the outflow of water from Dara (Proc., *aed.* 2,2,9), cf. Mi. Whitby 2000:61–62. On the potential focuses of Procopius' *De Aedificiis*, cf. Av. Cameron 1985:86 as well as pp. 86–88 and 107–108 on the author's praise of Justinian and the emperor's closeness to God.

94. Cf. Tsafirir 2000:155.

95. Cf. Hunt 1982:15–16, Amitzur 1996:163, and Gutfeld 2012d:492; the timber must have been brought from Lebanon; cf. Liphshitz/Biger 1991:167 (on the distribution area of *Cedrus Libani*, thus contradicting Trampedach 2015:173) and 173 (on the distribution of Cedar wood in late antique churches in Palestine).

quarrying easier.⁹⁶ If not the use of cedar beams from Lebanon, it is the mention of the two columns standing outside the church's entrance, which evokes the two pillars which stood in the forecourt of Solomon's Temple as recorded in the Old Testament.⁹⁷ There were also parallels in the measurements – just as Anicia Juliana's church of Polyuctus in the capital – the measurement unit which was used for the *Nea* was the royal cubit. With this church extending over 200 x 100 cubits, Justinian even surpassed the Constantinopolitan building with its measurements of 100 x 100.⁹⁸ Just as there were vaults supporting the Temple Mount (the so-called Stables of Solomon), the *Nea* was also supported by a massive vaulted substructure.⁹⁹

While it is beyond doubt, that Procopius' description constantly alludes to the Biblical Temple, the author did, however, never explicitly state this. It has to remain unclear whether Procopius was indeed unfamiliar or only pretended unfamiliarity with the Biblical description of the Temple.¹⁰⁰ It also makes sense to compare the building plans of the *Nea* church to Constantine's plans of the Anastasis, according to the description of Eusebius: The church was positioned opposite the Jewish Temple Mount that was left in ruins. The new church of Mary was elevated on a hill approximately at the same height as both the Temple and the Constan-

96. Proc., *aed.* 5,6,19: τῶν χρώματι πυρός τινα φλόγα, cf. Tsafirir 2000:162–164. The common limestone used in Jerusalem is called Mizzī Ḥilū (“sweet stone”), a hard whitish limestone, whereas the white crystalline layers underneath Mizzī Ḥilū are called Meleke (ملكي, “royal”), since in Antiquity this stone was used for several *mausolea* as well as for the Western Wall. Once this stone is exposed to air, it develops a yellowish hue; cf. also Gutfeld 2012b:143–144. No usage of Mizzī Aḥmar is attested in any Jerusalemite building before the *Nea*, however, soon thereafter the columns of the renovated Church of the Nativity were carved from this stone, cf. Tsafirir 2000:164. The passage on the *Nea* is by far not the only mention of a specific kind of stone in Procopius' work, cf. Howard-Johnston 2000:29. Ben Dov 1985:239–240 and Sivan 2008:220 assume that the columns were taken from the ruins of the Jewish Temple.

97. Cf. 1 Kings 7:21; 2 Chronicles 3:17 with Amitzur 1996:166, Taylor 2008:52, and Gutfeld 2012b:243 as well as 2013:41.

98. On the measurements of St Polyuctus in Constantinople and its connections with the Biblical Temple, cf. Harrison 1989:137–144, and, on the *Nea*, Amitzur 1996:166.

99. Cf. Taylor 2008:52.

100. On Procopius' background from the middle or higher echelons of Caesarea Maritima's society, where he must have come into contact with Christianity and the urban landscape of the cities of the Holy Land, cf. Av. Cameron 1985:6 and 114–115 as well as Howard-Johnston 2000:20–22. It seems that in general, Procopius was not unsympathetic to Christianity, cf. Av. Cameron 1985:101 and 115–116 for several examples where he pretended to be unfamiliar with Christian terms.

tinian church, with which it forms an equilateral triangle, when looked at from a map.¹⁰¹ However, while this observation by Trampedach is certainly correct, it remains questionable whether a visitor to Jerusalem would have perceived such a triangular arrangement when walking in Jerusalem's streets on the ground. It seems possible, however, to find a better rationale for the position of the *Nea*. It has often been noted that Procopius' mention that the church was built "on the highest of hills" was a reference to Isaiah's vision of the end of days, which states that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills.¹⁰² The church was built on a vantage point over Jerusalem, and from Procopius' description of the construction works, it becomes clear that this was important for Justinian. The high visibility of the *Nea* is reflected by Cyril of Scythopolis, who remarked:¹⁰³

It is superfluous to describe the size, dazzling splendour and rich decoration of this venerable edifice, since it stands exposed to our eyes and surpasses all the ancient sights and accounts that men marvel at and the Greeks have recorded in their histories.

The excavations have revealed that Justinian's extension of the *cardo maximus* broadened into a small plaza in front of the *Nea* church, which itself was, of course, a tall building. However, I would argue that Cyril's description reveals more than the mere observation that the *Nea* was a major landmark of Jerusalem. There was an area from where Justinian's new church with its apse protruding towards the east on gigantic substructions was visible: the Mount of Olives. Egeria noted how the pilgrims had to slow down to carefully descend from

101. On the references to Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre, cf. Trampedach 2015:167–168 (eps. on the triangle) as well as Amitzur 1996:171 and Shahîd 2005:377–378.

102. Cf. Isaiah 2:2 (LXX): ὅτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐμφανὲς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν ὄρέων καὶ ὑψωθήσεται ὑπεράνω τῶν βουνῶν. Cf. Amitzur 1996:165–166, and Gutfeld 2013:42. Similarly, the Talmudic sages declared that a synagogue should be built on the highest place in town, cf. Bar 2003:414. Just as with his description of the building, that alluded to the Biblical Temple, Procopius did (by coincidence or on purpose) not use the same wording as in the Septuagint (cf. λόφη vs. ὄρος and βουνός). Trampedach 2015:172 argues against any allusion to Isaiah in Procopius' passage.

103. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 177,24–178,3: οὐτινος σεβασμίου οἴκου τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀπαστράπτουσαν δόξαν καὶ τὸ πολυτελὲς τῆς κοσμήσεως περιττὸν τὸ διηγῆσασθαι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν προκειμένου καὶ πάντα ὑπερβάλλοντος τὰ παλαιὰ θεάματά τε καὶ διηγῆματα ὅσα θαυμάζουσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἱστορίας παραδεδώκασιν Ἕλληνες. On the location as a vantage point over the city of Jerusalem, cf. Shalev-Hurvitz 2015:78 as well as Gutfeld 2012b:141.

Some years after the dedication of the *Nea*, the monks of Jerusalem put the parallel vaults which constituted the substructures to use:¹⁰⁸ either in 549/550 or 564/656, they turned it into a cistern, which was not part of the original plan, since Procopius makes no mention of it.¹⁰⁹ The original Justinianic donation had also included a library as well as a *gerokomeion*, which perhaps is also epigraphically attested.¹¹⁰ Moreover, it is very likely that Justinian was responsible for the restoration of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, where the same Mizzī Aḥmar limestone was used for the columns as for the *Nea*, while the capitals imitated older models so successfully that many scholars thought them to be Constantinian. Procopius' description of the emperor's building activities in the Holy Land mentions many more places, especially restoration works for desert monasteries.¹¹¹ However, the arguably most important of the emperor's building projects, may also go back to one of the requests made by Sabas, albeit indirectly: He had asked the emperor to construct a fort in the desert against Saracen incursions. Justinian gave 1.000 gold coins for this project, however, since Sabas died soon afterwards, the *dux Palaestinae*, Summus, gave the money to Sabas' successor Melitas, who then gave it to Patriarch Peter. He spent it on other needs, so that this fortress was never built. Eventually, Justinian built something different, a fortified monastery

108. On the discovery of the cistern, cf. Avigad 1993:131–132; interestingly, the cistern had been known to 19th century explorers such as Lewin, Barclay, Warren, and Schick, however, it has never been correctly identified.

109. Cf. *CIIP* I,800 for the inscription, mentioning an abbot Constantine of the *Nea* monastery, who is also attested in Ioh. Mosch., *Prat. spir.* 6. Cf. Avigad 1977:146–171, Av. Cameron 1985:95, Amitzur 1996:161, Feissel 2000:99–100, Gutfeld 2012c:248 and 2013:41 as well as Di Segni 2012:261–262. Other monasteries in Jerusalem had their private cisterns too, for example in the valley of Gethsemane, cf. Seligman/Re'em 2003:251–252.

110. Cf. Bahat 1990:74–75. It is not clear whether the preposition *διὰ* in *CIIP* I,859 refers to a *gerokomion* for women which was *near* (a church of) the Holy Theotokos, i.e. the *Nea*, or whether it was build *with the help of* the Holy Theotokos; cf. Gutfeld 2012c:250 and Di Segni/Tsafirir 2012:423 as well as Voltaggio 2011:199–200. It has been suggested that the Umayyad palatial buildings south and southwest of the Temple Mount were already built in Justinianic times and in some way connected to the *Nea*. However, this view, based mainly on the argument that the buildings were “too ambitious” for the Umayyads to have carried out, seems unlikely; cf. Sharon 2009:303–308, and Schick 2015:308.

111. It seems that the so-called Tower of Justinian in the monastery of Sabas is younger, the inscription certainly is a later forgery; cf. Patrich 1995:66 and Feissel 2000:100. On the restoration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, cf. Tsafirir 2000:164.

on the foot of Mount Sinai, known today as Saint Catherine's, and thereby contributed to the security of pilgrims.¹¹²

112. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 187–188 and Proc., *aed.* 5,7,1–9. In contrast to Procopius' remark on a garrison of troops stationed near the monastery, this is not archaeologically attested and appears unlikely; cf. with Mayerson 1978:33–34 and 1982:52 as well as Av. Cameron 1985:96. On the harsh living conditions in the Sinai which differed from life in the monasteries in the Judean Desert, cf. Dahari 1993:349–350.

8) Epilogue: Jerusalem on the Caucasus

Jerome was perhaps exaggerating when he claimed at the beginning of the fifth century that in Jerusalem one would daily receive crowds of monks from India, Persia, and Ethiopia.¹ So far I have mainly dealt with pilgrims coming from within the Roman Empire and its large cities. However, from a very early time onwards, pilgrims arrived from from all corners of the late antique world, from the frontier regions and beyond. In an excavation near the modern church of St Andrew in Jerusalem, a coin was discovered which belonged to a series struck by king ʿĒzānā, the ruler who had adopted Christianity in the Kingdom of Axum (330–358). The coin, discovered together with five additional fourth-century ones in a find context dating to Late Antiquity, is not the only Axumite coin discovered in the Holy Land so far, and was likely lost by a pilgrim from Ethiopia.² In contrast to travellers from the southern borders, those coming from the east left clearer marks. The sources speak of large groups of Armenian pilgrims: the *Vita Euthymii*, for example, claims that its protagonist was miraculously able to host four hundred pilgrims at once,³ while later, in the seventh century, Anastasius Sinaitis mentions a group of eight hundred,⁴ and the author of a homily on Mount Tabor, Ps-Eḫiṣē Vardapet, remarked that he “did not go alone but with many companions.”⁵ Ps-Eḫiṣē

1. Cf. Hier., *ep.* 107,2.

2. Cf. Barkay 1981:57–49 (on the Axumite coin) and 1976:57–58 (on the excavation of the late antique monastery underneath the church of St Andrew). For a similar coin discovered in Caesarea, cf. Meshorer 1965–1966:76, and, on Ethiopians in Jerusalem, Cerulli 1943:1–3 and Di Segni/Tsafirir 2012:453. On the rebuilding of Jerusalem in Lalibalā in Ethiopia, cf. Stroumsa:1999a:21. The absence of Georgian coins discovered in the Holy Land may result from the country’s relatively late start in large-scale state minting; cf. Tchekhanovets 2009:145.

3. Cf. Stone 1986:96–97 who believes this number to be accurate.

4. Cf. Nau 1901:81–82.

5. Cf. Ps-Eḫiṣē Vardapet, *hom. in Transfig.* p. 236: ոչ յատուկ միայն առանձինն, այլ բազում ընկերակցք; cf. Thomson 1967:30 and Stone 2004:85. The visit of all three holy mountains (Tabor, Golgotha, Sinai) became a standard for Armenian pilgrimage in later times, as Stone 1986:106 notes, pointing to a chapel of the the Armenian Cathedral of St James containing a stone from each mountain to assure “lazy men’s pilgrimages”.

also stated that pilgrims remained in the Holy Land to become monks. Apart from Euthymius as the most famous Armenian pilgrim, there is further evidence for pilgrims from the east already in the fifth century, such as the successor of the monk Theodosius,⁶ or in the sixth century, when the Piacenza Pilgrim mentioned Georgian⁷ and Egyptian speaking monks (besides those speaking Greek, Latin, and Syriac).⁸

Many desert monks came from abroad, however, there was also a certain number hailing from the area of the Holy Land itself, the most prominent of which being Cyril of Scythopolis.⁹ Monks from rural Palestine would be Syriac speakers, which is reflected in the epigraphic evidence from a group of caves in Wādī aṣ-Ṣuwaynīt/Naḥal Miḥmas about ten kilometers north-east of Jerusalem,¹⁰ but also by the fact that several of the desert monasteries had different names in Greek and Syriac, for example the Old Laura, “was called Souka in the Syriac language”¹¹ or the *coenobium* sixteen kilometers east of Jerusalem, which went by the name ‘Kastellion’ by the Greek-speaking monks and ‘Marda’ by the Syriac-speakers,

6. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Theod.* 240,1–8.

7. *Itin. Plac.* 37: [...] *in quo sunt tres abbates, scientes linguas, hoc est, latinas et graecas, syriacas et aegyptiacas et bessas, uel multi interpretes singularum linguarum* (“It has three abbots who are learned in languages – Latin, Greek, Syriac, Egyptian, and Bessan – and there are many in that place who can translate from one foreign language”). Most scholars agree that the ‘Bessoi’ in the sources on late antique Palestine were Iberians, i.e. Georgians; cf. Milik 1960–1961:127 n. 1 and Patrich 1995:338 n. 15; cf. also *DNP* s.v. “Bessi, Bessoi.” Cf. Binns 1994:195–196 locating the Bessoi in Thrace, however, it seems unlikely that a Thracian dialect would have competed with languages such as Latin, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic. Cf. *CIIP* 1,962, a funerary inscription (mid-sixth century) for Thecla the Bessian, abbess of the monastery of Juvenal, with Ashkenazi 2009:79.

8. Already Egeria had commented on the multilingualism in Jerusalem and its surroundings, cf. Sivan 2008:39; on monks as guides, cf. Wilkinson 1974:253–254, Sivan 1990:54–55, and Hunt 2004:105–106. In Jerusalem, the protégé of Euthymius and Eudocia, Gabrielius, had acquired a remarkable proficiency in foreign languages, cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 53,15–16: εὐφυῆς δὲ λίαν ὑπάρχων καὶ φιλομαθῆς ἔμαθεν ὀρθῶς λαλεῖν τε καὶ γράφειν κατὰ τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Σύρων φωνήν. (“Being highly intelligent and also studious, he had learned to speak and write accurately in Latin, Greek, and Syriac”). Cf. also Ioh. Mosch., *Prat. spir.* 136 on a monk who conversed with a Saracen woman – according to the Greek version ‘in Hebrew’ or ‘in Syriac’ according to the Latin version; cf. Rubin 2003:88 n. 26.

9. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Euth.* 25–26 (for a monk from Tiberias) and *Vit. Sab.* 129 (for a monk from Jerusalem); cf. Stroumsa 1989:18–19 and 1999b:418.

10. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 99,24–25 and Ioh. Mosch., *Prat. spir.* 166 with R. Rubin 2003:81–84 and Di Segni/Tsafirir 2012:413–416.

11. *Vit. Charit.* 23: μέν τῃ Σύρα γλώττη Σουκὰν ὀνομάζουσιν. On Castellium, cf. above, chapter 6.

while both names actually designated the same landmark, the Herodian fortress Hyrcania.¹² The international background and linguistic diversity of the monks is evident from the ground plans of certain monasteries. Larger sites contained several churches each designated to different communities, grouped according to language. The monastery of Theodosius, for example, contained no less than three churches:¹³

One in which the multitude of fathers, separately from the others, offer to God, as it is written, 'a sacrifice of thanksgiving' (Psalm 50:14) in the Greek language; another, in which, in their own language, the people of the Bessoï present their prayers to the Most-High; and another in which the Armenians are perpetually singing hymns in their language offering them to our common Lord.

It seems that the diversity of the monks was a cause for internal strife, which is why the *Regula Sabae*, a document dating to the tenth century, which, however, preserves large parts of Sabas' original instructions, settled potential problems arising from the diverse ethnic background of the monks:¹⁴

And since the destructive demons, on occasion of the appointment of the monastery leaders, are wont to cause dissensions and quarrels between the two nationalities, that is the Greek-speakers and the Syriac-speakers, in order to remove this stumbling block, we establish that from now on none of the Syrians will be appointed to the post of abbot, whereas for stewards, hostlers and the other jobs we order and agree that Syrians shall be given preference, because in their lands of origin people are more efficient and practical.

Similarly, the rule implemented that while the Georgian and Syriac speakers (and, later, the Latin speakers) were permitted to chant the liturgical hours and daily canons as well as to read out the Gospel in their own languages and own chapels, the eucharist was only celebrat-

12. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 110–113 as well as Ioh. Mosch., *Prat. spir.* 167 with Milik 1961:23–26; Hirschfeld criticised Milik's proposal, however, the epigraphic evidence for Castellium–Marda does indeed point to a bilingual monastery; cf. Rubin 2003:89–90. The Syriac word *merdā* means 'fortified place,' 'stronghold'; cf. Payne Smith s.v. "ܡܪܕܐ" p. 299.

13. Theod. Petr., *Vit. Theod.* 18 (45,6-12): μίαν μὲν ἐν ἡ Ἑλληνίδι φωνῇ πατέρων πλῆθος ἰδιαζόντως τὴν τῆς αἰνέσεως, καθὰ γέγραπται, θύει τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν· ἑτέραν δὲ ἔνθα κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν γλώσσαν γένος Βεσσῶν τῷ ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδίδωσιν· ἄλλην δὲ καθ' ἣν Ἀρμένιοι τῆς ὑμνωδίας διὰ παντὸς ἐχόμενοι ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ τῷ κοινῷ δεσπότη ταύτην προσάγουσιν· Cf. Crowe 1984:320–321.

14. *Reg. Sab.* 14: Ἐπεὶ δὲ φθοροποιοὶ δαίμονες ἐν ταῖς προχειρίσει τῶν ἡγουμένων εἰώθασιν διχονοίας καὶ στάσεις ἀναρρίπτειν τῶν δύο γλωσσῶν μεταξύ, Ῥωμαίων τε φημι καὶ Σύρων, ἐκ μέσου τὸ σκάνδαλον ἐξελαύνοντες διοριζόμεθα μηδένα τῶν Σύρων ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἡγουμένου ἐπιβαίνειν ἀρχῆς· οἰκονόμους δὲ καὶ δοχειαρίους καὶ εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς διακονίας προτιμᾶσθαι τοὺς Σύρους καὶ διαταττόμεθα καὶ ἀποδεχόμεθα, ὡς ἀνυστικωτέρους ὄντας καὶ δραστικούς ἐν ταῖς πατρίσιν αὐτῶν. On the authenticity of the text, cf. Patrich 1995:274–275.

ed in Greek in the main church of the monastery.¹⁵ This form of supervision apparently was necessary, and might well go back to Sabas' discontent when in 501, the Armenian monks adopted Peter the Fuller's addition "who was crucified for us" to the Trishagion which they sang in their own tongue.¹⁶

Armenians and Georgians in Jerusalem

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem was particularly important for Armenians, even though the relationship between the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Armenian Church in the sixth and seventh centuries was strained due to doctrinal differences. Catholicos Nerses II (548–557) tried to ban pilgrimage to Jerusalem to avoid exposing his flock to Chalcedonian propaganda,¹⁷ while, according to Anastas Vardapet, the Armenian monks of Jerusalem sent a letter to his successor Hovhannes II (557–574), inquiring whether they should accept the Chalcedonian doctrine or abandon their monasteries:¹⁸

For day by day, the Greek king's [*scil.* Justinian's] orders concerning the inhabitants' of the holy city of Jerusalem and concerning our ecclesiastical leaders were increasing in severity; that is, none of the Armenian, Jacobite Syrian, and Coptic (*Egiptac'woc'*) monks should sojourn therein, save those who profess the faith of the king and the canons of Juvenal (*sahnanadrowt'iwn Yobnati*).

Catholicos Hovhannes II urged the Armenians to leave the Holy Land. However, the letter claims that while some complied and returned to Armenia, others moved on to Egypt and some simply remained in Jerusalem. The historicity of the letter as a whole is doubtful, however, it contains certain elements which appear to go back to an earlier document.¹⁹ The evi-

15. Cf. *Reg. Sab.* 8.

16. Cf. Cyr. Scyth., *Vit. Sab.* 117,19–118,3 with above, chapter 6.

17. Cf. Perrone 1998a:31–32 with Garitte 1952.

18. Cf. Anastas Vardapet, *ep.* 70 (p. 274,12–17): վասն զի Կրանան թագաւորին Յունաց օր ըսա օրի խստանայր ի վերայ սրբոյ քաղաքին Երուսաղէմի և վերայ հայրապետացն վերոց. զի մի ոք բնակեսցի անդ ի կրօնաւորացն Հայոց, և Յակոբիկ Ասորի, և կան յԵգիպտացւոցն. այլ միայն բնակեսցին այնք՝ որք ունին զդաւանութիւն թագաւորին և զսահնանադրութիւն Յոբնադի:

19. On the historicity of the letter, cf. Sanjian 1969:279–286 and esp. 282–283 on the status of the Armeni-

dence for a dissociation of Armenia from Jerusalem as presented in Anastas Vardapet's letter is supported by another epistle, sent before 577 by John IV of Jerusalem (574–594) to Catholicos Abas (552–596) of the Caucasian Albanians, in which John warns the Albanians not to be drawn into the anti-Chalcedonian convictions of the Armenians whom he would not allow in his episcopal city: Miaphysites would not only be banned from the heavenly Jerusalem, but also from the earthly one.²⁰ However, it seems that the rift between the Churches had little influence on the attraction of pilgrimage for the Armenians. Moreover, the Persian conquest of 614 severely undermined the pro-Chalcedonian policy in the Holy Land, and there is vast evidence for pilgrimage during the reign of Heraclius as well as after the Muslim conquest, when the Chalcedonians in Jerusalem no longer enjoyed imperial protection. Already during the time of the Persian occupation, Patriarch Modestus reassured the Armenian Catholicos Komitas Ałc'ec'i (†628), who was known for his anti-Chalcedonian zeal,²¹ that visiting Jerusalem was still possible. Komitas' reply claims that the ancient tradition of pilgrimage offered consolation to the Armenian people. His letter is the first piece of evidence relating to pilgrimage for the atonement of sins – this specific aspect was not recorded as a pilgrimage motivation in the west before the Middle Ages. According to Komitas, the Armenians had several reasons to travel to Jerusalem:²²

ans in the holy city in the sixth and seventh centuries.

20. Cf. Vardanian 1912:68, Garitte 1952:205–209, Thomson 1989:83, and Perrone 1998a:32–33. Anastas Vardapet is also credited with compiling a list of Albanian monasteries in Jerusalem, transmitted in Movsēs Dasxowranc'i 2.52. While the Georgian Church in the Kingdom of K'art'li existed as autocephalous for certain periods of the fifth century, it still recognised the supremacy of the Antiochean Patriarchate, cf. Zangarelli 1889:35 and Chkhartishvili 2009:134.

21. Cf. Garitte 1952:271 and Perrone 1998a:35.

22. Ps-Sebeos 119 (=ch. 36): Նախ՝ զի մոռանային զամենայն վիշտս և զտրտմուն աշխարհիս: Երկրորդ՝ զի սրբէին զմեղս իւրեանց ի ձեռն ապաշխարութեան, պահոց և ողորմութեան, տքնութեանք զտիւ և զգիշեր անհանգիստ ուղղնացութեանք: Երրորդ՝ զի մկրտէին զմարնինս ի ջուր սրբութեան ի Յորդանանու յորձանսն Կրաղէզս, որ յամենայն տիեզերս աղբերացաւ շնորհքն աստուածային. On the letter, cf. Stone 1986:98–99.

First, because they forgot all the troubles and sadness of this country. Secondly, because they cleansed their sins through sleepless and unrelenting travelling by day and night. Thirdly, because they baptised their bodies in the water of holiness, in the fiery currents of the Jordan, whence the divine grace flowed to all the universe.

While the exchange of letters between Modestus and Komitas, quoted in Ps-Sebeos, is late, there is little reason not to believe that Jerusalem played an important role for the religious life of the Armenians. The story of Helena's discovery of the True Cross, for example, was known relatively early with Łazar P'arpec'i being the first to give a brief account on the matters in around 500.²³ The exchange between Jerusalem and Armenia concerning liturgical questions is even older: Macarius of Jerusalem had corresponded with Catholicos Vrt'anes I Part'ew (333–341) in Constantinian times. The document appears to be authentic and is the first text mentioning ecclesiastical structures in Armenia (even before the alleged conversion of the country during the reign of Trdat III).²⁴

The pilgrim graffiti on the route to Mount Sinai show a geographical distribution of Armenian and Georgian inscriptions which differs significantly from those in Latin or Greek. It seems therefore that Armenians and Georgians travelled together and on their own route. The inscriptions are difficult to date, and it seems that most of them are later than the time discussed in this thesis. There are, however, at least two exceptions, a pilgrim called Anania (Անանիա) and one Babgen (Բաբգեն), who inscribed their names both in Wādī Ḥağğāğ in Sinai as well as in Nazareth, where the inscribed wall can be dated to the first half of the fifth century. Two Georgian inscriptions in Nazareth should be dated only slightly later.²⁵ Besides

23. Łazar P'arpec'i 4 [Thomson §3].

24. Cf. Greenwood 2012:120. Macarius provided the Vrt'anes with հշմարիտ կանոնադրութեան կաթողիկէ եկեղեցւոյ ("the right canonical regulations for the Catholic Church"), Mac., *ep.* 217 with Terian 2008:96–97. The earliest pilgrim from Armenia seems to have been Eutactus of Satala (shortly before 361), on his stay in Palestine, cf. Epiph., *Pan.* 40,1,1–3 with Stone 1986:93–94, 1990–1991:326–327 and 2004:84–85.

25. Cf. Mayerson 1982:44–46 and Tchekhanovets 2011:460–461 as well as Schwartz 2009:149–150 on the lack of interest of late antique Rabbis for the Sinai. On the foundation of churches in Nazareth in Constantine's times, cf. Epiph., *Pan.* 30,11. Bagatti dated the building containing the graffiti to earlier than 427, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the Armenian inscriptions, making them the oldest Armenian inscriptions discovered so far, cf. also Stone 1990–1991:315 and 322–325.

many similarities, there were also differences between pilgrims from Armenia and Georgia: No pilgrimage souvenirs or relics (with a securely datable *translatio* in Late Antiquity) from the Holy Land have been discovered in Georgia so far,²⁶ whereas from the later sixth century onwards the Armenians would come to Jerusalem with the main goal of acquiring relics – in a similar fashion as in the fifth century relics were brought to Constantinople on a large scale.²⁷

While there is vast evidence for pilgrims from the Caucasus in Jerusalem, the question of their permanent presence in the city is more difficult to assess. There is no evidence that, besides monks and hermits, any sizeable number of Georgians resided permanently in Jerusalem or the Holy Land in Late Antiquity – the same appears likely in the case of the Armenians.²⁸ The archaeological evidence of monasteries containing Georgian and Armenian inscriptions (both tombstones and dedicatory mosaic inscriptions) poses further questions, poignantly summarised by Tchekhanovets: While none of the Georgian monasteries identified by archaeologists is mentioned in narrative sources, those monasteries known from narrative sources have not been discovered.²⁹ Additionally, the fifth and sixth century Georgian monasteries have no distinct architectural features which would differentiate them from other foundations. At the monastery in Umm Laysūn on the outskirts of Jerusalem, a funerary inscription of a certain John Bishop of Purtavi has been discovered during the excavations in

26. Tchekhanovets 2011:467.

27. Cf. Stone 1986:102–105 and Thomson 1989:77–78, on the Constantinopolitan acquisitions of relics, cf. Maraval 2002:70–71.

28. Cf. Kofsky 1997:209 (referring to Peter the Iberian as one of the most prominent “one-way pilgrims”), Tchekhanovets 2009:19–20, and Di Segni/Tsafirir 2012:433. A permanent Georgian population is only attested since modern times, for example in Wādī al-Ward; cf. Zagarelli 1888:259.

29. Cf. Tchekhanovets 2009:105 and 140–141. On Georgian and Lazic monasteries restored by Justinian, cf. Proc., *aed.* 5,9,6–7. The list of the alleged Armenian churches and monasteries by Anastas Vardapet helps little to shed light to the question of an Armenian presence in the city, firstly, because it is heavily exaggerated, and secondly, because it pretends to present a snapshot of the ecclesiastical landscape after the Muslim conquest: Many buildings are described as ‘now occupied by the ‘Tačik (Տաճիկ),’ i.e. the Arabs. It is, however, likely that it dates to Umayyad times and not much later, since many of the churches are not mentioned in the consequent medieval sources.

1996–2004.³⁰ The find can be dated to the late fifth or early sixth century, and it calls John a K‘art‘velian, i.e. a man from Georgia. The palaeography of the inscription is similar to those from the monastery in Bi‘r al-Qutt, 3.5 kilometers southwest from Umm Laysūn, and together with them they should be considered as the earliest examples of Georgian writing. Attempts to link the four Georgian theophoric names which are epigraphically attested at Bi‘r al-Qutt with Peter the Iberian and his ancestors have to be discarded.³¹ Besides the fact that the names were very common in late antique Georgia, the Iberian prince adopted a Christian name, which would render it impossible that his funerary inscription would mention his earlier Georgian name Murvanos (as suggested by the identification of a Marwan (მარ^ავან) in the Bi‘r al-Qutt inscriptions). Moreover, the *Vita Petri Iberi* leaves no doubt that its protagonist was interred in Maiuma and not in a monastery outside of Jerusalem.³² It is similarly unlikely, mainly for chronological reasons, that the fourth-century *dux Palaestinae* and *comes domesticorum*, Bacurius, who was personally known to Rufinus and Melania the Elder, could be identified with a Bakur (ბაკურ) in Bi‘r al-Qutt.³³ The same is true for two Armenian inscriptions discovered near the Ewstat‘ mosaic north of today’s Old City: they can be dated to

30. Cf. *CIIP* I,973: ესე სამარხოა | იოჰანე ფურსიტაველი პისკოპოსისაჲ ქართველისაჲ (“This is the grave of John bishop of Purtavi, a K‘art‘velian”), cf. Tchekhanovets 2009:165-166 (no. 6) as well as Seligman 2015:162–163, and, on the excavations of the monastery, Seligman/Abu Raya 2002:137–140.

31. Tchekhanovets 2009:79, 105–109 and 162–163 with inscription no. 2 mentioning Bakur (ლ. 3-4: ბაკურ) and Gri-Ormizd (ლ. 4–6: გრი ორმიზდ) as well as inscription no. 3 mentioning Marwan (ლ. 2: მარ^ავან) and Bowrsen (ლ. 2–3: ბო^ავრსენ).

32. Cf. Tchekhanovets 2009:107–108.

33. Cf. *PLRE* 1, s.v. “Bacurius” p. 144 with Zangarelli 1889:39. Tarchnishvili 1955:135–139, Rapp/Crego 2006:173–174 and esp. Lerner 2004:51–53 attempted to identify this Bacurius either with Bakur III (Varaz-Bakur, ruling in K‘art‘li after King Trdat) or with Bakur IV, the son of King Trdat, making him the great-grandson of king Mirian III, who introduced Christianity to Georgia. On Bacurius’ stay in Jerusalem, cf. Hunt 1982:166 and Whiting 2011–2012:76–77. For problems identifying the first Christian king of Georgia with Peter’s ancestor, cf. Kekelidse 1929:29–32. Bacurius in Rufinus’ account never claims that he was king of Georgia, nor that he was the first Christian king, rather, that he was from royal blood. We can conclude from Movsēs Xorenac‘i, that a Bacurius the Great ruled some years after Mesrop invented the Armenian alphabet (according to Movsēs’ chronology after 412) – hence it appears very unlikely that Rufinus’ Bacurius and Bacurius the Great are the same person. On the genealogy of Peter the Iberian’s family, cf. Horn 2006:50–59.

the early sixth century, however, the mentioned individuals, Petros of Sodc' and Abel, cannot be connected to any persons known from the literary sources.³⁴

Several legendary accounts in the Georgian historical compilation *K'art'lis C'xovreba* (ninth to fourteenth centuries), mention that the semi-mythical founder of Tblisi, the fifth-century king Vaxt'ang I Gorgasali, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem during which he purchased the land on which eventually the so-called Georgian Monastery would be constructed, i.e. the Monastery of the Cross near the modern buildings of the Knesset and the Israel Museum. Later traditions made the same claim for his fourth-century predecessor, Mirian III, the first Christian king of K'art'li.³⁵ However, it seems that no member of the Georgian nobility ever visited the Holy Land, and it is clear from the sources, that the Georgian Monastery was not constructed by Georgians, despite the many legends developed around its foundation. The main theme of the lore is that the monastery commemorated the spot where the tree grew from which the wood for the True Cross derived.³⁶ Again, the case is similar for the claims of antiquity for certain sites by the Armenians: The exaggerated list of Armenian churches and monasteries compiled by Anastas Verdapet claims that several of the most important churches in Jerusalem were not solely founded by Constantine, but with the aid of king Trdat and Gregory the Illuminator. While it is possible that a side chapel of St Menas within the modern Armenian Cathedral dates back to the fifth century (contemporary and perhaps identical with

34. Cf. *CIIP* I,874 and 874 with Stone 1997a:266–267. Sodc', the region of origin of Petros, is a district near Lake Sevan in Armenia. On the inscription of the Ewstat' mosaic, dating to the mid-seventh century, cf. *CIIP* I,817 with Stone 1997a:265 and 1997b:420.

35. Zangarelli 1889:40–41 and Tchekhanovets 2011:456.

36. Cf. Tzaferis 1993a:143–145; because of this connotation with the Cross, of all legends those linking the name of Heraclius are the most widespread; however, it seems unreasonable to date the monastery to this period when a considerable part of Jerusalem's ecclesiastical landscape had suffered greatly from the Persian invasion of 614. The archaeological evidence points to a foundation of the monastery in the sixth century, perhaps by Justinian. Later on, many Georgian rulers, especially those of the Bagrat dynasty (David the Builder and Queen Tamar), showered donations on the monastery that had suffered at the hand of the Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-'amri-llāh, the so-called 'mad caliph.'

Bassa's foundation of a chapel to this saint), it was certainly not connected with Armenian monks in Late Antiquity.³⁷

Jerusalem multiplied

Both Armenia and Georgia were looking to Jerusalem for liturgical guidelines. This is not only attested by the exchange of letters between the bishops or patriarchs of Jerusalem and the Armenian catholicoi, but also by the early production of translations of liturgical records from Jerusalem for the Churches of Armenia and Georgia which resulted, for example, in the Armenian and Georgian lectionaries. Moreover, it is possible, that Georgia and Jerusalem used the same era of dating in a number of ecclesiastical inscriptions.³⁸ One of the monks who introduced monastic life to Georgia, David Garejeli, travelled to the Holy Land in the mid-sixth century. Copying the attitude of earlier monks (Hilarion, Euthymius, Peter the Iberian), David avoided Jerusalem, judging himself unworthy to walk in Christ's footsteps, and allegedly only took three stones.³⁹ While the accounts on David Garejeli and others of the so-called "Thirteen Fathers" are legendary, the form of monasticism promoted in Georgia from the sixth century onwards shows close resemblances to that practised in the Sabaite monasteries outside of Jerusalem. It seems that Sabas' struggle against Miaphysitism evoked great admiration among his Georgian counterparts,⁴⁰ while this might at the same time be the reason that Sabas' heritage was almost completely ignored in Armenia despite of his precursor Euthymius' Armenian roots.⁴¹ In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Georgian Church be-

37. Cf. Tchekhanovets 2009:117–118.

38. Cf. Di Segni 1997:249–251, elaborating on her argument for a Jerusalemite-Georgian era first proposed in Di Segni 1993a. On the interest of Jerusalemite liturgical conventions in the east, cf. van Esbroeck 1996:383–386 and Bradshaw 1999:256–257.

39. Cf. Peradse 1927:5–6 and 36–37, Gagoshidze 2001:365–366, and Tchekhanovets 2011:455.

40. Cf. Gagoshidze 2001:381 on the Sabatsminda Monastery at Kardanaxi and other examples of churches and monasteries in Georgia dedicated to St Sabas, some of which date back to the sixth century.

41. For the beginning of anchoritic life in Armenia, cf. Łazar P'arpec'i 5 [Thomson §4]. Cf. Tchekhan-

gan to copy and translate Palestinian manuscripts on a large scale, something which the Armenian Church had been doing already for three centuries.⁴² Several of the texts copied by the Armenians originated in Jerusalem, for example the catecheses by Cyril of Jerusalem which were integrated into the *Doctrina Gregorii*, the longest part of Agat‘angelos’ account on the history of Armenia in the third century. Despite of this influence of Jerusalemite literature on the Armenians which is undeniable, their historians remain almost entirely silent on the role of Jerusalem, considering it apparently not very relevant as a source of their country’s identity.⁴³ While similarly, Peter the Iberian did not function as a figure of identification for the Georgians,⁴⁴ it is remarkable how early Georgian historiography established connections between the Kingdom of K‘art‘li and Jerusalem. Even though Georgia’s historical compilations like the *Mok‘c‘evay K‘art‘lisay* reached their present form late, they contain older material and attest to an early attempt to integrate Jerusalem into the sacredness of Georgian history.⁴⁵ The *Mok‘c‘evay K‘art‘lisay* (“Conversion of K‘art‘li”) is the main compilation preserving content independently from the major Georgian compilation, the *K‘art‘lis C‘xovreba*,⁴⁶ and dates back in parts to c. 650 based on more ancient sources, whereas the text as we have it now is from the late ninth or early tenth century.⁴⁷ Both texts share many traditions on

ovets 2013:160–163 on the spread of eremitic practices among Georgian monks in the Holy Land, which, however, is first attested in the tenth or eleventh centuries.

42. Cf. Gagoshidze 2001:361, Nanobashvili 2003:271–272, as well as Tchekhanovets 2009:97 and 2011:468. The first dated Georgian manuscript – dating to 864 – was produced at the monastery of Mar Saba. To allocate the so-called Jerusalem epoch of the Georgian manuscript tradition to the fifth–tenth centuries, as Mgaloblishvili 2001:230 does, seems a little too optimistic.

43. Cf. Thomson 1989:81 and 88.

44. Perrone 2009:193–194; Tchekhanovets 2009:105 and 2011:454. Nevertheless, many scholars from Georgia count Peter among the first Georgian pilgrims, when, in fact, he should rather be seen as a Constantinopolitan visitor; cf., for example, Mgaloblishvili 2001:229, similarly Pentkovsky 2009:64. Cf. also Egener 1998:133: “Il n’y a pas de doute que Pierre l’Ibère a joué un rôle pour la forte présence en Terre Sainte de moines géorgiens” – a claim which cannot be upheld.

45. Cf. Rapp/Crego 2006:118–199.

46. On the historical content of the *Mok‘c‘evay K‘art‘lisay*, cf. Rapp 2003:35–37.

47. Cf. Martin-Hisard 1997:53–54, Lerner 2004:26–28, and Rapp/Crego 2006:174–180. On the problems

St Nino, the fourth-century Illuminator of Georgia. In all likelihood embellishing Rufinus' short account on the conversion of Georgia which was accomplished by an unnamed woman,⁴⁸ the *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay* provided this woman with both a name and a background story: Nino was a member of the entourage of Hrip'simē, who together with thirty-six other virgins suffered martyrdom in Armenia under king Trdat (who at this time, according to the narrative, was still pagan).⁴⁹ Originally, she hailed from Cappadocia and was the niece of Juvenal of Jerusalem.⁵⁰ The presentation of Nino as a family member of the patriarch who enforced the dogma of Chalcedon in Jerusalem was indispensable for the compiler of the text, since it provided the possibility to distance her from Miaphysitism due to her connection with the Armenian Hrip'simē. The rivalry resulting from the conversion of Georgia being affiliated with the most famous martyrdom of Armenia is also noticeable by the absence of Armenia or Armenians in the oldest parts of the *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay*, a sign of the parting of the ways of the Caucasian Churches.⁵¹ Escaping from prosecution in Armenia, Nino arrived in

arising from equating the Kingdom of K'art'li with Georgians in Antiquity, cf. Kekelidse 1929:19–20.

48. According to Rufinus, the woman was a Christian prisoner of war whose model behaviour caused many people to convert, cf. Rufinus, *hist. eccl.* 10,9–11; cf. Bammel 1998:16–17, Kekelidse 1929:51 and Rapp/Crego 2006:174–175. It is remarkable that there is next to nothing that points to a secure early connection of Nino with Georgia. There is also only one place named 'Ninoc'mida' in the country (likewise her name is absent from early Georgian manuscripts on Mount Athos), cf. Martin-Hisard 1997:54–55 and Lerner 2004 claiming that Rufinus was aware of early Georgian traditions on Nino, while I would argue that the opposite was the case, namely that Georgian lore later embellished Rufinus' description.

49. On Nino and the conversion of Georgia, cf. also Socr. 1,20 (using Rufinus' account), Theod. *Hist. eccl.* 1,24, and Movsēs Xorenac'i 2,86. On the importance of Nino for Georgia, cf. Chkhartishvili 2009:131–133.

50. *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay* 2,1. Since the episode of Nino converting Georgia is dated by the chronology of the text to 356, this claim appears to be legendary in the first place; cf. Bammel 1998:18–19, Martin-Hisard 1997:57–58, van Esbroeck 1998a:62–63 and especially the discussion in Lerner 2004:37–43. However, Lerner has overlooked that the text offers a second dating coinciding with the times of Juvenal: The same passage mentions a battle of the Branji against the Romans on the field of Pitalani. I would assume this to be a scribal error between the Georgian letters 'p' (პ) and 'k' (კ) and to identify the battle with that of the Catalaunian Plains in 451, and thus the 'Branji' with the Huns. Cf. also Kekelidse 1929:45–47 who argued that Nino came from the Armenian province of Gogarene (*armen.* Gugark') and therefore grew up bilingual in Georgian and Armenian.

51. Georgian tradition made Nino the spiritual advisor of Hrip'simē, cf. *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay* 1,2: და იყო მის თანა ტყუე ერთიდედაკავი შუენიერი, სახელით ნინო, რომლისა საქმე მისი გამოიძია ჰელენე დედოფალმან და იყო იგი ჰრომი მთავარი, და თვთ მოევლო გზად თვისი და ექმნეს კურნებანი. დამოწევნულ იყო საბერძნეთა და ჰმოძღურიდა მთავარსა მას რიფსიმეს ("And with her [*scil.* Rip'sime] was a beautiful captive woman, by the name of Nino, about whose deeds Queen Helena had inquired. And she was a Roman princess and traveled as she wished, performing many miracles of healing. And she came to Greece and instructed the princess Rip'sime."). Cf. Martin-Hisard 1997:61

Mc'xet'a, the capital of Iberia, where she healed Nana, the wife of King Mirian III, and won herself a first group of disciples: a Jewish priest and his daughter, both in royal service, as well as the queen herself. Just like his Armenian counterpart Trdat, Mirian prosecuted Christians,⁵² however, after he was punished by God with blindness, he too converted to Christianity followed by his household and the whole of Iberia in 337.⁵³ Thanks to Nino's piety, several hidden relics (for example Christ's garment which had been brought to Georgia by two local Jews who were in Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion⁵⁴) were miraculously re-discovered and housed in Mc'xet'a. The city soon resembled a reproduction of Jerusalem, since all relics were venerated in purpose-built churches.

The popular story of St Nino, a cornerstone of medieval and modern Christian Georgian identity, provides the framework for placing (in a very literal sense) Jerusalemite traditions in Mc'xet'a's topography.⁵⁵ However, the parts of the *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay* containing the account of her life seem to have been integrated into the compilation only in a late redaction.⁵⁶ Older sections of the text arrive at a similar result – king Mirian III embellishing

and van Esbroeck 1998a:72

52. On Mirian III, cf. Zangarelli 1889:39–40, Chkhartishvili 2009:135–136, Tchekhanovets 2009:8 and 21–27, as well as Van Elverdinghe 2014:434–435.

53. The version, according to Gelasius, that Mirian converted during the reign of Constantine cannot be upheld, not least because of the silence of Eusebius who was well-aware of the region and would have mentioned it. Since most sources (Gelasius, Rufinus, and Movsēs Xorenac'i) mention an eclipse of the sun connected with Mirian's conversion) and such an eclipse is recorded for Georgia on 28 Mai 355, this seems to be the most likely *terminus post quem* which would fit into the chronology of the *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay* dating Nino's conversion of the country to 356 AD; cf. Kekelidse 1929:40–42; cf. also pp. 23–24 on the early connections between K'art'li (which until the mid-fourth century was under Armenian influence) with Jerusalem. The king is mentioned as 'Meribanes king of Iberia' in Amm. 22,6,8 – in an episode that must have taken place not long after the wedding between Constantius II and Faustina (361).

54. On the account of the Jewish pilgrimage, cf. *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay* 2,5. The main source which claims that in the wake of the Babylonian Captivity as well as of the Roman destruction of the Temple Jews moved to K'art'li and settled in Mc'xet'a seems to derive from the eleventh-century chronicler Leont'i Mroveli. The beginnings of Judaism in Georgia, however, are heavily debated, cf. Lerner 2004:60–62 (second century BC), Mgaloblishvili 2001:229 (first centuries AD), and Tchekhanovets 2009:23 (after the second century, focusing on the archaeological evidence).

55. Cf. Chkhartishvili 2009:138–139.

56. Cf. Martin-Hisard 1997:55–56.

his capital with Christian buildings, however, without any mention of the involvement of Nino. In these older sections, Mirian is told by God to set up a cross on a hill near his capital, the country is converted, and its first Christian king asks the Roman emperor to send workmen in order to construct churches, a claim that is also attested in late antique sources.⁵⁷ The Monastery of the Cross in Mc'xet'a, situated on a mountain overlooking the confluence of the Aragvi and Kura/Mt'k'vari rivers, contains a sixth-century stone cross which perhaps is the successor of Mirian's wooden one,⁵⁸ while the city's Svet'icxoveli Cathedral is said to be constructed upon the place where Christ's robe had been buried. Already in the fifth or sixth century, this church was additionally known as 'Sioni', while at the same time other Jerusalem-related place-names such as 'Gethsemane' appeared in the city.

Conclusion

The seeming re-building of Jerusalem in the Caucasus has prompted several scholars, starting with Kekelidze in the 19th century up to most recently Mgaloblishvili, to assert a special relationship between Jerusalem and Georgia as well as to claim distinct Jerusalemite origins for the Georgian Church with the city of Mc'xet'a as intermediary. Others, among them Chkhartishvili, Tchekhanovets, and Ousterhout, have been more reticent, arguing that the building of 'new Jerusalems' was a common practice which does not necessarily point to close contacts.⁵⁹ While the debate on Mc'xet'a's function as a new Jerusalem will certainly continue, it appears that the truth lies somewhere in between. For a long time, the city of Bologna and especially its church of San Sepolcro have been taken as the first example of a

57. Cf. *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay* 2,11–12 and *Soz.* 7,7, *Socr.* 1,20 as well as Theodoret, *hist. eccl.* 1,23. While the Theodosian church historians attest that Mirian's alleged request for workmen was (regardless of its historicity) known in fifth-century Constantinople, the church architecture of the Caucasus does not reflect any Constantinopolitan influence or any noticeable connection to the ground plans of Jerusalemite churches, cf. Pentkovsky 2009:64–65.

58. *Mok'c'evay K'art'lisay* 2,11; cf. Tchekhanovets 2009:30–31.

59. Cf. the overviews presented in Chkhartishvili 2009:133–134 and Tchekhanovets 2009:34–35.

comparable copying of Jerusalem in the west. Similarly to Mc'xet'a, the urban landscape of Bologna contains places called Josaphat, Haceldama, Pool of Siloam or San Giovanni in Monte Oliveti,⁶⁰ and the main church contains various chapels that housed Jerusalemite relics as well as reproductions of the city's *loca sancta*. However, even though the city's fifth-century patron saint, Pelagius, is said to have travelled to Jerusalem, it has become clear that the earliest association of Bologna with Jerusalem dates to the ninth century, while San Sepolcro received its commemorative shape only after the crusades.⁶¹ While late antique Constantinople was eager to acquire relics from the Holy Land, as has been demonstrated in the third chapter of this thesis, no attempts were made to architecturally reproduce Jerusalem in the capital.⁶² Eusebius reports that the Montanists renamed two Phrygian towns into 'Jerusalem' (certainly in reference to the heavenly, not the earthly city). However, the heretic status of the sect and the contemporary development of the real existing city of Jerusalem instantly extinguished this development.⁶³ It appears therefore that the city of Rome, where by the mid-fourth century a Constantinian church, the *sancta ecclesia Hierusalem* (known today as Santa Croce in Gerusalemme), commemorated the *inventio Crucis*,⁶⁴ was in all likelihood the first place in which a part of the city of Jerusalem was reconstructed, albeit without copying any actual building. Only a little later, the triumphal arches of the fifth and sixth century Roman *basilicae* like Santa Maria Maggiore were embellished with mosaic depictions of city vignettes of the most important churches in the Holy Land, above all Bethlehem and

60. Cf. Ousterhout 1981:311 and 315–316.

61. Cf. Ousterhout 1981:312–313 and 2009:100–101 as well as Stroumsa 1999a:23–26. The first reference to the equation of S. Stefano with Jerusalem comes from a diploma dating to 887 (*sanctum Stefanum qui dicitur sancta Hierusalem*; cf. 1981:318 n. 13).

62. Cf. Ousterhout 2009:105–107; cf. Ahrweiler 1996:541–542 arguing that the people of Constantinople identified themselves as inhabitants of a 'new Jerusalem' from very early times onwards.

63. Cf. Eus., *hist. eccl.* 5,18,2 with Stroumsa 1999a:20.

64. Cf. Stroumsa 1999a:19–20, Sahner 2009:108–109, and Drijvers 2011:144–145.

Jerusalem.⁶⁵ The holy city had become iconic, however, its seeming reconstruction in Mc‘xet‘a, where Jerusalem’s liturgy could be re-enacted on a much larger scale, remains an exceptional case.

The depiction of Jerusalem, which a visitor of Santa Maria Maggiore can behold to the present day, presents an amalgam: It shows a heavenly Jerusalem with golden walls adorned by jewels and pearls. At the same time it depicts a simplified version of the fourth-century city with an opened gate and four columns from the *cardo maximus*. Majestically placed in the middle of the walls, as the only clearly recognisable building, lies the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the *anastasis* rotunda and the Constantinian *basilica*. In contrast, the vignette of the holy city on the sixth-century Madaba map represents a seemingly more realistic image a hundred years after the Roman one. However, one needs to be cautious, since the Madaba map with its positioning of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the very centre of the city and its complete omission of the Temple Mount is far from realistic depiction. What both mosaic vignettes have in common, however, is that they do not and cannot show most of the developments which this thesis has tried to trace in the city’s history during the fifth and sixth centuries. Justinian’s *Nea* church, prominently depicted on the Madaba mosaic, was only an architectural manifestation of imperial patronage to a city which had developed from the centre of Constantine’s religious attention into a political agent as a holy place whose clergy, monks, and Christian inhabitants were deemed necessary for the well-being of the Empire. While Jerusalem could be multiplied in church mosaics all over the late Roman world, the vignettes likewise do not reflect a different form of transfer: not only that of relics or manuscripts, but rather of theological concepts and ideas. The city has been described as a “theological bear-garden”⁶⁶ and it is true that it attracted, in the guise of piety, almost all cen-

65. Cf. also Sahner 2009:121–122, suggesting that the fifth-century ensemble of the Roman churches of San Paolo, Santa Maria Maggiore, San Stefano Rotondo, and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, which all carried dedications to saints or relics affiliated with the Holy Land, were an early attempt to rebuild Jerusalem in Rome.

66. Brown 2002:357, cf. also Hunt 1982:203.

tral figures of theological thinking (and controversy) of the fifth and sixth centuries: Jerome, Rufinus, Melania the Elder, Evagrius, Epiphanius, Theophilus of Alexandria, John of Jerusalem, Pelagius, and Orosius in the beginning of the period studied in this thesis, followed by Juvenal of Jerusalem, Peter the Iberian, Nephalius, and Severus of Antioch in the time after the Council of Chalcedon. Soon they would be succeeded by later prominent figures of Christendom such as Leontius of Jerusalem or John of Damascus.

While the growing importance of Jerusalem from the late fourth to the middle of the sixth century may not have been as discernible as that, for example, of the Constantinian church foundations of the 320s, these 150 years represent a truly formative period. There was always tension in Jerusalem: between the holiest place on Christendom and Hadrianic Aelia, the modest provincial town built on the ruins of the Jewish sacred city. This tension, though with different parameters, remained palpable in the period I have explored. Perhaps not quite a palimpsest, still the landscape of Jerusalem underwent various changes as each dominant group wished to impose its mark on the ground. In order to make this clear and define my point of departure, I first presented an overview of the urban landscape of Jerusalem in the late fourth century looking back at the beginning of imperial activity in this city under Constantine while placing particular emphasis on Jerusalem's dealings with its pagan environment. I continued by investigating the genesis and dispersal of a group of foreigners settling in and near Jerusalem. Their shared interests and international network of contacts provided late fourth-century Jerusalem with its distinct intellectual character, while their confrontations with a variety of equally international ethnic and religious groups in the city provided them with a new sense of collective identity in return. These argumentative expatriates were, at the same time not immune to internal strife: Discord between the monasteries of Melania the Elder and Jerome led to an alienation of important western pilgrims who were forced to take sides. The dispute grew from local to global, as it reached Egypt, North Africa, Rome, and beyond. It appears very likely that the controversies in Jerusalem caught the attention of the

highest political spheres, bringing about the journey of Silvia, a member of the household of the *praefectus praetorio* Rufinus. Her pilgrimage in 395 should be interpreted, on the one hand, as the first case of a close interaction between the court and the holy city of Jerusalem and, on the other hand, as a very typical journey of a member of the Late Roman high society, characterised by a mixture between personal piety and political involvement. The same years witnessed also the first examples of outsider active engagement in the shaping the urban layout of Jerusalem, namely by the Roman matron Poemenia, who built a church on the Mount of Olives, but more so by Eudoxia, the wife of the emperor Arcadius, who appears as the likely patron of the late antique walls of Jerusalem. The close connections between Jerusalem and Constantinople continued during the reign of Eudoxia's son, Theodosius II. In the third chapter I suggested that the cult of saints in Jerusalem was an expression of piety which was imported to the holy city from outside, namely by the agency of Theodosius' wife, Eudocia, and by an important ascetic, Melania the Younger. At the same time, the discovery of the relics of St Stephen, as described at the end of the second chapter, provided these women with a prominent figure from Apostolic times on which they centred their attentions. Based on a close reading of the sources, I proposed a revised chronology of the journeys of Melania and Eudocia in the second quarter of the fifth century: Melania came to Constantinople at the end of the year 436 and returned to Jerusalem before Easter 437. Eudocia left Constantinople for an imperial journey (*iter principis*) perhaps as early as January 438, however, her arrival in Jerusalem, where she stayed long enough to construct an underground shrine of St Stephen, must be re-dated to some time later this year or rather early in 439. Eudocia's *martyrium* was inaugurated on 15 May 439, shortly before she returned to Constantinople. In between the time of Melania's return and Eudocia's arrival (i.e. between Easter 437 and late 438/early 439), Peter the Iberian settled in Jerusalem, contrary to previous attempts to date his arrival to 429/430. A distinctive novelty for Jerusalem was that from the time of Eudocia's and Melania's endeavours to promote the cult of saints in the city, the strategic placing

of church buildings in Jerusalem became more important than in previous times. Moreover, I have argued that the activities of Eudocia were in cooperation both with Melania and with her sister-in-law Pulcheria in Constantinople: all of these women shared a common interest in the veneration of saints, and nothing points to any form of religious rivalry between them. Shortly after the construction of cult places for St Stephen in Jerusalem, several other Roman noblewomen would follow the examples of Eudocia and Melania and constructed similar *martyria* in the holy city. The fourth chapter focused on the Christological controversy, which shook Palestine in the wake of the Council of Chalcedon (451), and, in particular, on the strategies and policies of Patriarch Juvenal before, at, and after Chalcedon. Having been driven out of his see after his return from the council, Juvenal turned to the emperor for support, while in the Holy Land only a small group of monks around Euthymius the Great adhered to the decrees of Chalcedon. After Juvenal's re-installation in 453 this group of monks would duly receive its reward: Euthymius and Juvenal joined forces – a development which had far-reaching consequences for the desert monasteries as well as for the holy city. Juvenal organised and defined several ecclesiastical offices in his diocese, which, as a rule, would come to be occupied exclusively by monks from the desert monasteries. By establishing a close connection between their respective spheres of influence, Euthymius and Juvenal laid the foundation of a development which would bear fruits at the beginning of the sixth century, when Sabas the Great put the political power of the monks to use by combining it with the religious legitimation of the *loca sancta* of Jerusalem as unassailable proofs of the true faith. The fifth chapter focused on the same events, but from a different perspective, namely the hagiographical responses to Chalcedon. I have argued that the main sources on this period, the *Vitae* authored by Cyril of Scythopolis and John Rufus, must be seen as competing texts. Clearly influenced by the religious climate of the reign of Justinian, when the Chalcedonian victory was sealed, Cyril's account of the events between 451–518 appears as more biased than previously assumed. I suggested that the depiction of the same events in Miaphysite ha-

gio- and historiography represents a less distorted picture of a period when the patriarchs of Jerusalem primarily aimed at reconciliation and were less staunchly supportive of Chalcedon than described by Cyril of Scythopolis. The fifth chapter also follows the development of the cult of saints, in particular the problems encountered by the Miaphysites when they had to desert their *loca sancta*, and consequently had to generate new ones in Gaza, on Mount Nebo, and in Egypt. Finally, the chapter challenged the common assumption that Eudocia supported both Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians (primarily via land donations) at the same time: Her donations to important Miaphysite figures, however, cannot be regarded as expressions of her personal faith, as I was able to demonstrate that all estates mentioned in the sources belonged to the crown which means that it was the emperor Marcian himself who supported the patriarchal policies of reconciliation by revoking punishments of Miaphysite leaders and providing them with land to settle again in the Holy Land. Eudocia played her part in these policies as an imperial agent who acted as Marcian's representative in Jerusalem. The sixth chapter followed these patriarchal politics of Juvenal's successors until the early sixth century, a period when adherence to the decrees of Chalcedon became a mere formality. It becomes clear from the sources that especially the figure of Patriarch Martyrius of Jerusalem needs to be re-evaluated. During his episcopate in 478, a union between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians was reached and this formed the prototype of Zeno's *Henoticon*. In this matter as well Cyril of Scythopolis' account appears to be less reliable than the anti-Chalcedonian perspective as provided by Zachariah Rhetor. Only those who openly denounced the Council of Chalcedon had to face consequences and were reprimanded, a risk which most clergymen and monks were able to successfully avoid. Similarly to the developments in the patriarchate, a close reading of the sources on the archimandrites reveals that most of the holders of this highest monastic office favoured anti-Chalcedonian positions. However, perhaps as a reaction to the violent outbursts in 451–453, the second half of the fifth century was, in general, a time of internal peace and conciliatory moves between the two parties. While the patriarchs and

monks in Jerusalem (and, in the case of Severus of Antioch, in the Gaza region) were slowly assembling their forces, Jerusalem's monasteries witnessed a period of transformation: there was a noticeable shift towards an increase of coenobitic life at the cost of the *laurae*. The growth of monastic power within the Patriarchate of Jerusalem reached critical mass during the episcopate of Elias of Jerusalem. The close connection between the monasteries and Jerusalem's clergy, which had begun during the times of Juvenal, allowed the monks to eventually become more influential than the patriarchs, even though the latter originated, as a rule, from the same monastic *milieu*. The seventh chapter shows to what extent Patriarch Elias depended on the support of the most important monks of his age, Sabas the Great and Theodosius. Elias was the first patriarch in fifty years who tried to actively participate in ecclesiastical politics on an empire-wide scale – and utterly failed. He had attempted to once for all expel the anti-Chalcedonians from his patriarchate, however, he underestimated the capacities of Severus of Antioch, and his precarious situation was only saved by an imperial mission of Sabas to Constantinople. However, when consequently Elias reverted to the more cautious strategies of his predecessors and made concessions to the Miaphysites, he lost the support of the monks and Sabas would eventually do nothing against Elias' deposition in 513. Stability and continuity in Jerusalem was granted not by the occupant of the patriarchal see, but by monastic leaders on whose benevolence the patriarchal office depended. In 516 the monks successfully refused to yield to the religious policies of the emperor Anastasius and employed the *loca sancta* of Jerusalem as an argument for the legitimation of their claims. The accession of Justin and the following Chalcedonian restoration, which is discussed in the eighth chapter, signified the death blow to the anti-Chalcedonian monasteries near Gaza as well as bringing an imperial reward for Sabas' resistance during the reign of Anastasius. The mutual agreement between the monk and Justin's successor, Justinian I, is an explanation for the renewed large-scale imperial interest in Jerusalem, whereas Anastasius (whose euergetism is well-attested elsewhere in the Holy Land) had – for understandable reasons – ex-

cluded Jerusalem from his patronage. Among Justinian's projects in the Holy Land, the construction of the *Nea* church in Jerusalem stands out not only by its sheer size. I have argued that the church was not only meant as a metaphorical substitute of Jerusalem's Temple, but also – in the way of an optical illusion – as a physical one: when viewed from the Mount of Olives the church must have appeared as being built or floating over the Temple Mount. The chapter also proposes a revised chronology of the cult of the Virgin in Jerusalem. While the Kathisma church on the way to Bethlehem is most likely the first building commemorating the Theotokos in the entire Roman Empire, Mary had, for a long time, only one holy place within the city, at Gethsemane. This church commemorated at least until the early sixth century both Mary's house and tomb. Roughly at the same time when Justinian ordered the construction of the *Nea* church, the Virgin was also commemorated at the Pool of Bethesda, a site which gradually would develop into the place thought to be Mary's childhood home. The final chapter and epilogue started with a re-evaluation of the archaeological and literary material on the presence of Georgian and Armenian pilgrims and monks in the holy city, and then moved on to a case study of how the urban layout of Jerusalem was copied in the capital of the Kingdom of K'art'li. While the concept of Jerusalem as heavenly city had been prominent since the beginning of Christianity, the case of Mc'xet'a in the Caucasus as a new Jerusalem may serve as an early example of how already the late antique world had become interested in multiplying the 'real' city of Jerusalem – a development which the west would only witness after the Crusades, when the Franciscan Friars initiated a different form of stational liturgy by measuring the exact number of steps between the stations of the Cross in Jerusalem and rebuilding the holy city's *Via Dolorosa* in the west.

Ancient sources

Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>ACO</i>	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub, Berlin 1914–1971.
<i>CCSL</i>	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
<i>CIIP</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> , ed. H. Cotton, L. Di Segni, and W. Eck (et alii), Berlin 2010–.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
<i>CSEL</i>	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
<i>CSS</i>	Cistercian Studies Series
<i>DNP</i>	<i>Der neue Pauly</i> , ed. by H. Cancik and H. Schneider, Stuttgart 1996–.
<i>EAH</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient History</i> , ed. R. Bagnall, Oxford 2013.
<i>FC</i>	Fontes Christiani
<i>LACL</i>	<i>Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur</i> , ed. S. Döpp, Freiburg 1998.
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>NPNF</i>	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
<i>Payne Smith</i>	<i>A compendious Syriac dictionary founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith</i> , ed. by J. Payne Smith (Mrs. Margoliouth), Oxford 1903.
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PLRE</i>	<i>Prosopography of the later Roman Empire</i> , ed. A. Jones, J. Martindale, and J. Morris, Cambridge 1971–1992
<i>PO</i>	Patrologia Orientalis
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i>
<i>SC</i>	Sources Chrétiennes
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>TTH</i>	Translated Texts for Historians

Some ancient sources are repeated in the bibliography of modern studies when cited in the text under the name of the editor or translator and referring to introductions or notes within these works. Translations in this thesis are adapted from the first English translations given in the following bibliography. If there is no English translation mentioned in this bibliography, all new translations from the sources are my own from the original language, except for Georgian, which I translated from existing Latin or French translations.

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Modern studies

Abbreviations

<i>AnTard</i>	<i>Antiquité Tardive</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of SOAS</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>EAH</i>	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient History</i>
<i>ESI</i>	<i>Hadashot Arkheologiyot, Excavations and Surveys in Israel</i>
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>GOTR</i>	<i>Greek Orthodox Theological Review</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>The Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JBT</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
<i>INJ</i>	<i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Liber Annuus</i>
<i>OC</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus (Neue Serie)</i>
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>POC</i>	<i>Proche-Orient Chrétien</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>REArm</i>	<i>Revue des Études Arméniennes</i>
<i>ROC</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient chrétien</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Römische Quartalsschrift</i>
<i>SFB</i>	<i>Studium Biblicum Franciscanum</i>
<i>TTH</i>	<i>Translated Texts for Historians</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VC</i>	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Article or book titles in languages which use a different script than Latin have been translated into English in brackets after the original title. I have kept the original translation, whenever the authors or editors suggested such within their works (e.g. ‘ספר ירושלים’ is rendered as ‘The history of Jerusalem’). For the transliterations of Hebrew journal titles in Latin script I have used the format used by the publishers (e.g. ‘Qadmoniot’ instead of ‘Qadmoniyot’). An asterisk marks a second page numbering, esp. for English articles in Hebrew journals.

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