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## **The Ethnic Composition of Jerusalem's Population in the Byzantine Period (312-638 CE)**

*Every man of note in Gaul hastens hither. The Briton, 'sundered from our world', no sooner makes progress in religion than he leaves the setting sun in quest of a spot of which he knows only through Scripture and common report. Need we recall the Armenians, the Persians, the peoples of India and Arabia? Or those of our neighbor, Egypt, so rich in monks; of Pontus and Cappadocia; of Coelesyria and Mesopotamia and teeming east? ... They all assemble here... Differing in speech, they are one in religion, and almost every nation has a choir of its own*

Jerome, *Ep.* 46, 10<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

People from lands near and far, even those beyond the realm of the Roman Empire, were often drawn to dwell in Jerusalem, a city sacred to both Jews and Christians. Jerusalem therefore became a cosmopolitan city par excellence, a character that was enhanced by the permanent presence of thousands of pilgrims who lived in the city for lengthy periods of time, and who sometimes even chose

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<sup>1</sup> St. Jerome, *Letters and Select Works* (A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, 2nd series, Vol. VI), transl. W.H. Fremantle, Buffalo 1893 (reprinted 1995), 64. The Latin text is in *Sancti Eusebi Hieronymi Epistulae* (CSEL 54), ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna 1996<sup>2</sup>, 339-340. These words are said about monks and nuns, who came to Jerusalem as pilgrims but often joined monastic communities of their own fellow countrymen, but could have been said of all the pilgrims who converged on the Holy City from all corners of the world.

to end their lives there. Greek was the main language of communication, though Syriac, Aramaic, and Hebrew, as well as Armenian, Georgian, and Coptic, were also spoken. Latin speakers came to the city from the West.

An attempt to clarify the ethnic composition of Jerusalem's population faces a major methodological problem: it is difficult to distinguish between the city's temporary residents – pilgrims who resided there for a few years or at least a few months – and its permanent inhabitants. Since our objective is not to establish a formal classification but rather to gain an understanding of Jerusalem's society and culture, we shall treat representatives of any particular country in Jerusalem as one permanent ethnic entity, even if they replace one another at times.

### The population of Jerusalem before Constantine

The condition of Jerusalem differed from that of most other cities in Palestine. An ancient community going back to the Hellenistic and early Roman period continued to exist in those cities, while Jerusalem's destruction in 70 CE caused a drastic change. After the suppression of the Bar Kokhba revolt the city was deserted and in ruins, and the Jews lost any realistic hope of returning and settling there. The establishment of the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jewish Jerusalem entailed a resettlement of the city. It can be assumed that the solid core of the new inhabitants were soldiers of the Tenth Legion and of the auxiliary units attached to it.<sup>2</sup> Though these soldiers should not be considered permanent residents, many of them spent several years in the city, and if they were transferred to other garrisons, they were replaced by others. It may be assumed that at least half of the legion's five thousand soldiers lived either in the camp located within the city or on its outskirts. Many veterans probably continued to live in the city after being discharged from the army, especially since at the end of the 2nd century soldiers were permitted to marry and raise families (it may be assumed that this permission gave legal sanction to a situation that, at least partially, had existed beforehand).<sup>3</sup> We can learn about the presence of these legionnaires and auxiliaries, and their contribution to the social and religious life of the city, from the Latin inscriptions left behind by

<sup>2</sup> On Jerusalem after 70, Aelia Capitolina and the presence of the Tenth Legion in the city, see Y. Tsafir, "The Topography and Archaeology of Aelia Capitolina", in *Sefer Yerushalaim*, 115-166 (Hebrew); H. Geva, "Jerusalem: The Roman Period", in *NEAEHL* II, 758-767; B. Isaac, "Jerusalem — an introduction", in *CIIP* I/1, pp. 10-26; E. Mazar, *The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem, 1968-1978, Directed by Benjamin Mazar. Final Reports. IV: The Tenth Legion in Aelia Capitolina* (Qedem 52), Jerusalem 2011.

<sup>3</sup> On this topic, see S.E. Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C.-A.D. 235): Law and Family in the Imperial Army* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 24), Leiden - Boston 2001.

soldiers. The presence of a garrison implied that of camp followers who supported themselves by supplying services to the legion. As a rule, their living quarters (*canabae*) stood near the camp, and their occupants relied upon the security provided by the army. The occupants of the *canabae* were probably mostly natives of the region.

Undoubtedly, native residents comprised the majority of Aelia Capitolina's inhabitants. Since Jews were prohibited from settling in the city, Aelia was left to the Hellenized population of Palestine, who found there a suitable place in which to settle and earn a livelihood. It can be assumed that the social and ethnic composition of the population of Aelia Capitolina was similar to that of other cities in Palestine: gentiles of Greek or Syrian extraction. If there were veterans among the city's inhabitants, they were undoubtedly integrated into the existing population.

Most of the Latin inscriptions known today are directly connected either with the military or with the administrative authorities. A number of Latin epitaphs pertain to Roman citizens with no explicit association with the army or the administration, but still probably related to the élite of Roman high officers and their entourages serving official duties in the city.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, some inscriptions of private character originating from Roman citizens are in Greek, as are epitaphs of deceased lacking Roman citizenship (presumably natives) and inscriptions in private houses.<sup>5</sup> This seems to indicate that the vehicular language at least among part of the Roman citizens, and certainly between them and the native population, was Greek. However, it can hardly be proved that the daily language spoken in Aelia Capitolina was Greek. Indeed, there is evidence from later times showing that, although most of the later inscriptions and of the literary works produced in the city were in Greek, liturgies performed in Greek by the bishop were simultaneously translated into Aramaic.<sup>6</sup> This clearly indi-

<sup>4</sup> See *CIIP* I/2, nos. 705-707, 712-729, 732-736, 753-762, 1097, 1114; App. 1\* (inscriptions connected with the army or the administration); nos. 739-745, 747-748 (epitaphs of Roman citizens). The contribution of the Roman army to the economic life of Jerusalem is attested by the great number of roof tiles and bricks produced in military workshops and impressed with the stamps of the Tenth Legion; for a general study, see D. Barag, "Stamp-Impressions of the Legio X Fretensis", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 167 (1967) 244-267. Some veterans seemingly continued producing this type of building material in private workshops; cf. *CIIP* I/2, App., nos. 36\*-37\*. Another indication of the impact of the Roman presence in the city is the considerable quantity of imported pottery bearing Latin stamps and dipinti (*CIIP* I/2, nos. 1092-1098, App. 23\*-33\*); these vessels brought oil, wine, fish sauce and perhaps other foodstuff for Roman consumers.

<sup>5</sup> *CIIP* I/2, nos. 709-710, 746.

<sup>6</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae* XLVII, 3-4, ed. E. Franceschini and R. Weber, in *Itineraria et alia geographica* (CCSL 175), Turnhout 1965, 89. Egeria's evidence dates from the late 4th century, but the presence of translators in the Palestinian church is already attested at the time of Diocletian's persecution (Eusebius, *History of the Martyrs in Palestine*, transl. W. Cureton, London - Edinburgh 1861, 4) and no doubt goes back to the early church.

cates that, while part of the population – probably comprising the upper, educated classes – was imbued with the Hellenic culture, Aramaic was still the choice of a large part of the native inhabitants.

Aelia's residents were overwhelmingly pagan. Zeus-Jupiter Capitolinus and Aphrodite-Venus were the leading deities. Asklepios-Aesculapius may have been worshipped near the Pool of Bethesda. An inscription from a shrine of the patron god of Africa (Genius Africae) was discovered in the Armenian quarter, and one dedicated to Sarapis was found at Zion Gate.<sup>7</sup>

Two religious minorities lived in Jerusalem. According to tradition, they were centred on Mount Zion, in the city's southwest quarter. The Jews maintained a small community once Hadrian's prohibition forbidding them from entering the city was no longer enforced.<sup>8</sup> This community may have been centred around a synagogue on Mount Zion.<sup>9</sup> Alongside the Jews was a small Christian community. According to Eusebius, this was at first a Judeo-Christian community, but immediately after the Bar Kokhba revolt its leadership passed into the hands of bishops of gentile stock.<sup>10</sup> According to Christian tradition, the community centred around the Church of the Apostles on Mount Zion.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Jupiter Capitoline was worshipped on the Temple Mount (Dio LXIX, 1, 12; Jerome, *In Esaïam* I, 2, 9, ed. M. Adriaen [CCSL 73], Turnhout 1963, 33). For the temple of Venus-Aphrodite, see mainly Eusebius, *De vita Constantini* III, 26, 1-3, ed. F. Winkelmann (GCS), Berlin 1975, 95; Jerome, *Ep.* 58, 3, 5, ed. Hilberg [above, n. 1], 531-532. For the inscriptions, see *CIIP* I/2, nos. 705 (Latin dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Sarapis), 706 (Latin dedication to Genius Africae), 708 (Greek dedication to Zeus); 709 (votive foot from the Pool of Bethesda). The waters of the pool were known to have medicinal properties as early as the Second Temple Period (John 5:1-9). The discovery of votive statuettes in the excavations, such as the inscribed foot, a woman bathing, a model of a temple with snakes and a figure bringing an offering of ears of wheat, points to the existence of an Asklepeion close to this site. See bibliography attached to *CIIP* I, 2, no. 709. The following gods appear on the city's coins: Jupiter with Juno and Minerva (the Capitoline triad); Sarapis; Tyche, the city goddess; Hygeia (the goddess of health who may be connected to the temple of Aesculapius); Dionysus; Nemesis, and the Dioscuri. See Y. Meshorer, *City-Coins of Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman Period*, Jerusalem 1985, 60-63; Id., "The Coins of Aelia Capitolina", in *Sefer Yerushalaim*, 181-197 (Hebrew); Id., *The Coinage of Aelia Capitolina* (Israel Museum Catalogue 301), Jerusalem 1989.

<sup>8</sup> S. Safrai, "The Jews of Jerusalem during the Roman Period", in *Sefer Yerushalaim*, 29-34 (Hebrew).

<sup>9</sup> *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 592, 6-7, ed. P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [above, n. 6], 16; Optatus Milevitanus, *De schismate Donatistarum adversus Parmenianum* III, 2, ed. C. Ziwsa (CSEL 26), Vienna 1893, 70; Epiphanius, *Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* 14, transl. J.E. Dean, Chicago 1935, 30. For an identification of this synagogue with a structure in the so-called David's Tomb, see J. Pinkerfeld and M. Avi-Yonah, "David's Tomb: Notes on the History of the Building", *Bulletin of the Rabinovitz Fund* 3 (1960) 41-43; Tsafir, "The Topography" [above, n. 2], 159-160.

<sup>10</sup> Eusebius, *HE* IV, 5, ed. E. Schwartz, *Die Kirchengeschichte* (GCS 9), Leipzig 1903, 304-306.

<sup>11</sup> Epiphanius reports that, when Hadrian came to Jerusalem and decided to rebuild the city as Aelia Capitolina, "he found the temple of God trodden down and the whole city devastated save for a few houses and the church of God, which was small, where the disciples, when they

### The religious composition of the population of Byzantine Jerusalem

During the Byzantine period, Jerusalem was known as an eminently Christian city. The great religious tension immanent in the city's sanctity and its status as a patriarchal see made tolerance of older cultures difficult. The literary sources and archaeological findings provide no information pointing to the integration of classical literature, philosophy or art into the city's new Christian culture, as we do find, for example, in Gaza, Caesarea and Beth Shean,<sup>12</sup> or in other seats of patriarchs, such as Antioch or Constantinople. The Orpheus mosaic, discovered in a chapel north of the Damascus Gate, provides a unique piece of evidence showing the preservation and integration of classical traditionals. Nonetheless, this appears to be an exceptional case.<sup>13</sup>

The sermons delivered by Cyril of Jerusalem to the catechumens in the mid-4th century reveal the religious origins of the new converts to Christianity. In the sermons, he relates to Christianity's supremacy over the futility of Judaism and paganism. His proofs are directed at both former pagans and Jews. He educates the pagans by comparing the redemptive Christian mystery with the meaningless pagan processions and sacrifices in temples, which are nothing but worship of the devil. On the other hand, the frequent quotations from the Old Testament and the examples drawn from figures and episodes of the Jewish past – e.g., the ritual of the Passover sacrifice and the story of Pharaoh drowning in the Red Sea – are directed especially to Jewish converts, who could understand such

had returned after the Saviour had ascended from the Mount of Olives, went to the upper room. For there it had been built, that is, in that portion of Zion which escaped destruction..." (*Treatise on Weights and Measures* 14, transl. Dean [above, n. 9], 30). A tradition identified the room where Jesus appeared to the apostles after the resurrection (Luke 24:32-39; John 20:19-21, 26) with the "upper room" of the Last Supper (Mark 14:14-16; Luke 22:8-13). The church called by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catecheses ad illuminandos* XVI, 4, PG 33: 924) 'The Upper Church of the Apostles' was built on the ruins of the ancient church described by Epiphanius between 333 and 348, and later incorporated in the complex of the Holy Zion.

<sup>12</sup> For the Hellenic culture in Gaza, see G.A. Downey, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century* (Centres of Civilization 8), Norman 1963. For the reuse of Roman statues in Byzantine Caesarea, see M. Fischer, "Marble, Urbanism, and Ideology in Roman Palestine: The Caesarea Example", in A. Raban and K.G. Holum (ed.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 21), Leiden - New York 1996, 255-260. For classical themes and statuary in Byzantine Beth Shean, see Y. Tsafrir, "The Classical Heritage in Late Antique Palestine: The Fate of Freestanding Sculptures", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (ed.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power* (ISACR 9), Leuven 2008, 117-142, esp. 133-140.

<sup>13</sup> Some scholars believe that the Jerusalem Orpheus was intended to represent Christ. On the mosaic and its background and meaning, see L.-H. Vincent, "Une mosaïque byzantine à Jérusalem", *RB* 10 (1901) 436-444; 11 (1902) 100-103; A. Ovadiah and S. Mucznik, "Orpheus from Jerusalem – Pagan or Christian Image?", *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981) 152-166; J. Elsner, "Double Identity: Orpheus as David, Orpheus as Christ?", *BAR* 35/2 (March-April 2009) 35-45.

matters and identify with them more than other people.<sup>14</sup> True, many converts baptized in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre came from distant locations and subsequently returned to their homes, but there were probably converts who were residents of Jerusalem as well. Further evidence of large numbers of Jews converting to Christianity in Jerusalem is found in reports of events that occurred in the city during the 4th century, such as the appearance of a luminous cross in the sky in 351,<sup>15</sup> or the failure of the plans to build the Temple anew during the reign of Julian in 363.<sup>16</sup> Even if we are most cautious in our examination of such biased Christian evidence, there is no doubt that many Jews in Palestine converted to Christianity, among them residents of Jerusalem.

In the 6th century, Cyril of Scythopolis mentions Samaritans in Jerusalem.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, in the episode of the Persian conquest of Jerusalem there is mention of a 'quarter of the Samaritans', or 'quarter of the Samaritan church', which can be interpreted as 'church of the Samaritans' (or, according to some commentators, 'synagogue of the Samaritans') or 'church of the Samaritan woman'. Milik, who compared the various Georgian and Arabic versions of the text, concluded that the street and quarter were named after a church dedicated to the Samaritan woman, as it was out of the question that a Samaritan quarter, and much less a Samaritan synagogue, may have existed in Jerusalem.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, it would appear unreasonable that a Samaritan quarter should be found in Jerusalem, since the very nature of their religion made the holy city of Judaism especially loathsome to Samaritans. Nonetheless, one should not rule out the possibility that a small Samaritan minority did live in the city.

Another group of converts to Christianity who were drawn to Jerusalem consisted of people of Arabic origin, both from the deserts of Palestine and from farther regions. The most famous among them was Petrus Aspebetus, chief of an Arab tribe that crossed the border from the Persian territory and was con-

<sup>14</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, PG 33: 369-1064; *Catecheses mystagogicae*, PG 33: 1065-1128. See for example *Cat. Ill.* VI, 10-11; VII, 13; *Cat. Myst.* I, 7-8, PG 33: 553-556, 617-620, 1072 (pagan cults); *Cat. Myst.* I, c, PG 33: 1068 (slavery in Egypt and the sacrifice of the Passover lamb).

<sup>15</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Epistola ad Constantium imperatorem de visione crucis*, PG 33: 1165-1176.

<sup>16</sup> S.P. Brock, "A Letter Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem on the Rebuilding of the Temple", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40 (1977) 267-286.

<sup>17</sup> *Vita Sabae* 57, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Scythopolis* (TUGAL 49 ii), Leipzig 1939, 154.

<sup>18</sup> J.T. Milik, "La topographie de Jérusalem vers la fin de l'époque byzantine", *MUSJ* 37 (1960-61) 133, 136-137, 163-167. According to Christian tradition, the Samaritan woman who spoke with Jesus at Jacob's well became a Christian and suffered martyrdom with her family under Nero. A church was dedicated to her at Jacob's well near Shechem: see *Commemorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis*, ed. M. McCormick, *Charlemagne's Survey of the Holy Land: Wealth, Personnel, and Buildings of a Mediterranean Church between Antiquity and the Middle Ages: with a Critical Edition and Translation of the Original Text* (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Humanities), Washington D.C. 2011, 214-215.

verted by the saintly monk Euthymius in the first half of the 5th century.<sup>19</sup> Peter was appointed bishop of the Arab community residing in a place called *Parembolai* ('Tent-camps'), not far from Jerusalem, and maintained close ties with the Christian leadership in the city. Though we have no evidence of Christian converts of Arab origin actually becoming residents of Jerusalem, such a case is very probable.<sup>20</sup>

### The number of Jerusalem's inhabitants

The number of residents in Byzantine Jerusalem is subject to speculation and supposition. We do not have a single shred of evidence concerning the size of the population; the only documentation providing actual figures is the report drawn up by Eustratius (Strategius) on the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians. In an appendix he lists the number of corpses collected in different part of the city and buried by a man named Thomas and his wife, after the Persians ceased from the slaughter. The report cites very large numbers of victims slaughtered during the conquest and in the subsequent days. There are differences among the various manuscripts, and each and everyone lacks part of the data. The lowest total is in an Arabic manuscript, MS Vat. 697 – 33,867 victims, and if we add three missing numbers, with the help of other manuscripts, the sum reaches 44,204 victims. The highest total (in an Arabic manuscript, MS Sin. 428) is 67,424 victims, and if complemented by the missing figures – 68, 260.<sup>21</sup> To these numbers we must add the 37,000 who went into exile in Persia together with Patriarch Zacharias, as well as an unknown number of Jewish (and Samaritan?) inhabitants, and of Christians who survived the massacre and were not driven out of the city.<sup>22</sup> Even the lowest numbers in the MSS seem exagger-

<sup>19</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 10, 15, 20, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 18-21, 24-25.

<sup>20</sup> Elias, patriarch of Jerusalem in 492-516, himself originated from the province of Arabia, but there is no way of knowing if he was of Arabian stock: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 32, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 51.

<sup>21</sup> G. Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614* (CSCO 202-203, Scriptorum Iberici 11-12), Louvain 1960; Id., *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614: recensione arabicae, A et B* (CSCO 340-341; Scriptorum Arabici 26-27), Louvain 1973-1974; Id., *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614: recensione arabicae, C et V* (CSCO 347-348; Scriptorum Arabici 28-29), Louvain 1974. For a comparison of the numbers in the various MSS, see Milik, "La topographie" [above, n. 18], 127-133.

<sup>22</sup> In fact, Jerusalem was not emptied of its Christian inhabitants and Christian institutions continued to function. The monk Modestus, who replaced the exiled Zacharias, soon began to restore the churches damaged in the course of the siege and the conquest (Antiochus monachus, *Ep. ad Eustathium*, PG 89: 1427; *The Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos* 35 [117], transl. R.W. Thomson, Vol. I, Liverpool 1999, 71-72), and monks from outlying monasteries found refuge from the threat of the Saracens allied with the Persians, most likely in hostels belonging to the mother houses. See *Vita sancti Georgii Chozibitae auctore Antonio Chozibita* 31, ed. C. Houze, AB 7 (1888) 130.

ated, though not unreasonable if we compare them to Josephus' figure of over one million victims of the siege of Jerusalem in 70 CE.<sup>23</sup> However, another source, the *History of Heraclius* ascribed to the 7th-century Armenian historian Sebeos, gives a much lower figure than Strategius, also based on a count of the corpses: 17,000 killed, while his figure for the prisoners is similar, 35,000.<sup>24</sup> A calculation of the population according to the city's size, less the uninhabited public areas, gives us an estimate of over 50,000 inhabitants in the city and its nearby environs, which would corroborate Pseudo-Sebeos' data.<sup>25</sup> During the reign of Constantine, at the beginning of the Byzantine period, the city had very few buildings and was sparsely inhabited, so that quite likely a realistic estimate of the population at the time should be lower – perhaps about 10,000 people.<sup>26</sup>

### The Latins and Other Westerners

An anonymous pilgrim sketched on stone a ship with the Latin inscription *DOMINE IVIMUS*, 'Lord, we have come'.<sup>27</sup> This stone, which was subsequently incorporated into the foundations of the Constantinian Church of the Holy

<sup>23</sup> *Bellum Iudaicum* VI, 420. According to Josephus, 1,100,000 persons perished of famine and sword, but this figure, unrealistic as it seems to be, included a great number of Jews who had come for the annual pilgrimage of Passover and had been entrapped in the city. Also in the case of the Persian conquest it is impossible to ascertain how many victims were inhabitants of Jerusalem and how many were refugees from the surrounding area that fled to the city, believing it was secure.

<sup>24</sup> *The Armenian History* 34 [116], transl. Thomson [above, n. 22], 69.

<sup>25</sup> M. Broshi, "The Population of Ancient Jerusalem", in Id. (ed.), *Between Hermon and Sinai: Memorial to Amnon*, Jerusalem 1977, 65-74 (Hebrew); Id., "The Population of Palestine during the Roman-Byzantine Period", in Z. Baras, S. Safrai, Y. Tsafir and M. Stern (ed.), *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest*, I, Jerusalem 1982, 442-455 (Hebrew). E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 127; Studia Phoenicia 18), Leuven 2004, 239-240, estimates the population within the walls, after Eudocia enlarged the walled area of the city, to ca. 25,000 people, but Jerusalem had greatly grown in the course of the 6th century.

<sup>26</sup> Several Christian sources attest that pre-Constantinian Jerusalem was in ruins and practically deserted even after Hadrian's reconstruction as Aelia Capitolina: so Origen (*In librum Iesu Nave Homilia* XVII, 1, PG 12: 910), Sulpicius Severus, who describes the city, at the time of Helena's visit, as "horrenda ruinis", though there were "idola et templa" which Helena destroyed (*Chronicon* II, 33, ed. C. Halm [CSEL 1], Vienna 1866, 87). The legend on the discovery of the True Cross, whose original form goes back to the second half of the 4th century, says that Helena, in order to learn about the hiding place of the cross, seized Jews from cities and villages around Jerusalem "for the city was totally deserted" (*De inventione crucis*, ed. E. Nestle, "Die Kreuzauffindungslegende nach einer Handschrift vom Sinai", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 4 [1895] 325). See also below the description of Jerusalem at the arrival of Peter the Iberian, in 437. However, unlike the biographer of Peter the Iberian, these early sources may have intentionally exaggerated to extol Constantine and to emphasize the success of Christianity and the humiliation of the Jews.

<sup>27</sup> *CIIP* I/2, no. 787, and see the bibliography there.

Sepulchre, provides evidence of the earliest Latin-speaking pilgrim known. Subsequently, pilgrims from all over the West came to Jerusalem, some being members of the aristocracy and connected to the emperor's court, while others were ordinary folk. Itineraries written by the pilgrims and road maps are evidence of just how widespread was pilgrimage, and how great the number of pilgrims.

It is no wonder that this flow of pilgrims to the Holy Land also included some who took up permanent residence in Jerusalem. This latter group was characterized by the high level of its members: many came from the aristocracy or were retired officials. Their native language was Latin but we can assume that when they settled in Jerusalem, they learned Greek, and that many of them knew that language even before arriving in Jerusalem.

Jerome, a native of Dalmatia, provides a good example. When he arrived in Jerusalem in 386 CE, he was already in his forties, an experienced and accomplished writer, as well as a strong-minded monk. He improved his knowledge of Greek during the years when he sojourned in Antioch, Constantinople, Chalcis and Egypt, and subsequently during his stay in Palestine. After he learned Hebrew, he was able to study and translate the Bible from its original language. At the same time, he was deeply rooted in Western culture, and his readers and admirers came from these circles. Curiously enough, this great author and intellectual left only a minor impression upon the literature of Jerusalem and Palestine. Apparently, foreign language and origin added to the social hiatus between the Latin immigrants and the local Greek-speaking population.

It can be assumed that the Westerners' erudition and intellectualism vexed some of the devout Easterners. Perhaps this hiatus is what prompted the Western monks to take up their abode on the city's outskirts, and not within Jerusalem. Jerome and his disciples Paula and Eustochium chose to live in Bethlehem.<sup>28</sup> This village was located six miles from Jerusalem and was then considered part of the Holy City. A visit to the site of the Nativity in Bethlehem was part of the Christian ritual in Jerusalem, which was characterized by processions and pilgrimages to the holy sites.<sup>29</sup> Orosius, a priest and writer from Bracara Augusta (today Braga in Portugal), who came to Palestine by way of Africa in the wake of the Visigoth invasion of his country, lived in Bethlehem for a while from 415

<sup>28</sup> A. Penna, "Girolamo", in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI, Rome 1965, cols. 1109-1137; F. Caraffa, "Eustochio", *ibid.*, V, Rome 1964, cols. 302-304; G. Del Ton, "Paola", *ibid.*, X, Rome 1968, cols. 123-136. On the monastery of Paula and Eustochium in Bethlehem see Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 36, 41, ed. E.C. Butler (Text and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature 6/1), Cambridge 1898, 108, 128; Jerome, *Ep.* 46, 13, ed. Hilberg [above, n. 1], 344; *Ep.* 108, 14, 20, 26, ed. I. Hilberg (CSEL 55), Vienna 1996<sup>2</sup>, 325, 334-335, 344-345. Another Italian monk, Oxyperentius, lived in Bethlehem and was forced to leave by Jerome's hostility (Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 36, 7, ed. Butler, 108).

<sup>29</sup> J.F. Baldwin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228), Rome 1987, 45-104.

to 416 or 417.<sup>30</sup> We have information about the visit to Palestine at that time of Pelagius, a British monk whose theological doctrine was rejected as heresy by the synods of Jerusalem and Lydda.<sup>31</sup> Jerome strongly criticized Pelagius in writing, and the latter's followers attacked Jerome's monastery in Bethlehem. Can we deduce from this that the Pelagian centre in Palestine (in which Westerners were prominent) was also located in Bethlehem? At the end of the 4th century, Cassianus, a Scythian who later settled in Marseille, and was known for his Latin treatises on Eastern monasticism, also lived here.<sup>32</sup>

Other Western immigrants congregated around the Mount of Olives. Here they could be closer to the city and especially to several major holy sites, such as the Cave of the Apostles in the Eleona Church, the site of Jesus' Ascension to heaven, or Gethsemane. Prominent among them was a group of Roman matrons who abandoned married life and under Jerome's influence embraced asceticism. The founder of this monastic centre was the 4th-century Italian priest and monk Innocentius, who built a memorial church dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Palladius, who lived there during the eighties of the 4th century, already knew of this church.<sup>33</sup> He relates that about that time the Roman matron Melania 'the Elder' built a convent in Jerusalem which housed fifty nuns and also contained a hospice for pilgrims.<sup>34</sup> Her friend Rufinus, a monk from Aquileia, settled near her on the Mount of Olives. His monastery had also a hospice, as well as a scriptorium where Latin classics were copied. Rufinus, who was at first Jerome's friend and fellow scholar, and subsequently became Jerome's great rival in the Origenist controversy, lived in the monastic centre on Mount of Olives for about twenty years (379-397).<sup>35</sup> Another western lady, the

<sup>30</sup> Paulus Orosius, *Liber apologeticus adversus Pelagium* 3, PL 31: 1176; F. Wotke, "Orosius", *PWRE* I, 35 (1939) cols. 1185-1195; *PLRE* II, 813.

<sup>31</sup> E. Dinkler, "Pelagius", *PWRE* I, 37 (1937) cols. 224-242.

<sup>32</sup> A. Jülicher, "Cassianus", *PWRE* I, 6 (1899) cols. 1668-1669; C. Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (Oxford Studies in Historical Theology), New York - Oxford 1998.

<sup>33</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 44, ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 131-132; J.T. Milik, "Sanctuaires chrétiens de Jérusalem à l'époque arabe (VIIe-Xe siècles)", *RB* 67 (1960) 562-563, no. 34; S. Verhelst, "Les lieux de station du lectionnaire de Jérusalem", *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 54 (2004) 17, 22, 35-37, no. 12. In the early Arab period the monastery attached to the church was in the hands of the Armenians: see *Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis*, ed. McCormick [above, n. 18], 206.

<sup>34</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 46, 54, ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 134-136, 146-148. Though as a married woman and a widow she lived for a time in Rome, Melania was a Spaniard. She arrived in Jerusalem in 378/9, after the death of Emperor Valens, and lived there until late 399 and again from her return from Italy after 404 to her death in 410. On Melania the Elder, see *PLRE* I, 592-593, Melania 1; F.X. Murphy, "Melania the Elder: a Biographical Note", *Traditio* 5 (1947) 59-77; N. Moine, "Melaniana", *Recherches augustiniennes* 15 (1980) 3-79; K.W. Wilkinson, "The Elder Melania's Missing Decade", *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5/1 (2012) 155-184.

<sup>35</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 46, 5-6, ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 136; H. Lietzmann, "Rufinus", *PWRE* II, 1 (1914) cols. 1193-1196; F.X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345-411): His Life and Works* (Studies in Mediaeval History 6), Washington D.C. 1945.

ascetic Silvia or Sylvania, belonged to the circle of Melania and Rufinus, though her place of residence in Jerusalem is not known.<sup>36</sup> In the 380s Poemenia, whose origin is unknown though she too may have been a westerner, built a magnificent church atop the Mount of Olives at the traditional site of the Ascension of Jesus; its remains were discovered in excavations.<sup>37</sup> Noteworthy among the Latins in 5th-century Jerusalem was Melania 'the Younger', the granddaughter of Melania 'the Elder', who established a large nunnery and a monastery for men on the Mount of Olives in 432, and another monastery for men attached to a martyrium dedicated to St. Stephen, which she built beside the Ascension Church shortly before her death (31 December 439). Her friend, the priest Gerontius who subsequently wrote her biography, headed these monasteries. Although she did not dissolve her marriage to her husband, Pinianus, Melania lived an ascetic life. Pinianus himself lived as a monk not far from Melania's nunnery.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Palladius (*Historia Lausiaca* 55, ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 148-149) reports that he and the deacon Iovinus, later bishop of Ascalon, together with Melania the Elder, accompanied the virgin Sylvania, sister-in-law of Rufinus, former prefect of the East (392-395), on a journey from Jerusalem to Egypt in late 399 or early 400 (for the chronology, see Murphy, "Melania" [above, n. 34]). This is Silvia of Aquitania, to whom Egeria's *Itinerarium* was at first erroneously ascribed. She must have stayed in Jerusalem for some time, for there she became acquainted with Rufinus of Aquileia, and enjoined upon him to translate Clemens Alexandrinus' *Recognitiones* into Latin; see Rufinus, *Prologus in Clementis Recognitiones*, ed. M. Simonetti (CCSL 20), Turnhout 1961, 281. Rufinus published this translation in 406, some years after Silvia's death.

<sup>37</sup> *Vita Petri Iberi* 43, ed. and transl. C.B. Horn and R.R. Phenix, Jr., *John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus* (Society of Biblical Literature: Writings from the Greco-Roman World 24), Atlanta GA 2008, 58-61; *PLRE* I, 894-895. Poemenia was kin of Theodosius I, who was a Spaniard, but it is not known if she was a blood relation, and therefore herself of Spanish origin, or a relation by marriage. The traditional date of foundation of the Ascension Church, before 378, is based on John Rufus' statement that Poemenia lived as an ascetic in the holy places before Melania the Elder (see above, n. 34). But P. Devos, "La 'servante de Dieu' Poemenia d'après Pallade, la tradition copte et Jean Rufus", *AB* 87 (1969) 189-212, maintained that the church had not yet been built at the time of Egeria's visit (381-384). It is mentioned for the first time by Jerome in between 389 and 392: *Commentarii in prophetas minores: In Sophoniam* I, 15-16, ed. M. Adriaen (CCSL 76A), Turnhout 1970, 673. For the remains of the church, see L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Fasc. 1-2, Paris 1914, 360-419; V. Corbo, "Scavo archeologico a ridosso della basilica dell'Ascensione", *LA* 10 (1959-1960) 205-248; Id., *Ricerche archeologiche al Monte degli Ulivi* (SBF. Maior 16), Jerusalem 1965, 95-150.

<sup>38</sup> On Melania and Gerontius, see Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 54, 58, 2, 61, ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 146-148, 151, 155-157; Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae junioris*, ed. D. Gorce (SC 90), Paris 1962 (Greek); P. Laurence (ed.), *Gerontius: La vie latine de sainte Mélanie* (SBF. Minor 41), Jerusalem 2002; *Vita Petri Iberi* 39-42, 44-48, ed. Horn and Phenix [above, n. 37], 52-65; Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 27, 45; *Vita Sabae* 30; *Vita Theodosii* 4, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 42, 67, 115, 239. See also E.A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Studies in Women and Religion 14), New York 1984; *PLRE* I, 593, Melania 2. For the monasteries founded by Melania on Mount of Olives, see *Vita Melaniae* 41, 49, 57, ed. Laurence [above], 234, 250, 270, and for the dates of their foundation, see *ibid.*, 60-61, 70-75.

The Mount of Olives attracted many settlers. We hear of monasteries and cells of Easterners located there, such as the cell where Pelagia, who came from Antioch, secluded herself, or the ‘monastery of the Byzantines’ founded in the second half of the 6th century by Abramius, later bishop of Ephesus.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, there is almost no information on Latins settling in Jerusalem, except on the Mount of Olives. Although the Latin community was not very large, its cultural contribution was considerable due to the intellectual activity of Jerome, Rufinus, Pelagius, and their disciples.

The barbarian attacks upon Rome, western Europe and northern Africa in the early 5th century sustained the flow of prominent immigrants to Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> However, as that century progressed they disappeared and little is known regarding permanent Latin residents in Jerusalem during the 6th and 7th centuries.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> On Pelagia, see H. Usener (ed.), *Legenden die heiligen Pelagia*, Bonn 1879. On the monastery of the Byzantines, see John Moschus, *Leimonarion* 97, 187, PG 87: 2956, 3064. The *Commemoratorium de casis Dei* (ed. McCormick [above, n. 18], 206) mentions many hermits on the Mount of Olives at the beginning of the 9th century, among them Greek-speakers, Georgians, Armenians, Syrians and Latins.

<sup>40</sup> According to a Life preserved in the *Menologium* of Symon Metaphrastes (*Vita sanctae Apollinaris virginis*, PG 114: 321-328), one of those immigrants was Apollinaris, daughter of Anthemius, Emperor of the West (467-472). She came as a pilgrim to the Holy Land and may have founded a monastery named after her, the “monastery of the Apollinarian women” attested in a funerary inscription (*CIIP* I/2, no. 901) discovered outside St. Stephen’s Gate (Lions’ Gate). This convent was possibly occupied by nuns of Italian origin, as is indicated by the epitaph of ‘Maria the Roman’, which was discovered at the same spot and is dated to the 5th-6th century (*CIIP* I/2, no. 900).

<sup>41</sup> A central European, Thecla daughter of Marulfus the German, was buried in a tomb belonging to the Holy Sion, in the Valley of Hinnom (*CIIP* I/2, no. 970). She must have had some connection with this church, or with the monastery attached to it, which would point to her being a permanent resident rather than a pilgrim who happened to die in Jerusalem. The tomb of a family from Gades (Cadíz in Spain, if the suggested reading is correct) was found in the grounds of the Russian church of St. Mary Magdalene (*CIIP* I/2, no. 912). A Life of Pope Gregory I the Great (590-604) written in the late 9th century reports that the pope sent Abbot Probus with much money to Jerusalem, commissioning him to build a hostelry there, and settled monks to serve the visitors, as he had done at the monastery on Mount Sinai, under the authority of Palladius, presbyter at Mount Sinai (*Vita Gregorii Papae a Joanne diacono* II, 52, 55, PL 75: 110, 116). The reality resulting from the letters of the pope himself, however, is slightly different (*Ep.* XIII, 28, *Gregorii I Papae Registrum epistolarum* [MGH: *Epistolarum* II], II, ed. L.M. Hartmann, Berolini 1957, 393). In 603 Pope Gregory wrote to a presbyter in Jerusalem, Philip (probably his envoy), ordering not to change the purpose of a bequest of gold solidi left by the Italian abbot Probus (to whom Gregory had exceptionally permitted to make a will, an act ordinarily forbidden to monks: see *Ep.* IX, 44, ed. Hartmann [above], 71, n. 1), who had died in 600. The legacy was to be used to build a hostelry in the Holy City, and the pope sent Philip an additional fifty solidi. Papal envoys had been sent to Jerusalem also by former popes – Leo (440-461), Gelasius (492-496), Agapetus (535-536) – as well as by Avitus bishop of Vienne on Gaul (ca. 490-518): see L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle*, Fasc. 4, Paris 1926, 922. The presence of Latin monks and nuns did not cease after the Muslim conquest: the *Commemoratorium de casis Dei* mentions a convent of western nuns and, according to McCormick, a Frankish monastery dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, both on the Mount of Olives (ed. McCormick [above, n. 18], 206-207).

Nonetheless, the deep European interest in Jerusalem's sacred geography continued to grow and found expression in a large flow of pilgrims to the Holy City, several of which left written account of their visit. As early as the first half of the 4th century, a pilgrim from Bordeaux, in western France, visited Jerusalem.<sup>42</sup> Egeria, a nun who apparently came from Galicia, in northwest Spain, visited various places in Palestine between 381 and 384, and spent part of those years in Jerusalem where she found many Latin speakers, both visitors and local monks and nuns. She describes the rituals observed in Jerusalem and from her description it is obvious that they were not much different from what she had been used to at home in Spain.<sup>43</sup> The anonymous *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, 'Short description of Jerusalem', composed at the beginning of the 6th century; the *Epistola ad Faustinum presbyterum de situ Hierosolymae*, attributed to Eucherius, the 5th-century bishop of Lyon;<sup>44</sup> Theodosius' description, which indicates that a map for pilgrims already existed in the first half of the 6th century;<sup>45</sup> the journal of the pilgrim from Piacenza in the second half of that century, and that of the Gallic bishop Arculf after the Arab conquest – all these are undoubtedly indicators of a widespread movement of western pilgrimage to the Holy City.<sup>46</sup> Groups of pilgrims from Northern Africa are mentioned in 6th and 7th centuries sources.<sup>47</sup> Some Latin-speaking pilgrims left evidence of their passage in inscriptions.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, ed. Geyer and Cuntz [above, n. 9], 1-26. The visit of the Bordeaux Pilgrim in Jerusalem took place in 333.

<sup>43</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. Franceschini and Weber [above, n. 6], 35-90. The Jerusalem liturgy is described in chs. XXIV-XLVIII, where the description is abruptly interrupted by the loss of the rest of the only existing manuscript of the *Itinerarium*. For the Latin speakers, see XLVII, 4, *ibid.*, 89.

<sup>44</sup> *Breviarius de Hierosolyma*, ed. R. Weber, in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [above, n. 6], 105-112; *De situ Hierosolymae epistola ad Faustinum presbyterum*, ed. I. Fraipont, *ibid.*, 235-243. The latter is believed by the editor to be a spurious work compiled between the 5th and 7th centuries.

<sup>45</sup> *De situ terrae sanctae*, ed. P. Geyer, in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [above, n. 6], 115-125. See Y. Tsafir, "The Maps Used by Theodosius: on the Pilgrim Maps of the Holy Land and Jerusalem in the Sixth Century C.E.," *DOP* 40 (1986) 129-145. Theodosius' account is dated between 518 and 530.

<sup>46</sup> *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, ed. P. Geyer, in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [above, n. 6], 127-153; *recensio altera*, 155-174; *Adamnani de locis sanctis libri tres*, ed. L. Bieler, *ibid.*, 175-234. The visit of the Piacenza Pilgrim is dated ca. 570; that of Bishop Arculf, described to the Irish abbot Adamnan, ca. 681-684. John Moschus describes the visit to the Holy Sepulchre of a Goth, the *dux Palaestinae* Gibimer, in the mid- or late 6th century: *Leimonarion* 49, PG 87: 2904-2905; cf. *PLRE* III, 536, Gibimer 2.

<sup>47</sup> A group of pilgrims from Africa who were silversmiths are mentioned in the early 7th-century *Vita Iohannis Elemosinarii*, *AB* 45 (1927) 48-49. On pilgrims from Africa, see also: *Vita Mariae Aegyptiae*, PG 87: 3712; PL 73: 680.

<sup>48</sup> Some Latin graffiti are incised on the walls of a cave in the premises of the Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincenzo da Paola in Bethany, an ancient *mikveh* venerated by Christian in the 4th-7th centuries as the *hospitium* or guest-room, where Martha entertained Jesus and his disciples (Luke

A pilgrim's stay in Jerusalem could be quite long, lasting several months. Some westerners whose visit to Jerusalem may not be explicitly mentioned by the sources were monks or people longing for the monastic life who, after venerating the holy places, went on to the monasteries in the 'desert of the Holy City'. Even they may have stayed in the city for weeks or months, until they found their way to a desert monastery.<sup>49</sup> Thus was a continuous presence of Latin-speaking Westerners maintained in Jerusalem. Though we cannot know how many there were, we can assume that their community numbered hundreds permanent and temporary residents at any given time.

#### Greeks from the Aegaen and from the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor

There is much evidence in written sources and inscriptions concerning the activities and settlement of immigrants and pilgrims from this part of the world. The most prominent came from Constantinople (Byzantium); these were people with close ties to the authorities and high officials. It is at times difficult to distinguish between them and Latin Westerners on the basis of provenance. At the beginning of the Byzantine period, many high-ranking positions in Constantinople were held by persons who had come from Rome and the Latin West. These were officials and courtiers from Roman families or high officials and members of noble families from the western provinces who, following the development of the new imperial capital at Constantinople, chose to move to the East to seek advancement and improve their social standing. In time, the Westerners merged with the Greek culture of western Asia Minor; however, at this

10:38). See P. Benoit - M.-É. Boismard, "Un ancien sanctuaire chrétien à Béthanie", *RB* 58 (1951) 200-251; J.E. Taylor, "The Cave of Bethany", *RB* 94 (1987) 120-123; Id., "The Bethany Cave: A Jewish-Christian Cult Site?", *RB* 97 (1990) 453-465; *CIIP* I/2, pp. 160-163 and the bibliography there. Of 68 legible graffiti (nos. 842/1-67, 843), two are in Latin (nos. 842/10 and 842/5), one is in Christian-Palestinian Aramaic (no. 843), the rest in Greek.

<sup>49</sup> Some Italian monks lived in monasteries of the Judaeen desert and no doubt had first come to the area as pilgrims to the Holy City: in the 5th century, Aemilianus from Rome lived in the monastery of Theoctistus; in the early 6th century another Roman, Paul, a monk of St. Sabas' monastery, was abbot of the New Laura and later lived in the monastery of Severianus in the Hebron Hills (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 24; *Vita Sabae* 36, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 36, 124). John Moschus mentions several Roman monks living in the area in the 6th century: two in the coenobium of St. Theodosius (*Leimonarion* 101, 105, PG 87: 2960, 2961), one probably at the laura of St. Sabas (*Leimonarion* 192, PG 87: 3072, cf. chs. 11, 59, PG 87: 2860, 2912), one at Mount Sinai (*Leimonarion* 127, PG 87: 2989). Another Italian monk lived in the monastery of Choziba (Wadi Qelt) in the early 7th century: an uncle of his, a layman, permanently resided in Jerusalem (*Miracula Beatae Virginis in Choziba, auctore Antonio Chozibita* 2, ed. C. Houze, *AB* 7 [1888] 63).

stage they still preserved their western roots and integration of different cultures was a distinctive feature of Byzantine society in the capital.

Two empresses were among the foremost Byzantine immigrants to Jerusalem – one came as a pilgrim and the other to take up permanent residency. Both left their imprint on the city for posterity. Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, visited Jerusalem in 326/7,<sup>50</sup> and Eudocia, the wife of Emperor Theodosius II, visited the city in 439 and permanently settled there after separating from her husband, from 443 (or 441) to her death in 460.<sup>51</sup>

Christianity will always remember Helena's visit as a model act of piety because it is connected to the discovery of the tomb of Jesus (and later on with the tradition of the discovery of the True Cross) and to the building of the Christian 'New Jerusalem' upon the ruins of the old Jewish city.<sup>52</sup> This led to close relations between the leadership in Jerusalem, represented by the bishops of the Jerusalem Church and by the leading monks of the Judaean desert, and the emperor's court, as well as ties with imperial and provincial officials. This special relationship was expressed in donations and aid in building churches and monasteries, as well as

<sup>50</sup> Helena was not the first empress to visit Jerusalem. She was preceded by Eutropia, Emperor Maximian's second wife and Constantine's mother-in-law, who arrived ca. 325 (on whom see below, n. 180). As a matter of fact, Helena was not 'a Byzantine' in the sense of having ever resided in Byzantium. Her origin is unknown (Bithynia? Britain?), and after meeting Constantius she lived with him in several places. After their divorce she lived for several years in Nicomedia; then, after Constantine's accession to the throne, she resided in Trier and later in Rome, where she died in 330. See J.W. Drijvers, *Helena Augusta: The Mother of Constantine the Great and the Legend of Her Finding of the True Cross* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 27), Leiden - New York 1992, 21-34.

<sup>51</sup> On Eudocia in Jerusalem, see K.G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Transformation of the Classical Heritage 3), Berkeley CA 1982, 112-224; E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire: AD 312-460*, Oxford 1982, 221-248. The date of Eudocia's pilgrimage is fixed by some scholars to 438, by others in 439, but the most accurate analysis of the data leads to the conclusion that she started for Jerusalem in 438, but arrived in the city in spring 439, going back to Constantinople shortly after the deposition of relics on 15-16 May; see Laurence (ed.), *Gerontius* [above, n. 38], 67-75. The beginning of her residency in the Holy City is placed in 443 by Holum (pp. 176-177, 184-189, 192-194), followed by *PLRE* II, 408-409 (Aelia Eudocia 2); in 441 by A. Cameron ("The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II", *Yale Classical Studies* 27 [1982] 258-263), E. Sironen ("Eudocia", in G.W. Bowersock, P. Brown and O. Grabar [ed.], *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World* [Harvard University Press reference library], Cambridge MA 1999, 436) and H. Kennedy ("Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia", in A. Cameron, B. Ward-Perkins and M. Whitby [ed.], *The Cambridge Ancient History. XIV: Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425-600*, Cambridge 2000, 607).

<sup>52</sup> Helena's visit is described by Eusebius (*De vita Constantini* III, 41-43, ed. Winkelmann [above, n. 7], 101-102), who ascribed to her the erection of two churches, one on the cave of the nativity at Bethlehem and the other on the place of Jesus' ascension to heaven on the Mount of Olives. The discovery of Jesus' tomb and the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are described in *De vita Constantini* III, 25-40, ed. Winkelmann, 94-101, without mentioning Helena's role; but very soon tradition ascribed the discovery of the tomb and of the True Cross to Constantine's mother; see Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage* [above, n. 51], 28-49.

in developing the city. It was Constantine, the builder of the magnificent Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of Eleona on the Mount of Olives and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, who initiated this pattern.

Another prominent example is Justinian's lavish contribution to the construction of the 'Nea' Church complex, as well as to the restoration of monasteries in Jerusalem and its environs, and his help in repairing the walls of Bethlehem.<sup>53</sup> It is known that the emperor's generosity increased following the visit to the imperial court of the old monk Sabas on a mission from the Jerusalem leadership. Undoubtedly, some of the emperor's financial and administrative officials were present in Jerusalem, as were at times architects and builders. The bricks and mortar used in the construction of the vaults of the Nea Church prove that Byzantine builders were involved. This style of construction was common in Asia Minor and Constantinople, but almost unknown in local Palestinian architecture.<sup>54</sup>

Emperor Mauricius (582-602) also built in Jerusalem. The upper church of the Tomb of the Virgin is ascribed to him, and four monumental capitals inscribed with his name and the names of his wife and eldest son and co-emperor, found in secondary use in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, indicate that he was responsible for some major work in this church.<sup>55</sup>

Undoubtedly the most outstanding case of imperial contribution to the development of Jerusalem is that of Eudocia, when she became a resident of Jerusalem. Though cut off from the influential circles in the court, she still bore the title 'Augusta' and possessed great wealth and influence. Eudocia contributed money and prestige, and founded many institutions in the city and its environs. Her efforts on behalf of Jerusalem took several forms: care for its security by renewing the wall around Mount Zion and the Siloam Pool, construction of sacred buildings, such as St. Stephen's church and monastery north of Damascus Gate, and foundation of welfare institutions, such as the *gerokomion* (old age home) which housed a martyrrium of St. George.<sup>56</sup> Eudocia's place of resi-

<sup>53</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 73, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 177-178; Procopius of Caesarea, *De aedificiis* V, 6; V, 9, 1-20. On the remains of the Nea Church, see N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1983, 229-246; O. Gutfeld, *Jewish Quarter Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Conducted by Nahman Avigad, 1969-1982. V: The Cardo (Area X) and the Nea Church (Areas D and T). Final Report*, Jerusalem 2012, 141-267.

<sup>54</sup> See Gutfeld, *Jewish Quarter Excavations* [above, n. 53], 187, and the bibliography there.

<sup>55</sup> For Mauricius' role in the building of the Tomb of the Virgin, see B. Bagatti, M. Piccirillo and A. Prodomo, *New Discoveries at the Tomb of the Virgin Mary in Gethsemane* (SBF. Minor 17), Jerusalem 1975, esp. 17. For Mauricius' work in the Holy Sepulchre, see *CIIP* I/2, no. 786; L. Di Segni, "Epigraphic Finds Reveal New Chapters in the History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the Sixth-Century", in K. Galor and G. Avni (ed.), *Unearthing Jerusalem: 150 Years of Archaeological Research in the Holy City*, Winona Lake IN 2011, 351-360.

<sup>56</sup> For Eudocia's activity in Jerusalem, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 35; *Vita Iohannis Hesychastae* 4, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 53-54, 204; *CIIP* I/2, nos. 814-816, 846;

dence in Jerusalem is unknown,<sup>57</sup> but undoubtedly the majority of her time was spent in the Holy City. Needless to say, an entourage of courtiers and officials settled in the city together with the Empress. They became friendly with people of the same ethnic origin as well as with residents of Jerusalem having the same social status. Though Eudocia, for example, was of Athenian lineage, in her first visit to Jerusalem she chose as her hostess and companion the nun Melania the Younger, a member of the Roman aristocracy.<sup>58</sup> Lady Bassa was a friend of Eudocia and of Empress Pulcheria (Theodosius II's sister and the wife of Emperor Marcianus, 450-457), and hence we can assume that she had close relations with the court. She founded a monastery dedicated to St. Menas, whose remains have been identified in the Armenian Quarter.<sup>59</sup> Bassa's personality embodies the two social groupings which attracted Eudocia and with whom she

Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* L, 20, ed. M. Adriaen (CCSL 97), Turnhout 1958, 468. This work is the earliest source on Eudocia's renovation of the southern wall of Jerusalem: Cassiodorus dedicated it to Pope Vigilius at the beginning of 548. At the time he was living in Constantinople and no doubt had access to archives and libraries in the capital. All the other sources (listed by Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, [above, n. 51], 238, n. 92) are of the second half of the 6th century (John Malalas, the Piacenza Pilgrim, Evagrius) or later. For the identification of the *gerokomion* of St. George (remains at Sheikh Bader or at Ketef Hinnom?), see Milik, "Sanctuaires" [above, n. 33], 567-568, no. 47; Id., "La topographie" [above, n. 18], 138-141, no. 1; *CIPI* 2, no. 846 (commentary).

<sup>57</sup> According to one interpretation of the Syriac *Life of Barsauma* (*Histoire de Barsauma de Nisibe*, ed. F. Nau, "Résumé de monographies syriaques", *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 19 [1914] 121), during riots caused by the fanatical followers of the monk Barsauma against the Jews who had come to Jerusalem for the Feast of the Tabernacles, Eudocia's palace was in Bethlehem. Holum translates the relevant passage: "... they appeared before the Augusta's palace in Bethlehem" (*Theodosian Empresses* [above, n. 51], 217). However H. Sivan (*Palestine in Late Antiquity* [Oxford scholarship online], Oxford - New York 2008, 215-216) translates "... they surrounded the palace of Eudocia who at that point was in Bethlehem". This interpretation is quite possible, based on the Syriac text. Sivan dates the episode to the first visit of Eudocia in Jerusalem, but this is unlikely, for that visit took place in the first part of the year, months before the Feast of the Tabernacles, and the Augusta stayed most of the time with Melania on the Mount of Olives (see Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae* 58, 4-5, ed. Laurence [above, n. 38], 272-273). Her visit was short (see above, n. 51), and she would hardly have acquired a palace of her own in that occasion. Moreover, the *Life of Barsauma* locates the riots during the fourth visit of the monk to Jerusalem, when he met Eudocia for the second time (ed. Nau [above], 118-125). Their first encounter, when Barsauma admonished the empress, took place during his third visit (*ibid.*, 115-117). Nau endeavours to compress the third and fourth visit into two successive years, 437 or 438 and 438 to 439, but this would require a very long stay of Eudocia as a pilgrim in Jerusalem, which is excluded by the *Life of Melania*. More likely the episode belongs to the beginning of Eudocia's stay as a resident, but this does not prove that her residence was in Bethlehem: she may have stayed there temporarily until a palace suitable to her status and needs was made ready.

<sup>58</sup> Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae* 58-59, ed. Laurence [above, n. 38], 270-277. Against the tradition that Eudocia was an Athenian (perhaps based on her name before baptism, Athenais?), Holum (*Theodosian Empresses* [above, n. 51], 117) suggests that she was from Antioch. On Melania the Younger, see above, n. 38.

<sup>59</sup> On Bassa, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 30, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 49; *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II, 1, ed. E. Schwartz, Berlin 1932, 494; *CIPI* 1/2, no. 808; G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestinogéorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)* (Subsidia hagiographica

maintained contact: the aristocracy on the one hand, and the ascetics and monks on the other. Eudocia's attraction to the latter is also exemplified in the ties she maintained with the spiritual leaders of Judaeen desert monasticism, above all Euthymius, Peter the Iberian and Barsauma of Nisibis, an uneducated and fanatical ascetic from Mesopotamia.

We know nothing of the origin of two other 5th-century benefactresses – Ikelia, who built the Cathisma Church (located midway between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, near today's Mar Elias monastery) and Flavia, who built a church dedicated to St. Julian the martyr on the Mount of Olives. Their relations with the monks from Asia Minor may indicate that they belonged to the group of Byzantine matrons.<sup>60</sup> Anastasia of Constantinople, who led monastic life on the Mount of Olives in the mid-6th century, belonged to the patrician class as well, as did Theodosia 'the most glorious *cubicularia*', a lady-in-waiting at the imperial court who ended her life as an ascetic and was finally buried in a chapel now in the grounds of the Russian monastery on the Mount of Olives.<sup>61</sup> Another

30), Brussels 1958, 216, 253-254, 384, 404; Milik, "Sanctuaires" [above, n. 33], 362, no. 10. On the remains, see A.D. Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961-1967*, I, Toronto 1985, 77-90.

<sup>60</sup> On Ikelia, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Theodosii* 1, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 236; Theodore of Petra, *Vita sancti Theodosii*, ed. H. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosius*, Leipzig 1890, 13-14. On Flavia, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Theognii* 1, ed. Schwartz, 241; Paulus Elusinus, *Vita sancti Theognii* 5, ed. I. van Den Gheyn, *AB* 10 (1891) 82-83; *CIIP* I/2, no. 842/27; Garitte, *Le calendrier* [above, n. 59], 240-241, 322; Milik, "Sanctuaires" [above, n. 33], 563, no. 36. On the excavations of the Cathisma Church, see R. Avner, G. Lavas and I. Rosidis, "Jerusalem, Mar Elias – the Kathisma Church", *Hadashot Arkheologiyot / Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 113 (2001) 89\*-92\* (English), 133-137 (Hebrew); R. Avner, "The Recovery of the Kathisma Church and Its Influence on Octagonal Buildings", in G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and L.D. Chrupcała (ed.), *One Land – Many Cultures: Archaeological Studies in Honour of Stanislaw Loffreda OFM* (SBF. Maior 41), Jerusalem 2003, 173-186.

<sup>61</sup> On Anastasia, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 53, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 145. On Theodosia, see *CIIP* I/2, nos. 836, 1006. Theodosia's epitaph is dated 14 September 592. On the *cubiculum*, the sacred bedchamber of the emperor and the empress, see A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, I, Oxford (1964) 1990, 566-571. According to Jones, the women in the bedchambers of the empress and other imperial ladies were of servile birth, but the case of Theodosia shows that at least senior *cubiculariae* held the highest rank of aristocracy like their male counterparts. Other aristocratic pilgrims, whom we find staying for a prolonged time in Jerusalem, were Basilina and her nephew. She came originally from Cappadocia, but held the rank of deaconess in the Church of Constantinople, and must therefore have resided there; her nephew, who accompanied her to Jerusalem, was a high official. Cyril of Scythopolis met her in Jerusalem between 543 and 557 (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Iohannis Hesychastae* 23-24, ed. Schwartz, 218-220). The matron, whose visit to the monastery of Choziba introduced the use of letting women into this monastery, was also a lady from Byzantium who had come to Jerusalem on a vow, hoping to recover her health (*Miracula Beatae Virginis in Choziba* 1, ed. Houze [above, n. 49], 360). Another noble woman from the capital, the daughter of a senator, asked her parents to let her go to Jerusalem in pilgrimage before her marriage, and exploited her stay in the city to give the slip to her escort and escape into the desert of the Jordan, where she became a hermit (*De syncretica in deserto Iordanis*, ed. B. Flusin and J. Paramelle, *AB* 100 [1982] 299-317). Another lady, who came to Jerusalem in

member of the patrician class of Byzantium, Acacius, visited the saintly monk Theodosius in occasion of a pilgrimage to the holy places in the early 480s and left with him a purse of 100 gold solidi, with which Theodosius began building his famous monastery, six miles distant from Jerusalem.<sup>62</sup>

Inscriptions attest the involvement of upper class persons from Byzantium in the development of Jerusalem. One, found in secondary use in the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin and dated to the late 4th century, is the epitaph of Euphemia 'the Byzantine', who seemingly founded a monastery near Gethsemane, possibly dedicated to the Trinity.<sup>63</sup> Another inscription, which today is embedded in the wall of the Old City of Jerusalem next to Herod's Gate, mentions John and Verina from Byzantium, who established a *gerokomion* for indigent women dependent upon a church of the Mother of God, possibly the complex of the New Church of St. Mary – the 'Nea' – or the church dedicated to the Virgin near the Probatika Pool.<sup>64</sup>

The overwhelming majority of visitors – immigrants, pilgrims and monks – undoubtedly did not belong to the aristocracy or the emperor's court.<sup>65</sup> Around 382, a Greek called Porphyrius settled in Jerusalem for several years and was

the mid-5th century in rather unusual circumstances, was Matrona. Born in Perge (Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor), she married Domitianus, a man of *comes* rank, and lived with him in Constantinople. There she fled from her husband and enter a monastery disguised as a eunuch. After she was discovered to be a woman she went to Edessa, then to Jerusalem, where Domitianus followed, searching for her. Later Matrona went to Sinai and back to Constantinople where she founded a famous monastery during the reigns of Marcianus and Leo. See *Sanctae Matronae vita prima* 13-14, ed. H. Delehay, in *Acta Sanctorum Novembris* III, Brussels 1910, 797; R. Janin, "Matrona", in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, IX, Rome 1967, cols. 104-105.

<sup>62</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Theodosii* 3, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 238. Acacius was *illustris*, i.e., a man of senatorial rank, and apparently very wealthy, for he continued to support Theodosius' monastery for many years.

<sup>63</sup> See *CIIP* I/2, no. 986; L. Di Segni, "An Unknown 'Monastery of the Holy Trinity' on the Mount of Olives: A Revision of the Evidence", in J. Geiger, H.M. Cotton and G.D. Stiebel (ed.), *Israel's Land: Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee*, Jerusalem 2009, 131\*-145\*. A Coptic synaxary (*Le synaxaire arabe jacobite: rédaction copte* [PO XI/5], ed. R. Basset, Part III, Turnhout 1916, 644-646) tells of a lady, Sophia, who came from Byzantium in the reign of Arcadius (395-408) to a nunnery on the Mount of Olives, founded by a certain Euphemia; except for one, a former slave in Constantinople, the nuns and the abbess did not speak Greek. Unfortunately the source is late and unreliable; see Di Segni, *ibid.*, 135\*-137\*.

<sup>64</sup> *CIIP* I/2, no. 859; for the identification, see Milik, "La topographie" [above, n. 18], 150, 169-171, no. 14. On the church of the Virgin near the Probatika, see N. van der Vliet, *Sainte Marie où elle est née et la piscine Probatique*, Jerusalem 1939; *Sainte-Anne de Jérusalem. La Piscine Probatique de Jésus à Saladin: le Projet Béthesda (1994-2010): Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Numéro Spécial – 2011.

<sup>65</sup> See for instance *CIIP* I/2, nos. 944, 947, the epitaphs of two women without name, a Bithynian and a Lydian, most likely humble pilgrims who died in Jerusalem and were buried in the so-called 'Tomb of the Prophets', a communal cemetery on the southern slope of the Mount of Olives; see A. Kloner and B. Zissu, *The Necropolis of Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period* (ISACR 8), Leuven - Dudley MA 2007, 207-208, Fig. 101.

appointed to the distinguished position of ‘Custodian of the Holy Cross’ in 392. He was born from a wealthy family in Thessalonica and was trained to the monastic life in the centre of ascetics at Sketis, in Egypt. He subsequently moved to the desert near the Jordan River and thereafter to Jerusalem. In 395 he was appointed by the Jerusalem archbishop as bishop of Gaza in order to impose Christianity upon the last pagan stronghold in Palestine. His biographer, Mark, came to Jerusalem ‘from Asia’, namely, from the province of Asia on the western coast of Anatolia.<sup>66</sup> Another pilgrim from Asia was Aetherius, archbishop of Ephesus, who visited Jerusalem and the monasteries near it some time after 509.<sup>67</sup>

Like Porphyrius, other pilgrims aiming for the monastic life settled in Jerusalem and joined its various monasteries. Some of them enrolled among the *spoudaioi* (‘devotees’) attached to the Holy Sepulchre. They initially lived in cells around the Tower of David, but towards the end of the 5th century Patriarch Elias built a monastery near the Holy Sepulchre for them.<sup>68</sup> Little is known of the ethnic composition of the people who lived in this and other monasteries in Jerusalem. From information about short or long stays in Jerusalem of monks whose origins were in the Aegean provinces of Asia Minor or in Greece, we can deduce that natives of these regions accounted for a large proportion of the monks of Jerusalem, for visitors were usually attracted to monasteries or hospices where they found compatriots who had lived in the city for a long time. Among such temporary residents was Gerasimus from Lycia, who came as a pilgrim to the Holy City some years before the council of Chalcedon (451), then settled in the desert near the Jordan, where he founded a monastery.<sup>69</sup> Another

<sup>66</sup> Marc le Diacre, *Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza* 4-16, ed. H. Gregoire and M.A. Kugener, Paris 1930.

<sup>67</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Iohannis Hesychastae* 15, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 213. G. Fedalto (*Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis. I: Patriarchatus Constantinopolitanus*, Padova 1988, 108) inserts his name among the Monophysite bishops of Ephesus and assigns his episcopate to the years 491-500, following E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d’Asie antérieure au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (CSCO 127: Subsidia 2), Louvain 1951, 119; but Aetherius visited John the Hesychast when he was already a recluse in the laura of Sabas. John began his reclusion in 509, and received Aetherius not long later, since the fathers of the laura were still ignorant of his being a bishop. The warmth with which John, a firm Chalcedonian, received Aetherius, and the fact that he confided in his guest, strongly deny the hypothesis that Aetherius was a Monophysite. His name should therefore be inserted before that of Hypatius in Fedalto’s list (*ibid.*, 105).

<sup>68</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 31, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 116.

<sup>69</sup> Ps. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi* 1, ed. K.M. Koikylides, Αἱ παρὰ τὸν Ἰορδάνην λαύραι Καλαμώνος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Γερασίμου καὶ οἱ βίοι τοῦ ἁγίου Γερασίμου καὶ Κυριακοῦ τοῦ Ἀναχωρητοῦ, Jerusalem 1902, 1-2. Gerasimus’ two brothers, Basilus and Stephanus, led his monastery for six years after his death (475-481; *ibid.* 10, p. 11; from Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci* 5, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 225, it appears that Basilus and Stephanus were brothers, but not necessarily related to Gerasimus). They too must have visited Jerusalem before settling in the desert of the Jordan. Italian transl. by L. Di Segni, *Nel deserto accanto ai fratelli: Vita di Gerasimo, Vita di Giorgio di Choziba, Miracoli della Beata Vergine in Choziba* (Padri orientali), Magnano 1991, 67, 73. On the monastery of Gerasimus see Y. Hirschfeld, ‘List

was Cyriacus of Corinth, who arrived in Jerusalem in September 466 and spent the winter of 466/7 in Eustorgius' monastery on Mount Zion before proceeding to the laura of Euthymius.<sup>70</sup> Xenophon and his sons Iohannes and Arcadius, who came by different routes from Constantinople and met at the Golgotha in Jerusalem, were contemporaries of Cyriacus.<sup>71</sup> Another Lycian, Conon, came as a pilgrim to Jerusalem after 532, then entered the Great Laura of Sabas.<sup>72</sup> In the second half of the 6th century, Abramius of Constantinople lived in Jerusalem; he founded a monastery on the Mount of Olives, which was known as the monastery of the Byzantines, served as abbot of the Nea Monastery and ended his career as bishop of Ephesus in Asia Minor.<sup>73</sup> At about the same time the brothers George and Heracleides came from Cyprus to Jerusalem, then settled as monks in the desert near Jericho.<sup>74</sup> A Cilician wrestler, who had become a champion of

of the Byzantine Monasteries in the Judean Desert", in G.C. Bottini, L. Di Segni and E. Alliata (ed.), *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land: New Discoveries. Essays in Honour of Virgilio C. Corbo, OFM* (SBF. Maior 36), Jerusalem 1990, 18-19, no. 7.

<sup>70</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci* 3, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 224. Cyril says nothing about Eustorgius' origin, but most likely he was a Greek too, for Cyriac's hosts in Euthymius' laura – on Eustorgius' introduction? – were two monks from Corynth, Anatolius and Olympius (ibid. 4, ed. Schwartz, 224). As Cyriac was too young to enter a laura, Euthymius sent him to Gerasimus to be trained in the monastic life, "because Theoctistus" (to whom Euthymius used to entrust novices) "was already dead". The head of Theoctistus' coenobium was then (466-469) the Saracen Maris, and perhaps Euthymius thought a Greek abbot more fit to teach a Greek novice.

<sup>71</sup> See *Vita Xenophontis et sociorum*, ed. A. Galante, *AB* 22 (1903) 383-394.

<sup>72</sup> Conon became abbot of the Great Laura in 548 and died after 552: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 88-90, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 196-198. John Moschus (*Leimonarion* 135, PG 87: 2997) mentions another Lycian, Nicholas, a presbyter in the Monastery of the Eunuchs near the Jordan. This monastery was established by Patriarch Elias (494-516) for the eunuchs of the patrician Juliana, who came to Jerusalem from Constantinople after the death of their mistress: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 69, ed. Schwartz, 171. The story about Nicholas dates from a later period (late 6th century), but it is conceivable that the monastery continued to attract men from the western part of Asia Minor.

<sup>73</sup> On Abramius and his monastery, see John Moschus, *Leimonarion* 40, 97, 187, PG 87: 2892, 2956, 3064. Abramius had founded a monastery that bore his name in Constantinople, and was head of the Nea Monastery after Eudoxius (probably Photius, Belisarius' stepson, who led the monastery under Justin II [565-578]; see L. Di Segni, "Greek Dedicatory Inscription from the Vaulted Structures of the Nea", in Gutfeld, *Jewish Quarter Excavations* [above, n. 53], 262). From Moschus' words it seems that Abramius founded the monastery of the Byzantines when he was a member, and perhaps already the abbot, of the Nea. Like in the case of Aetherius (see above, n. 67), Fedalto inserts Abramius among the Monophysite bishops of Ephesus (*Hierarchia* [above, n. 67], 108), but as an abbot of the Nea, there is no reason to believe that he was a Monophysite. His name should be inserted between Andreas, who occupied the seat of Ephesus in 553, and Rufinus, attested in 596 (ibid., 105). Abramius' successor as abbot of the monastery of the Byzantines, John of Cizycus, also came from the vicinity of Byzantium (*Leimonarion* 197, PG 87: 3064-3065).

<sup>74</sup> *Vita sancti Georgii Chozibitae* 1, ed. Houze [above, n. 22], 95. George's arrival in the Holy Land can be dated shortly before 560, when he was aged about 18: see Di Segni, *Nel deserto* [above, n. 69], 111, and 41, 145, n. 62. At that time his elder brother Heracleides was already an experienced monk in the laura of Calamon; his arrival as a pilgrim to Jerusalem must therefore be dated several years before.

this sport in Constantinople and had fallen victim of drugs and black magic, came in pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the early 7th century, and was persuaded by George, then living in a cell beside the monastery of Choziba, to become a monk there.<sup>75</sup> At the time of the Persian invasion, when the monastery was threatened by the Saracens allied with the Persian, George retired to Jerusalem and stayed there until relative security was restored.<sup>76</sup> Several other monks mentioned in the written sources as living in the Judaeian desert were born in coastal Asia and Greece, and though their visit is not explicitly recorded, there is no doubt that they first came as pilgrims to Jerusalem. In some cases, they are shown visiting the Holy City for different reasons, while permanently residing in the monasteries of the area. Among them were men from Greece, Byzantium and Bithynia, Provincia Asia, Lycia, Cilicia.<sup>77</sup>

### People from Cappadocia and central Anatolia

Many people came to Jerusalem from central Anatolia, especially from Cappadocia. Even more than the groups discussed above, which included people connected to the imperial court and government officials, pilgrims from central

<sup>75</sup> *Vita sancti Georgii Chozibitae* 15-16, ed. Houze [above, n. 22], 114-115. George left Calamon for Choziba some time after his brother's death; as Heracleides was over 70 years old when he died, George could not have been a resident in Choziba before the end of the 6th century.

<sup>76</sup> *Vita sancti Georgii Chozibitae* 31, ed. Houze [above, n. 22], 130.

<sup>77</sup> Among the Greeks Cyril of Scythopolis mentions John, a monk of St. Sabas, later hegumen of the Nea Laura (*Vita Sabae* 16, 36, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 99, 124); the brothers Paul and Andrew, monks of St. Sabas, later stewards of the Laura Heptastomos (*ibid.* 39, ed. Schwartz, 130); the Origenist Peter, for a short period hegumen of the Old Laura of Chariton at Suca (*Vita Cyriaci* 14, ed. Schwartz, 231. For Corinthians, see above, n. 70. From Byzantium were John 'the Scholarius', whom we find also visiting Jerusalem for business and prayer (*Vita Sabae* 38; *Vita Abramii* 3, ed. Schwartz, 128, 245) and Leontius, one of the leaders of the Origenists in the Nea Laura (*Vita Sabae* 72, 84, ed. Schwartz, 176, 189-190); from Bithynia, the saintly elder Anthymus in the laura of Sabas (*ibid.* 43, ed. Schwartz, 133). From of the province of Asia was Auxentius, a monk in the laura of Euthymius in the early 430s, who refused to serve as a mule driver for the monastery because he did not speak the local language (*Vita Euthymii* 18, ed. Schwartz, 28-29). Another native of Asia was Aphrodisius, monk in the coenobium of Theodosius near Jerusalem and later in the Great Laura of Sabas; he arrived in Palestine in the late 5th century (*Vita Sabae* 44, ed. Schwartz, 134-135). For Lycians, see above, nn. 69, 72. Among the Cilicians was Sabbatius, a disciple of Gerasimus (Ps. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi* 9, ed. Koikyrides [above, n. 69], 9); another Cilician, the presbyter Conon, was in charge of baptism in the monastery of Penthucla near the Jordan River at the time of the patriarch Peter (524-552): John Moschus, *Leimonarion* 3, PG 87: 2853. Abba Paul from Anazarbus in Cilicia, lived for fifty years in the laura of Pharan east of Jerusalem; he must have come to the holy places in the first half of the 6th century: John Moschus, *Leimonarion* 41, PG 87: 2896. Another Paul from Cilicia, monk in the monastery of Martyrius, was healed from a demonic possession of the tomb of Euthymius and remained in Euthymius' monastery, where Cyril met him (*Vita Euthymii* 50, ed. Schwartz, 72). For a Cilician wrestler who became a monk at Choziba, see above, text and n. 75.

Asia Minor – from Pontus in the north to Isauria in the south – were known for their religious motivation. Chariton of Iconium (Konya) in Lycaonia, the first Judaeian desert monk, was one of the earliest pilgrims to Jerusalem, arriving at latest by the beginning of the 4th century (though he did not reach his destination directly because he was kidnapped by bandits).<sup>78</sup> Literary sources attest that two of the three 4th-century Cappadocian fathers came to Jerusalem as pilgrims: Basilus bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, who shaped the monastic movement, came ca. 348,<sup>79</sup> while his brother, the noted theologian Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, came after the council of Constantinople of 381, on his way from a mission to the church of Arabia.<sup>80</sup> Gregory was critical of the eagerness of many Cappadocians to visit the holy places because of the sinful behaviour to which they were exposed in the course of their pilgrimage, and of the evil thoughts of the pilgrims in the holy places.<sup>81</sup> The third Cappadocian father, Gregory of Nazianzus (330-390), as a young man studied in Caesarea of Palestine under the rhetor Thespesius, and there is little doubt that he did not miss the chance of his stay in the province to visit Jerusalem.<sup>82</sup> In the next generation Palladius, whom we have already mentioned above, came to Jerusalem from Galatia. Born in 363/4, he became a monk ca. 386 and spent some years in Palestine. He lived for three years (386-389) on the Mount of Olives with Innocentius, and in this period he made the acquaintance of Melania the Elder and Rufinus. In the second consulate of Theodosius I (388) he left for Egypt but came back to Palestine in 399, and spent a year in Bethlehem with Posidonius of Thebes (Egypt). At the end of 399 or in early 400 he travelled with Melania to Egypt, whence he went back to Bithynia, where he was appointed bishop of Helenopolis.<sup>83</sup> In his

<sup>78</sup> *Vita Charitonis* 9, ed. G. Garitte, *Bulletin de l'institute belge du Rome* 21 (1941) 22-23. For an English translation and commentary, see L. Di Segni, "The Life of Chariton", in V.L. Wimbush (ed.), *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity), Minneapolis MN 1990, 393-421. The chronological problem concerning the date of Chariton's arrival in Palestine – late 3rd or early 4th century? – is discussed there, p. 394. The first monastery founded by Chariton was the laura of Pharan, east of Jerusalem, whose church was consecrated by Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem (314-333).

<sup>79</sup> Ps. Amphilochius, *Vita Sancti Basilii Caesariensis* II, PG 29: p. CCC. Basilus was born in 329 and visited Jerusalem after his studies, arriving there at the time of bishop Maximus. Maximus died in 350/1 (G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis. II: Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus*, Padova 1988, 1000), which is thus the *terminus ad quem* for Basilus' pilgrimage.

<sup>80</sup> Gregorius Nyssenus, *Vita Macrinae* 1, ed. V. Woods Callahan, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, Vol. VIII i, Leiden 1952, 370-371; Id., *Ep.* II, ed. G. Pasquali, Vol. VIII ii, Leiden 1959, 13-19; *Ep.* III, 1-4, *ibid.*, 19-21.

<sup>81</sup> Gregorius Nyssenus, *Ep.* II, 5-10, 16-19, ed. Pasquali [above, n. 80], 14-16, 18-19.

<sup>82</sup> Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus* 113; J. Geiger, "Notes on the Second Sophistic in Palestine", *Illinois Classical Studies* 19 (1994) 228-229, n. 45.

<sup>83</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 1, 1 (arrival in Egypt); 35, 12 (return to Palestine); 36, 1 (Posidonius); 44, 1 (Innocentius); 46, 5-6 (Melania and Rufinus); 55, 1-2 (travel with Melania);

*Historia Lausiaca* he tells of monks and ascetics from central Anatolia who stayed for periods of time, whether short or long, in Jerusalem, such as Evagrius from Pontus, and two Galatians – Philoromus and Albanus or Albianus of Ancyra (Ankara).<sup>84</sup>

Many of the monks of the Judaeen desert came from Cappadocia as pilgrims to the Holy City and thence made their way to the desert. In the second half of the 4th century Elpidius established himself in a cave on the mountain of Duca, where Chariton had founded a *laura*, perhaps abandoned at the time of Elpidius' arrival from a monastery in Cappadocia.<sup>85</sup> At least one of his disciples, Sisinnius, also came from Cappadocia.<sup>86</sup> The brief notice on them says nothing about a visit in Jerusalem, but as the churches on the Mount of Olives were in sight from Duca, they can hardly have missed the opportunity of venerating the holy places.

The biography of Theodosius, who came to Jerusalem in ca. 455 or 456 and later became the founder and head of the monastery that bears his name in the Judaeen desert, is typical of the history of 5th-century desert monks. He was born in Mogariassos in the district of Caesarea of Cappadocia around the year 424. In his youth he was influenced by God's words to Abraham: "Go forth from your native land and from your father's house to the land that I will show you" (Gen 12:1), and decided to leave Cappadocia for the Holy Land.<sup>87</sup> Arriving in Jerusalem in the last years of Emperor Marcianus (450-456), Theodosius stayed at first with Longinus of Cappadocia at the Tower of David in the western part of the city. He subsequently moved to the Cathisma monastery founded by the lady Ikelia between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, where he stayed for several years. In time he was appointed steward of the monastery, then at the death of the abbot the monks elected him to the abbacy. This prompted him to fly into the desert.<sup>88</sup> Only towards 480 did he establish the monastery that bears his name, six miles southeast of Jerusalem. Theodosius was greatly involved in the

ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 15, 105, 106-107, 131, 135-136, 148-149. For Innocentius, see above, text and n. 33, and for the travel with Melania, see above, n. 36.

<sup>84</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 38, 7-9; 45, 4; 47, 3; ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 119, 132-133, 137; Nilus, *Oratio in Albianum*, PG 79: 704. Evagrius spent about one year in Jerusalem in 382/3 (see E.C. Butler, *The Lausiaca History of Palladius*. II: *Prolegomena* [Text and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature 6/2], Cambridge 1904, 181); Philoromus, a contemporary of Basilius of Caesarea, came twice as a pilgrim to Jerusalem.

<sup>85</sup> *Vita Charitonis* 21, ed. Garitte [above, n. 78], 32; Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 48, ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 142-143. A community formed around Elpidius, which was characterized by a mixed way of life: some of the members lived a communal life, others as hermits or recluses, others in groups of two or three. During his first stay in Palestine Palladius also spent some time in this monastery: *ibid.* 48, 2, ed. Butler, 142.

<sup>86</sup> Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 49, 1, ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 143.

<sup>87</sup> Theodore of Petra, *Vita sancti Theodosii*, ed. Usener [above, n. 60], 7-8.

<sup>88</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Theodosii* 1, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 236-237; Theodore of Petra, *Vita sancti Theodosii*, ed. Usener [above, n. 60], 13-15. On Ikelia and the Cathisma, see above, n. 60. On the monastery of Theodosius, see Hirschfeld, "List" [above, n. 69], 26-28, no. 14.

city's life and events, and to all intents and purposes served, together with his contemporary, Sabas (439-532), as one of Jerusalem's spiritual leaders until his death in 529. His disciple for a time, Theognius, followed a similar course. Theognius came to Jerusalem from Araratheia in Cappadocia in 454/5, settling in the monastery attached to the church of St. Julian the Martyr on the Mount of Olives that had been founded by the noble lady Flavia. He stayed there for many years but, on being elected abbot, he fled to the monastery of Theodosius. Later he founded a monastery of his own nearby.<sup>89</sup>

Sabas, who was also born in a village in the district of Caesarea, came to Jerusalem in late 456 and spent the winter of 456/7 with a Cappadocian elder at the monastery of Passarion on Mount Zion.<sup>90</sup> Then he moved to the Judaeian desert but his links with the Holy City did not come to an end. After he had founded the first two of his numerous monasteries, the Great Laura and the coenobium of Castellion, toward the end of the 5th century Sabas established three hostelries for his monks and for foreign monks near David's Tower.<sup>91</sup> He often visited Jerusalem to confer with the patriarch and to fulfil his duties as a spiritual leader; and never missed the annual pilgrimage for the Feast of the Dedication in mid-September, as was the custom of all abbots in Palestine.<sup>92</sup>

Martyrius was another of the many Cappadocians who moved to Palestine. Already an experienced monk, he came from Egypt to the laura of Euthymius in Mishor Adummim in 457. In time, he established a well-known monastery nearby (today within the town of Ma'ale Adummim) and subsequently became patriarch of Jerusalem (478-486).<sup>93</sup> Lesser-known personalities include Cosmas of Cappadocia, Custodian of the Holy Cross (and later archbishop of Scythopo-

<sup>89</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Theognii* 1, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 241. See also Paulus Elusinus, *Vita sancti Theognii*, ed. van Den Gheyn [above, n. 60], 78-118. On the monastery of Theognius, see Hirschfeld, "List" [above, n. 69], 32-33, no. 17.

<sup>90</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 6, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 90. For the identification of the monastery founded by Passarion, see *Vita Petri Iberi* 52, ed. Horn and Phenix [above, n. 37], 72-73; Verhelst, "Les lieux" [above, n. 33] 38, no. 21. On the monasteries founded by Sabas in the Judaeian desert, see Hirschfeld, "List" [above, n. 69], 31-32, 33-35, 36-41, 47-49, nos. 16, 18-19, 22-25, 31. See also J. Patrich, *Sabas, Leader of Palestinian Monasticism* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 32), Washington D.C. 1995.

<sup>91</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 31, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 116. See also Y. Tsafir, "Between David's Tower and Holy Zion: Peter the Iberian and his Monastery in Jerusalem", in L.D. Chrupcała (ed.), *Christ is Here! Studies in Biblical and Christian Archaeology in Memory of Michele Piccirillo, ofm* (SBF. Maior 52), Milano 2012, 256-257.

<sup>92</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 35, 36, 45, 50, 55, 56, 60, 64, 68, 74, 76, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 121, 125, 136, 139, 147, 148-149, 151-152, 162, 165, 168, 170-171, 179, 182.

<sup>93</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 32, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 51. On the monastery of Martyrius, see Y. Magen and R. Talgam, "The Monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim (Khirbet el-Murassas) and Its Mosaics", in Bottini, Di Segni and Alliaa (ed.), *Christian Archaeology* [above, n. 69], 91-152. On Martyrius' episcopate, see L. Perrone, *La Chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche: Dal concilio di Efeso (431) al secondo concilio di Costantinopoli (553)* (Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose 18), Brescia 1980, 127-139.

lis, 466/7-496/7), and his brothers, Chrysippus, a famous writer and his successor in the Custody of the Cross, and Gabriel the Eunuch, head of the monastery attached to St. Stephen's Church north of the city.<sup>94</sup> Abramius, an abbot from Crateia in Honorias (on the western border of Paphlagonia) came as a pilgrim to Jerusalem in September 511; here he met John 'the Scholarius', head of the Sabaite monastery named after him, and joined the monastery of Scholarius, where he found two elders from Pontus. Later Olympius from Claudiopolis, near Crateia, came to Jerusalem in search of Abramius and settled in the same monastery.<sup>95</sup> Among the Monophysites mentioned in the written sources is Severus of Sozopolis in Pisidia (on the Phygian border, in southwestern Asia Minor), the future patriarch of Antioch (512-518), who spent some time in Jerusalem as a pilgrim before entering a monastery near Gaza.<sup>96</sup>

John Moschus often mentions the presence of pilgrims and monks from central Anatolia in Jerusalem during the 6th century in his *Leimonarion* or *Praetum spirituale*. A priest from Pontus went for a long pilgrimage from the Jordan River to Sinai and Egypt, and finally to Jerusalem, fasting along the way.<sup>97</sup> Women are prominently mentioned, such as an old widow from Phygian Galatia who distributed alms to the needy and even to the rich in Jerusalem's churches;<sup>98</sup> and Damiana of Arabissos (in the region of Melitene, on the border between Cappadocia and Armenia), a member of Emperor Mauricius' family, who settled in Jerusalem with her son Athenogenes; a niece also stayed with her for some time. Damiana became a hesychast (an ascetic living in seclusion) and her son became a monk and was subsequently appointed bishop of Petra.<sup>99</sup> Apparently another member of the family was Anatolia of Arabissos, a nun and perhaps Mauricius' sister. Her epitaph, from the beginning of the 7th century, was discovered in Jerusalem.<sup>100</sup>

Several monks in the monasteries near Jerusalem came from central Asia Minor and can be supposed to have visited the Holy City before settling in the various monasteries or while residing there; of one of them, Auxanon from Ancyra in Galatia (Ankara) we are told that he spent his last days in the hospital

<sup>94</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 16, 20, 30, 37, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 25-26, 32, 49, 55-56. The three brothers arrived at the laura of Euthymius ca. 426. Cosmas moved to Jerusalem in 431, Chrysippus and Gabriel in 456.

<sup>95</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Abramii* 3-4, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 244-245. Abramius originated from Emesa in Syria and lived in a monastery in Constantinople from age 18 to 29 (492-500): *ibid.* 1-2, ed. Schwartz, 243-245.

<sup>96</sup> *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique* (PO II/1), ed. M.A. Kugener, Paris 1903, 92-93.

<sup>97</sup> *Leimonarion* 100, PG 87: 2957-2960. For monks from Pontus at the monastery of Scholarius, see above, text and n. 95.

<sup>98</sup> *Leimonarion* 127, PG 87: 2989-2992.

<sup>99</sup> *Leimonarion* 127-128, PG 87: 2987-2992.

<sup>100</sup> F.-M. Abel, "Épigraphie palestinienne", *RB* 34 (1925) 575-577, pl. XIX,1; *CIIP* 1/2, no. 875.

of the patriarch, where Conon, abbot of the Great Laura, sent him relief.<sup>101</sup> Another Galatian, Theodotus, monk in the monastery of Euthymius, fled to Jerusalem after having stolen a large sum of money; there he was hit by a mysterious force and brought half dead to the hospital. Only after confessing the theft and returning the gold did Theodotus recover; he was pardoned by Thomas, abbot of St. Euthymius (534-542) and went back to his monastery.<sup>102</sup> Among the Cappadocians in the Great Laura of Sabas were the Origenist Theodorus and one Gregory, cousin or nephew of Sabas, who was presbyter in the Laura and personally known to Cyril.<sup>103</sup> Two Isaurian brothers, Theodulus and Gelasius, who were master builders and architects, came to the laura of Sabas at the end of the 5th century and fulfilled an important role in its development and in that of other Sabaite monasteries by erecting churches and utility buildings. Gelasius ended as hegumen of the laura (537-546) and Cyril describes his meetings with the patriarch in Jerusalem.<sup>104</sup> Visitors also came to Jerusalem for reasons other than pilgrimage: for instance, the presbyter of the Sinai monastery, Stephanus the Cappadocian, who came on a mission to Patriarch Peter some months before the latter's death (September 552).<sup>105</sup>

#### People from Armenia and eastern Anatolia

The Armenians are today one of the largest and most closely-knit ethnic communities in Jerusalem. The Armenian Quarter, with its religious and communal institutions, is a cultural centre for Armenians throughout the world.<sup>106</sup> The earliest documentation of an Armenian quarter (*ruga Armeniorum*) in the western part of the Old City, where today's Armenian Quarter is located, comes

<sup>101</sup> *Leimonarion* 42, PG 87: 2896. On Conon, see above, n. 72.

<sup>102</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 48, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 69-70. A Galatian monk in Euthymius' monastery named Procopius was possessed by an evil spirit and began speaking only his native tongue, until he was healed by the saint and began speaking Greek again (ibid. 55, ed. Schwartz, 77). Two other natives of Galatia, Sabaite monks, took part in the struggle between Origenists and their opponents in Jerusalem and in the Great Laura of Sabas in the 540s: one, the calligrapher Eustratius, supported orthodoxy, the other, Domitian, led the Origenist party (*Vita Sabae* 84-85, ed. Schwartz, 189, 191). John Moschus mentions two other monks from Galatia, one at the coenobium of Castellion, the other a hermit in the desert of Ruba near the Dead Sea: *Leimonarion* 167, PG 87: 3033.

<sup>103</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 5 (Gregory), 85 (Theodorus), ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 90, 191.

<sup>104</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 32 (arrival at the laura), 84, 85 (Gelasius hegumen), 85 (meeting with Patriarch Peter), ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 117, 189, 191.

<sup>105</sup> *Leimonarion* 127, PG 87: 2989.

<sup>106</sup> A. Antreassian, *Jerusalem and the Armenians*, Jerusalem 1968; V. Azarya, *The Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem: Urban Life behind Monastery Walls*, Berkeley CA 1984.

from the Crusader period;<sup>107</sup> nonetheless, the Armenian community in Jerusalem undoubtedly existed as early as the beginning of the Byzantine period.<sup>108</sup>

One encounters a methodological difficulty when tracing the history of the Armenians in Jerusalem, for they settled in the city during the period when Armenian culture emerged in the areas of today's Eastern Turkey and Armenia. At that time the region was divided into two parts. The western part (Lesser Armenia, bordering with Cappadocia, and divided into two provinces, First and Second Armenia) was under Byzantine rule, while the eastern part, or Greater Armenia, was a separate state under Sassanian influence. The Christians of western Armenia, with their bishops, followed the creed supported by Constantinople, which for much of the 5th and 6th centuries was the belief in the two natures of Christ as formulated at the Council of Chalcedon, or some variant of it. The Church of eastern Armenia, on the other hand, was not involved in the christological struggles of the 5th century, and only in the 6th century, under the threat of Persian Nestorianism, adopted an extreme form of Monophysism.<sup>109</sup>

The monk Euthymius (377-473) came from Melitene to Jerusalem as a pilgrim in 405/6, and lived in the desert of the Holy City until his death. In his time, Melitene (today Malatya) was the capital of Second Armenia, though in the Roman period it had been part of Cappadocia. Euthymius is considered an Armenian by his biographer, Cyril of Scythopolis; however he spoke Greek and zealously supported the Chalcedonia creed. He was probably closer to the Cappadocian monks established in Jerusalem and its vicinity than to the Armenian-speaking visitors and immigrants.<sup>110</sup>

The early interest of Armenians in Jerusalem and the Holy Land is shown by the pilgrimage of four hundred Armenians who, on their way from Jerusalem to the Jordan, visited Euthymius in his laura, ca. 428.<sup>111</sup> We have no indication

<sup>107</sup> Vincent and Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle* [above, n. 41], 949-950.

<sup>108</sup> A.K. Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion* (Harvard Middle Eastern Studies 10), Cambridge MA 1965, 168-205; K. Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem 1976; M. Stone, R.R. Ervine and N. Stone (ed.), *The Armenians in Jerusalem and the Holy Land* (Hebrew University Armenian Studies 4), Leuven 2002.

<sup>109</sup> For ancient Armenia, see S. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (Ancient Peoples and Places 68), London 1969; for the development of the Armenian Church, see L. Perrone, "Le Chiese orientali", in G. Filoramo (ed.), *Storia delle religioni. II: Ebraismo e Cristianesimo*, Bari 1995, 347-349.

<sup>110</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii*, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 3-85. Also Euthymius' companion Domitianus came from Melitene (ibid. 11, ed. Schwartz, 21-22), as did other members of Euthymius' laura, the brothers Andrew, who became hegumen of Bassa's foundation in Jerusalem (see above, n. 59), Gaianus (later bishop of Madaba) and Stephanus, who was appointed deacon in the Holy Sepulchre (ibid. 16, 20, 34, ed. Schwartz, 26, 32, 52-53). Their uncle Synodius, metropolitan of Melitene, came to visit them after having venerated the holy places in Jerusalem, at the eve of the council of Ephesus (431: ibid. 20, ed. Schwartz, 32).

<sup>111</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 17, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 27. These were by no means the first Armenians to visit the Holy Land. The earliest known Armenian pilgrim was

whether these pilgrims were Greek-speakers or Armenian-speakers: however, we do know that Armenians who joined the coenobium of Theodosius and the laura of Sabas in the Kedron Valley south of Jerusalem, in the early 490s, spoke Armenian and were even permitted to pray separately in their own language.<sup>112</sup>

Like Euthymius, two other famous monks of the Judaeen desert are described by Cyril of Scythopolis as Armenians. One is Sophronius, a native of the village of Zomeri in the territory of Sebastia (Sivas), the capital of First Armenia. He stayed for some time with monks (fellow-Armenians?) in Jerusalem, then became a member of Theodosius' coenobium and finally succeeded Theodosius as abbot (529-543).<sup>113</sup> The second is John the Hesychast, a native of Nicopolis, a city of First Armenia near the border between Armenia and Cappadocia, and formerly bishop of Colonia, also in First Armenia, which city he left to come to Jerusalem and thence to the laura of Sabas, in 491.<sup>114</sup> John Moschus mentions a monk of Theodosius' monastery, Patricius from Sebaste in Armenia, and a monk of Euthymius' monastery, Theodore from Melitene, who later moved to the Egyptian desert.<sup>115</sup>

Since we know of communities of Armenians in the Judaeen desert monasteries and also of large groups of Armenian pilgrims,<sup>116</sup> we can also assume that many of them settled in Jerusalem proper. The earliest and most important evidence that the Armenians formed a united community with a language of their own is the Armenian lectionary (liturgical calendar), derived from a Greek original between 417 and 438/9.<sup>117</sup> By the mid-6th century at the latest the

one Eutactus from Satala in Lesser Armenia, who arrived in Palestine under Constantius (337-361): Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Haer. 40, 1, ed. K. Holl (GCS 31), Leipzig 1922, 80-82.

<sup>112</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 20, 32, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 105, 117; Theodore of Petra, *Vita sancti Theodosii*, ed. Usener [above, n. 60], 45. Cyril adds (*Vita Sabae* 32, ed. Schwartz, 118) that at some point after 501 the Armenians in the Great Laura tried to modify the liturgy according to Monophysite concepts, much to Sabas' indignation. The same process of 'Armenization' probably occurred also in Jerusalem.

<sup>113</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Theodosii* 5, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 240.

<sup>114</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Joannis Hesychastae* 1-3, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 201-202. Three other Sabaites monks came from Melitene: the brothers Theodore and Sergius and their uncle Paul, each of whom became in turn head of the monastery of Castellion. After a time, Sergius and Paul were made bishops respectively of Amathus in Peraea and Aila (Eilat) – an indication of their connections with the patriarchy in Jerusalem: Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 27, ed. Schwartz, 112.

<sup>115</sup> *Leimonarion* 95, 124, PG 87: 2953, 2985.

<sup>116</sup> Above, n. 111. See also M.E. Stone, "Holy Land Pilgrimage of Armenians before the Arab Conquest", *RB* 93 (1986) 93-110, with ample bibliography.

<sup>117</sup> F.C. Conybeare (ed.), *Rituale Armenorum: Being the Administration of the Sacraments and the Breviary Rites of the Armenian Church Together with the Greek Rites of Baptism and Epiphany*, Oxford 1905, 507-527; A. Renoux, "Un manuscrit du lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem, cod. Jer. arm. 121", *Le Muséon* 74 (1961) 361-385; Id., *Le codex arménien Jérusalem 121* (PO 35/1-2), Turnhout 1969/1972; J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, revised edition, Jerusalem 1981, 253-277.

Armenians in Jerusalem had their own bishop, independent from the patriarch and fighting to keep their separate calendar of the Christian feasts.<sup>118</sup> Their resistance to the dominant Chalcedonian doctrine brought persecution on the Monophysite Armenians in Jerusalem, and the Katholikos Yovhannes II (557-574) ordered them to keep their faith even at the cost of being forced to leave the Holy City. Some Armenians indeed left, but an Armenian community continued to exist, as is indicated by the archaeological finds in Jerusalem.<sup>119</sup>

Graffiti, tombstones and mosaics inscribed in Armenian were discovered in different parts of the city. The main concentrations are north of Damascus Gate and in the grounds of the Russian monastery on the Mount of Olives. The 'Mosaic of the Birds', north of Damascus Gate, adorned a funerary chapel for Armenians, as attested by its inscription. More Armenian inscriptions were discovered there: one on a marble slab, one on a stone bowl, a third incised on a pottery vessel.<sup>120</sup> Nearby, beside the Third Wall, a monastery was excavated where was a Greek inscription in the church, and an Armenian dedication in a room, as well as two fragmentary tombstones with Armenian epitaphs.<sup>121</sup> On the eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, a group of mosaics in the grounds of the Russian monastery bear dedicatory and memorial inscriptions, dated to the late Byzantine-early Islamic period. Some Armenian epitaphs were also discovered in the same site.<sup>122</sup> On the opposite slope of the mountain, just above Gethsemane, a broken

<sup>118</sup> See Emperor Justinian's letter from 560 and the response of the Armenian bishop Gregory Arzeruni about the date of Christmas and the celebration of the Annunciation: M. van Esbroeck, "La lettre de l'empereur Justinien sur l'Annonciation et la Noël, en 561", *AB* 86 (1968) 351-371; Id., "Encore la lettre de Justinian. Sa date: 560 et non 561", *AB* 87 (1969) 442-444; Perrone, *La Chiesa di Palestina* [above, n. 93], 56-58.

<sup>119</sup> See A.K. Sanjian, "Anastas Vardapet's List of Armenian Monasteries in Seventh-century Jerusalem: A Critical Examination", *Le Muséon* 82 (1969) 279; A. Linder, "Christian Communities in Jerusalem", in J. Praver and H. Ben-Shammai (ed.), *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period, 638-1099*, Jerusalem 1996, 157-158. According to a late source, after the second council of Dvin in 555 the predecessor of Yovhannes II, Nerses II (548-557) would have forbidden Armenians even to visit Jerusalem (see *The Armenian History*, transl. Thomson [above, n. 22], 70-71, n. 436); but the continued presence of Armenians in the Holy City casts doubt on this information.

<sup>120</sup> *CIIP* I/2, nos. 812 (mosaic inscription), 813 (marble slab), 1064 (pottery vessel), 1083 (stone bowl; the bowl bore also an inscription in Greek). East of this chapel, in the necropolis extending in front of St. Stephen's Church (today in the area of the Central Bus Station of eastern Jerusalem), a Greek inscription on a slab blocking the entrance of a tomb announced that the tomb belonged to 'Anastasius, bishop of the (community of) Eustratius'. This might have been an ethnic community with an independent bishop, perhaps of Armenians, as Eustratius was a martyr of Sebaste in Armenia. See *CIIP* I/2, no. 879, and the commentary there.

<sup>121</sup> *CIIP* I/2, nos. 809 (Greek mosaic inscription), 817 (Armenian mosaic inscription), 873-874 (epitaphs). The Armenian inscription dates from the early 7th century. The compound may have been a hostel for pilgrims held by Armenian monks. See D. Amit and S. Wolff, "An Armenian Monastery in the Morasha Neighborhood, Jerusalem", in H. Geva (ed.), *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed*, Jerusalem 1994, 293-298; M. Stone, "A Reassessment of the Bird and the Eustathius Mosaics", in Stone, Ervine and Stone (ed.), *The Armenians in Jerusalem* [above, n. 108], 203-219.

<sup>122</sup> *CIIP* I/2, nos. 837-839, 925 (mosaics); 926-929 (epitaphs).

slab in secondary use (originally the door of a tomb) bore the funerary inscription of 'Abbess Charate of the monastery of the Armenian women'. The epitaph, in Greek, can be dated to the late Byzantine-early Islamic period by the shape of the letters, and it has been suggested that this monastery stood on the site where the contemporary Armenian mosaics are located.<sup>123</sup> A small Armenian inscription was discovered in the atrium of the church in a monastery recently excavated on Mount Scopus; a Greek inscription adorned the mosaic floor of another room.<sup>124</sup> An Armenian graffito not later than the early 7th century was discovered outside the Jaffa Gate, in a building which appears to have been a pilgrim hostel, at the beginning of the road leading to Bethlehem. The mosaic floor of one of the rooms of the building was adorned with quotations from the Psalms in Greek.<sup>125</sup>

The use of Greek, sometimes in parallel with Armenian, must not surprise. Not only was Greek the language of communication in Byzantine Jerusalem, but also some of the Armenian pilgrims and residents came from Lesser Armenia, a member of the Byzantine empire, where Greek was certainly spoken and understood. It is among the others, those who came from Greater Armenia, that we can expect the exclusive use of the Armenian language and script, as well as an adherence to anti-Chalcedonian views – as in the case of the Armenians who resisted Justinian's decision to celebrate Christmas on December 25, and were persecuted because of their opposition.<sup>126</sup> But the doctrinal breach between the anti-Chalcedonian Katholikos of Greater Armenia and the Chalcedonian patriarch of Jerusalem did not influence the Armenian pilgrimage and settlement in the city. After the destruction caused by the Persian conquest Modestus, the abbot of the monastery of Theodosius who had replaced the exiled patriarch, wrote to Comitas, the Armenian Katholikos, telling him of the consolation brought by the arrival of Armenian pilgrims and asking for financial help in order to restore the churches of Jerusalem. This letter, and Comitas' answer, show that relations between the two Churches were friendly and that Jerusalem encouraged visits of Armenian pilgrims, who undoubtedly brought with them aid and presents, as was customary.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>123</sup> *CIIP* I/2, no. 909, and see discussion and references there.

<sup>124</sup> *CIIP* I/2, nos. 817B (Armenian; App. 10\* Greek). The Greek inscription is located in a room belonging to a later stage of the monastery, and is dated to the late 7th or early 8th century. On the monastery, see D. Amit, J. Seligman and I. Zilberbod, "The Monastery of Theodorus and Cyriacus on the Eastern Slope of Mount Scopus, Jerusalem", in Bottini, Di Segni and Chrupcała (ed.), *One Land – Many Cultures* [above, n. 60], 139-148.

<sup>125</sup> *CIIP* I/2, no. 810A (graffito), 810a-c (Greek inscriptions). For this building, see R. Reich and E. Shukrun, "The Western Extramural Quarter of Byzantine Jerusalem", in Stone, Ervine and Stone (ed.), *The Armenians in Jerusalem* [above, n. 108], 193-201, esp. 193-195.

<sup>126</sup> See above, nn. 118-119.

<sup>127</sup> The correspondence between Modestus and Comitas, dated ca. 616, is preserved by the Armenian historian Pseudo-Sebeos. See *The Armenian History* 35-36 [116-121], transl. Thomson [above, n. 22], 70-76. Apparently these Armenians were the first group of pilgrims that reached

A journey to Jerusalem made by three Armenian pilgrims, led by the hermit Mexit'ar in the 7th century attests the continuous flow of pilgrimage. The date of this visit is uncertain, but perhaps it took place shortly before the Muslim conquest or in its first years. Mexit'ar met an Armenian resident and obtained relics of saints to bring back home. Three years later another Armenian, the priest Joseph, travelled to Jerusalem and was dismayed to discover that all people there were supporters of the Chalcedonian creed. The descriptions of both pilgrimages are preserved.<sup>128</sup> Of greater interest is a list of seventy monasteries and churches that the Armenians possessed in Jerusalem and its environs, which is attributed to a 7th-century monk, Anastas Vardapet. This list, ostensibly one of Armenian assets in various locations in the city prior to the Muslim conquest, may have some historical basis. On the whole, however, it cannot be accepted as a contemporary historical document but rather as a late composition that reflected Armenian aspirations or the basis for claiming ownership of real estate.<sup>129</sup> In any case, it is difficult to learn from it about the true situation concerning Armenian assets in Byzantine Jerusalem.

### The Georgians (Iberians)

The Georgians, or as they were then called, the Iberians, were a small but important group among the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Translations into Georgian of several important works written in Jerusalem are indicative of their importance, above all the Georgian description of the Persian conquest of Jerusalem,<sup>130</sup> and the Georgian lectionary (liturgical calendar) of the Jerusalem Church.<sup>131</sup> We can assume that the Georgians spoke Greek in Jerusalem, but probably among themselves they spoke and even conducted prayers in Georgian.<sup>132</sup> According to

Jerusalem after the Persian conquest, and they recalled to Modestus "the previous journeys which they made to the venerable sites of Jerusalem" (p. 70).

<sup>128</sup> R.N. Bain, "Armenian Descriptions of the Holy Places in the Seventh Century", *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (1896) 346-349; E.W. Brooks, "An Armenian Visitor to Jerusalem in the Seventh Century", *English Historical Review* 11 (1896) 93-97; Stone, "Holy Land Pilgrimage" [above, n. 116], 99-105. Brooks dated the visit to the 660s, but Stone suggested a date between 630 and 641, prior to the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem, or at least in the early stages of the Arab expansion south and east of the Taurus Range.

<sup>129</sup> Sanjian, "Anastas Vardapet's List" [above, n. 119], 265-292.

<sup>130</sup> Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem* [above, n. 21]. For more on the Georgians, see Linder, "Christian Communities" [above, n. 119], 147-152.

<sup>131</sup> M. Tarchnišvili (ed.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem (V<sup>e</sup>-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (CSCO 188-189, 204-205; *Scriptores Iberici* 9-10, 13-14), I-II, Louvain 1959-1960; Garitte, *Le calendrier* [above, n. 59].

<sup>132</sup> Compare the Armenians praying in their own language at Theodosius' monastery and at the Great Laura of Sabas; above, n. 112. In fact, the third ethnic group that prayed in its own language at the monastery of Theodosius, beside Armenians and Greek-speakers, were the Bessians (Theodore

the information at our disposal, the main Georgian concentration was in the western part of the city, within the precincts of the Byzantine Tower of David (the area located today between the Citadel and Mount Zion).

The most famous Georgian resident of Jerusalem was Peter the Iberian. The name he was given at birth was Nabarnugi. He was a Georgian prince who as a child was sent as a hostage to the imperial court; there he could have enjoyed the pleasures of aristocratic life, yet preferred to flee to Jerusalem and become a monk.<sup>133</sup> In 437 he arrived in Jerusalem with his friend, John the Eunuch, himself a man of Lazica in western Georgia. The two were received by Melania the Younger and given the habit by Gerontius, the abbot of her monasteries. After spending some time in Melania's monastery on the Mount of Olives, Peter conceived the wish to follow in the footsteps of Passarion, who had established an almshouse (*ptocheion*) outside the city's eastern wall, as well as a large monastery near the Holy Sion. Peter's biography describes the establishment of his monastery and its location:

When it was rebuilt by the Christian emperor Constantine, the Holy City, Jerusalem, at first was still sparsely populated and had no [city] wall, since the first [city] wall had been destroyed by the Romans. There were but a few houses and [few] inhabitants. Thus, when the high priests and bishops, who later on were in Jerusalem, desired that a multitude of inhabitants should dwell in the city and that a multitude of buildings should be built, they gave authority to anyone who wished and who was able to take any spot he pleased without payment and without price in any part of the city in order to build thereon a dwelling. At that time the blessed Peter also chose for himself a place up toward the [Church of] Holy Sion, in what is called the "Tower of David" the prophet. He built there a monastery that still [stands] to this day, called "the Monastery of the Iberians". It is located on the left, as one is coming to Holy Sion from the second gate of the same tower. There he dwelt in quiet together with John, his companion in the quiet [life].<sup>134</sup>

Although Peter was one of the most prominent leaders of Monophysism in Palestine, only part of the Georgian bishops adhered to the anti-Chalcedonian creed, and finally (609) the Georgian Church adopted Chalcedonism.<sup>135</sup> Therefore there is no way to guess whether the monastery founded by Peter – and other Iberians in Jerusalem and its vicinity – was in communion with the Jeru-

of Petra, *Vita sancti Theodosii*, ed. Usener [above, n. 60], 45) who, as we shall see, came probably from a region in Georgia.

<sup>133</sup> Peter's biography was written by his disciple, John of Beit Rufina (Johannes Rufus) shortly after his death in 491. The extant Syriac version is probably a translation from a Greek original. See *Vita Petri Iberi*, ed. Horn and Phenix [above, n. 37], 1-281.

<sup>134</sup> *Vita Petri Iberi* 64, ed. Horn and Phenix [above, n. 37], 93-95.

<sup>135</sup> Perrone, "Le Chiese orientali" [above, n. 109], 349-350.

salem patriarch or not. It certainly seems to have prospered in 6th-century Chaldeonian Jerusalem. Procopius of Caesarea tells of the renovation of the monastery of the Iberians in Jerusalem during the reign of Justinian.<sup>136</sup> The monastery is documented also epigraphically. An inscription discovered west of the city, in a Byzantine-period cemetery near the present-day YMCA compound, refers to the “private tomb of Samuel, bishop of the Iberians, and of his monastery, which they purchased in the Tower of David”. Because of the incorrect Greek, or possibly owing to a mistake of the engraver, the wording of the inscription is equivocal: it may be interpreted as saying that the Iberians purchased the tomb, or that they purchased the monastery in the Tower of David, or that the Iberians in the Tower of David purchased the tomb.<sup>137</sup> If the purchase of the monastery is meant, the stress of the legal ownership of the Iberians may hint to an event described in Peter’s biography – a bitter dispute between him and a neighbour, a member of the Jerusalem high clergy, who accused Peter of trespassing on his land in building his monastery.<sup>138</sup>

Another Greek inscription, recently discovered in the pavement of the courtyard of the Tomb of the Virgin in the Kedron Valley, mentions the Iberians’ foundation. The stone is very worn and the script hard to decipher, but the part referring to the Iberians is quite clear. The inscription can be translated as follows: Tomb belonging to Ab... and Cericus the many-feeding (?) deacons (?) of the Anastasis, joint heirs of the Iberians. Tomb of the Tower of David.<sup>139</sup> Apparently the two deacons were formerly members of the monastery of the Iberians, and as such they proclaimed their right to be buried in the tomb of that monastery. As the stone is in secondary use, it is impossible to say whether it was brought here from the cemetery at the YMCA, where the tomb of Samuel and the monastery of the Iberians was located, or the burial grounds west of the city had become insufficient for the monastery, or had gone out of use because of the archaeologically attested growth of the city outside the Jaffa Gate, and therefore the monastery had purchased a new burial ground in the vast necropolis east of the city. A third Greek inscription that may be connected with the Georgian community in Jerusalem was discovered in a funeral chapel at Beit Şafafa. The dedicatory inscription in the mosaic floor, by one Samuel, bears a date by a creation era that may be interpreted as the Georgian era of the world, documented in Georgia itself only many years later. By this reckoning the date would

<sup>136</sup> Procopius, *De aedificiis* V, ix, 6.

<sup>137</sup> J.H. Iliffe, “Cemeteries and a ‘Monastery’ at the Y.M.C.A., Jerusalem”, *QDAP* 4 (1935) 78-80; *CIIP* I/2, no. 1000.

<sup>138</sup> *Vita Petri Iberi* 65, ed. Horn and Phenix [above, n. 37], 95-97. For this interpretation, see Tsafir, “Between David’s Tower and Holy Zion” [above, n. 91], 251.

<sup>139</sup> *CIIP* I/2, no. 977; see also Tsafir, “Between David’s Tower and Holy Zion” [above, n. 91], 254.

correspond to June 596.<sup>140</sup> The earliest epigraphic use of creation eras is attested precisely in the Holy Land, and the Georgian community in Jerusalem might well be expected to have developed here its own chronological system, later generally adopted in their homeland.<sup>141</sup>

All the above-mentioned inscriptions connected with the Georgian community are in Greek, and to this day no Georgian inscriptions of the relevant period have been discovered in Jerusalem itself.<sup>142</sup> However, 6th-century inscriptions in the Georgian language and script were discovered in two monasteries in the Jerusalem area, at Bir el-Qutt between Jerusalem and Bethlehem,<sup>143</sup> and at Umm Leisun, southeast of Jerusalem.<sup>144</sup> This is evidence of the settlement of Georgian monks not only in the Holy City, where Greek was chosen as vehicular language for inscriptions, but also in its countryside, where Georgian was used freely for an all-Georgian community.

The Lazi also came from Georgia; John the Eunuch, Peter the Iberian faithful companion, was himself from Lazica, the ancient Colchis in western Georgia. A monastery of the Lazi is mentioned in Procopius' list of buildings restored by Justinian in or near Jerusalem.<sup>145</sup> Another ethnic entity seemingly connected with Georgia is that of the Bessians. Bessian monks were prominent in Palestine. In the monastery of Theodosius they had their own church where they prayed in

<sup>140</sup> J. Landau and M. Avi-Yonah, "Excavations of the Family Vault near Beit Šafafa", *Alon: Bulletin of the State of Israel Department of Antiquities* 5-6 (1957) 40-43, Pl. V, 3 (Hebrew); L. Di Segni, "The Beth Šafafa Inscription Reconsidered and the Question of a Local Era in Jerusalem", *IEJ* 43 (1993) 157-168; *CIIP* I/2, no. 848. The appearance of the name Samuel in this inscription and in the one at the YMCA compound is probably mere coincidence; however, the use of the same unknown Greek term ΠΟΛΑΒΟΤΩΝ in both this and the inscription from the Tomb of the Virgin, may be significant.

<sup>141</sup> On the early use of creation eras in the Holy Land, see L. Di Segni, "The Use of Chronological Systems in Sixth-Eighth Centuries Palestine", *ARAM* 18-19 (2006-2007) 113-126.

<sup>142</sup> However, Georgian graffiti were left by pilgrims on the jambs of the Crusader entrance of the Holy Sepulchre. See G. Gagoschidze, "Inscriptions of Georgian Pilgrims on the Portal of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem", *Izvestia Akademii nauk Gryzii* 1 (1992) 134-148 (Georgian with Russian and English summaries); M. Stone, *Rock Inscriptions and Graffiti Project: Catalogue of Inscriptions. III: Inscriptions 6001-8500* (Society of Biblical Literature: Resources for Biblical Study 31), Atlanta GA 1994, nos. 6462, 6512, 6513, 6533, 6537, 6545, 6552, 6555, 6557, 6563, 6602, 6603, 6606, 6613, 6627, 6793, 6797, 6799, 6929, 7992.

<sup>143</sup> V. Corbo, *Gli scavi di Kh. Siyar el-Ghanam (Campo del Pastori) e i monasteri dei dintorni* (SBF. Maior 11), Jerusalem 1955, 110-139, Pls. 103-104, 107; M. Tarchnishvili, "Le iscrizioni musive del monastero di Bir el-Qutt", *ibid.*, 135-139.

<sup>144</sup> J. Seligman, "A Georgian Monastery at Umm Leisun, Jerusalem", in E. Baruch and A. Faust (ed.), *Ingebor Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies* (New Studies on Jerusalem 10), Ramat Gan 2004, 163-167 (Hebrew); T. Mgaloblishvili, "An Unknown Georgian Monastery in the Holy Land", *ARAM* 19 (2007) 527-539. See also G. Peradze, "An Account on the Georgian Monks and Monasteries as Revealed in the Writings of Non-Georgian Pilgrims", *Georgica* 4-5 (1937) 181-246.

<sup>145</sup> Procopius, *De aedificiis* V, ix, 7. For the origin of John the Eunuch, see *Vita Petri Iberi* 31, ed. Horn and Phenix [above, n. 37], 42-43.

their native language, like the Greek-speakers and the Armenians.<sup>146</sup> Bessian was spoken in the monastery of the Holy Bush in Sinai, beside Greek, Latin, Syriac and Egyptian.<sup>147</sup> There was an ethnic monastery, Subiba of the Bessians, near the Jordan, and in 545, during the Origenist controversy, Bessian monks came up from it to defend the Sabaites monks, who were attacked by a pro-Origenist rabble in Jerusalem.<sup>148</sup> These Bessians were supposed to be identical with the Bessi of Thracia (present-day Bulgaria), but it is difficult to believe that in the greatest monasteries of Palestine a Thracian dialect could have competed with the dominant languages mentioned above. Therefore it has been suggested that the Bessians originated from a district of Georgia.<sup>149</sup> A Bessian woman named Thecla, ‘abbess of the monastery of Juvenal’ (probably a nunnery founded by the archbishop of Jerusalem Juvenal, 422-458) was buried in a tomb of the necropolis in the Valley of Hinnom, south of the Old City of Jerusalem.<sup>150</sup>

### The Jews

There is some mention in the written sources and a little archaeological evidence of a Jewish presence in Byzantine Jerusalem. The point of departure is the well-known Hadrianic prohibition against Jews entering the limits of Aelia Capitolina. Nonetheless, the Jewish sources attest that pilgrimage continued after 70 and during the Byzantine period for the three annual pilgrimage festivals (Passover, Pentecost and the Feast of the Tabernacles), as well as for the mourning fast in memory of the destruction of the Temple on the Ninth of Av, and on other days.<sup>151</sup> Christian sources concentrate on the annual mourning pilgrimage, but the conditions of this pilgrimage seem to vary. Origen, writing

<sup>146</sup> *Vita sancti Theodosii*, ed. Usener [above, n. 60], 45.

<sup>147</sup> *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium* 37, ed. Geyer [above, n. 46] 148, 171.

<sup>148</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 86, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 193-194; John Moschus, *Leimonarion* 157, PG 87: 3025.

<sup>149</sup> Bessians as Thracians: A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient. III/1: Les moines de Palestine: Cyrille de Scythopolis, Vie de Saint Sabas*, Paris 1962, 124, n. 291. The Georgian origin was first suggested by E. Nestle, “Kleine Mitteilungen”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 61 (1907) 500-501, and adopted by Milik, “La topographie” [above, n. 18], 145, n. 1.

<sup>150</sup> *CIIP* I/2, no. 762; the inscription is not earlier than the mid-6th century. According to Milik (*RB* 67 [1960], 264-266), Juvenal founded a church of the prophet Isaiah near the spring of Siloam, to which the nunnery would have been attached.

<sup>151</sup> S. Safrai, “Pilgrimage to Jerusalem after the Destruction of the Second Temple”, in A. Oppenheimer, U. Rappaport and M. Stern (ed.), *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume*, Jerusalem 1980, 376-393, esp. 393 (Hebrew); Id., “The Jews of Jerusalem” [above, n. 8], 15-34; Id., “Jerusalem and the Jews from Constantine to the Muslim conquest”, in *Sefer Yerushalaim*, 239-251 (Hebrew).

in the early 3rd century, implies that Jews entered Jerusalem freely.<sup>152</sup> In 333 the Bordeaux Pilgrim describes Jews coming to mourn upon “a pierced stone” (*lapis pertusus*) on the Temple Mount every year, ostensibly without hindrance.<sup>153</sup> On the other hand Eusebius, writing at about the same time, maintains that from the Romans' prohibition to his days the Jewish people were totally excluded from Jerusalem and not even permitted to look from afar at the site where the Temple had stood.<sup>154</sup> Jerome's description is even more pointed – he is full of malicious delight that the Jews are prohibited from entering Jerusalem and that they must pay for permission to mourn and lament the Holy City, which is lost to them and was rebuilt by a triumphant Christianity.<sup>155</sup> Thus it seems that the situation had deteriorated in Constantine's time; however, the widely accepted assumption that Constantine renewed the prohibition against Jewish residence and even entrance in Jerusalem does not rest on firm grounds.<sup>156</sup> Though it seems that no one explicitly restored the right of Jews to enter the city, it is clear that they did in fact come to Jerusalem and even established a small community there, having acquired permission *de facto*, if not *de jure*.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Origen, *Homilia XVII in librum Iesu Nave* 1, PG 12: 910: “If you come to earthly Jerusalem, o Jew, you will find it destroyed and reduced to ashes” (as opposed to heavenly Jerusalem, which attests God's glory and the victory of Christianity).

<sup>153</sup> *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 591, 1-2, ed. Geyer and Cuntz [above, n. 9], 16.

<sup>154</sup> Eusebius, *Commentarius in Ps.* 58, PG 23: 541.

<sup>155</sup> *In Sophoniam* I, 15-16, ed. Adriaen [above, n. 37], 673-674. There is no trace in any other source of a tax paid by the Jews for permission to enter Jerusalem on the 9 of Av. As Jerome describes the Jews bribing soldiers to be permitted to stay longer, possibly the payment was not legally exacted but an imposition levied by Christians guarding the city gates or the access to the Temple Mount.

<sup>156</sup> It is usually taken for granted that this piece of information was first imparted by Eutychius of Alexandria in the 10th century: *Eutichio, Gli Annali* XI, 20, transl. B. Pirone (Studia Orientalia Christiana: Monographiae 1), Cairo 1987, 203. However, the Life of Barsauma already contains a similar statement, put in the mouth of the Galilaean Jewry: see below. M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule: A Political History of Palestine from the Bar Kokhba War to the Arab Conquest*, Jerusalem 1984, 162-163, takes as historical Eutychius' statement that Constantine forbade Jewish residence in Jerusalem. So also Safrai, “Jerusalem and the Jews” [above, n. 151], 274. However, not only is the information late but it is also enriched with patently false additions, which undermine its reliability. Eutychius writes that Constantine ordered that no Jew should reside or pass through Jerusalem, and that all Jews should convert to Christianity under pain of death. In order to discover those who feigned conversion but continued to practice Judaism, he had pork meat placed in front of the entrances of all churches, and ordered to kill anyone who refused to eat it. This story flatly contradicts what Eusebius says in *De vita Constantini* II, 56 (Constantine prays that all may be Christians, but compels none). See also O. Irshai, “Constantine and the Jews: the Prohibition against Entering Jerusalem – History and Hagiography”, *Zion* 60 (1995) 129-178 (Hebrew), X-XI (English summary). Irshai argues that the orientation of Constantine's policy in Jerusalem was not anti-Jewish but anti-pagan; and he concludes that the claim that he issued such an edict is based not on historical but on hagiographic sources. If indeed there was such a prohibition it was local and not imperial, and probably emanated from the influence of the bishops on the local authorities.

<sup>157</sup> See above, text and nn. 8-9. The fact that only a small community of Jews resided in Jerusalem when Constantine began its rebuilding as a Christian city may well have been caused

The location of the Jewish community can be gleaned from passages in the works of the Bordeaux Pilgrim and Epiphanius. They note a synagogue “within the walls of Zion” – probably the present-day area of Mount Zion – until the middle of the 4th century. Although there is room for doubt, they perhaps refer, as M. Avi-Yonah has proposed, to the present-day building of the Tomb of David, which J. Pinkerfeld has identified as an ancient synagogue.<sup>158</sup>

Emperor Julian’s order to restore Jerusalem to the Jews and to rebuild the Temple is documented by many sources, both Christian and pagan, as is the failure of the enterprise due to the destructive earthquake of 19 May, 363 and to Julian’s death.<sup>159</sup> However, there is no material evidence of any result of the attempt to rebuild the Temple during Julian’s reign, except perhaps from a Hebrew graffito on the western wall of the Temple Mount near the southwest corner. The graffito is a partial quotation of Isaiah 66:14, and the prophecy of consolation it contains, as well as its location, slightly above the Byzantine street level, led the excavator, B. Mazar, to attribute it to a Jewish visitor joyfully witnessing the promised redemption coming true through the rebuilding of the Temple.<sup>160</sup>

We can accept the testimony of Christian authors who reported the conversion of Jews to Christianity after the failure of this enterprise and the fall of Julian; nevertheless, we do not know how this influenced the Jewish community in Jerusalem. It seems that since then the Christians took steps to remove the Temple Mount itself (as opposed to the surrounding wall) from the itineraries of Christian pilgrims, turning it into an empty and desolate place. It may very well be that since then the Jews have designated the Western Wall of the Temple Mount as the site of the Holy Presence (*Shekhina*). We can assume that already then the Jews tried to settle as close as possible to the Western Wall and the Temple Mount, as they did thereafter. However, there is no proof for this assumption.

not by a prohibition but by the fact that the city was in ruins. This is attested by sources of the 3rd, 4th and early 5th century: Origen (above, n. 152), Sulpicius Severus, writing ca. 400 (*Chronicon* II, 33, ed. Halm [above, n. 26], 87), and the legend on the discovery of the True Cross, whose early version goes back to the second half of the 4th century, according to which Helena found Jerusalem “totally deserted” (*De inventione crucis*, ed. Nestle, “Die Kreuzauffindungslegende” [above, n. 26], 325). These descriptions are confirmed by John Rufus’ description of Jerusalem at the time of Peter the Iberian’s arrival in 437 (see text and n. 134). These conditions would have made Jewish life practically impossible.

<sup>158</sup> See above, nn. 9, 11.

<sup>159</sup> See Avi-Yonah, *The Jews* [above, n. 156], 187-207, and the sources cited there. Notably, there is almost no mention of Julian’s initiative in the Jewish sources of the period. On the earthquake and its results, see Brock, “A Letter” [above, n. 16]; cf. K.W. Russell, “The Earthquake of May 19, A.D. 363”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 238 (1980) 47-64.

<sup>160</sup> B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount: Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons, 1969-1970*, Jerusalem 1971, 23. A 4th-century date can also fit palaeographically. However, the inscription may belong to other periods when Jewish hopes to be permitted to settle in Jerusalem seemed to be realized or near realization: see discussion in *CIIP* I/2, no. 790.

In 439, or more likely in the early 440s, we are told that Eudocia permitted the Jews to return and pray at the site of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. The Syriac biography of the monk Barsauma of Nisibis (a not very reliable hagiographic composition) describes this obscure episode.<sup>161</sup> The Jews of Galilee appealed to the Augusta, saying that Constantine had forbidden the Jews to reside in the Jerusalem area, and petitioned her for permission to pray on the ruins of the Temple. Eudocia acceded to the request, arousing almost messianic enthusiasm among the Jews throughout the East. Jewish leaders circulated a letter, telling Jews everywhere that Jerusalem had been given back to them. On the Feast of the Tabernacles a great number of Jewish pilgrims arrived (according to the biography – 103,000), expecting to be permitted to resurrect Jewish life in the Holy City. Barsauma and his followers also came into the city and engineered a 'miraculous' shower of stones on the Jews in prayer at the wall of the Temple. Many Jews were killed, and in spite of the angry protests of the inhabitants of Jerusalem against the "thugs in the habit of respectable monks", the killers went unpunished. Nevertheless, perhaps the permission received by the Jews in Eudocia's time somehow encouraged them to enhance their presence in Jerusalem. Archaeological findings attest to such an increased presence, at least as far as pilgrimage is concerned. This is attested by the production of souvenirs for pilgrims. Polygonal glass bottles sold to Christian pilgrims, decorated on the sides with crosses, images of the Holy Sepulchre, and the like, were among the most popular souvenirs: it may be that they were originally designed as vessels to contain holy oil or holy water from Jerusalem. Some bottles of this type are decorated with seven-branched candelabra. This indicates that the number of Jewish visitors was large enough to make it economically worthwhile to manufacture special bottles for them.<sup>162</sup> This may explain Cyril of Scythopolis' reference to a Jewish (and Samaritan) presence in Jerusalem during the reigns of Anastasius in the early 6th century.<sup>163</sup> A Hebrew inscription expressing hope for the rebuilding of the Temple, and containing a list of Jewish names, probably of pilgrims, was discovered in a room in the Muslim *Makhkama* (courthouse), near the northwest corner of the Temple Mount. It was tentatively dated to the 6th century, based on the form of the letters, though a later date cannot be excluded, especially considering that other Hebrew graffiti in the same place are certainly later.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>161</sup> *Histoire de Barsauma de Nisibe*, ed. Nau [above, n. 57], 118-125. For the date of this episode, see above, n. 57.

<sup>162</sup> D. Barag, "Glass Vessels from Jerusalem", *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970) 35-63; 13 (1971) 45-63.

<sup>163</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 57, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 154. For a discussion of this piece of information, see below.

<sup>164</sup> See *CIIP* I/2, no. 791, and the discussion there.

It is not totally certain that there was a stable Jewish community in Jerusalem before the Persian conquest in 614.<sup>165</sup> From some of the Christian sources describing the event (e.g., Strategius, Sophronius, Theophanes) it appears that Jews arrived in Jerusalem with the Persian army and took an active part in the conquest and in the following slaughter. On the other hand, Pseudo-Sebeos writes that after Jerusalem had peacefully surrendered to the Persians, the youths of the city rebelled. “Then there was warfare between the inhabitants of the city of Jerusalem, Jewish and Christian. The larger number of Christians had the upper hand and slew many of the Jews. The surviving Jews jumped from the walls and went to the Persian army”.<sup>166</sup> Pseudo-Sebeos also ascribes the slaughter of the Christians to the Persians, though he adds that, after the pacification of the city, the Jews were expelled from Jerusalem, a detail confirmed also by Modestus’ letter to Comitas and Comitas’ response.<sup>167</sup> Therefore, the question whether or to which extent the Jews participated in the taking of Jerusalem and the slaughter of Christians therein must remain a bone of contention among scholars. Some participation is certainly likely, though not prominent enough to

<sup>165</sup> Safrai, “Jerusalem and the Jews” [above, n. 151], 250, cites Sozomen, *Interpretatio in Ezechielem*, PG 81: 1224, and Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 54, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 146, as evidence for the presence of a stable Jewish community in Jerusalem in the 5th and early 6th century. Sozomen would attest that the Jews lived in the northern suburbs of the Holy City. But what Sozomen really says, after minutely describing the vision of the Temple in Ez 40-44, is simply that Jews who live north of Jerusalem – which may mean in northern Judaea or even in the Galilee – use to pray toward the south. As to Cyril’s passage, he presents a Monophysite official in Constantinople referring to the inhabitants of Jerusalem as ‘Nestorians and Jews’; but both terms were commonly used by Monophysites to describe Diphysites, and in fact the majority of the people and the clergy in Jerusalem were supporters of the Chalcedonian creed. Orthodox also would refer to Nestorians as ‘Jews’: see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 38, ed. Schwartz, 128. Both sources, therefore, tell us nothing about a Jewish settlement in Jerusalem in that period.

<sup>166</sup> *The Armenian History* 34 [115], transl. Thomson [above, n. 22], 69. The main sources for this period are Eustratius/Strategius (*De expugnatione Hierosolymae*, ed. Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem* [above, n. 21], *Expugnationis Hierosolymae A.D. 614 recensiones arabicae*, ed. Id. [above, n. 21]), Sophronius (*Sophronii Anacreontica* XIV, XVIII [Opuscula: Testi per esercitazioni accademiche], ed. M. Gigante, Roma 1957), *The Armenian History* 34-36 [112-121], transl. Thomson [above, n. 22], 65-76, *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. L. Dindorf, Bonn 1832, 704-705), Theophanes (*Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883, 300-301), Eutychius (*Gli Annali* XVII, 26-29, transl. Pirone [above, n. 156], 306-309), as well as later Syriac chronicles. See Aviyonah, *The Jews* [above, n. 156], 261-272; Z. Baras, “The Persian Conquest and the End of the Byzantine Rule”, in Z. Baras *et alii*, *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest*, Jerusalem 1982, 300-349 (Hebrew). For a careful analysis of the facts, based on the sources, see B. Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse et l’histoire de la Palestine au début du VII<sup>e</sup> siècle. II: Commentaire: Les moines de Jérusalem et l’invasion perse* (Le monde byzantin), Paris 1992, 129-181. In the main Flusin follows the narrative of Strategius and the other sources hostile to the Jews; nevertheless he gives full weight to Pseudo-Sebeos’ version and comments (p. 147): “Il y a peu d’espoir d’arriver à prouver que le récit du Pseudo-Sebèos soit plus complet et plus fidèle. Tout au plus fera-t-il remarquer qu’on ne voit pas pourquoi cet auteur aurait inventé un tel épisode...” (the massacre of the Jews and the flight of the survivors to the Persian army).

<sup>167</sup> *The Armenian History* 34 [116], 36 [120], transl. Thomson [above, n. 22], 70, 76.

draw the attention of Pseudo-Sebeos, who may have used Persian sources for this episode; on the other hand, the Christian sources based in Jerusalem, naturally hostile, may have wildly exaggerated Jewish participation in the slaughter. Jewish sources in turn reflect a different facet, namely, the fact that Jews held high hopes of regaining control of the city, hopes that were promptly dashed.<sup>168</sup>

Buildings with seven-branched candelabras depicted upon their lintels were discovered near the Temple Mount. In one case, the candelabrum was drawn over a cross that had been previously cut in the stone and subsequently plastered over.<sup>169</sup> Mazar and Ben Dov attributed the houses with candelabra painted on their walls and lintels to the period of the Persian conquest. They suggested that following the Persian victory the Jews took possession of buildings close to the southwest corner of the Temple Mount, not far from the Western Wall. But, even assuming that not all the Jews were expelled from Jerusalem, would Christians have permitted Jews to continue living in a house bearing the symbol of a candelabrum, a house which perhaps had been forcibly taken from other Christians a short time beforehand? In view of this difficulty, Mazar and Ben Dov also offer an alternative explanation: the houses would have been taken over more than twenty years later, when the new Muslim rulers permitted a limited number of Jewish families to settle in Jerusalem near the Temple Mount. Of the two, this explanation seems more reasonable. It is also not entirely unconceivable that the houses were simply purchased by Jews prior to the Persian conquest.

An attempt to summarize the condition of the Jewish community in Jerusalem during the Byzantine period shows that this was a stormy period characterized by instability. Jewish settlement in Jerusalem was more the result of stubborn tenacity and devotion to the Holy City than a legally sanctioned act. We have no information as to where the Jews in Jerusalem congregated from the moment when their synagogue on Mount Zion was expropriated, at the beginning of the Byzantine period, until they settled near the Temple Mount at its end.

<sup>168</sup> See I. Lévi, "L'Apocalypse de Zerobabel et le roi des Perses Siroès", *Revue des études Juives* 68 (1914) 129-160; 69 (1919) 108-121; 70 (1920) 57-65; Y. Even-Shemuel, *Midrashe Geula*, Jerusalem - Tel Aviv 1954, 29-88 (Book of Elijah; Apocalypse of Zerubbabel) (Hebrew); Y.A. Grossman, "Jerusalem in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature", in Praver and Ben-Shammai (ed.), *The History of Jerusalem* [above, n. 119], 295-310 (Hebrew).

<sup>169</sup> B. Mazar, "The Archaeological Excavations near the Temple Mount", in Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed: The Archaeology in the Holy City, 1968-1974*, Jerusalem 1976, 38; M. Ben Dov, *In the Shadow of the Temple: the Discovery of Ancient Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1985, 264-266; E. Mazar, "Architecture and Stratigraphy of the 'House of the Menorot'", in E. Mazar (ed.), *Final Report, The Temple Mount Excavations in Jerusalem, 1968-1978, Directed by Benjamin Mazar. II: The Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods* (Qedem 43), Jerusalem 2003, 163, 174-177, 183-185. According to the final report, the House of the Menorot had two stages, one in the 5th-6th century, which was damaged during the Persian conquest in 614, and another shortly after 616, which came to an end in the Early Islamic period (8th to 10th century). E. Mazar suggested that in this second stage the building may have functioned as a synagogue.

We can assume that they kept their distance from Christian holy sites and the routes of the pilgrims' processions, areas in which there was always the danger of occasional riots. If there was a Jewish quarter, this must probably be sought in one of the suburbs of the city.

### The Samaritans

We have only sparse information hinting at the existence of a Samaritan community in Jerusalem, and even this is questionable. It might seem strange that Samaritans would choose to live in Jerusalem, which symbolized the denial of their own religious center on Mount Gerizim. Nevertheless, a small Samaritan community may have lived in the city, earning a livelihood there, and we are not exempt from the obligation to examine the issue.

There is one mention of Samaritans in the Life of Sabas, in a petition sent by the monks Sabas and Theodosius to Emperor Anastasius in spring 518, asking him to put an end to the persecution of the Chalcedonian clergy in Jerusalem. The letter complained that the priests and monks were ejected from the churches and disgraced "before the eyes of pagans, Jews and Samaritans" (ἐν ὄψει ἐθνικῶν Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Σαμαρειτῶν).<sup>170</sup> The mention of Jews can easily be explained by the reports of the presence of a substantial number of Jewish pilgrims and perhaps a small Jewish community in the city (see above). One can also expect to find pagans among the people who converged on Jerusalem for other than religious reasons. As for Samaritans, of course pilgrimage to Jerusalem was out of the question. Might the monks have added pagans and Samaritans to the picture in an attempt to exaggerate the disgraceful condition of the Jerusalem Church? This is hardly likely, for many of the emperor's advisors were well acquainted with the goings on in Jerusalem. Thus, if the description can be taken literally, it may attest to the presence of a Samaritan community in the city.<sup>171</sup>

In fact, the existence of a quarter called or 'the Samaritan church' or 'Samaritikē' (kanisat al-samira; harat SMRTQ') is attested in Strategius' report of the Persian conquest of Jerusalem, where he lists the burial of corpses collected in different part of the city (see above, text and nn. 18 and 21). Later records from the Cairo Genizah, which repeatedly mention such a quarter in the

<sup>170</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 57, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 154. The petition was sent to the emperor and to the new patriarch of Constantinople, John, who had succeeded Timothy in April 518.

<sup>171</sup> We can also exclude the possibility that the term 'Samaritan' was used figuratively. While 'Jew' was often applied to any Christian who denied the divinity of Christ (by orthodox to Arians and by Monophysites to Diphysites), 'pagan' and 'Samaritan' was not used as a defamatory term.

Middle Ages, confirm this information.<sup>172</sup> This was the Karaite quarter in the 11th century, which from the sources appears to have been located outside of the southern wall of Jerusalem. Gil supports Milik's view that the quarter was named after a church dedicated to the Samaritan woman who spoke with Jesus. At the beginning of the 13th century, the Arab author al-Harawī mentions a well in Jerusalem connected to the memory of this woman.<sup>173</sup> It is quite possible that a church dedicated to the Samaritan woman existed in Jerusalem; nonetheless, the silence of Christian sources, especially the liturgical calendars that list the various churches in Jerusalem but do not mention such a sanctuary, casts doubt on this hypothesis. Therefore, the possibility should not be completely ruled out that the name in Strategius' report refers not to a church of the Samaritan woman but rather to a Samaritan synagogue. If so, the inference would be that a small community of Samaritans did live in Jerusalem. They congregated in an area relatively far away from the centre of the city and had their own synagogue.

#### Other Communities

In addition to the inhabitants and communities previously discussed, many visitors from other regions came to Jerusalem, but though some of them seem to have taken up permanent residence, we have no indication that they established communities in the city. Many pilgrims who came to the Holy Land continued on to Egypt, the stronghold of monasticism, or arrived to Jerusalem via Egypt. On the other hand, many Egyptians made pilgrimages to Jerusalem and we hear of especially large groups who came for the Encaeniae (the festival of the dedication of the Holy Sepulchre, on 14 September).<sup>174</sup> The Egyptian visitors included lead-

<sup>172</sup> M. Gil, "The Early Quarters of Jerusalem during Early Muslim Rule", *Shalem* 2 (1976) 20-21 (Hebrew); Id., *A History of Palestine, 634-1099*, New York 1992, 438-439, 650-653; for the documents, see Id., *Palestine during the First Muslim Period (634-1099)*, Tel Aviv 1983, Vol. II, p. 564, no. 309 (4); Vol. III, p. 92, no. 457, margin (8); pp. 234-235, no. 500 (13) (Hebrew). Gil identifies this neighbourhood as being located on the eastern slope of the City of David, which goes down towards the Kedron Valley, beyond the ancient line of the 'First Wall', which was restored in Eudocia's time. However, the slope upon which Gil would situate the Samareitike quarter is very steep and difficult for habitation; moreover, no remnants of that period were discovered on this slope. It is more likely that the quarter was located upon the ridge of the City of David itself since at that time Eudocia's wall was no longer in existence, and the wall ran along the line upon which the Ottoman Wall would subsequently be built. See Y. Tsafir, "Muqaddasi's Gates of Jerusalem – A New Identification Based on Byzantine Sources", *IEJ* 27 (1977) 152-161.

<sup>173</sup> Gil, *History of Palestine* [above, n. 172], 438-439.

<sup>174</sup> Crowds of Alexandrians and Egyptians pouring in Jerusalem for the festival are mentioned by Theodorus of Petra (*Vita sancti Theodosii*, ed. Usener [above, n. 60], 39), Ps. Zacharias, *Chron.* VII, 14 (ed. G. Greatrex *et alii*, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor* [Translated Texts for Historians 55], Liverpool 2011, 276-277) and Sophronius (*Vita Mariae Aegyptiae*, PG 87: 3712; PL 73: 680).

ers of the Church of Alexandria, such as Cyril, who inaugurated the martyrrium of St. Stephen built by Melania on 15 May 439, and Eustochius, a former steward of the Church of Alexandria who was sent to Jerusalem by Emperor Justinian to become patriarch of the city (552-563).<sup>175</sup> Laymen as well as monks came from Egypt not only as pilgrims to the holy places, but sometimes to be healed<sup>176</sup> or to escape persecution: this was the case of the Tall Brothers and their associates in the late 4th century<sup>177</sup> and of Martyrius and Elias, future patriarchs of Jerusalem, in 457.<sup>178</sup> Strong ties were formed between the Egyptian monks and their Judaeian desert counterparts, and several Egyptians joined the Judaeian desert monasteries near Jerusalem, as well as monasteries in Bethlehem.<sup>179</sup>

<sup>175</sup> On Cyril's visit, see Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep.* 70, PG 77: 341-342; *Vita Petri Iberi* 49, ed. Horn and Phenix [above, n. 37], 54-69. According to the *Vita Petri Iberi*, Cyril "came with a multitude of bishops from all of Egypt" to consecrate the church of St. Stephen built by Eudocia outside the northern gate of Jerusalem; but here seemingly John Rufus confuses St. Stephen's built by Eudocia, which was consecrated, unfinished, on 25 June 460 (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 35, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 54), with the martyrrium of St. Stephen built by Melania, where Archbishop Cyril deposited the relics of St. Stephen on 15 May and those of the Persian martyrs and of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on the morrow: Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae* 57-58, ed. Laurence [above, n. 38], 270-275, and for the date of Cyril's consecration, 439 rather than 438, see *ibid.*, "Introduction", 68, 72-73. On Eustochius, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 90, ed. Schwartz, 198. His candidature was suggested by Conon, abbot of the Great Laura, who had come to Constantinople to ask the emperor's intervention against the Origenists, one of which, Macarius, had just been elected patriarch of Jerusalem.

<sup>176</sup> Sophronius tells a story about a tribune from Alexandria who, having become blind, visited the sanctuary of the holy healers Cyrus and John near his city, and was instructed by them in a dream "Go, wash in the Siloam" (cf. John 9:7). He went to Jerusalem, descended to the Siloam Pool and recovered his sight. Also a Pachomian monk from Tabennesis heard the same words in the martyrrium of SS. Cyrus and John and was cured of his blindness in Siloam (*Narratio miraculorum ss. Cyri et Joannis* 46, PG 87: 3595-3598).

<sup>177</sup> The 'Tall Brothers', four brothers in the flesh and leading Egyptian monks, were persecuted for their Origenist beliefs and fled to Jerusalem with about 80 followers. The archbishop, John II, received them honourably and gave them permission to pray in the churches of the Holy City, but did not accept them into his communion. Nevertheless, he was accused of Origenist sympathies by Epiphanius and Jerome, who were already hostile to him. The Egyptian group left Jerusalem for Scythopolis, on the pretext that there they could find an abundance of palm leaves for the monks' traditional work of weaving baskets and mats, but more likely because of the embarrassment caused by their presence to the Jerusalem Church (Sozomen, *HE* VII, 12, 1; 13, 1-3, ed. J. Bidez and G.C. Hausen, *Kirchengeschichte* [GCS 50], Berlin 1960, 364, 366).

<sup>178</sup> Martyrius and Elias were not Egyptians, but had been living in monasteries in the Egyptian desert and fled to Palestine following the attacks of Monophysites against Chalcedonians in 456/7. See Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 32, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 50-51. Violence arising from war could also have motivated a move from Egypt or North Africa to Palestine. For instance, John Moschus tells of a soldier who, miraculously saved in a war against Moor barbarians, became a monk in the desert of the Jordan (*Leimonarion* 20, PG 87: 2868). Sometime after the Muslim conquest – and perhaps because of it – the monk and author Anastasius 'the Sinaite' came from Alexandria and sojourned for a time in Jerusalem before moving to the Sinai: see *Menologium Basili*, 20 August, PG 117: 413. It is not clear if he was of Egyptian origin.

<sup>179</sup> Posidonius of Thebes (Egypt) lived near Bethlehem in the 380s (Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 36, ed. Butler [above, n. 28], 106-108). An anonymous Egyptian monk lived in

Many pilgrims converged on Jerusalem from Syria. Some came from the area of the Syrian and Phoenician coast, and also from the capital city, Antioch. They were probably familiar with Hellenic culture and spoke Greek. Some of them were prominent figures, like Eutropia, the Syrian wife of Emperor Maximian and Constantine's mother-in-law, who visited the holy places even before Helena (she died in 325),<sup>180</sup> and Archbishop Zeno who, on his return from Jerusalem, ordained John, later nicknamed Chrysostom, as a reader on the Church of Antioch, ca. 370.<sup>181</sup> Another Antiochene, Pelagia, after a life of sin in her city came to Jerusalem and lived in male disguise in a cell on the Mount of Olives, where she died ca. 457.<sup>182</sup> A high official from the same city, Caesarius, came as a pilgrim to Jerusalem sometime between 513 and 518 and fell ill during his sojourn there. He recovered after he was brought to the monastery of St. Euthymius and anointed with the oil of the saint's tomb. After that he began sending money yearly and visited Jerusalem and the monastery of Euthymius at least one more time, in 534.<sup>183</sup> Romulus, a silversmith from Damascus, resided in Jerusalem in 532 and for years afterwards: Cyril of Scythopolis met him in person after

Bethlehem until Jerome forced him to leave (*ibid.* 36, 7, ed. Butler, 108). For the contacts between Egyptian monks and the monks of the Judaean desert, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 19, 21, 24, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 30, 34, 36. In the mid-5th century a monk from Alexandria called John lived in the monastery of Theoctistus (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 9, ed. Schwartz, 92). Another John, nicknamed 'the Egyptian', came to Jerusalem from Thebes, probably as a pilgrim, before he settled in the monastery of Choziba (Wadi Qelt), ca. 480; finally he became bishop of Caesarea: see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 43, ed. Schwartz, 134; J.-M. Sauget, "Giovanni di Tebe", in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, VI, Rome 1965, cols. 661-663. The Origenist Peter of Alexandria lived in the Old Laura of Suca and was even elected to the abbacy, but was shortly deposed and expelled (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Cyriaci* 14, ed. Schwartz, 231); in 543 or 544 he became syncellus of the patriarch Peter (Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 86, ed. Schwartz, 193). There was a 'Laura of the Egyptians' near the banks of the Jordan River: see *De syncretica*, ed. Flusin and Paramelle [above, n. 61], 311.

<sup>180</sup> On Eutropia, see *PLRE* I, 316, Eutropia 1. Eutropia's visit is described by Eusebius, *De vita Constantini* III, 52, ed. Winkelmann [above, n. 7], 105-106; cf. Sozomen, *HE* II, 4, 6, ed. Bidez and Hausen [above, n. 177], 55).

<sup>181</sup> Socrates, *HE* VI, 3, 8, ed. G.C. Hansen, *Sokrates Kirchengeschichte* (GCS), Berlin 1995, 314; Ps. Cassiodorus, *HE* X, 3, 14, ed. R. Hanslik, *Epiphani Scholastici Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita, Cassiodori dicta* (CSEL 71), Vienna 1952, 585. It is not clear who was this Zeno. Some scholars identify him with the archbishop of Tyre (ca. 367-381: see Fedalto, *Hierarchia* [above, n. 79], 744), but by canonical law the clergy of the Church of Antioch could be ordained only the head of the Church of Antioch. About the time of John's ordination Antioch had two rival bishops, Paulinus and Meletius (Fedalto, *ibid.*, 716; the latter ordained John as deacon in 381). Migne suggested that Zeno deputized for Meletius in his absence: see note to Sozomen, *HE* VI, 3 in PG 67: 668-670; perhaps he was a chorepiscopus.

<sup>182</sup> *Legenden* 14, ed. Usener [above, n. 39], 13-14. Pelagia's fellow-citizen and biographer, James the Deacon, also moved to Jerusalem.

<sup>183</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 47-48, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 68-69. The yearly remittances must of course have arrived through trustworthy persons who made the journey from Antioch to Jerusalem.

543.<sup>184</sup> A lawyer from Porphyreon, on the Phoenician coast, Procopius by name, was either residing or on a long visit in Jerusalem in the second half of the 6th century.<sup>185</sup> Pilgrims arrived also from central Syria. In the first half of the 5th century, the ascetics Marana and Cyra from Beroea, the pilgrims Paul the Bishop and John the priest from Edessa, and most important of all, the zealous ascetic Barsauma and his mob of followers came to Jerusalem from the area of Edessa and Nisibis, on the border of Mesopotamia.<sup>186</sup> The three brothers, Cosmas, Chrysippus and Gabriel, though born in Cappadocia, came from Syria where they had been educated, and after living in the laura of Euthymius spent years in the Jerusalem clergy, and Abraamius, whom we have already mentioned above, though he made his way to Jerusalem from Crateia in Bithynia, was born and educated in Emesa.<sup>187</sup> Two young Syrians, Symeon from Edessa (later nicknamed Salus, 'The Fool', because he feigned madness) and John, perhaps from the same city, met and made friends in Jerusalem while on a pilgrimage with their families and servants, on the festival of Encaeniae, ca. 558. On the way back home they resolved to become monks in the desert across the Jordan. Interestingly, the hagiographer specifies that they spoke Syriac between them, but were proficient in Greek letters.<sup>188</sup> After 29 years in the desert, Symeon decided to go back to Syria and settle in Emesa as a 'fool of Christ', but before travelling there he made a second pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he spent three days.<sup>189</sup> The *Vita Symeonis* also tells of two monks from Emesa who, not being able to solve a theological question, resolved to go and ask saintly hermits in the desert of the Dead Sea, about whom they had heard from Syrian pilgrims returning from Jerusalem.

<sup>184</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 78, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 184.

<sup>185</sup> John Moschus, *Leimonarion* 131, PG 87: 2996.

<sup>186</sup> On the pilgrimage of Marana and Cyra, see Theodoretus, *Historia Philotheos* XXIX, 7, ed. P. Canivet and A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Histoire des moines de Syrie* (SC 257), Paris 1979, 238. On Paul and John, see *Vita sanctorum Pauli episcopi et Joannis presbyteri* 10, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀναλεκτὰ Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, V, St. Petersburg 1891 (Brussels 1963), 380. The two went from Edessa to Mount Sinai and thence to Jerusalem during the episcopate of Rabbula, 411-435. Paul, surnamed 'the Bishop', was originally from Pontus, and his friend John was a priest of Edessa. Barsauma visited the Holy Land four times, in 400 or 406, between 419 and 422, in 438/9 and probably on a later date, when Eudocia was settled in Jerusalem. His stay in the Holy City is described in detail at least for the third and fourth visit. See above, n. 57.

<sup>187</sup> See above, nn. 94 and 95.

<sup>188</sup> *Vita sancti Symeonis Sali* 1, ed. A.-J. Festugière and L. Rydén, *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre* (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 95), Paris 1974, 58-59. For the birthplace of Symeon, Edessa, see *ibid.* 9, p. 73. John's home is not specified, but tradition makes him too an Edessene.

<sup>189</sup> *Vita sancti Symeonis Sali* 11-12, ed. Festugière and Rydén [above, n. 188], 78-79. Symeon arrived in Emesa under Emperor Mauricius, shortly before the terrible earthquake that convulsed Antioch in October 588, and was felt also in Emesa, where Symeon miraculously prevented the crashing down of the colonnades: *ibid.* 17, p. 84. For the date of this earthquake, see Evagrius, *HE* VI, 18, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London 1898 (Amsterdam 1964), 227. Symeon's arrival in Emesa can thus be dated to early 588, and the beginning of his life in the desert to autumn 558.

On their way to the desert they first went to venerate the holy places in Jerusalem.<sup>190</sup> These episodes clearly illustrate the indissoluble link between desert monks and pilgrimage to the Holy City. Several Syrian monks lived in the monasteries of the Judaeian desert: Domnus from Antioch, one of the first members of Euthymius' laura, between 428 and 431 and again from 450, after having held the see of his mother city;<sup>191</sup> John of Antioch and Timothy from Gabala, monks in the Great Laura of Sanas, ca. 537;<sup>192</sup> two abbots of the monastery of Euthymius, both from Apamea, Symeon from 510 to 513 and Thomas from 534 to 542;<sup>193</sup> Leontius from Tripolis, who trained as a monk in St. Euthymius' coenobium before becoming bishop of his city in 518;<sup>194</sup> Melitas of Beirut, who succeeded Sabas at the head of the Great Laura, 532-537.<sup>195</sup> A disciple of Sabas named Flavius is also described as Syrian, without specification.<sup>196</sup>

The presence of visitors from Syria in Jerusalem is also attested by inscriptions. Among the graffiti left by pilgrims on the walls in the venerated cave in Bethany one, in Greek, mentions "Kalykion, servant of Christ, a Syrian".<sup>197</sup> A soldier from Palmyra (Tadmor in the Syrian desert) was buried in the so-called Tomb of the Prophets.<sup>198</sup> Vincent reported Arab and Syriac graffiti left by hermits or pilgrims in the tombs on the eastern slope of the Kedron Valley, in the area of Kafr Silwan.<sup>199</sup>

Pilgrims arrived in Jerusalem even from the Sassanian Empire. The earliest was Miles, who came to Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th century, and thence continued to Egypt, to visit the desert monks.<sup>200</sup> St. Jerome attests that

<sup>190</sup> *Vita sancti Symeonis Sali* 19, ed. Festugière and Rydén [above, n. 188], 86. The episode must be dated some years after 588, when John was alone in the desert and Symeon already well known in Emesa.

<sup>191</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 16, 20, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 26, 33. For the date of Domnus' episcopacy at Antioch, see Fedalto, *Hierarchia* [above, n. 79], 716.

<sup>192</sup> John supported Origenism, while Timothy opposed it; later he left the Great Laura for the Egyptian desert. See Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 84, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 189.

<sup>193</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 47-48, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 68-69.

<sup>194</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 47, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 68. For the date of Leontius' appointment as bishop, see Fedalto, *Hierarchia* [above, n. 79], 765.

<sup>195</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 76, 84, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 182, 189.

<sup>196</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 49, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 139.

<sup>197</sup> *CIIP* I/2, no. 842.47. On this cave, see above, n. 48. At least one other name scratched on the cave walls (no. 842.15), though written in Greek, is Semitic and spelled in a way common in Dura Europos or in southern Syria rather than in Palestine.

<sup>198</sup> *CIIP* I/2, no. 949. For this communal cemetery, see above, n. 65.

<sup>199</sup> L.-H. Vincent, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*. Part I: *Jérusalem antique*, Paris 1912, 64, n. 2. Since Vincent provides no details, and these graffiti were not located by later surveys, it is not clear whether they were really in the script of northern Syria, or in the local script known as Christian Palestinian Aramaic. On the tombs, see D. Ussishkin, *The Village of Silwan: The Necropolis from the Period of the Judean Kingdom*, Jerusalem 1993. The tombs date from the Iron Age but were reused by hermits in the Byzantine period and in the Middle Ages.

<sup>200</sup> Miles was a soldier before he became a bishop and travelled to Jerusalem and Egypt. His journey is dated before 325. He ended his life as a martyr under the Sassanian king Sabur II, ca.

Persian monks were commonly seen in the Holy City in the late 4th century.<sup>201</sup> Among single Persian visitors mentioned in the sources are a beautiful Persian girl who came to the Holy Land to be baptized, in the first half of the 6th century;<sup>202</sup> Golinduc-Maria, a Persian woman who converted to Christianity and came to Jerusalem in 590/1;<sup>203</sup> and most famous of all, Anastasius, a Persian soldier who converted to Christianity in Jerusalem in 620 or 621 and became a monk in a coenobium 20 stades (about 3.5 km) distant from the Holy City, where he stayed for seven years before leaving it to find martyrdom in Persia.<sup>204</sup> The Syriac sources on the history of the Nestorian Church of Mesopotamia and Persia provide information about pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Mount Sinai and Egypt by eastern monks from across the borders of the Sassanian Empire.<sup>205</sup> Another Persian monk established himself in a hermitage east of Jericho in the mid-7th century.<sup>206</sup> No doubt he too had first made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Different kinds of people came to Jerusalem from the land of Arabia and are designed by the sources with different ethnic names. The desert monks Elias,

341. Cf. Sozomen, *HE* II, 14, ed. Bidez and Hausen [above, n. 177], 68-69. See also J.-M. Saugey, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, IX, Rome 1967, cols. 482-484.

<sup>201</sup> See *Ep.* 46, 10, quoted at the opening of this paper (see above, n. 1), and *Ep.* 107, 2, ed. Hilberg, CSEL 55 [above, n. 28], 292): “de Inde, Perside et Aethiopia monachorum cotidie turbas suscipimus”.

<sup>202</sup> John Moschus, *Leimonarion* 3, PG 87: 2853. The pilgrim came down to the Jordan to be baptized in the time of the patriarch Peter, 524-552.

<sup>203</sup> *Vita et martyrium sanctae Golinduc, Mariae in baptismo appellatae*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀναλεκτὰ Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, Vol. IV [above, n. 186], 165, 167. See also P. Peeters, “Sainte Golindouch, martyre Perse († 13 juillet 591)”, *AB* 62 (1944) 74-125.

<sup>204</sup> See Flusin, *Saint Anastase le Perse* [above, n. 166]. On the monastery where Anastasius lived, see L. Di Segni, “Monasteries in the Jerusalem Area in Light of the Literary Sources”, in D. Amit, G.D. Stibel and O. Peleg-Barkat (ed.), *New Studies in the Archaeology of Jerusalem and its Region: Collected Papers*, Jerusalem 2009, 11\*.

<sup>205</sup> The Eastern Syrian Church, or Nestorian Church or Persian Church, was autonomous, under a *katholikos* residing in Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Tigris. Its intellectual centre was at the famous theological school of Nisibis. See Perrone, “Le Chiese orientali” [above, n. 109], 343-346. For pilgrimage to Jerusalem of eastern monks, see S. Chialà, *Abramo di Kashkar e la sua comunità: la rinascita del monachesimo siro-orientale* (Spiritualità orientale), Magnano 2005, 32-36, 188 (Epitome della vita di Abramo 10).

<sup>206</sup> D.C. Baramki and S.H. Stephan, “A Nestorian Hermitage between Jericho and the Jordan”, *QDAP* 4 (1935) 81-86; J.-M. Fiey, “Rabban Būya de Shaqlāwā, et de Jéricho”, *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 33 (1983) 34-38. Another mention of a Nestorian monk in this very area is found in the *Leimonarion*. A young Nestorian, a wandering monk from Dara, in northern Mesopotamia on the border with the Sassanian Empire, came to the holy land and presented himself to an elder in the laura of Calamon. Edified by the elder’s teachings, he wished to stay with him but could not, because of his religious allegiance. He was converted by a vision and remained in Calamon until his death: John Moschus, *Leimonarion* 26, PG 87: 2872-2873. The city of Dara passed from Byzantine to Sassanian hands and back several times in the second half of the 6th century. Supporters of the Nestorian creed were uncommon in Palestine, but prevalent in Mesopotamia and Persia; possibly the two Nestorian monks, whom Sabas found in the tower of Eudocia – and converted to orthodoxy – in the early years of the 6th century, were also strangers from the East. See Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 38, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 128.

who later became patriarch of Jerusalem (494-516), and Stephen, abbot of Euthymius' monastery from 513 to 534, represent the immigrants from Provincia Arabia.<sup>207</sup> Citizens of Madaba came to Jerusalem both for prayer and for business, since grain and legumes from the Ammonite plains were sold in Jerusalem and its vicinity.<sup>208</sup> The goods were carried to the Holy City and to the monasteries of the desert by other Arabs, the Saracens with their caravans of camels.<sup>209</sup> Ps. Zacharias mentions pilgrims from "beyond the Jordan, Edomites and Arabs" who were in Jerusalem for the Encaenia on 14 September 517 and experienced a strange case of demonic possession.<sup>210</sup> Epitaphs of pilgrims from Provincia Arabia were discovered in the so-called Tomb of the Prophets in Jerusalem.<sup>211</sup>

Ethiopian traditions also make a claim to early ties with Jerusalem. Ethiopian monks are mentioned by Jerome in *Ep.* 107 together with the Persian and Indian monks that poured into Jerusalem in his time<sup>212</sup> – the latter most likely not coming from the Indian peninsula but from the Arabian and African lands facing the Gulf of Aden. The presence of pilgrims from those lands is supported by the appearance of Ethiopian coins from the Kingdom of Auxom in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine.<sup>213</sup> If Jerome's words can be taken literally, it is rea-

<sup>207</sup> On Elias, see above, n. 20; on Stephen 'the Arab', see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Euthymii* 47, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 68. Apparently Stephen was an ethnic Arab, unlike Elias who simply "came from (Provincia) Arabia".

<sup>208</sup> For the import of grain and other foodstuff from the territory of Madaba, see Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Sabae* 45, 81, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 136, 186; Ps. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi* 8; *Vita Georgii Chozibitae* VI (25), ed. Schwartz, 8-9, 124. Gerontius from Madaba and his brother Porphyrius, whom we find in Jerusalem, and Gerontius' son Thomas, whom Cyril describes meeting Sabas and the stewards of two of his monasteries at the hostelry of the Great Laura in Jericho, mid-way between Madaba and Jerusalem (*Vita Sabae* 45-46), were probably there on their export business.

<sup>209</sup> Saracen camel-drivers carrying grain from Arabia to the Holy City and to the Great Laura of Sabas appear in Ps. Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Gerasimi* 8, ed. Schwartz [above, n. 17], 8-9, and in *Vita Sabae* 81, ed. Schwartz, 186.

<sup>210</sup> Ps. Zacharias, *Chron.* VII, 14, ed. Greatrex *et alii* [above, n. 174], 277. The group described as 'Edomites' came from southern Transjordan and in the relevant period included a large proportion of ethnic Arabs. The region south of the Dead Sea and east of the 'Aravah included the area between Petra and Tafileh called Gebalene. From the administrative point of view Gebalene belonged to Third Palestine but the Gebalenes had their own ethnic identification. One 'Elias the Gebalene', a craftsman operating in Jerusalem, inscribed his name on a wooden beam he had carved, probably for the roof of a church: see *CIIP* I/2, no. 1021.

<sup>211</sup> *CIIP* I/2, nos. 938 (epitaph of Antiochus of Bostra), 952 (epitaph of Zenodorus from Neeila in Batanaea). For this cemetery, see above, n. 65.

<sup>212</sup> Above, n. 201. 'Indians' are also mentioned in *Ep.* 46, 10, see above, n. 1.

<sup>213</sup> See F. Vaccaro, *Le monete di Aksum*, Mantua 1967, 22, 37, 40, nos. 28, 63, 68; R. Barkay, "An Axumite Coin from Jerusalem", *INJ* 5 (1981) 57-59; A. Kindler, "Ties between Palestine and Ethiopia during the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods in the Light of Numismatic Data", in D. Jacoby and Y. Tsafirir (ed.), *Jews, Samaritans and Christians in Byzantine Palestine*, Jerusalem 1988, 106-111 (Hebrew); W.R.O. Hahn, "Touto arese te chora – St. Cyril's Holy Cross Cult in Jerusalem and Aksumite Coin Typology", *INJ* 13 (1994-99) 103-117.

sonable to assume that these communities also had enclaves in Jerusalem. Even if many among them did not settle permanently, their prolonged stay left its imprint as if they had been a permanent community in Jerusalem.

Leah Di Segni and Yoram Tsafirir  
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### Abbreviations

AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*, Antwerp 1643-1770 (Jan. I-Oct. III), Brussels 1780-1925 (Oct. IV-Nov. IV)

AB = *Analecta Bollandiana*

BAR = *Biblical Archaeology Review*

CCSL = *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*

CIIP = *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae*, Berlin - Boston 2010-

CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*

CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*

DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

GCS = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte (Kirchenväter Kommission der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften)

IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*

INJ = *Israel Numismatic Journal*

ISACR = *Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Religion*

LA = *Liber Annuus*

MGH = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

MUSJ = *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*

NEAEHL = E. Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, I-IV, Jerusalem 1993; V, Supplementary Volume, 2008

PG = *Patrologia Graeca* (J.P. Migne)

PL = *Patrologia Latina* (J.P. Migne)

PLRE = A.H.M. Jones and J.R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, I, Cambridge 1971; J.R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, II-III, Cambridge 1980/1992

PO = *Patrologia Orientalis*

PWRE = *Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

QDAP = *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*

RB = *Revue Biblique*

SBF. Maior / Minor = *Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio Maior / Collectio Minor*

SC = *Sources Chrétiennes*

*Sefer Yerushalaim* = Y. Tsafirir and S. Safrai (eds.), *Sefer Yerushalaim* [The History of Jerusalem: The Roman and Byzantine Periods 70-638 CE], Jerusalem 1999 (Hebrew)

TUGAL = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*