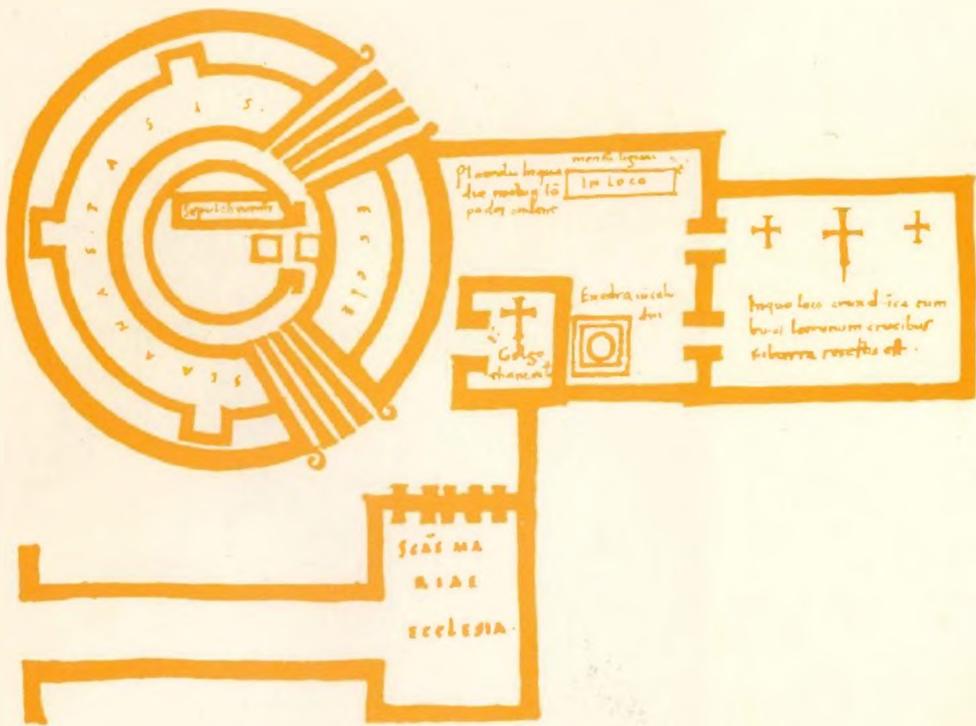


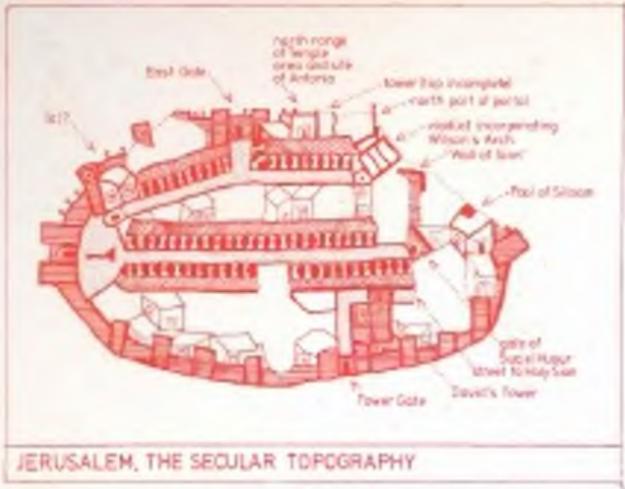
JERUSALEM PILGRIMS

Before the Crusades

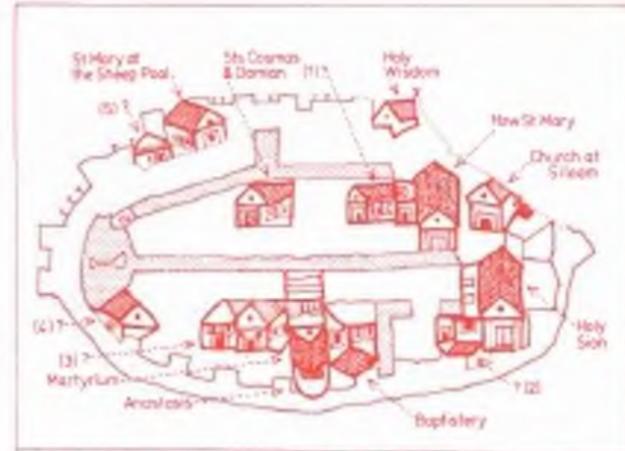


John Wilkinson

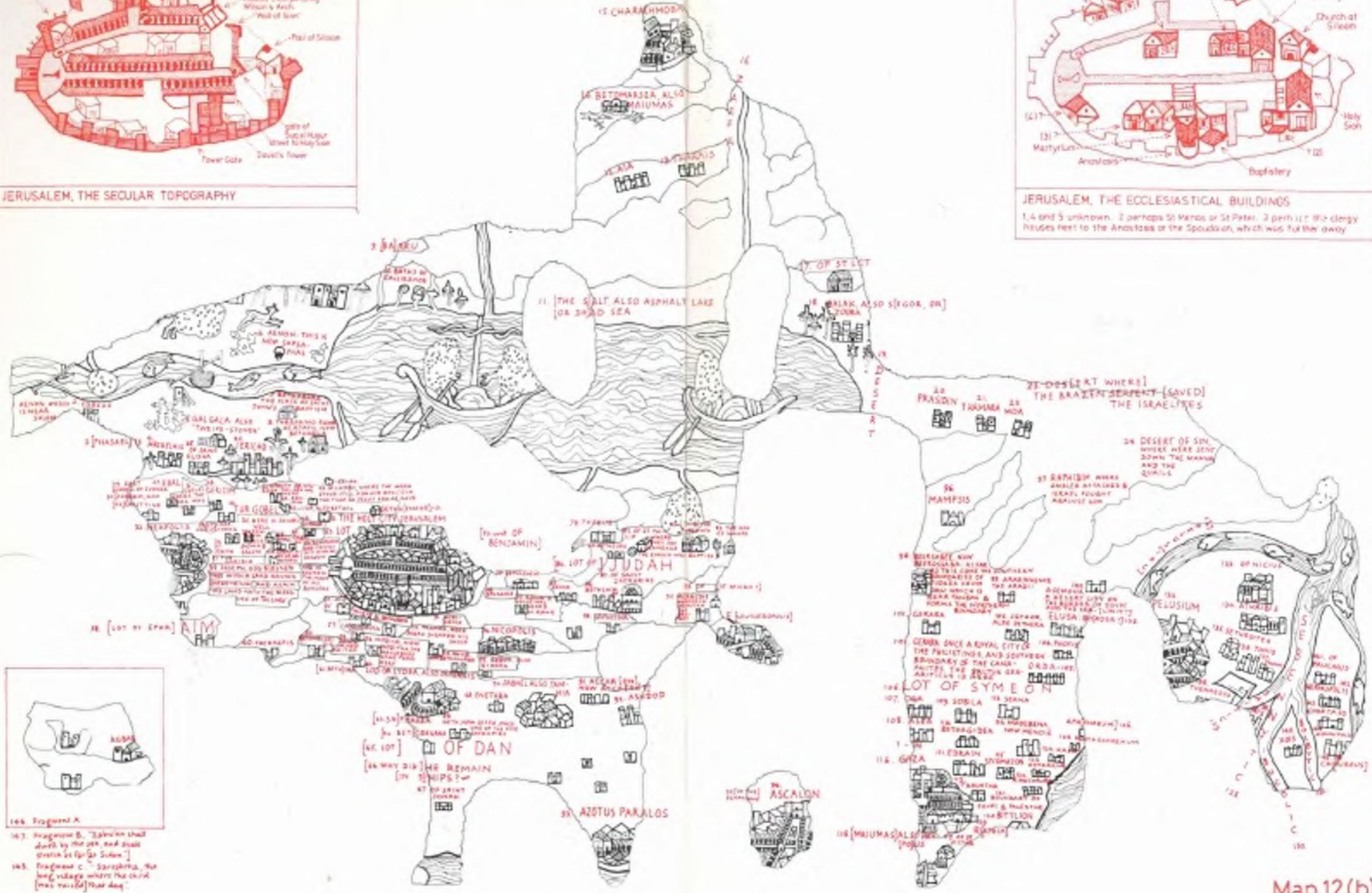
THE MADABA MOSAIC MAP



JERUSALEM, THE SECULAR TOPOGRAPHY



JERUSALEM, THE ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS
1, 4 and 5 unknown. 2 perhaps St Menas or St Peter. 3 perhaps the clergy houses next to the Anastasis or the Spoudaion, which was further away.



146. Fragment A.
 147. Fragment B. "Epiphany shall dwell by the sea, and shall dwell in the city of Sidon."
 148. Fragment C. "Sarcophagi, the long village where the child [was buried] that day."

Map 12(b)

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To my mother

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UNITS OF MEASUREMENT

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

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

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

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

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

HUGEBURC LIFE OF ST. WILLIBALD – Extracts¹

CHAPTER 8 – A.D. 720

91.1 ... When summer was on its way, his father and bachelor brother set out on the journey they had
4 planned and chosen Accompanied by many of their friends and neighbours they reached their desti-
9 nation, a place originally called Hamblemouth² near the market called Hamwich,³ and very soon the ship
10 was ready to sail . . . With a favourable wind the ship sailed well, and they came safely in sight of dry land.
15 They were glad to go ashore there, and, choosing a place where they could camp, pitched their tents on
 the bank of what is called the River Seine near the city called Rouen.⁴ A market was there. After they
 had rested there for several days they set out again, and went to pray in a great many saints' chapels which
20 were within reach. Thus, by easy stages they travelled on until they next reached Tortona.⁵ As far as the
25 city called Lucca Willibald and Wynnebald were accompanied on this journey by their father. But on
92.1 reaching it he was overtaken by a sudden illness, and before long was at death's door. Already, as the on-
 set of the disease became more severe, . . . his limbs were beginning to waste away. So he breathed his
 last . . . Then his own sons buried the body of their father . . . and his body rests there at St. Frigidian's,⁶
 in the city of Lucca. They went straight on across Italy . . . and climbed the steep crags of the Alps⁷ . . .
 When they had passed over the summit . . . they all arrived safely . . . They climbed the Scala Scolastica⁸
 . . . and sought out the famous basilica of St. Peter.

CHAPTER 9 – A.D. 720-3

92.2 These two brothers then stayed there from the feast of St. Martin until the next Easter but one.⁹
5 During this time they . . . led an untroubled life under the monastic rule . . . But then, as time went by,
 and the summer grew hotter . . . they were smitten with a sudden and serious illness . . .

CHAPTER 10A – A.D. 723

17,23 Then Willibald . . . asked his friends and companions to help him by their prayers to . . . reach the
25 . . . walls of the City of Jerusalem in safety.

CHAPTER 10B

26 After celebrating the Lord's Passover¹⁰ . . . he and his two companions¹¹ set off on their journey.
93.1 On their way they came to a city to the east of Terracina, and stayed there two days. Moving on they
 came to the city of Gaeta by the sea coast, and there they embarked and sailed across to Neapolis. There
 they left the ship in which they had been sailing and stayed a fortnight: these are cities which belong to
 Rome. They are in the territory of Beneventum, but even so are subject to Rome There they found
5 a ship from Egypt . . . which they boarded, and sailed to the land of Calabria and the city called Reggio.
 After staying two days there they set off again, and went to the island of Sicily, and to the city of Catania,
10 where the holy Virgin Agatha lies buried. Mount Etna is there, and whenever this mountain starts spread-
 ing its fire over the region, the inhabitants immediately take the body of St. Agatha, and hold it out to-
 wards the fire. That stops it. They stayed there for three weeks and then sailed on to Syracuse, a city in
 the same district.

1. Hugeburc's was the first *Life of Willibald*: There are also three other *Lives* written in the 9th-10th, the 11th, and the fourteenth century. The extracts given here are an attempt to provide the substance of what Willibald dictated to Hugeburc, and wherever possible interpolations and florid phrases have been omitted.

2. *Hamel-ea-mutha*, now Hamblehaven near Southampton, Egger 91.49.

3. A place which no longer exists, Egger 91.50.

4. "Rotum" for *Rotumacum*, Egger 91.55.

5. "Gorthonlcum" for *Dertonam*, Egger 91.57: see also the alternative *Cottianicum* discussed by Bauch p. 90 n. 37.

6. Ms "ad Sanctum Prickanum" for *ad sanctum Frigidianum*, the church from which Willibald's father's relics were translated to Eichstätt in the twelfth century: Bauch p. 90 n.38.

7. Hugeburc repeats this mistake about the position of the Alps in *V. Wyn* 108.5.

8. Probably a mistake for *Scala Sancta*: see Bauch p. 91, no. 41.

9. The form of this date, giving feast-days, is a characteristic of Willibald's dictation. But Hugeburc seems to have misunderstood this one: see Heidingsfelder p. 2 and Bauch p. 91, n. 42.

10. Easter Day, March 28, 723.

11. His brother Wynnebald stayed in Rome, and returned to England in A.D. 727: *V. Wyn* 108.30-1. One of these two companions seems to have been Tidbercht, see 102.19 below.

CHAPTER 11 – A.D. 723-4

15 They sailed on and crossed the Adriatic Sea, reaching the city of Monembasia in the country of
 Slavinia. They sailed on to the island of Cheos, left Corinth to port and from there went to Samos. Then
 they sailed to Asia, to the city of Ephesus, which is a mile from the sea. From this they walked to the
 place where the Seven Sleepers lie buried, and then on to St. John the Evangelist at a beautiful spot out-
 side Ephesus. From there they walked to a large village called Phygela, two miles from the sea. They
 stayed a day there, begged some bread, and went to a spring in the middle of the village. There they had
 20 their meal, sitting at the edge of the spring and dipping their bread in the water. They went walking on,
 and came to the city of Strobolis¹² on a high mountain beside the sea, and from that they reached a
 place called Patara, in which they stayed until . . . winter was over. After that, sailing on, they came to a
 city called Miletus, which had once almost been submerged by water. There were two solitaries there,
 living on pillars. It was strongly protected with a very high big stone wall to prevent the water doing any
 94.1 damage. From there they crossed to Mount Gallianorum,¹³ but every single inhabitant had gone away.
 They went hungry there . . . and were afraid their time had come to die. But the Almighty . . . provided
 food for his poor.

5 Sailing on from there they came to the island of Cyprus, which lies between the lands of the Greeks
 and the Saracens. They arrived at the city of Paphos, where they stayed for three weeks of Easter-tide (a
 year had now gone by).¹⁴ From there they went to the city of Constantia, where St. Epiphanius lies
 buried, and stayed there until after the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.¹⁵

CHAPTER 12 – A.D. 724

10 They sailed away and reached the land of the Saracens at a city beside the sea called Antaradus.¹⁶
 From there they walked more than nine or twelve miles to the village called Arca. The bishop there was
 a Greek, and the people there celebrated the liturgy after their own custom. Walking on from there they
 came to the city called Emesa, twelve miles. There is a big church there in honour of St. John the Baptist,
 built by St. Helena and for a long time they had his head there, I mean in Syria.

15 At that point there were seven other people making the journey with Willibald. The heathen Saracens,
 who had discovered that some strange travellers had arrived, suddenly arrested them and took them prisoner.
 Not knowing what country they had come from, they took them to be spies. They took their prisoners
 along to a rich old gentleman so that he could have a look at them and see where they had come from. So
 the old gentleman asked them from where they came and what kind of business they had been sent to do.
 They replied by telling him the exact reason for their whole journey from the time it started. Then the
 old gentleman answered as follows: "Many times I have seen people coming here, fellow-tribesmen of
 20 theirs, from those parts of the world. They mean no harm. All they want to do is to fulfil their law." Then
 they went on from there to the palace to ask for a permit to go to Jerusalem, but the moment they
 arrived there the governor said they had been spying, and ordered them to be kept prisoner till he discov-
 ered from the king what he should do about them. When they reached the prison, by God's providence
 there was a business-man there who wanted to pay their ransom, and to secure their release from prison
 as a work of mercy, and for the redemption of his soul, so that they would be able to go free and do what
 they wanted. He proved unsuccessful, but instead sent them lunch and supper every day, and also, on
 30 Wednesdays and Saturdays, sent his son to the prison to take them out to have a bath, and bring them
 back inside. And on Sunday he took them to church through the market, so they could see what goods
 they liked. These he then bought for them at his own expense, whatever it might be that caught their
 fancy. And the people of that city were interested in them, and liked coming to look at them there. They
 were young men, well turned out, and with good clothes.

35.1 While they were still in the prison, a Spaniard¹⁷ came to the prison and had a talk to them. He
 enquired carefully who they were and where they had come from, and they told him every detail of their
 journey. This Spaniard had a brother in the royal palace who was chamberlain to the Saracen king. So
 5 when the governor who had imprisoned them came to the palace, the Spaniard who had had the conver-
 sation with them in the prison, and the captain aboard whose ship they had been when they left Cyprus,
 both came to see the Saracen king, whose name was Mirmumnus.¹⁸ And when the subject of the prison-
 ers was being discussed, the Spaniard told his brother everything they had said to him in the prison, and
 asked him to help them by telling the king all about it. So, later on, when all three appeared before the

12. Strobolis was between Myndos and Halicarnassus: Bauch, p. 92, n. 63.

13. See Bauch p. 93, n. 67.

14. Since leaving Rome. Easter Day 724 fell on 16 April.

15. 24 June 724. Willibald now enters the Muslim empire under its new Caliph Hisham, who reigned from 28 January 724 to 6 February 743.

16. "Tharrathas" means the modern Tartus.

17. Spaniards had business with the Muslim court since the conquest of Spain in 711–13 A.D., about a decade before Willibald's visit.

18. *Mirmumnus* represents *Amir al Mu'minin*, "Prince of the Faithful", one of the Caliph's titles.