“Finally, here is a fresh, new, contemporary translation into English, with a richly detailed introduction and scholarly commentary, of Egeria’s travelogue. McGowan and Bradshaw’s volume does ample justice to the many recent insights from pilgrimage studies and gender theory found in this crucial early Christian text. Their *Pilgrimage of Egeria* has been highly anticipated, and I am delighted to recommend it enthusiastically.”

— Teresa Berger
Yale Divinity School & Yale Institute of Sacred Music

“This fresh translation of Egeria’s pilgrimage diary will be indispensable for anyone wishing to study the liturgy in fourth-century Jerusalem and early Christian worship in general. Thoroughly informed by the most up-to-date scholarship, the introduction and notes provide a treasure-trove of material on the identity of Egeria, pilgrimage, and other issues associated with her description of the liturgy.”

— John F. Baldovin, SJ
Boston College School of Theology & Ministry

“This new translation of Egeria, in clear, readable English, is a very welcome work for all who study pilgrimage, travel, liturgy, late antique churches, and the Holy Places. The introduction and commentary are thorough and up-to-date. I particularly enjoyed the discussion of the liturgies and buildings of Jerusalem in the introduction. McGowan and Bradshaw should be commended for clarifying the thorny issues of dating, authorship, and manuscript tradition of the work now called the *Itinerarium Egeriae*. The appendices include not only a translation of the Letter of King Abgar and the text of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, but also fragments of Egeria’s account missing from the surviving text. This is the translation of Egeria’s work that I will be using and assigning in my courses.”

— Maribel Dietz
Louisiana State University

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Alcuin Club Collections 93

The Pilgrimage of Egeria

A New Translation of the *Itinerarium Egeriae* with Introduction and Commentary

Anne McGowan
and
Paul F. Bradshaw

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Preface

With the aim of making this late fourth-century diary of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land more easily intelligible, earlier English translations have—to a greater or lesser extent—rendered Egeria's Latin into English somewhat freely. Her facility in the language does not match that of classical authors, her grammar and syntax are often far from accurate, and her style is highly colloquial. As others have suggested, she probably wrote as she talked. Our translation has aimed to be rather more literal, though without insisting on this in absolutely every instance lest the meaning should become entirely lost. It is hoped that this arrangement will capture the author's style sufficiently so as to convey more of her own personality, even at the cost of demanding more of the reader. Brackets indicate where words have been supplied to aid the sense, and inclusive language has been adopted where appropriate.

We have retained the Latin names the author uses for liturgical seasons, *Pascha*, *Quadragesima*, and so forth, and the method of designating the days of the week that was used in the Western church at the time: the Lord's Day, the second/third/fourth/fifth/sixth day, and the Sabbath. We have also kept the Roman method of reckoning the divisions of the day. The period of daylight was divided into twelve equal hours, and nighttime similarly. Thus, the first hour of the day could be said to correspond approximately to 6–7 a.m., the third hour approximately to 8–9 a.m., and so on. But this is only very approximate because the actual duration of an hour varied throughout the year as the periods of daylight and darkness increased and decreased in length in the course of the changing seasons.

We have included a very substantial introduction covering both early pilgrimage as a whole, especially travel by women, and the many liturgical rites of Jerusalem that Egeria described, as well as a verse-by-verse commentary alongside the translated text. Both of these draw on the most recent scholarship that was not available to those who prepared earlier English translations. Just as is the case with research on liturgical developments, so too studies of the origins and varieties of religious travel and of ascetic and monastic practices in late antiquity have led in recent decades to a renewed appreciation of the diversity and local particularities of such activities. We refer to the possibility of Egeria's relationship with an ascetic or monastic community in the Introduction on pp. 6–7, but a full account of how consideration of sources not normally included in "mainstream" monastic literature and the application of new critical methods to ancient texts might help to situate Egeria within the emergent phenomenon of religious communities of women lies beyond the scope of our book.[1]

It is hoped that the range of background information to the author's journey and her participation in the worship of the Jerusalem church that we have provided will furnish both the novice to the subject and the more experienced student or scholar with what they need in order to understand more fully this fascinating insight into Christian life and piety in that formative period.

Anne McGowan
Paul F. Bradshaw

[1] The interested reader might begin by consulting the works we have listed in the section on "Early Ascetic and Monastic Life" in the Select Bibliography on pp. 211–12.

Acknowledgments

The cover illustration and Figure 1, a map of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, is courtesy of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, digital edition [http://classics.oxfordre.com/page/maps/], ed. Sander M. Goldberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); the superimposition of Egeria's route and the major places she visited is our own work.

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Except where otherwise noted, all translations of ancient sources are our own work.

Abbreviations

AL	The Armenian Lectionary
BCE	Before the Common Era
Brodersen	Kai Brodersen, *Aetheria/Egeria, Reise ins Heilige Land*, Sammlung Tusculum (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016)
CE	Common Era
ET	English translation
Gingras	George E. Gingras, *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*, Ancient Christian Writers 38 (New York: Newman Press, 1970)
JLS	Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Study
LXX	The Greek Septuagint translation of the Old Testament
Maraval	Pierre Maraval, *Journal de Voyage (Itinéraire)*, Sources chrétiennes 296 (Paris: Cerf, 1982)
NPNF	*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*
Wilkinson	John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 3d ed. (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1999)

The abbreviation of titles of books of the Bible follows the format adopted in the *New Revised Standard Version*, and the numbering of the Psalms is that of the Hebrew text rather than the Septuagint/Old Latin.

INTRODUCTION

The written record of one woman's prayerful engagement with holy places and holy people encountered on her multiyear journey through Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor around the turn of the fifth century has attracted the attention of scholars in many disciplines. Her writing merits a footnote (and often much more) in standard discussions of the development of Christian worship, monastic life, the archaeology of the Holy Land, the Latin language, the *itinerarium* as a literary genre, and the phenomenon of religious travel in late antiquity.[1] More recently, this early Christian author has attracted attention as a religious educator and biblical interpreter whose writings helped other women more vividly visualize the world of the Scriptures.[2] As her original readers might have used her words to glimpse hallowed terrain, living saints, and sacred celebrations they had not seen themselves, so we who read her words from a great temporal distance can still see the projection of a holy world refracted through her text. Some might even be inspired to follow in her footsteps.[3]

[1] The spheres of liturgy, archaeology, and pilgrimage have received the most attention but have rarely been considered together. See, for example, the critique in Martin D. Stringer, *A Sociological History of Christian Worship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 69.

[2] See Marion Ann Taylor, "Introduction," in *Handbook of Women Biblical Interpreters: A Historical and Biographical Guide*, ed. Marion Ann Taylor and Agnes Choi (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), 18.

[3] This travelogue and its author have, for example, inspired an online network documenting Mediterranean pilgrimage monuments (http://www.egeriaproject.net/) as well as some contemporary pilgrimages, including the one described

The Identity of This Diary and Its Author

1. The Manuscript

Only one incomplete eleventh-century manuscript preserves this anonymous account of a western European woman's journey to the Holy Land and surrounding region, although eleven short quotations from the text surfaced in a ninth-century manuscript from Toledo in 1909 and two further fragments were published in 2005.[4] It is bound together with some works of Hilary of Poitiers (*De mysteriis* and fragments of a hymnal) in Codex Aretinus 405, and was once housed in the more famous library at the Benedictine Monastery of Monte Cassino before finding its way to the library of the Pia Fraternità dei Laici in Arezzo, Italy, sometime after 1532.[5] It was rediscovered in the modern era by the Italian historian and archaeologist G. F. Gamurrini in 1884,[6] who published it in 1887, and again in a corrected version in 1888.[7] Since then there have been a number of further editions and translations into several languages, one of the most recent editions being that by Pierre Maraval, on which we have based our translation.[8]

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in Lawrence R. Farley, *Following Egeria: A Modern Pilgrim in the Holy Land* (Chesterton, IN: Ancient Faith Publishing, 2014).

[4] See Appendix C, pp. 207–8 below.

[5] Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300–800* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), 44. She remarks that this transfer was somewhat ironic given the criticism of monastic wandering in the opening chapters of the *Rule of Benedict.*

[6] See G. F. Gamurrini, "I misteri e gl'imni di s. Ilario vescovo di Poitiers ed una peregrinazione ai luoghi santi nel quarto secolo," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 5 (1884): 81–107; Gamurrini, "Della inedita peregrinazione ai luoghi santi," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 6 (1885): 145–67; Augusto Campana, "La storia della scoperta del Codice Aretino nel Carteggio Gamurrini–De Rossi," in *Atti del Convegno Internazionale sulla Peregrinatio Egeriae, nel centenario della pubblicazione del Codex Aretinus 405 (già Aretinus VI, 3)* (Arezzo: Accademia Petrarca di lettere arti e scienze, 1990), 77–84.

[7] G. F. Gamurrini, *S. Hilarii tractatus de mysteriis et hymni et S. Silviae Aquitanae peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, Biblioteca della Academia storico-giuridica 4 (Rome: Cuggiani, 1887); Gamurrini, "S. Silvae Aquitaine: Peregrinatio ad loca sancta," *Studi e documenti di storia e diritto* 9 (1888): 97–147.

[8] Pierre Maraval, *Journal de Voyage (Itinéraire)*, Sources chrétiennes 296 (Paris: Cerf, 1982).

The work carries no indication of its title, if there ever were one, nor of its author, nor any explicit reference to her place of origin or the date of the journey. It falls into two distinct halves, the first being a travel diary proper (chapters 1–23) and the second a detailed description by the same author of the daily services and liturgical year at Jerusalem (24–49). The abruptness of the transition between the two parts, together with the second half being out of the chronological sequence of the journeying, suggests that they were originally separate documents that were united by someone else, conceivably even the recipients to whom they were addressed. As it stands, the manuscript is made up of three quires or quaternions (gatherings of four folded sheets forming eight folios or sixteen pages), which would originally have resulted in a total of forty-eight pages. Unfortunately, however, the middle of the three has lost its outer sheet, reducing it to six folios or twelve pages. This accounts for the two major breaks in the text, between 16.4 and 16.5 and within 25.6.

In addition, the beginning and end of the document are obviously missing. If the extant manuscript did once have another complete quaternion preceding it, we could be lacking quite a substantial part of the original. It is quite possible that some account of the beginning of the author's journey from home to Constantinople and then to Jerusalem, with a more extensive description of the "Holy City and its environs," occupied the beginning of the original text,[9] and we will consider that further in the section on her route below (pp. 15–20). On the other hand, what might have comprised the conclusion of the manuscript is unclear, as the author seems to have nearly finished her description of the liturgical year at Jerusalem at the point where the extant manuscript breaks off in mid-sentence.

2. The Author and Her Status

For a manuscript known to the modern world for not much more than a century, this woman's letters recounting her journeys have generated an immense secondary literature. Much of the early controversy surrounded the identity of the author. Three main theories attracted substantial numbers of adherents,[10] and while consensus

[9] Gingras, 16.

[10] For a helpful overview, see Gingras, 2–7.

settled decades ago on Egeria as the most probable name of the traveler, aspects of some of the other theories continue to haunt, perhaps subconsciously, some of the discussions about her social status. Gamurrini, the person who reintroduced this text to the world from its obscure repository in an Italian library, hypothesized that the author was Silvia of Aquitaine (330–406), based on a reference to a woman named Silvania mentioned in the *Lausiac History* of Palladius as someone who went with him to Egypt ca. 388. Silvania was the sister-in-law of Flavius Rufinus, which would have given her imperial connections by association, since Rufinus was a prefect of Theodosius I, who ruled as emperor from 379 to 395.[11]

Another early theory connected the document to Galla Placidia (388–450), a woman with even more direct imperial connections as the daughter of Theodosius I and Galla and the sister of Honorius and Arcadius.[12] Since she had been a victim of a kidnapping and forced marriage to the Visigothic King Athaulf in the early fifth century, this theory brought the added appeal of drama and intrigue. Maribel Dietz remarks, "It was perhaps the romantic leaning of the nineteenth century that led some scholars to believe that she was the author of the mysterious travel account."[13] The common link of a Theodosian connection underlying these first two theories is potentially attractive insofar as it would place the author within an established line of imperial women travelers to the Holy Land, including most prominently Helena (Constantine's mother) and Eudocia (Theodosius II's wife)—even though the author herself does not mention Theodosius (or any other political figure, for that matter) in her account. A Theodosian link is also sometimes used as corroborating evidence for the author's place of origin (since Theodosius had Spanish roots), date (since Theodosius was emperor during the closing decades of the fourth century, when the narrative is commonly dated),

[11] Palladius, *Hist. laus*. 142. Gingras, 2, notes that Gamurrini had been misled by a Latin translation of Palladius that referred to this woman as Silvia and presented her as the imperial minister's sister.

[12] See C. Kohler, "Note sur un manuscript de la Bibliothèque d'Arezzo," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 45 (1884): 141–51.

[13] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 45.

and/or social status (since imperial connections would presumably have facilitated a journey of the length and scope described).[14]

The third prominent candidate was the *sanctimonialis* ("holy" or "religious" person)[15] who was the subject of a letter written by a Spanish monk, Valerius of Bierzo (or Vierzo), to his fellow monks at a Galician monastery toward the end of the seventh century for their spiritual edification.[16] Marius Férotin in 1903 was the first to identify the "most blessed Egeria" named in the opening lines of the letter with the author of the travel diary,[17] a conclusion accepted as virtually certain today. Manuscript copies of Valerius's letter present her name in various ways, including Etheria (Aetheria), Echeria, Eiheria (Aeiheria), and Egeria. Convinced that "Egeria" must have resulted from a scribal conflation of Aetheria (or Etheria), a name attested in Spain and Gaul, with Egeria the Roman nymph, Férotin presented the woman's name as "Etheria," even though this spelling occurs only once in one manuscript. The oldest manuscripts favor the spelling "Egeria," and this is the version that most scholars have settled on since the middle of the twentieth century.[18] Further support for "Egeria" appears in the manuscript tradition. The *Liber glossarum* includes an excerpt from chapter 15.3 of the text of the travels as we have it accompanied by a marginal note identifying the author as

[14] See ibid., 47; Gingras, 8–9. E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982/New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 164–65, not only speculated that she might have been part of the circle of this Spanish-born emperor, but even implied that she might have traveled east with him as he went to Constantinople at the end of 380!

[15] In later Latin usage this term came to designate a monk or nun; however, it is unclear whether it had acquired this degree of specificity when Valerius wrote: see Catherine Sider Hamilton, "Egeria," in *Handbook of Women Biblical Interpreters*, 180.

[16] An introduction, the Latin text, and a French translation of this letter are presented by Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz in Maraval, 321–49; ET of the text in Wilkinson, 200–204. For more on Valerius, see Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 183–84, and the annotated bibliography in Ursicino Domínguez del Val, *Estudios sobre Literatura Latina Hispano-Cristiania I, 1955–1971*, Corpus Patristicum Hispanum 2 (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1986), 245–48.

[17] Marius Férotin, "Le véritable auteur de la 'Peregrinatio Silviae,' la vierge espagnole Éthéria," *Revue des questions historiques* 74 (1903): 367–97.

[18] See Gingras, 4–7, and Wilkinson, 167–68, for summaries of the debate.

Egeria.[19] Abbey library catalogues from the twelfth century include the *Itinerarium Egerie abbatisse* (St. Martial, Limoges) or *Ingerarium Geriae* (Celanova, Galicia) among their holdings.[20]

Valerius's letter goes on to describe Egeria's journeyings and even implies that she *may* have returned home eventually and had some ongoing influence there—if this is what can be read behind the ideas that she "had fulfilled all her faithful desires" and that she "will return to that very place where in this life she walked as a pilgrim"—and that she merited praise among the early saints from his region. Valerius aims to present Egeria as a model of virtue (in the form of a "weak woman" at that!) for his monks to follow in their hope of one day attaining heavenly glory. While Egeria might have agreed with him that *part* of "her purpose was to pray and find edification," some of Valerius's other comments, such as the claim that "she sought healing for her own soul," do not fit as easily with Egeria's stated purposes, at least in the surviving text, but may fit better with evolving conceptions of pilgrimage as late antiquity blended into the early medieval period.[21] Valerius does not discuss or even allude to her liturgical descriptions of Jerusalem.

Speculations about Egeria's identity are also tied to proposals about whether she was an ascetic and/or monastic woman. [22] Because she speaks of those to whom she is writing as her "revered sisters" (3.8; 12.7; 20.5), it has often been concluded that she was a member

[19] Various versions of this manuscript, which is thought to have originated in either France or Spain ca. 750, list: Egerie, Egeriae, and Egene.

[20] Wilkinson, 168.

[21] English quotations from Wilkinson, 200-204. For more on the development of the concept of pilgrimage and disjunctions between motivations for religious travel in late antiquity and later paradigms of the purposes of pilgrimage, see below, pp. 27–45.

[22] She has been portrayed as "an untutored, fragile young nun, a sturdy old abbess with royal connections and classical training, and a pious slut" who went out of her way to spend time with men; this pithy summary is from Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 20. Passing references to Egeria as a "loquacious nun" in works focused on other topics, as in Leonard R. Palmer, *The Latin Language* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954; reprint ed., Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 149, have also perpetuated this association.

of a religious order, even an abbess.[23] However, the term "sisters" is open to a wide variety of interpretations: it could designate a natural, biological tie to these other women; it could be a term of endearment, recognizing the recipients of her letter as her "sisters" in Christ through the bonds created by the Christian community as an alternative family; or it could be a way to designate fellow members of a more or less organized form of communal religious life entered into by a group of women. Nevertheless, the most frequent presumption is that it does indicate that Egeria was a participant in some form of established religious community, and that she was addressing her account to women who shared a common way of life and intense interest in the Scriptures and the church's liturgical life.

Those who contest this conclusion question how it would be possible for a woman in religious community to absent herself from her sisters for several years on an open-ended journey of indeterminate length and ever-expanding terrain. Writing from Constantinople, Egeria felt compelled to inform her sisters by letter about the reasons for her ongoing absence (23.10), but apparently did not perceive (or perhaps, at such great distance, realistically feel) great pressure from them to return home according to a predetermined schedule. Nor did she indicate any obligation to seek permission from a superior for more time away as she planned further travels to Ephesus and other parts of Asia Minor, suggesting that she did not have ties to the sort of stable, institutionalized, rule-bound community that is commonly associated with monastic life in the West, especially in later periods.[24] Furthermore, how would a religious woman have funded such a journey?

In addition to questions of a logistical nature, concerns about Egeria's spiritual goals (or lack thereof) have also been raised. For example, Hagith Sivan notes that although Egeria recounts many "meetings with monks," her writings would not prove particularly

[23] The title in the St. Martial catalogue entry noted above suggests some tradition of the author as an abbess, and Gingras, 146, n. 39, identifies another "less certain" reference to the author as an abbess in Monte Cassino's library catalogue from 1532.

[24] For more on the diverse expressions of an ascetic vocation open to women in late antiquity, see Susanna Elm, *'Virgins of God': The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

edifying for fellow monastics wishing to learn more about religious life in the East, since she "transmits neither their miracles nor their edifying conversations." Sivan also finds her pilgrim piety lacking in the ascetic emphasis of some of her Western contemporaries, like Paula and Melania, concluding that Egeria "is best perceived as a layperson, a member of a group of pious and devout women who decided to follow aristocratic precedents of pilgrimage to the East."[25] Maraval similarly suggested that she came from a circle of women that inclined toward a monastic way of life but could not be described as a formal religious community.[26]

Andrew Palmer challenged Sivan's arguments. He pointed out that Egeria seemed to have a closer relationship with the deaconess Marthana, in charge of a convent of nuns at the shrine of St. Thecla (23.3), than with anyone else that she met, suggesting to him that the two of them shared an equality of status. He claimed that her "consuming interest" in seeing monks and nuns was a sign of her own religious vocation (although, as we shall see later in this Introduction, such visits were in fact a standard feature of early pilgrimages), suggesting that her apparent lack of interest in monastic patterns of life may have been because she had covered all that in another part of her diary no longer extant. He also argued that she was a member of a religious community on the grounds that she really was having to justify her extension of her journey to her sisters (17.1–2; 22.1–2); that the expense of such a long absence would not necessarily have been crushing; and that her amazement at the silk and gems in the churches of Jerusalem (25.8-9) did not speak of a familiarity with affluence.[27]

Others, too, have found supporting evidence for Egeria's ascetic and/or monastic status in her descriptions of the people she met along the way. Gingras noted that she was especially interested in "the monastic milieu, seeking out the monks even in more remote

[25] Hagith Sivan, "Who Was Egeria? Piety and Pilgrimage in the Age of Gratian," *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988): 59–72, here at 67, 71. See also Sivan, "Holy Land Pilgrimage and Western Audiences: Some Reflections on Egeria and Her Circle," *Classical Quarterly* 38 (1988): 528–35.

[26] Maraval, 23–27.

[27] Andrew Palmer, "Egeria the Voyager, or the Technology of Remote Sensing in Late Antiquity," in *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, ed. Zweder von Martels (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 39–53, here at 41–45.

areas such as the Sinai peninsula and the eastern frontier of the empire."[28] Paul Devos observed that she emphasized the monastic connections of certain bishops she met, which for him was a point of support for her own monastic connection.[29] Stephen Davies argued that Egeria's journal in fact *did* betray a broad interest in ascetic matters, concluding therefore that Egeria likely belonged to some form of monastic community, "either a formally organized monastery for women or a loose ascetic society of wealthy women on the order of Paula, Melania, and company."[30] Julie Ann Smith noted that Egeria's descriptions of the great liturgical feasts in Jerusalem seem to draw an us-vs.-them distinction between ordinary laypeople and the sort of group to which Egeria and her sisters may have belonged. Egeria was impressed by the great crowds, and noted specifically the presence of lay men and women as well as monks. Smith proposed that she "would not need to comment on this lay participation if she were a laywoman herself."[31] Dietz also commented that the ability of Valerius of Bierzo "to recognize Egeria as a nun reveals that, at least in the seventh century, a Spanish cleric did not see any inconsistency between a relatively itinerant lifestyle and a monastic profession."[32]

Still others have theorized that Egeria was a consecrated virgin who belonged to a religious community that was not exactly monastic in the fully developed sense of the term but quasi-monastic or peripherally monastic, particularly because the letter of Valerius refers to her revisiting the region "with holy virgins." Perhaps she should be called a canoness or a protocanoness rather than a *monacha*. Drawing on references in Palladius's *Lausiac History* (ca. 420), Patricia Wilson-Kastner notes that "loosely organized communities of virgins

[28] Gingras, 8.

[29] Paul Devos, "La date du voyage d'Égérie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1967): 165–94, here at 169–75. However, Sivan, "Who was Egeria?" 68, countered that the rarity of monastic bishops in the West ca. 400 would have made this conjunction of vocations noteworthy enough in its own right for a Western traveler.

[30] Stephen J. Davis, *The Cult of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 59, n. 93.

[31] Julie Ann Smith, "Sacred Journeying: Women's Correspondence and Pilgrimage in the Fourth and Eighth Centuries," in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. Jennie Stopford (Woodbridge/Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press, 1999), 41–56, here at 47.

[32] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 48.

who were not monastics, although they were pledged to a life of prayer and virtue," did exist in the East and West; women in these communities were not necessarily subject to the same restrictions as the more organized sort of monastic life that coalesced around figures like Paula or Macrina. As with Sivan, part of her argument is based on the general *lack* of specificity of Egeria's commentary on the lives of the monks she meets: "She speaks in general ways about their virtue, but never discusses their rule or organization, and spends her time noting their learning in the Scriptures. Although we possess no firm evidence, it seems likely that Egeria's community with its liturgical concern is at least the ancestor of the communities of canonesses which gave such noble service to the church before being absorbed into women's monastic orders." [33]

Of special concern is the question of whether Egeria's demonstrated interest in capturing significant aspects of liturgical life in Jerusalem for the benefit of her sisters has any bearing on the question of her religious status. She seems to have immersed herself in the full range of liturgies in Jerusalem, including the daily night offices prayed primarily by monks and virgins, although nonmonastic laypeople were certainly welcome at these services too (see 24.1). Numerous commentators and scholars have suggested that Egeria's attentiveness to the details of the liturgy, her awareness of certain similarities and differences between the forms of celebration in Jerusalem and the way things are done "as with us" at home (for example, 38.1; 39.1), and her efforts in many instances to capture a sense not just of the liturgical *ordo* but also the sensory surround and emotional experience of the liturgy suggest that she was a monastic rather than an ordinary layperson.[34] Sivan, on the other hand, proposes that "interest in liturgy" simply typifies the sort of events that are likely to captivate the interest and imagination of pilgrims, particularly since "the liturgy of the holy places was developed within the context

[33] Patricia Wilson-Kastner, "Preface," in *A Lost Tradition: Women Writers of the Early Church* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981), xix. In Palladius's account, the size of these women's communities varies from about 50 to 400; "One should also note that although the focus of Palladius' *History* is on Egypt, these communities seem to extend over Asia Minor and even into the West" (ibid., xvi).

[34] See, for example, Gingras, 8; Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 53.

of pilgrimage and for pilgrims" and thus liturgy would have "formed the main component of the exclusive Christian environment in which Egeria appears to move and which stands in marked contrast to realities in Palestine of the late fourth century."[35]

The devotional and pious undertones of Egeria's pilgrimage are also cited as further support that Egeria was a monastic woman. She visited places not just to see noteworthy sites for herself, but in order that she might pray at specific locations associated with important moments in salvation history. Her typical *modus operandi* was to read an appropriate passage from the Scriptures or from another relevant text (such as the acts of the martyrs) associated with the site in question (see the section of this Introduction on worship in the holy places below). While this particular pattern of devotional activity might not be open to the average Christian of this age, does a devotional interest by itself substantiate a claim of monastic affiliation? Part of the issue may be that there is relatively little surviving literary evidence of the devotional activity that might have been typical for nonelite and nonliterate Christians of this era, although recent studies that draw on material evidence are beginning to provide a fuller picture of the rich varieties of devotional life that may have existed outside the orbit of the church's official liturgical prescriptions.[36]

What no one seems to have commented on is that Egeria never mentions saying daily prayers herself or joining in any regular hours of prayer with others while traveling, but merely praying at sacred sites and participating in the Eucharist. Would not a member of a regular monastic community have engaged in some daily pattern of prayer all the time and at least have mentioned it once or twice? Only in Jerusalem does she describe the public services of the monastic communities in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, and even then says nothing of any hours of prayer or other devotions that those communities might have observed on their own.

Theories that Egeria was a woman of high social status and considerable means traveling with a large entourage have retained a subtle attraction, even if no direct links can be drawn between her and the Theodosian regime. Long-distance travel in late antiquity was fraught with probable hardships, and Egeria seems to have been

[35] Sivan, "Who Was Egeria?" 69.

[36] For example, see Kimberly Diane Bowes, *Private Worship, Public Values, and Religious Change in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

undeterred by any significant ones—or at least they are not even deemed worthy of her mention. Furthermore, she was accompanied by a military escort on one particularly perilous leg of her journey (7.2) and benefited from the attention of holy men and women, including bishops, without seeming particularly surprised. She seems to have followed her own agenda, eager to take advantage of opportunities to visit more places she learned about along the way. She never expressed fears that her funds were beginning to run low and she seems to have had no difficulty privileging piety over penury. Furthermore, seeking external clues corroborating the presence of a high-status Western woman traveler on such an extended trip to the Holy Land, some have identified Egeria as the anonymous woman lambasted by Jerome (347–420) in a letter to Furia ca. 394 for her ostentatious exhibition on her "foolish" journey.[37]

Although the ability to travel so far for so long, as well as her ability to read and write, suggests that Egeria was probably not from the lowest socioeconomic class, there are no indications within her own report of her travels that her social or economic status was particularly high either. She gladly benefited from the hospitality of those she encountered, primarily monastics, but she was just as likely to have been one of them rather than one "above" them. She described traveling by mule or donkey and on foot rather than via coach or carriage. [38] Military escorts, especially in dangerous regions, were not reserved solely for the most wealthy or well connected. She seemingly had fellow travelers, since she often referred to "we," but nothing resembling a true "entourage." The energy and enthusiasm underlying the narrative "suggest that she was youngish, or at least not elderly," but she never indicated her age.[39] "What is known incontrovertibly about her is that she was wealthy enough to afford a three-year journey and to hire mules and a retinue, and important enough to be greeted by bishops everywhere she went."[40]

[37] Jerome, *Ep.* 54.13. See Germain Morin, "Un passage énigmatique de S. Jérôme contre la pèlerine espagnole Eucheria?" *Revue bénédictine* 30 (1913): 174–86; Gingras, 146, n. 45; Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 47, n. 16; but cf. Elm, *'Virgins of God,'* 274, n. 71, who suggests it was instead Melania.

[38] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 48.

[39] Smith, "Sacred Journeying," 47.

[40] Hamilton, "Egeria," 180.

3. Her Education and Literary Style

Closely related to the matter of Egeria's social status is that of her education. Based on her writing style (rather inelegant when judged by the standards of late antique classical education) and her apparent lack of familiarity with classical literature and even Christian writings beyond the Scriptures and some hagiography, Sivan concludes that she did not receive the level of education that a classic aristocratic young lady could have expected in this period and was therefore more likely to have been a middle-class person than a proper aristocrat.[41]

She was certainly well versed in the contents of the Bible and able to quote from it at some length and with considerable accuracy, which has led some to conclude that she must have been carrying a copy of a Latin translation with her as she went.[42] It has to be admitted, however, that her understanding of Scripture was entirely at the literal level rather than that of allegorical exegesis. She presents the events of the Old Testament and the places associated with them that she visited largely in historical and geographical terms without displaying any of the typological interpretations that were current in early Christianity. In short, she may not have been badly educated, but her learning does not appear to have been particularly sophisticated.

Egeria's Latin is somewhat idiosyncratic,[43] but likely adequate nonetheless to achieve her purposes and satisfy the interests of her intended readers. As far as we know, she did not have in mind any audience beyond the immediate recipients of her writing, and thus it is not a fair comparison to place her everyday conversational style alongside more polished prose intended for wider dissemination. She misspells some words and tends to be imprecise with her

[41] Sivan, "Who Was Egeria?" 66–67. However, Egeria's focus on a small selection of sacred texts "could represent indifference to as easily as ignorance of other literary texts": see Victoria Erhart, "*Itinerarium Egeriae*: A Pilgrim's Journey," in *Women Writing Latin: From Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*, ed. Laurie J. Churchill, Phyllis R. Brown, and Jane E. Jeffrey (New York: Routledge, 2002), 1:168.

[42] For an example of a substantial quotation, see 10.1; and also see 10.7, where the use of a copy of the Scriptures by the travelers for their acts of worship is explicitly mentioned.

[43] For studies of her Latin style and vocabulary, see the relevant section in the Select Bibliography, p. 210.

grammar—but is not therefore to be caricatured as uncultured. She is a Latin speaker, and the cadences of the spoken language come through in her writing.[44]

Her prose style and descriptions are rather simplistic and even a bit dull by modern standards; many find her account rather tedious in its seemingly straightforward litany of details. For example, Peter Dronke laments: "Every stranger she meets is presented as an image of the identical plaster saint. There is never a mishap, and gradually one almost begins to long for one. If only Egeria had told of even one monk or bishop who was not gracious but rude, even one who was not a walking textbook of sacred geography but had told her pious fibs that she saw through, the vivacity of the work would have gained immeasurably."[45]

Others have highlighted the careful attention Egeria devotes to crafting her details into an idealized structure that is not exactly a narrative framework featuring plot and drama, but one that seeks to convey the *experience* of her expedition to her audience of sisters. It is primarily their interests and concerns that give form and shape to her account, which is written for *them* rather than for the sake of preserving her own reflections or reminiscences for herself or for an imagined readership in future generations. "It seems safe to assume that her method neither shocked nor bored her readers and that it can be held to reflect a state of mind and a conception of geography and the physical world that were commonly and contentedly shared."[46] Nevertheless, aspects of her own personality shine through: "What comes through Egeria's account most vividly is the immense excitement she feels in meeting various holy men and women, in traveling to biblical and historical sites, and in observing the local customs."[47]

Leo Spitzer provides one of the more charitable scholarly readings of the frequent redundancies and apparent grammatical peculiarities, considering Egeria's style as one of "hieratic decorum" consistent with the genre of Christian pilgrimage literature and even a precursor

[44] Gingras, 44.

[45] Peter Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (203) to Marguerite Porete (1310)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 21.

[46] Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 23.

[47] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 49.

of the style deployed by medieval vernacular epics.[48] The repetitions emphasize what Egeria *saw* or *what was shown to her* by others, attending to what happened in *this* place or *that* place (and "according to the Scriptures," in cases where this applied). The details Egeria includes and repeats "are all destined to detain the pious reader—a second pilgrim as it were—and to fix his [*sic*] attention on particular stations."[49] Egeria's account is constructed in such a way that the actions of holy people are emphasized rather than the identities of the people themselves (as everyone who facilitated any aspect of the journey or provided information or interacted with Egeria in any way, save solely for the deaconess Marthana, remains unnamed). Egeria does not typically dwell on extensive pragmatic descriptions of the sites she visits either, but rather focuses on their significance as revelations and manifestations of the holy in this world.[50] Thus a valley might be flat or a place beautiful, but these qualities are connected to the sacred happenings that unfolded there more so than in qualities naturally inherent in the places themselves. In this sense, Egeria's account is an idealized one with particular motivations, and consequently she is not aiming to reproduce a classical style or adhere closely to its conventions—and should not be judged according to these standards.

4. Her Route

Because a considerable portion of the manuscript is missing, no information is provided about her itinerary to Jerusalem from her home in the West (wherever that was—see the next section of this Introduction), apart from implying that she had crossed the River Rhône on the way (18.2). On her return journey to Constantinople she mentions that she had also passed through Chalcedon and the provinces of Bithynia, Galatia, and Cappadocia on her outward route

[48] Leo Spitzer, "The Epic Style of the Pilgrim Aetheria," *Comparative Literature* 1 (1949): 225–58, here at 248.

[49] Ibid., 233–34.

[50] For example, Spitzer proposes that Egeria's account operates with the following sort of logic in introducing the places *where* this or that happened: "I am mentioning this place / This place was pointed out to me *for* it has significance . . . and even perhaps, with the pattern: This place existed, *for* it had significance" (ibid., 241–43, emphasis in the original).

(23.7), but that is all. At one point in her narrative she does say that it had been a full three years since she arrived in Jerusalem (17.1), and most of this time appears to have been spent in the city, from which she obviously derived her detailed account of the regular services and of its liturgical year in what is now the second half of the text (chapters 24 to the end). She also refers, however, to a visit to Egypt she had made earlier (7.1), and in her discussion of the region around Tathnis in Egypt, where Moses was said to have been born, she comments, "I had already known those places, as I said above, that is, when I had been in Alexandria and the Thebaid" (9.5; see also 9.1), an apparent reference to the part of the manuscript that is now absent.

This visit seems to be confirmed by the letter of Valerius of Bierzo mentioned above (pp. 5–6), which provides an overview of her journeys, although not quoting directly from her text. According to him, Egeria had visited "many different provinces and cities," "congregations of holy monks in the Thebaid," and "*all* the provinces of Egypt," seeming to corroborate her asides and suggesting that he may have had access to a more extensive text of her travels than the one known to us from the Arezzo manuscript. Valerius focuses on Egeria's visits first to Egypt, then to Sinai (where the extant manuscript begins), and finally to her scaling the heights of various mountains—Nebo, Pharan, Tabor, Eremus, and the Mount of Elijah—without dwelling on her extensive stay in Jerusalem, save for the merest mention that "she reached what she had longed for, the much-desired and most holy places of the birth, passion, and resurrection of the Lord."[51]

Further attestation concerning Egeria's journeying prior to the point where the Arezzo manuscript begins comes from Peter the

[51] Quotations from Wilkinson, 201, emphasis added. Sivan, "Who Was Egeria?" 60, comments on Valerius's obsession with mountains as representing "obstacles that, in spite of a feminine fragility so lovingly dwelt upon by Valerius, she had surmounted through her devotion and piety." As a text on a woman ascetic written by a man and addressed primarily to an audience of other men, Valerius's letter typifies the dominant portrayal of female ascetics in the extant literary record. As Elm, *'Virgins of God,'* 382, comments, "this by no means rules out that these texts do indeed reflect, to a certain extent, what ascetic women did and thought. Yet . . . most of our texts were written to delineate, evaluate and elaborate male modes of action and self-perception via the rhetorical medium of the female."

Deacon's *Liber de locis sanctis* (Book of the holy places), prepared in 1137. Peter served as librarian at Monte Cassino (which certainly had at least one copy of Egeria's travels at some point, since Codex Aretinus 405 had its home there into the sixteenth century).[52] He relied on three major sources for his compilation: the Venerable Bede's eighth-century book on the holy places, which supplies the basic structural framework; an anonymous travel guide to Jerusalem from the early twelfth century; and excerpts from Egeria's work. When Gamurrini discovered the Arezzo manuscript in the late nineteenth century, he recognized the overlap between the conclusion of Peter the Deacon's book and material from the first seven chapters of the newly resurfaced woman's travel diary. In addition, however, some of the material prior to these obvious quotations from Egeria's text may well come from a fuller version of the manuscript. As George Gingras noted, "although Peter the Deacon does add considerable information to his borrowings from Bede, he slavishly follows the structure of the latter's text until he begins to speak about places in Egypt connected with the Exodus of the Hebrews. . . . These passages blend smoothly into those extracts that can unmistakably be identified as borrowings from Egeria."[53] Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Peter the Deacon's reflections on Egypt and discussion of the trek from Clysma to Sinai probably reflect the basic trajectory of Egeria's earlier itinerary even if they do not preserve all of her words or details.[54] On the other hand, as it is not easy to know where material has been drawn from Egeria's diary and where it comes from another source, we feel obliged to treat it with some caution and have not included excerpts from that work in our translation.[55]

[52] See above, p. 2, n. 5.

[53] Gingras, 16.

[54] Peter the Deacon, *De locis sanctis*; critical edition in *Itineraria et alia geographica*, ed. Paul Geyer et al., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 175 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 91–103. Wilkinson, 86–106, translates annotated extracts from *De locis sanctis* to provide perspective on what Egeria might have written although he reorders the contents to privilege Egeria's work rather than Bede's in the sequence of the descriptions.

[55] For just one example of the difficulty of using Peter's work as a source for Egeria's text, see Philip Mayerson, "Egeria and Peter the Deacon on the Site of Clysma (Suez)," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 33 (1996): 61–64.

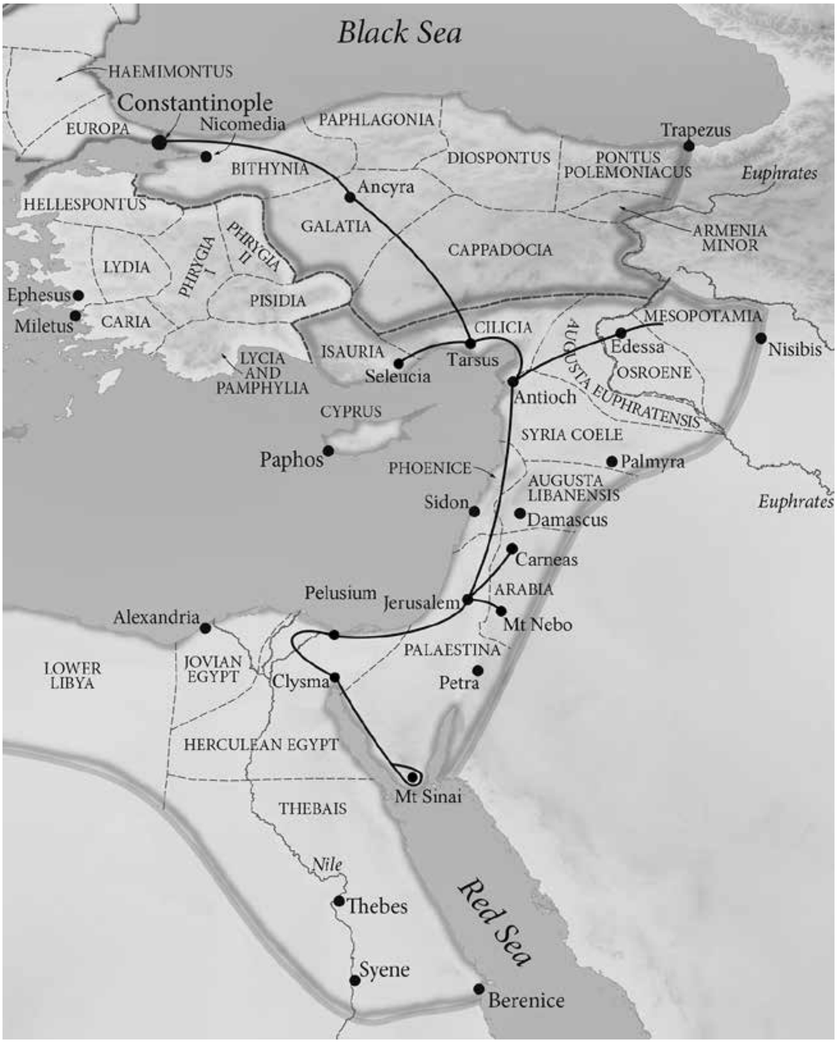

Figure 1: Map of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire with the Approximate Route of Egeria's Journeys

Nevertheless, with that caveat, this source could indicate that in that missing part of her diary Egeria described places that were within a day's journey from Jerusalem to which she made excursions while residing in the city, including Bethlehem, Hebron, Anathoth, and the tomb of the prophet Amos at Tekoa. There may also have been a visit to Galilee.[56] Both Valerius and Peter also provide information apparently derived from the first part of her expedition to Sinai just prior to the beginning of the extant portion of her manuscript. She seemingly traveled south via Pelusium on the Mediterranean coast and then Clysma (also mentioned at 7.1) at the head of the Red Sea, where the Israelites were believed to have crossed when being pursued by the Egyptians (Ex 14:21-31). Following what was said to be their Exodus route, she continued south through the desert on the eastern side of the sea and eventually reached Pharan (also mentioned at 1.4), where she set off on the last leg of the journey between mountains to Sinai, during which the extant manuscript now begins.[57]

In it, Egeria first describes the ascent of Sinai (1–3), where she encountered monks living there and presbyters assigned to various churches and was shown sites associated with the giving of the Law. From there she went on to Mount Horeb, where Elijah was said to have fled from King Ahab (4.1-4). The return journey to Pharan involved a visit to the site of the burning bush and other places associated with that part of the Exodus journey (4.5–5.12). After two days' rest there, Egeria continued on to Clysma, where after a further rest she turned west for several days in order to see the places through which the Israelites had passed on their way from Rameses to the Red Sea, before returning via Pelusium back to Jerusalem by the way she had come (6.1–9.7). It is interesting to note that she made no attempt to trace the route of the Exodus in its chronological order, as she visited Sinai before going to the site of the burning bush and after that to places associated with the period before the crossing of the Red Sea.

Some unspecified time later, she undertook another journey from Jerusalem, this time a shorter one to Mount Nebo, from which Moses was said to have viewed the Promised Land before his death (Deut 32:49-50). Traveling via the cities of Jericho and Livias, she was, as usual, shown what were said to be the sites of various biblical events along the way (10–12). A third excursion from the Holy City was made to the tomb of Job at Carneas, a journey of eight days, stopping on the way at Sedima, thought to have been Salem, the city of

[56] See Wilkinson, 88–93, 95–101.

[57] See ibid., 101–6, 201–2.

Melchizedek, and at Aenon, where John the Baptist had baptized, as well as at Tishbe, from which Elijah came (13–16).

Eventually, Egeria resolved to set out from Jerusalem on her journey back to her home, but made a detour to Edessa on the way to visit the tomb of the Apostle Thomas (17–19). From there she went on to Carrhae, said to be the city of Abraham, where she also visited the tomb of a saintly monk and martyr, Helpidius, whose feast day it happened to be, before returning to Antioch to resume her journey homeward (20–21). She stayed at Antioch for a week, gathering together what was necessary for the journey, but after leaving there and passing through Tarsus, she once more made a detour, this time to visit the shrine of St. Thecla, three days' journey away, before returning to Tarsus to rejoin her route (22–23.6). After another three days there, she finally set off for Constantinople. On arriving in that city, she recorded that her plan was then to go to the shrine of the Apostle John at Ephesus and possibly other places (23.7-10). But there her narrative ends, and so we do not know if she accomplished this or ever returned home.

5. Where Was Her "Home"?

As with her name, the traveler's likely place of origin has also generated multiple theories. Current consensus places her in northwestern Spain, and more specifically in the province of Galicia, typically because of Valerius's letter. Most of the other theories situate Egeria in west central Europe, although Italy and Britain have also been suggested.[58] Gamurrini's identification of the author as Silvia of Aquitaine contributed to a search for clues of French or Gallic connections among the earliest modern contributors to the debate, looking primarily to Aquitaine or to Gallia Narbonensis. For example, Karl Meister pointed to certain aspects of the style of the Latin as a clue to the Gallic regional origins of the author, to her passing comparison between the Euphrates and Rhône rivers (18.2), and to a more extended reference in Peter the Deacon's work to the waters and fish of the "Italian Sea" as collective evidence that Egeria was most likely from the Mediterranean region of southern Gaul. Furthermore, as-

[58] For a review of the major theories, see Gingras, 10–11.

suming that the author was a religious woman, Meister observed that monastic centers were more widespread in southern Gaul than in the remote regions of Galicia before the middle of the sixth century.[59]

A variation of this theory has been revived recently by Hagith Sivan, who also accentuates the Rhône River as "the sole allusion to a western site in the entire narrative," suggesting that "one is usually inclined to draw comparisons with what is most familiar and what immediately comes to mind."[60] Since the Rhône was the waterway that connected the interior regions of Gaul to the Mediterranean Sea, Egeria may well have crossed this river at some point during her travels if she was from Spain or Gaul. Classical Latin authors had similarly referred to the "fast-flowing" qualities of the river, but Egeria is likely drawing more on her personal experience since evidence of her familiarity with this sort of Latin literature is otherwise unattested.[61] Of course, such a reference would be most meaningful to the *readers* of the account if they either had direct knowledge of this river as well or if Egeria had made some comments about it in a previous section of her narrative (now lost) describing the journey from her homeland to the Holy Land. In a further variant of this theory, Clifford Weber presented a detailed case that she originated from the area of Mont St. Michel in Normandy.[62]

The emphasis on Egeria's Spanish origins is closely connected to the significance of Valerius's letter as indicating a possible geographical overlap between Valerius and Egeria, an issue first raised by Férotin and reinforced by others. Latinists have also raised potential points of convergence between Egeria's language and the Latin developing on the Iberian peninsula. Much has also been made of Egeria's portrayal of her encounter with the bishop of Edessa, in

[59] Karl Meister, "De itinerario Aetheriae abbatissae perperam nomini s. Silviae addicto," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 64 (1909): 337–92, here at 363–68. More recent studies suggest that Galicia (at least before the eleventh century) was not as isolated as had often been presumed and that monasticism flourished there from the late fourth century influenced by intellectual and physical links extending throughout the Mediterranean world: see the overview and references cited in Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins and Pilgrims*, 160.

[60] Sivan, "Who Was Egeria?" 64.

[61] Wilkinson, 131, n. 2.

[62] Clifford Weber, "Egeria's Norman Homeland," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 92 (1990): 437–56.

which the bishop remarked that she had come from "the farthest distant lands" (19.5). This idea seems to be reinforced by Valerius's statement that Egeria came from "the far western coast of the ocean," which could be a reference to the province of Galicia.[63] Proponents of Egeria's Spanish origin find this data compelling; skeptics contend that for a relatively remote Eastern bishop who likely encountered long-distance travelers infrequently, *any* part of the West would have seemed like a far country and thus no precise information can be gleaned from such a statement.[64] Dietz draws attention to the possible significance of the words in Egeria's account as *her* representation of what the bishop said, reflecting her own awareness of the great distance between Edessa and her homeland.[65] This may be the most that can be concluded with any certainty, but there seems to be no pressing reason to rule out Spain as a possible starting point for Egeria's journey. Might it also be significant that the manuscript fragments of her work that have been found all come from Spain, suggesting its wide diffusion there?

6. *The Date of Her Journey*

The internal evidence of the manuscript has provided modern commentators with rather clear absolute parameters about the possible time range when Egeria might have made this multiyear excursion. She noted that she was unable to visit Nisibis because it was under Persian control and off limits to Roman visitors (20.12); this makes the year 363, the year that this city fell into Persian hands, the earliest possible date for this portion of her journeying. On the other hand, she did visit Antioch, staying for a week at one point (22.1), which would not have been possible after 540, the year when the

[63] Other Iberian authors, including Idatius and Isidore of Seville, seem to use similar terminology: see Zacarías García Villada, "Le lettre de Valérius aux moines de Vierzo sur la bienheureuse Aetheria," *Analecta Bollandiana* 29 (1910): 377–99.

[64] See, for example, Sivan, "Who was Egeria?" 64, who raises doubts as to the likely extent of Valerius's true knowledge of Egeria's origins.

[65] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins and Pilgrims*, 46. Furthermore, if Egeria was from Spain, she would not have been the sole Spanish traveler from this period to journey east. Other Spanish visitors to the Eastern Mediterranean included the poet Prudentius, Hosius of Córdoba, Avitus of Braga, Orosius, and Bachiarius (ibid., 158).

Persians destroyed that city. This span of 177 years, however, is quite large. Consequently, scholars have tried to date the journey more precisely based on other references to particular people, places, and liturgical celebrations within the document, coming to various conclusions ranging nearly throughout this whole time period, but largely settling on a date in either the late fourth or early fifth century.[66]

Much has been made over the title "confessor" that Egeria associates with the bishops of Batanis, Edessa, and Carrhae (19.1; 19.5; 20.2). If by confessor she means someone who suffered during the persecution of Christians but not to the point of martyrdom, the most likely episcopal candidates that she might have met who fit this description (Abraham in Batanis, Eulogios in Edessa, and Protogenes in Carrhae) would have been bishops simultaneously in these locales only between the years of 381 or 382 and 387, with other evidence suggesting Egeria visited Carrhae no earlier than the spring of 382 and Edessa no later than 386.[67] Since Christian persecution in the Roman Empire had ended early in the fourth century, it would be unlikely to find many such confessor bishops much later than this. However, it is not certain that Egeria did use confessor in this sense, and other possibilities have been raised, such as a category of monk devoted to celebrating the divine office—a usage that might have been familiar to her in the West.[68] If Egeria did not necessarily connect confessors and persecution, this would remove a dating constraint based on the usage of this term alone.

In 1967, Paul Devos developed the former line of argumentation most extensively, relying on the sequence of Eastern (and particularly Syrian) bishops and the dates of Easter in various years to propose that Egeria must have made this Syrian sojourn in the spring of 384, after spending time in Jerusalem roughly between 381 and 384.[69]

[66] For an overview of these theories, see Gingras, 12–15.

[67] For the development of the details of these arguments, see Gamurrini, *S. Hilarii tractatus de mysteriis*, xxvii–xxix; Anton Baumstark, "Das Alter der *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*," *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1911): 32–76.

[68] See A. Lambert, "*L'Itinerarium Egeriae*, vers 414–16," *Revue Mabillon* 28 (1938): 49–69.

[69] Devos, "La date du voyage d'Égérie." See also Agustín Arce, *Itinerario de la virgen Egeria (381–384)*, 2d ed. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Christianos, 1996), xxiv.

Egeria states that she was in Jerusalem for "three full years" and afterward visited Edessa en route to Constantinople (17.1), arriving at Carrhae on the eve of an important local feast commemorating the martyrdom of St. Helpidius (April 23 or 24; see 20.5). Since Egeria never seems to have been pressed for time (if her regular contemplation of various side journeys is any indication), it seems reasonable to presume that she would have stayed in Jerusalem to celebrate Easter there before departing for places farther east. Considering her report that the distance between Jerusalem and Edessa was twenty-five staging posts (17.2), Egeria's typical traveling pace of about one stage per day, and her comments that she stopped along the way for one full day in Hierapolis (18.1) and three days in Edessa (19.3) in addition to the day required for travel between Edessa and Carrhae, Easter must have been relatively early in the year she made this journey to enable her to get to Carrhae for the feast of St. Helpidius on April 23. Between 382 and 386, the only year in which Easter falls in March is 384 (March 24), and it is no earlier than April 5 (in 386) in any of the other years in this range. Therefore, Devos concluded that Egeria must have made her journey to Syrian Mesopotamia in late March and April of 384, visiting the three confessor bishops along the way, thus placing Egeria's travels between ca. 381 and 384, which is now the dating that most scholars accept.[70] Egeria's references to the Imbomon (the supposed site of Christ's ascension) in Jerusalem as a "place" but never a "church" (see 31.1; 35.4; 39.3; 43.5) may corroborate a relatively early date for the text by suggesting that Egeria visited Jerusalem *before* the work at this location sponsored by Poemenia (which occurred at some point between 379 and 392) transformed the site into a church.[71]

Before and since, several alternative chronologies have been proposed based on other details in the account that would push the date toward the very end of the fourth century, into the early fifth century, or in some cases even later than this. Some are based on architectural

[70] See Maraval, 27–36. However, E. D. Hunt, "The Date of the *Itinerarium Egeriae*," *Studia Patristica* 38 (2001): 410–16, did not rule out the possibility that the visit could still have been in the 390s.

[71] Jerome, *Comm. in Zeph.* 1.15f. See Paul Devos, "La 'Servante de Dieu' Poemenia d'après Pallade, la tradition copte et Jean Rufus," *Analecta Bollandiana* 87 (1969): 189–208, here at 206; Wilkinson, 15, 171.

developments in the post-Constantinian era. Bellarmino Bagatti associated a reference in the eighth-century Jerusalem lectionary to Archbishop John of Jerusalem as the founder of a church on Sion as referring to John II (386/7–417), arguing that Egeria, who mentions a church at Sion, must have been in Jerusalem after 387.[72] However, it seems that Cyril of Jerusalem was already aware of a church on Sion as early as 348, and the lectionary reference may even point back to John I (ca. 117–119).[73] Germain Morin contended that St. Thomas's remains were moved from a shrine near the city of Edessa to a church within its walls in 394. Reading Egeria's somewhat ambiguous Latin at 19.2 as a reference to visiting a unified church *and* shrine (although her words could just as plausibly indicate a visit to the church *and* the shrine of St. Thomas as two separate points of interest), Morin concluded that Egeria must have visited Edessa after 394.[74] Finally, some have proposed that the complex Egeria experienced at St. Thecla's shrine near the city of Seleucia (23.2, 4) seems much too developed for the late fourth century, considering that most of the other churches in the area date no earlier than the mid-fifth century—although St. Thecla's cult is ancient and there was clearly an earlier church building on the site of the shrine itself.

Other arguments for a date after the 380s rest on textual grounds or on attempts to link aspects of Egeria's text with external evidence. For example, if Egeria is the same woman Jerome critiqued in his letter to Furia,[75] Egeria's travels would probably have taken place ca. 393–396, based on the most likely dating of that letter. Egeria's probable or possible quotations from the Scriptures and perhaps other texts as well have also been raised as having potential bearing on the dating of her writing. Joseph Ziegler claimed in 1931 that Egeria quoted, sometimes word for word, from Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius's *Onomasticon*, which was completed after 390, and that Egeria's direct quotations or recognizable paraphrases from the Scriptures are quite similar to Rufinus of Aquileia's translation of Origen's

[72] Bellarmino Bagatti, "Ancora sulla data di Eteria," *Bibbia e Oriente* 10 (1968): 73–75.

[73] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Baptismal Catecheses* 16.4; Wilkinson, 170.

[74] Morin, "Un passage énigmatique," 179; see also Wilkinson, 170–71.

[75] See above, p. 12, n. 37.

Homilies on the Old Testament (from the year 404).[76] In the course of recounting her meeting with the bishop of Edessa, where she received a copy of King Abgar of Edessa's legendary letter to Christ and of Christ's reply to Abgar, Egeria mentioned that she already had "copies of them at home" (19.19). Presumably the copies Egeria already had would have been in Latin, and a source that was widely distributed and that Egeria might have encountered in the West could have been in Rufinus's translation (from 403) of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* (which had included a Greek translation from the Syriac "originals").[77]

Other proposals for a later date tried to explain why Egeria appeared to celebrate Christ's ascension in *Bethlehem* rather than in Jerusalem on the fortieth day of the Easter season (see 42) by identifying a convergence between an ascension celebration on the fortieth day after Easter and the feast of the Dedication of the Church of the Nativity—which coincided on May 31, 417, according to a Georgian liturgical calendar.[78] More recent scholars, however, generally reject the assumption that the festival in Bethlehem that she described was in fact of the ascension.[79]

Still other theories rest on small details about church life disclosed in the text. If the Marthana at St. Thecla's shrine mentioned in Basil of Seleucia's *Life and Miracles of St. Thecla* (completed in or before 448) is the same as Egeria's deaconess acquaintance Marthana (who seems to be written about in the past tense in Basil's work), this would suggest that Egeria wrote before 448, although this connection would provide an outer limit rather than an indication of the earliest possible dating of the text.[80] The late date of 533–540 was proposed early in the last century by Karl Meister, who drew on his philological background to argue that certain historical facts and the general portrayal of church life (such as the level of monastic development and the

[76] Joseph Ziegler, "Die *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* und das *Onomastikon* des Eusebius," *Biblica* 12 (1931): 70–84; idem, "Die *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* und die hl. Schrift," *Biblica* 12 (1931): 162–98.

[77] So Gingras, 13.

[78] See, for example, E. Dekkers, "De datum de 'Peregrinatio Egeriae' in het feest van Ons Heer Hemelvaart," *Sacris Erudiri* 1 (1948): 181–205.

[79] See below, p. 97.

[80] See Gingras, 14–15.

elaborate fasting practices) would more conceivably reflect an early sixth-century context than the world of the late fourth century.[81] His theory attracted early adherents but is not widely accepted today because of the strength of other evidence pointing to a significantly earlier date.

Pilgrimage in Early Christianity

1. Travel and Travelers in Late Antiquity

The fourth and fifth centuries witnessed a surge in travel and migration relative to earlier and later periods.[82] Many travelers moved from one place to another in the course of conducting official business, either imperial or commercial. Others were uprooted involuntarily as the movement of Germanic tribes in northern Europe threatened the stability of urban centers and prompted some to become migrants who traveled long distances in search of safer dwelling places. People and frontiers also shifted on the Roman Empire's eastern edges amidst ongoing conflicts with the Persians. In Roman North Africa, Vandal invasions precipitated significant displacement of peoples in the fifth century.[83] Those who took to the roads and water routes primarily out of religious motivations would have comprised the minority of the total number of travelers but an increasingly significant contingent with the growing influence of Christianity in the Mediterranean world; the expansion of travel in general and travel among Christians (undertaken voluntarily or involuntarily) also paved the way for new possibilities and interpretations of the spiritual significance of this physical movement.[84] Nonetheless, there

[81] See Meister,"De itinerario Aetheriae," 341–63; Gingras, 12–13.

[82] On late antiquity in general as a period of postclassical vibrancy, the range of which extended from ca. 150 to 750 (thus overlapping with the early medieval period), see Peter Brown's classic study, *The World of Late Antiquity: From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammed* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).

[83] See Mark W. Graham, *News and Frontier Consciousness in the Late Roman Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009) for perspectives on how communication from the edges of the empire shaped the worldview not only of travelers but even of those who remained in place.

[84] In addition to travel that could be classified as spiritual wandering and/or a primitive sort of pilgrimage, Christians traveled under ecclesial auspices to convey themselves to and from church councils, as exiles in the wake of various

were numerous logistical challenges common to travel in late antiquity that would have had an impact on all categories of travelers no matter what their initial inspiration, and Egeria attests to some of them in her correspondence.[85]

Although she rarely emphasized the challenges and hardships she faced on her journey, her mention of military escorts in Egypt underscores the perils travelers could encounter on Roman roads plagued by robbers endemic to certain areas, who took advantage of the relative isolation of travelers and the terrain. For example, in 7.2 she writes about desert staging posts between Clysma and the city of Arabia featuring "monasteries with soldiers and officers, who always led us from fort to fort"; another imperial escort leads Egeria's group from Migdol to another fort "according to the custom" (7.4). The soldiers, "who in the name of Roman authority had afforded us assistance while we journeyed through dangerous places," are dismissed once the group reaches Arabia and the relative security afforded by a public highway (9.3).[86]

Most travelers sought safety in numbers by traveling in groups whenever possible, and religious travelers were no exception.[87] Egeria used plural pronouns like "we" and "us," suggesting that she may have joined up with a larger traveling entourage at some points, although her implicit travel companions do not seem to have included a spouse, other members of her immediate family, close friends, or any of the "sisters" from her community. She does, however, mention

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theological controversies, and as missionaries called to spread the Gospel first throughout the Mediterranean basin and eventually to more distant lands: see Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 24–27.

[85] For a more extensive overview of the practical and spiritual aspects of travel in late antiquity, see "The Culture of Movement" in Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 11–42. See also Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Lionel Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, 2d ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); and Albert C. Leighton, *Transport and Communication* in *Early Medieval Europe, AD 500–1100* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972).

[86] For what Egeria's use of military escorts may indicate about her socioeconomic status, see above, p. 12, and the commentary on 7.2.

[87] See Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire*, 76–82; Bernhard Kötting, *Peregrinatio Religiosa* (Münster: Regensberg, 1950), 363–81; John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, 2d ed. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 2002), 36–37.

various "holy guides"—including monks, presbyters, and the occasional bishop—who provided assistance and accompaniment along the way; if Egeria was a woman with ties to a religious community, it would not have been unusual for someone in her situation to travel alongside clergy and/or male ascetics.[88]

Typical travelers of the era conveyed themselves by land using their own feet; if animals were used on the roads they were generally mules or donkeys. In making her journey by donkey or mule, and sometimes on foot (as in her ascent of Mount Sinai, 3.2), Egeria was thus representative of common travelers of the time. Horses were more costly to obtain and maintain and were therefore used mainly by members of the military and those whose official business allowed them to transport themselves and their messages more efficiently using the Roman *cursus publicus*, the state-run service providing replacement horses and vehicles at staging posts along the various main routes of the empire.[89] Camels were highly effective for transporting travelers and goods through regions without roads, such as deserts and mountainous areas. Egeria encounters camels in the Sinai and is astonished by their navigational ability.[90]

Beyond inns accessible to the general population, religious travelers had a range of additional options for lodging. Their proliferation suggests that religiously motivated journeys were becoming increasingly common from the late fourth century onward.[91] Hostels were set up in areas under Roman jurisdiction, particularly in and around the Holy Land. Jerome and Paula founded a hostel in Bethlehem, for

[88] See Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 49–50; Elm, *'Virgins of God,'* 274. On Egeria's guides, see 1.2; 10.3; 13.2.

[89] Official business might have included bishops traveling to church councils; Eusebius remarks that Constantine allowed some bishops "the right to use the public post, [and gave] to others a generous supply of pack-animals" (Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.6.1; ET from Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999], 123). Prescriptions in the Theodosian Code indicate that the system was frequently abused; in particular, travelers with some means might use their money to gain access to this system through simple bribery or the purchase of an illegal post warrant.

[90] See 6.2. For more on the system of Roman roads and travelers' means of conveyance in late antiquity, see Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 17–22; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 28–55.

[91] On pilgrims' accommodations while traveling, see Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, 300–29.

example, as did Rufinus and Melania the Elder in Jerusalem. Semi-eremitic groups within the orbit of local holy sites, such as the various groups of monks Egeria encountered in Egypt and Marthana's monastery near St. Thecla's shrine at Seleucia, comprised other prominent sources of shelter. A charism for monastic hospitality likely coincided with opportunities for these communities to obtain financial support from travelers.[92]

The period between the fourth and sixth centuries also seems to have been a particular high point for religious travel among women. While it is not possible to determine exact numbers or their percentage as a proportion of all religiously motivated travelers, a number of factors seemingly converged to make such travel both possible and desirable for women in a way it had not been before and would not remain for long. For women adopting an ascetic or monastic lifestyle, cloistered communal life was not yet the norm. Sociopolitical conditions in most of the Eastern Roman Empire were relatively stable during this period; coupled with the explosive growth of Christianity during the fourth century and the growing renown of certain holy places and holy people, it was uniquely feasible for many women like Egeria to undertake journeys to the Holy Land and surrounding regions not only to see the famous holy places but also to rub shoulders with living holy ones and many other fellow travelers along the way. For women who wanted to express their religious devotion by journeying—whether this took the form of imperial patronage (like Constantine's mother Helena), site-specific visits to holy places, and/or monastic wandering (whether temporary or more perennial)—there were few social pressures beyond family and finances standing between them and their spiritual desire for travel.[93]

Based on the women whose stories we know more intimately from their own correspondence or external documentation of their journeys, a certain profile of these women religious travelers begins to emerge. The majority were widows or unmarried virgins.[94] Some

[92] See Smith, "Sacred Journeying," 42.

[93] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, provides an excellent survey of the varieties of religious travel among women; many of the examples cited below are drawn from her account.

[94] See Gillian Cloke, *"This Female Man of God": Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age, AD 350–450* (London/New York: Routledge, 1995), 82–89 (on

already had more freedom than the average woman of the age by virtue of their status as imperial women or members of the aristocracy. Many traveled with other women in their families or with close female friends as a sort of extension of their natural family ties. These units might have included mothers and daughters (such as Paula and Eustochium), grandmothers with their granddaughters, or biological sisters.[95] Fabiola traveled with friends. Egeria does not seem to have been accompanied by any of the "sisters" with whom she corresponded, but her letters to them provided a sort of vicarious connection to a female community that was invited to participate in the journey to some degree. Female travelers also seem to have gravitated toward other devout women in similar situations whom they met while traveling. Egeria, for example, seems to have formed a special connection with the deaconess Marthana; and a number of women who did not return to their homeland founded or joined women's religious communities.[96] Others founded *xenodochia* (hostels) to provide hospitality to other travelers like themselves and other

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the order of widows); Elm, *'Virgins of God.'* Some prominent exceptions to this general trend include the married women Melania the Younger and the empress Eudocia; however, the life circumstances of each at the time they traveled afforded them an atypical amount of liberty within their relationships. Melania was in a chaste marriage (and accompanied by her husband), whereas Eudocia was exiled from Constantinople and not living with her husband: see Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 108, n. 5.

[95] For more on the role of families and extended family units in late antique female monastic life, see Jo Ann McNamara, "Muffled Voices: The Lives of Consecrated Women in the Fourth Century," in *Medieval Religious Women: Distant Echoes*, ed. John A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1984), 11–29; Anne Ewing Hickey, *Women of the Roman Aristocracy as Christian Monastics* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1987); Vito Antonio Sirago, *Cicadae Noctium: Quando le donne furono monache e pellegrine* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 1986). The family-based women's monastic movement gathered around Macrina (sister of Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa), her mother, and other women with connections to this family provides a sort of parallel example from Asia Minor: see Elm, *'Virgins of God,'* 78–105.

[96] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 108–9. Pelagia of Antioch seems to be unique in joining a *male* monastery on the Mount of Olives, although she reportedly did so disguised as a man: see ibid., 147; and *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, ed. Sebastian P. Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey, The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 13 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 40–62.

charitable services to those in need (such as the ill and the elderly).[97] These traveling women were in contact with men, especially male monastics, during their journeys; however, "generally men played roles such as spiritual adviser, local guide, or holy man to be visited."[98]

While the extent of Egeria's correspondence is unique for a late antique woman traveler, the multiple women who appear in sources from this period as religious travelers suggest that Egeria was not an anomaly and likely would not have been perceived as such by her contemporaries.

> While it is accurate to say that both women and men traveled for religious reasons in this period, the conjunction of travel, monasticism, and patronage seems to have been particularly appealing to women. . . . This culture of monastic travel comes to an abrupt end, particularly for women, by the ninth century with the emergence of a more fully cloistered monastic experience for women. An Egeria or Melania would be hard to imagine in the Carolingian period. Even royal or imperial travel by women—such as the voyage of the Byzantine princess Theophano to the Ottonian court for her wedding to Otto II—was considered exceptional and extraordinary in the tenth century.[99]

The connections between travel and monastic life for women in this time period are likely more than coincidental. Monasticism provided a socially acceptable way for women to devote their lives to spiritual pursuits while renouncing marriage, granting them a relative freedom to focus on other opportunities like travel, which in turn brought them into contact with holy people—including women similar to themselves. In an age especially concerned with identifying orthodoxy and heresy, which played out particularly surrounding the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist, traveling women may have

[97] Melania the Elder founded not only monasteries but also a *xenodochium* on the Mount of Olives. Euphemia, a widowed woman attracted to monastic life, founded a *xenodochium* with her daughter in the city of Amida. Both of these instances suggest the perception of a close connection between monastic life and an itinerant lifestyle among some women in this time period: see Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 121–22, 138, 144.

[98] Ibid., 109.

[99] Ibid., 8.

been less controversial in some ways than traveling clergy, since women were excluded from ministering these sacraments to others. "From Egeria's incomplete account of her travels, there are no hints that her orthodoxy or identity were ever questioned."[100]

2. What Constituted a Pilgrimage?

If a pilgrim is someone who travels to a sacred place for religious reasons and a pilgrimage is the journey of such a person, the common contemporary understanding of pilgrimage seems to correspond with who Egeria was and what she was doing. By her own account, religious motivations played a prominent role in inspiring and extending her voyage; for example, her exchange with the bishop of Edessa suggests that her long journey was made "for the sake of piety" (19.5). The question remains, however, whether pilgrimage is the most appropriate designation for what Egeria was doing when her travels are viewed against the context of late antiquity, which included quite a broad range of possibilities for religiously motivated travel. At the time Egeria wrote, the Latin terms *peregrinatio* and *peregrinus*, often translated as "pilgrimage" and "pilgrim," respectively, did not yet carry the more specific implications concerning *religious* travel and traveler (particularly in connection to a journey to a precisely identified holy place) that they would come to acquire sometime during or after the seventh century.[101] Rather, a *peregrinatio*

[100] See ibid., 57–58; quotation from 58. This contrasts markedly with the situation of Orosius, an Iberian priest, who in 414 sought refuge in North Africa from barbarian invasions in Spain; while there he was in contact with Augustine of Hippo. Around this same time, a decree from Pope Anastasius (399–401) insisted "that no cleric from overseas should be received unless he had a certificate signed by five bishops, because at that time Manichaeans were discovered at Rome." See *The Book of the Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis*), ed. and trans. Raymond Davis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 31, as quoted in Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 57, n. 49.

[101] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 28, credits Augustine's allegorical use of *peregrinus* and *peregrini* to denote the "religious travel" of the Christian soul through this world en route to the heavenly Jerusalem with doing much to popularize the concept. Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum VIII, Ep.* 2, applies this term to literal travel to holy places. For more on Augustine's use of this terminology, see Gillian Clark, "Pilgrims and Foreigners: Augustine on Travelling Home," in *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity*, ed. Linda Ellis and Frank L. Kidner (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 149–58.

(a relatively rare term in late antique literature) could be understood as a more generic journey undertaken for a multitude of potential purposes, and *peregrinus* could be applied to anyone who was a "traveler" or merely a noncitizen of the locale and thus a "foreigner" or "stranger." Egeria does not use the term *peregrinatio* at all, and both of her references to *peregrinus* as a concept could have the more general application rather than a specifically religious one: she notes that one of the qualities of the holy bishop of Arabia who met her traveling group at Rameses is "receiving strangers very well" (8.4), and elsewhere she says, "If someone is a stranger, unless they have testimonies from those who know them, they do not so easily come to baptism" (45.4).

The contemporary scholarly understanding of pilgrimage was profoundly shaped in the twentieth century by the anthropological work of Victor and Edith Turner on pilgrimage, which extended Victor Turner's previous work on the liminal stage of rites of passage to consider aspects of other life situations, including pilgrimage and monasticism, as intentionally "liminoid" in an analogous way.[102] For the Turners, a pilgrimage entails a journey from a "Primary Centre" comprised of the pilgrims' regular social context to a specific "Sacred Centre," with this sacred locale becoming the prominent focus of the pilgrimage. Although the ultimate purpose of journeying may be to engage the supernatural through rituals and other interactions while at the sacred site, the place itself as a destination assumes a primary role in the Turners' understanding of pilgrimage. The pilgrimage is concluded by the return journey to the Primary Centre, where pilgrims are reaggregated into their original community. As they share their experiences with those at the Primary Centre, the pilgrims who have been changed by their journey exert the potential to bring about change in their communities of origin.

Between the time of their departure from and return to the Primary Centre, pilgrims voluntarily enter a "semi-liminoid state," in which "symbolically, all attributes that distinguish categories and groups

[102] Victor W. Turner and Edith L. B. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), esp. 1–39 (on "Pilgrimage as a Liminoid Phenomenon"). See also Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969).

in the structured social order are . . . in abeyance."[103] The normal social strictures accompanying such designations as gender and social class no longer apply (at least with the same degree of intensity), enabling pilgrims to form a bond of *communitas* with one another forged around their shared experiences, as they are all freed temporarily from many of the dynamics of authority structures, locales, and temporal associations that had tended to govern their daily lives back home at the Primary Centre. This state of temporary liminality may be associated with distinctive ways of dressing and/or acting that serve as additional means of marking the characteristic status that pilgrims assume. For the Turners, pilgrimage constitutes "the quintessence of voluntary liminality."[104] Its defining characteristics include the intention to travel to a particular place for a limited time to engage the rituals appropriate to that destination.

Historians and others have found the Turners' paradigm of pilgrimage, particularly its liminal aspect, useful for assessing the status of pilgrims vis-à-vis society as a whole.[105] Julie Ann Smith, for example, remarks that Egeria seems to have intentionally extended her liminal status as a pilgrim:

> Several times she declared that she intended to begin the journey home, which would have marked the beginning of the process of reaggregation with her community, only to postpone it in order to undertake yet another holy detour. Her final comment was that she might die before her sacred journeying was over. She chose the permanence of her liminality. She had obviously enjoyed travelling and was consciously extending, for as long as possible, the liminoid state.[106]

[103] See Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 103.

[104] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture*, 9.

[105] See, for example, Robert A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 154–55. This paradigm has also been applied to related contexts, such as tourism. Erik Cohen's classification of tourism as recreational, experiential, or existential draws upon a Primary Centre as a starting point and a particular relation to a liminal "Other" (as opposed to a Sacred Centre) as part of the tourist's goal. See Erik Cohen, "Pilgrimage and Tourism: Convergence and Divergence," in *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*, ed. Alan Morinis (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992), 47–61.

[106] Smith, "Sacred Journeying," 48.

Egeria's open-ended journey is not accounted for by the Turners' focus on pilgrimage as a delimited journey with the presumption at the outset of return and reaggregation; yet "Egeria's voluminous correspondence may have been an endeavour to make up for her failure to return. She attempted to recompense her sisters for her absence by writing in such detail of her pilgrimage experience." There are other aspects of Egeria's journey that do not align well with the Turners' vision of pilgrimage. For example, she does not seem to be focused on a particular sacred site, and this paradigm does not account for her equally intense interest in visiting holy people as holy places. On the other hand, the proliferation of holy places in the general vicinity of the Holy Land, including those in Asia Minor and Egypt, could be seen as a means of prolonging "continuous, active liminoid status" focused on this more dispersed sense of a holy place.[107]

More recent reassessments of the Turners' studies on pilgrimage and others that are heavily reliant upon them have critiqued their largely ahistorical and general approach to pilgrimage as a category of ritual practice, recognizing this as *one* possible view of a certain type of pilgrimage as opposed to an overarching explanatory model for all pilgrimages.[108] These studies are also critiqued for not taking sufficient account of the pilgrimage experiences of women, who according to their own accounts seem to have found unique ways of constructing themselves and their journeys that were not constrained by particular expectations of what a pilgrimage should be.[109] This shift in perspective invites studies of pilgrimage that are less monolithic and unitive and more attentive to the interaction of ideology, ritual, and context in particular manifestations of pilgrimage. Such studies

[107] Ibid., 55.

[108] As a prominent example, see the collection of essays in *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*, ed. John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow (London/New York: Routledge, 1991), as well as those in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. Stopford.

[109] See, for example, Smith, "Sacred Journeying," 55, based on her studies of women's pilgrimage correspondence in the fourth and eighth centuries. For a similar critique of rites-of-passage theories in general as not reflecting female experience, see Caroline Walker Bynum, "Women's Stories, Women's Symbols: A Critique of Victor Turner's Theory of Liminality," in *Anthropology and the Study of Religion*, ed. Robert L. Moore and Frank Reynolds (Chicago: Center for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1984), 105–25.

"suggest that the continued success of Christian pilgrimage has often been achieved through the combination of a fluid ideology, open to diverse and personalised adaptation, alongside an adherence to supposedly traditional observances and material assemblages."[110]

Even when a more capacious definition of pilgrimage is used that permits late antique travelers who undertook religiously motivated journeys to particular places like the Holy Land to be categorized as pilgrims, Dietz advises caution in applying certain aspects of the Turners' model to them, given the substantial discrepancies between the Turners' understanding of pilgrimage and data on religious travel from late antiquity:

> Pilgrimage was not a uniform, regulated, or codified phenomenon in the Mediterranean basin during late antiquity or the early Middle Ages. It is difficult to see what was considered "the holy" as so neatly inscribed in a specific location or holy place. Often it was the act of visiting holy people, rather than their location, that was important to travelers. Reaching a particular destination was often less important than the journey itself. During late antiquity there was no set form of pilgrim dress, no established routes or rituals that defined a pilgrimage. The Turners' idea of pilgrimage stresses a singularity of motivation and goal, yet many of the figures usually called pilgrims in this period do not meet even this simple criterion. A multiplicity of aims and motives, rather, seems to have shaped religious travel and movement in late antiquity.[111]

In short, if pilgrimage is viewed as it often is in contemporary English, many of its aspects do not coincide well with the actual experience of late antique religious travelers. For example, the modern conception of pilgrimage typically extends beyond a generic religiously motivated journey to encompass more specific presumptions such as a significant degree of organization, a defined holy place as the destination (often with an underlying motive for healing and/or forgiveness of sin associated with one's presence and/or ritual participation at this sacred site), the expectation that the journey is temporary and that pilgrims will return home if possible, the desirability

[110] Stopford, "Introduction," in *Pilgrimage Explored*, xii.
[111] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 30.

of acquiring souvenirs or tokens of the journey, and a relatively democratic process in which common people aggregate with like-minded strangers as traveling companions.[112] This sort of conception of pilgrimage, Dietz argues, is largely a medieval creation made possible by the Cluniac reform movement and the establishment of Santiago de Compostela as a relatively more accessible sacred site, promoting a new vision of "goal-centered, long-distance [religious travel] aimed at the laity rather than at monks."[113]

Almost none of these criteria applies well to Egeria's journey. It seems to be highly self-directed and self-organized; she does not seem to operate based on a prearranged itinerary, and her plans are flexible enough that she seems to be able to change them at will and set her own agenda, sometimes based on new information she collects from holy people along the way (for example, 13.1, 17.1).[114] She is not bound for any one particular holy place and in fact seems to be determined to visit as many holy places as possible—in part not to visit the places themselves but the holy *people* she can find at these places. She does not seem to have a singular overriding motivation that informs her entire journey. She makes no mention of any physical illness or ailment for which she seeks healing, and forgiveness of sins does not emerge as a motivating factor for her journey. Unlike some later medieval pilgrimage accounts, there are no stories of miracles experienced either first- or secondhand.[115] Egeria sees one of the most famous relics of the age, "the holy wood of the cross" in Jerusalem (37.1), but while she talks of other people gathering "souvenirs," such as twigs from the sycamore tree said to have healing properties (8.3) or the person who tried to obtain a relic by biting off a piece of the cross (37.2), she never mentions any personal desire to collect holy mementos of her journey to bring home. She gathers experiences and is delighted to obtain a more complete copy of the Abgar correspondence (19.19), but that is all.[116]

[112] Ibid., 27.

[113] Ibid., 10.

[114] Ibid., 50.

[115] Smith, "Sacred Journeying," 44.

[116] On Egeria's tendency to accumulate and "archive" immaterial elements and texts through her journey and her written account, see Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, *Literary Territories: Cartographical Thinking in Late Antiquity* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 17–28.

With the introduction and conclusion of her manuscript missing, it is unclear if Egeria set out on her journey with the intention of returning home after a predetermined time span; her repeated side trips and prolongations of the journey suggest that this did not remain a high priority for her, if it ever was initially. Aside from the respect she pays to her holy guides, she does not seem particularly interested in traveling companions she might meet along the way as individuals or as a collective; she does not dwell on any sense of *communitas* she might form with those she comes to know. (As mentioned previously, Marthana is the only living individual named in the entire account, although Egeria sometimes remarks about other visitors to the same site or stories about previous visitors to these places.) She seems to take great delight in the experience of traveling and recounting the experience to her sisters. If she did conceive of herself as something of a permanent or perpetual spiritual wanderer, this dimension does not emerge prominently in her writings; however, the overall impression provided is of a woman almost perpetually on the move, with the possible exception of her extended stay in Jerusalem (which likewise involved a substantial amount of movement from one place to another on a more local scale).[117] Although we shall continue to describe the journeyings of Egeria—and others at the time—as pilgrimage, readers should keep qualifications such as these in mind.

3. The Origins of the Christian Practice

Very early in its history Christianity had rejected the concept of sacred places, an attitude based on the principle neatly articulated in St. Paul's speech at the Areopagus in Acts 17:24: "The God who made the world and everything in it, being Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples made with hands." On the contrary, it was the Christians themselves who were the temples of the living God (2 Cor 6:16), who was to be worshipped neither in Jerusalem nor on Mount Gerizim but "in spirit and truth" (Jn 4:21-23). This view continued to be reflected in Christian writers of the second and third centuries. It was argued that, unlike the Jews who could only worship God in one place, the Temple, Christians worshipped God at all times and in all places.[118] Clement of Alexandria affirmed that "it is not now

[117] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 51.

[118] See, for example, Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 41.2; 116.3; 117.

the place, but the assemblage of the elect, that I call the Church," and Origen reiterated the New Testament concept that Christians constituted the true temples of God.[119]

A similar attitude can still be seen in the views of Eusebius (ca. 260–339), church historian and bishop of Caesarea, before the emperor Constantine's enthusiasm for the construction of churches at holy places at the end of the first quarter of the century led Eusebius to modify his position.[120] In spite of the emperor's lead, however, not all church leaders were immediately won over. While Cyril of Jerusalem later in the fourth century not surprisingly embraced the new cult of the sacred sites that had emerged within his jurisdiction,[121] other voices, like that of Gregory of Nyssa, could still be heard opposing pilgrimage to Jerusalem: "The changing of one's place does not bring about any greater nearness to God. No, God will come to you wherever you are, if the abode of your soul is such that the Lord himself comes to dwell within you and walk with you."[122] On the other hand, the fact that he enthusiastically supported the local cult at the shrines of the martyrs in his native Cappadocia suggests that his opposition had more to do with rivalry between places than the rejection of the concept of holy places per se.[123]

Even Jerome, who had chosen to settle in the Holy Land himself and had been enthusiastic about the sacred sites, could still discourage Paulinus of Nola from visiting Jerusalem and argue that it was unsuitable for one wanting to pursue the monastic ideal: "What is praiseworthy is not to have been at Jerusalem but to have lived a

[119] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 7.5 (ET from *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 2, 530); Origen, *Contra Celsum* 8.19–20.

[120] See Robert Wilken, *The Land Called Holy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. 88–91.

[121] On the contrast between the views of Eusebius and Cyril, see Peter W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon/New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). On Cyril in general, see Jan Willem Drijvers, *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[122] Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 2.16; ET from Anna M. Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 121.

[123] See Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 30–64.

good life while there. . . . But I do not presume to limit God's omnipotence or to restrict to a narrow strip of earth Him whom the heaven cannot contain. Each believer is judged not by his residence in this place or in that but according to the deserts of his faith. . . . Access to the courts of heaven is as easy from Britain as it is from Jerusalem; for 'the kingdom of God is within you.' "[124] As in the case of Gregory of Nyssa, however, the opposition expressed in this letter seems to have been occasioned more by his bitter quarrel with the church in Jerusalem at the time and his preference for Bethlehem, where he lived, than by a permanent change of view about pilgrimage as such.[125]

Notwithstanding such reservations, travel to the Holy Land, even by women, was well established before Egeria made her journey.[126] The pilgrim from Bordeaux, who came to the Holy Land in 333, may possibly have been a woman,[127] and, as we have seen already, we know not only of Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine, who traveled to the holy places of Palestine in 326–328,[128] but also of Melania the Elder, who arrived in Jerusalem a few years before Egeria's visit, of Poemenia, who was said to have built the church on the Imbomon, the site of Christ's ascension,[129] of Silvia of Aquitaine, who appears to have lodged with Melania before going on to Egypt,[130] and of Paula, the friend and benefactor of Jerome, who together with him and her daughter Eustochium journeyed to the holy places and finally settled in Bethlehem apparently just after Egeria's visit.[131] Even

[124] Jerome, *Ep.* 58.2-3; ET from *NPNF* 2:6, 119–20.

[125] For further discussion of Jerome's apparent ambivalent attitude toward pilgrimage, see Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred*, 65–105.

[126] Indeed, the considerable attention given to women travelers in recent studies can easily give rise to the mistaken impression that pilgrimage was a disproportionately female phenomenon: see Rebecca Stephens Falcasantos, "Wandering Wombs, Inspired Intellects: Christian Religious Travel in Late Antiquity," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 25 (2017): 89–117.

[127] See Appendix A, pp. 197–98.

[128] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.42-45.

[129] John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi* 43. See above, p. 24, n. 71. For the Imbomon, see below, p. 67.

[130] Palladius, *Hist. laus.* 55. See E. D. Hunt, "St. Silvia of Aquitaine: The Role of a Theodosian Pilgrim in the Society of East and West," *Journal of Theological Studies* 23 (1972): 351–73.

[131] See Jerome, *Ep.* 46; 108.

Gregory of Nyssa's disapproval of women making the journey is evidence that some were doing just that![132]

Susanna Elm has also drawn attention to a letter of Athanasius preserved in a seventh/eighth-century Syriac manuscript but dating very probably from somewhere around the middle of the fourth century and addressed to a community of female ascetics in Egypt who had recently returned from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They had gone first to Bethlehem and the cave of the nativity, and then to Jerusalem, where they visited Golgotha and Christ's tomb. Their return route included Mount Sinai, and while in the Holy Land they had stayed with a community of other female religious and had received guidance from local presbyters.[133]

Although Constantine's building program at the various sacred sites must have provided a huge impetus to the phenomenon of pilgrimage, Eusebius seems to imply that it had already begun somewhat earlier than that. In his *Demonstratio evangelica*, written well before 324 when Constantine became emperor of the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, he asserted that Bethlehem was so famous that people were coming from the ends of the earth to see it; that a cave was shown there by the locals to those coming from abroad to view it; and that believers from all parts of the world were also congregating on the Mount of Olives.[134]

It has been the subject of some debate among recent scholars, however, as to whether pilgrimage can be said really to have existed even earlier, before the fourth century. As the previous section of this Introduction implied, disagreement turns on the question of what specific activities can be held to constitute "pilgrimage." Thus, it is unanimously agreed that at least some Christians did travel to what

[132] "For it is impracticable for a woman to pursue so long a journey unless she has a conductor, for on account of her natural weakness she has to be put on her horse and be lifted down again, and she has to be steadied in rough terrain. . . . Whether she leans on a stranger or on her own servant, she fails to observe the law of modesty" (Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 2.6; ET from Silvas, *Gregory of Nyssa*, 119).

[133] Susanna Elm, "Perceptions of Jerusalem Pilgrimage as Reflected in Two Early Sources on Female Pilgrimage (3rd and 4th centuries A.D.)," *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989): 219–23.

[134] Eusebius, *Demonstratio evangelica* 1.1.2; 3.2.47; 6.18.23; 7.2.14. See E. D. Hunt, "Were There Christian Pilgrims before Constantine?" in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. Stopford, 25–40, here at 32–39.

would later be called the Holy Land in the preceding centuries. It is known that Melito of Sardis went to Palestine in the second century in order to verify the authoritative order and contents of the Old Testament canon; that the presbyter Pionius, who was put to death in Smyrna in 250, had been in Palestine and, according to him, had there seen in the parched and barren land the evidence of God's punishment of the sins of its inhabitants; and that in the same century Origen had visited some sites "in search of traces of Jesus, of his disciples, and of the prophets."[135]

Some scholars, however, do not recognize these journeys as the equivalent of the later pilgrimages. Thus, Pierre Maraval concluded that these individuals "went out of a sense of curiosity or in search of theological insight," rather than being "intent on praying in places deemed to be holy."[136] Interestingly, however, he failed to mention the case of Alexander of Cappadocia, d. 251, who was said by Eusebius to have gone to Jerusalem explicitly "for the sake of prayer and knowledge of the places."[137] In her presentation of a detailed argument that there was no evidence that Christians venerated any sites as sacred prior to the fourth century, Joan Taylor did refer to Alexander but denied that his prayer was associated with any "holy places."[138] On the other hand, David Hunt reasoned that because such visitors approached the places of the Bible with a sense of reverence, there was something that could legitimately be termed "pilgrimage" in these early forays.

> Individually and collectively, Christians can be demonstrated visiting places deemed to have a sacred significance for their faith long before the advent of the first Christian emperor. Even if such journeys had not yet acquired some of the associations

[135] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26.13-14; *Passio Pionii* 4.18-20; Origen, *Comm. in Johan.* 6.204; see also idem, *Contra Celsum* 1.51.

[136] Pierre Maraval, "The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage in the Near East (before the 7th Century)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 63–74, here at 65. See also Wilken, *The Land Called Holy*, 108.

[137] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.11.1-2.

[138] Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), esp. 312. See also Kenneth G. Holum, "Hadrian and St. Helena: Imperial Travel and the Origins of Christian Holy Land Pilgrimage," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 66–81.

> of more fully-developed pilgrimage—there is no evidence that they were undertaken for ascetic, penitential, or therapeutic purposes—none the less it would be unduly pedantic to deny these travellers the label of "pilgrims." In any case we have to go much *later* than Constantine . . . to discover the phenomenon in such a fully-fledged guise.[139]

Nevertheless, where there does seem to be agreement is that pilgrimage to the Holy Land developed out of the early Christian practice of visiting the tombs of the departed—and especially those of martyrs—in cemeteries outside the cities,[140] a practice that had probably been at least equal in ritual significance to the weekly gathering for the eucharistic meal for the earliest generations of believers. The funerary traditions of the ancient world that were apparently continued by Christians involved regular gatherings at the place of burial, and especially on the anniversary of death, with the consumption of a meal there, which became for Christians a celebration of the Eucharist. While in the case of many deceased Christians it would have been family and friends who gathered, in the case of a local martyr the whole Christian community would have turned out. Thus, the third/fourth-century Syrian church order, the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, directed: "In accordance with the Gospel and in accordance with the power of the Holy Spirit, gather in the cemeteries to read the Holy Scriptures and to offer your prayers and your rites to God without observance and offer an acceptable Eucharist . . . both in your congregations and in your cemeteries and on the departure of those who sleep."[141] Cyprian, bishop of Carthage during the Decian persecution in the middle of the third century, likewise spoke of celebrating the

139 E. D. Hunt, "Space and Time Transcended: The Beginnings of Christian Pilgrimage," in *The Sense of the Sacramental*, ed. David Brown and Ann Loades (London: SPCK, 1995), 59–77, here at 53–54. See also Hunt, "Were There Christian Pilgrims before Constantine?"; and *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire*, esp. chapters 4 and 5.

140 See, for example, Robert A. Markus, "How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Places," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 2 (1994): 257–71, esp. 262, 268ff.; Maraval, "The Earliest Phase of Christian Pilgrimage," 65–66.

141 *Didascalia* 6.22; ET from Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *The Didascalia apostolorum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 255–56. The expression "without observance" means not observing the Jewish prohibition against contact with dead bodies.

anniversaries of the death of martyrs and instructed his clergy to note the dates of those who died in prison during the persecution so that they too could be commemorated along with the martyrs.[142]

Without question, key elements of the later practice of pilgrimage were already present in this phenomenon: travel to a place made holy by the presence of a holy person, ending in participation in a ritual act there. As David Hunt observed:

> Such (primarily local) festivals brought together congregations of the faithful who may not have journeyed far in terms of distance, but who certainly forged a great gap in other ways between themselves and the world which they had, albeit temporarily, left behind them. If pilgrimage is indeed some sort of "movement towards the Center," then their "Center" was transported to the margins of the society in which they lived, amid the burial-grounds which lay at the perimeter, beyond the boundaries of city-based civilization. In attending martyr commemorations, the faithful moved themselves outside their secular world, on a pilgrimage to encounter the glorious forebears who were the formative and identifying influences on their Christian community.[143]

4. Visiting Living Saints

It is noteworthy that these early Christian visits to tombs were not understood simply as trips to places that were sanctified by the bones of the martyrs: they were acts of communion with the holy ones themselves. Indeed, archeological evidence has revealed the existence of tubes built into the tombs for the purpose of pouring a libation of wine inside and thereby sharing in communion with the deceased.[144] This constitutes another parallel with later pilgrimage practice.

[142] Cyprian, *Ep.* 33.3; 36.2. See also the *Passio Polycarpi* 18, which speaks of the collecting and burial of the bones of the martyred Polycarp in a place where subsequent anniversaries of his death might be celebrated. Although the martyrdom itself happened ca. 160, the account probably took its present form in the third century: see Candida Moss, "On the Dating of Polycarp: Rethinking the Place of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* in the History of Christianity," *Early Christianity* 4 (2010): 1–37.

[143] Hunt, "Were There Christian Pilgrims before Constantine?" 28–29.

[144] See Ramsay MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 24–25, 77.

Fourth-century pilgrims did not merely go to supposed biblical sites but they also visited living holy men and women in these lands. Their desire was to make contact with holy people, whether through meeting them alive or by being in the places that had been made holy by their former presence there. So, for example, when Egeria spoke of having previously made an excursion into the Thebaid in Egypt, the area around Thebes (9.1, 6), it can only have been in order to visit the many holy men and women who were there, as it had no sites associated with the Bible or with famous Christian martyrs; and when she made a journey to the shrine of St. Thecla at Seleucia, she also spent two days visiting all the male and female religious communities there (23.6). In some cases, her further excursions were directly prompted by stories she heard of holy monks in the general vicinity, whom she then took the opportunity to visit (as, for example, in 21.3).

From the late third century onward some Christians had begun to retreat into the deserts of Egypt and Syria in order to pursue an ascetic life of holiness and solitude, and the cessation of the persecution of Christians early in the fourth century led to a large increase in their numbers, not least from those who looked to it as a substitute for the martyrdom they otherwise would have desired but which changed circumstances now denied them. In the course of time informal gatherings of these hermits resulted in the creation of the first monastic communities, although the desert monks that Egeria visited generally still seemed to be living in individual cells rather than sharing a more intentional form of common life that would become characteristic of later monasticism proper. According to Jerome, it was Hilarion, a disciple of Antony in Egypt, who had initiated Palestinian monasticism by founding a community of hermits in the desert of Gaza in the first half of the fourth century.[145]

The middle and later decades of the fourth century witnessed extensive progress both in the development of various forms of monastic life and in the cultivation of holy places in and around the Holy Land, and the two phenomena are interrelated to the extent that monks in Palestine and Egypt seized opportunities to locate and popularize nearby sites with biblical associations—endorsing the greater authenticity of devotion to *their* holy places in cases where

[145] Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis.*

rival claims to the *real* location were an issue.[146] Their visitors included not only lay men and women but also those who were already engaged in the religious life, particularly itinerant monks from the West.[147] Moreover, their provision of hospitality to travelers would also have afforded them a source of revenue.

For Egeria, monks not only mediated the traveler's desire to see holy places by "showing" where they were; the monks of Palestine and Egypt themselves became those who were sought out to *be seen* by Christian travelers. As David Hunt has observed, "the monks and their doings were an extension of the scriptural panorama which [Egeria] beheld all around her: she longed to see, converse with them and learn of their deeds, just as to look upon the places of the Bible."[148] These holy monks help make the scriptural story a present, living reality in the places associated with holy happenings of the past.

Egeria applies the term "holy" (*sanctus, sancta*) very liberally, using it 186 times in relation to places (mountains, churches, relics), to deceased holy people from the Christian Era, but also to personages from the Hebrew Scriptures (such as Moses, Abraham, Melchizedek, and Rebecca) *and* to the holy monks who serve as her guides, hosts, and motivation for thanksgiving—after, of course, her primary gratitude directed toward God who fulfills all her desire. Sometimes the holy ones from various eras overlap, as in 4.8, when the *sancti monachi* who dwell on Mount Sinai show Egeria the place where *sanctus Moyses* spoke with God in the burning bush. Thus Egeria "is not simply visiting empty 'holy places,' but instead places populated with monks, true holy people worthy of the places."[149] While this emphasis on holy people is perhaps most obvious in the first twenty-three chapters, in which monks are encountered mostly as individuals or in small groups, Jerusalem as well is populated with monks and ascetics whose behavior attracts Egeria's attention (as in, for example,

[146] See Hagith Sivan, "Pilgrimage, Monasticism, and the Emergence of Christian Palestine in the 4th Century," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. Robert G. Ousterhout, 54–65.

[147] See, for example, Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred*, 140–83; Daniel F. Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*.

[148] Hunt, "Space and Time Transcended," 73.

[149] Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims*, 51.

her description of the monks and virgins arriving at the church to pray before cockcrow in 24.1, the vigil kept by Bethlehem monks at Epiphany in 25.12, and the monks and ascetics from regions near and far who flock to Jerusalem to celebrate the anniversary of the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 49.1). The sanctity of a particular place is connected in part to the sanctity of its inhabitants.

Egeria is one of many travelers who sought out both holy people *and* holy places from the late fourth to the seventh centuries. "That so many pilgrims to the holy places also made visits to holy people suggests that journeying to holy destinations, whether people or places, reflects a coextensive piety."[150] As with seeing the holy places, *seeing* holy people becomes particularly important. The anecdotes of previous travelers, later complemented by more consolidated accounts like *The History of the Monks in Egypt* (composed by a monk from Jerusalem toward the very end of the fourth century) and the *Lausiac History* of Bishop Palladius of Helenopolis (completed around 420), circulated tales of monks in distant places. Some were motivated to take to the road to see the holy monks for themselves, whereas others—like Egeria's "sisters," presumably—soaked up more stories secondhand through the accounts of those who did go. "If the aim is to understand the totality of pilgrims' experiences as represented through their stories, we should regard these [sometimes incredible] tales as meaningful fictions through which pilgrims generated an image of monastics with which their audience could interact."[151] Through selective descriptions of their encounters with monastics in distant places, which typically do not attempt to provide exhaustive accounts of monastic lifestyles in all their rich diversity but rather mold the exotic monks into more familiar categories, people like Egeria drew connections for themselves and for their readers between the world of the Bible and the world inhabited by monks.[152] "Egeria's vivid telling of her journey—in its intertwining of ancient story and present place, holy Moses and holy monks, the literal and the spiritual—becomes a narrative of transformation, inviting the reader to come in."[153]

[150] For more on this phenomenon, see Georgia Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes: Pilgrims to Living Saints in Christian Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); quotation from 7.

[151] Ibid., 5.

[152] Ibid., 29–34.

[153] Hamilton, "Egeria," 181.

Notable among the many others who followed a similar path to Egeria were Basil of Caesarea, who in a letter written in 375 described the profound impression made upon him by the monks he had met in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia;[154] Melania the Elder, who stayed with the desert fathers in Egypt for about six months before founding her monastery in Jerusalem and who later escorted Silvia of Aquitaine on a further visit to Egypt;[155] and Paula, who (according to Jerome) also visited monastic communities in Cyprus and in Egypt in addition to seeing a multitude of holy places on her travels:

> Was there any cell that she did not enter? Or any man at whose feet she did not throw herself? In each of his saints she believed that she saw Christ himself; and whatever she bestowed upon them she rejoiced to feel that she had bestowed it upon the Lord. Her enthusiasm was wonderful and her endurance scarcely credible in a woman. Forgetful of her sex and of her weakness she even desired to make her abode, together with the girls who accompanied her, among these thousands of monks.[156]

Very tellingly, Paulinus of Nola, who never went to the Holy Land, asserted in a letter written around 409 the superiority of encountering a living saint over visiting the holy places associated with Christ. He cited as an example a certain Valgius, whose delivery from shipwreck was regarded as having been miraculous and so had earned him the status of just such a person:

> If the manger of his [Christ's] birth, the river of his baptism, the garden of his betrayal, the palace of his condemnation, the column of his scourging, the thorns of his crowning, the wood of his crucifixion, the stone of his burial, the places of his resurrection and ascension are as famed as recalling God's former presence, and if living proofs in lifeless objects demonstrate the ancient truth for today's belief, then with what reverence must this man [Valgius] be regarded, with whom God deigned to converse, before whom God's face was not concealed, to whom Christ revealed now His martyr [St. Felix] and now His own person?[157]

[154] Basil of Caesarea, *Ep.* 223.

[155] Palladius, *Hist.* laus. 46, 54–55.

[156] Jerome, *Ep.* 108.7, 14; ET from *NPNF* 2:6, 202.

[157] Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 49.14; ET from P. G. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola* 2, Ancient Christian Writers 36 (New York: Newman Press, 1967), 273.

5. Reactions to Holy Places

Pilgrims visiting the sites mentioned in the Scriptures were not merely sightseers. Egeria used the expression "for the sake of prayer" to indicate the purpose of her own journeys as well as those of other pilgrims, especially to the graves of saints (13.1-2; 17.1-2; 23.3, 10). It seems that by this phrase she had in mind not merely private devotion at the shrine, but participation in a corporate liturgical rite that included an appropriate reading and psalm as well as prayer or sometimes the celebration of the Eucharist (see the section on worship in the holy places below). The ritual act emphasized and heightened the sanctity of the place.[158]

Although Egeria sometimes speaks of "seeing" various holy places, she more often uses the verb *ostendo*, "show," either in the passive ("were shown us") or in the active form ("they showed us"), or very rarely the verb *monstro*, which we have translated as "pointed out" (3.8; 5.1, 3). Apart from occasionally expressing a brief note of pleasure at being able to visit these sites (for example, 12.4), however, she reveals nothing about the spiritual benefits she might have gained from the experience. Only twice does she break into a slightly more excited response to something—the encounter with the deaconess Marthana (23.3) and the adornment of the churches at Epiphany (25.8-9)—and each time she quickly recognizes that this is a digression from her primary purpose and immediately says, "but to return to the point" (23.4; 25.10). According to Mary Campbell, this "deep reserve" is because her composition was "a merging of two genres, perhaps the first such merger," the travel narratives of the Roman world, comprised of lists of cities, staging posts, places of interest, and the distances between them, of which the diary of the pilgrim from Bordeaux was really only a modest expansion,[159] and the literary letter.

[158] Compare the more extreme view of Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 105, that ritual is "not an expression of or a response to 'the Sacred'; rather, something or someone is made sacred by ritual."

[159] See Appendix A, pp. 197–204, for a comparison between that diary and Egeria's writing.

> In the inevitable zigzagging between the sacred map and the distortion it suffers through her temporal experience of it, her allegiance is chiefly with the map. This is clear in her suppression of almost all personal details of the journey: the names of the people she meets, the nature of the gifts she receives, the identities of her fellow travelers, the feelings evoked by what she sees. . . . Places not appearing in the Scriptures are, to her, empty. . . .[160]

Catherine Sider Hamilton similarly observes that Scripture was the primary motivating factor influencing Egeria's descriptions of these sites:

> Scripture shapes her journey so thoroughly as to transform the fourth-century landscape: current events, local customs, politics on the edges of a weakening Roman Empire, the daily life of a busy city like Jerusalem—none of this interests her. Mount Sinai is the place where Moses talked to God; the plain in front of it is the place where the Israelites sojourned . . . Scripture thus renders the world: what Egeria sees is the story of Moses and the Israelites, of Melchizedek and the vine-filled valley, of Jesus and the cross and empty tomb—not the contemporary exotica of a foreign land. Further, the land thus mapped by Scripture is a land transformed: all the people are holy, and all the valleys are "very beautiful."[161]

Others were more effusive about expressing their reaction to what they saw. Cyril of Jerusalem, addressing candidates for baptism who were literally surrounded by the sacred sites, asserted that the very sight of the physical signs of what they had read about in the Scriptures confirmed the truth of those biblical narratives and so were to be included among the many testimonies or witnesses to the veracity of the Christian claims: "Others only hear, but we see and handle. . . . The Lord was crucified; you have received the testimonies. You see this spot of Golgotha! . . . even the stone which was then rolled away

[160] Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, 27–29. Smith, "Sacred Journeying," 48, also comments that "she was not emotional and sought no mystical union with the episodes related."

[161] Hamilton, "Egeria," 180.

itself bears witness to the resurrection, lying there to this day. . . . You have therefore many witnesses; you have this very place of the resurrection; you have also the place of the ascension towards the east."[162]

Jerome went further still. We have already seen earlier how, when describing the visits made by Paula to the cells of monks, he said that "in each of his saints she believed that she saw Christ himself." He reports that her experience was even more intense when she went to the sites of Christ's birth and of his death and resurrection, though we cannot be certain, of course, how faithfully he represents her own feelings as opposed to his.[163] At Bethlehem,

> when she looked upon the inn made sacred by the virgin and the stall where the ox knew his owner and the ass his master's crib . . . when she looked upon these things I say, she protested in my hearing that she could behold with the eyes of faith the infant Lord wrapped in swaddling clothes and crying in the manger, the wise men worshipping Him, the star shining overhead, the virgin mother, the attentive foster-father, the shepherds coming by night to see "the word that was come to pass" and thus even then to consecrate those opening phrases of the evangelist John "In the beginning was the word" and "the word was made flesh." She declared that she could see the slaughtered innocents, the raging Herod, Joseph and Mary fleeing into Egypt.[164]

According to him, her response at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem had been equally profound:

> In visiting the holy places so great was the passion and enthusiasm she exhibited for each, that she could never have torn herself away from one had she not been eager to visit the rest. Before the Cross she threw herself down in adoration as though she beheld the Lord hanging upon it: and when she entered the tomb

[162] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Baptismal Catecheses* 13.22, 23; 14.22, 23; ET from *NPNF* 2:7, 88, 100. See also ibid. 10.19. Eusebius too, *Vita Constantini* 3.28, described Christ's tomb as "testifying by facts louder than any voice to the resurrection of the Saviour" (ET from Cameron and Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine*, 133).

[163] See the quotation from Elm, *'Virgins of God,'* 382, above, p. 16, n. 51.

[164] Jerome, *Ep.* 108.10; ET from *NPNF* 2:6, 199.

> which was the scene of the Resurrection she kissed the stone which the angel had rolled away from the door of the sepulchre. Indeed so ardent was her faith that she even licked with her mouth the very spot on which the Lord's body had lain, like one athirst for the river which he has longed for. What tears she shed there, what groans she uttered, and what grief she poured forth, all Jerusalem knows; the Lord also to whom she prayed knows.[165]

In another of his letters Jerome speaks in similar terms of his own experience when visiting the place of Christ's burial: "As often as we enter it we see the Saviour in His grave clothes, and if we linger we see again the angel sitting at His feet, and the napkin folded at His head."[166]

In a recent study of this language of "seeing" at the holy places, Juliette Day argues that it obviously cannot have meant physical sight but equally should not be thought of simply as imagining. She concludes that Jerome believed that Paula's holiness, resulting from a life of ascetic discipline that controlled her passions, enabled her to perceive with "spiritual eyes" not just the past biblical event associated with the place but the very presence of Christ himself.[167]

6. Egeria and Worship in the Holy Places

Egeria participated in a range of liturgical events during her travels and chronicled many of them for her intended audience—from the great annual commemorations of Holy Week to regular Sunday eucharistic celebrations to daily gatherings for prayer with ascetics, clergy, and laypeople to more private acts of worship with her traveling companions. She gives the clear impression that when she visited sacred sites on her various journeys outside Jerusalem, she played a part in shaping the act of worship in which she and her companions

[165] Ibid. 108.9; ET from *NPNF* 2:6, 198–99.

[166] Ibid. 46.5; ET from *NPNF* 2:6, 62.

[167] Juliette Day, "Seeing Christ at the Holy Places," in *Spaces in Late Antiquity: Cultural, Theological and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Juliette Day, Raimo Hakola, Maijastina Kahlos, and Ulla Tervahauta (Abingdon/New York: Routledge, 2016), 69–88. See also Frank, *The Memory of the Eyes*, and her essay, "'Taste and See': The Eucharist and the Eyes of Faith in the Fourth Century," *Church History* 70 (2001): 619–43.

participated, in particular in the choice of reading: "I had always desired very greatly for us that, wherever we came, the [relevant] passage from the book should always be read" (4.3). She also asserts that such acts of worship had a standard pattern: "It was always our custom that whenever we were about to visit places we desired, first prayer was made there, then the reading was read from the codex, also one psalm relevant to the matter was recited and prayer was made there again" (10.7). She explicitly records this same pattern being used on some other occasions (14.1; 20.3; 21.1), and so it is reasonable to assume that when she gives a more abbreviated outline, omitting mention of the psalm and/or the final prayer (4.4, 8; 11.1, 3; 12.3; 15.4; 19.2; 23.5) or giving no details besides simply "prayer" (21.3; 23.6), the full pattern was still followed. This would also account for her use of the plural "prayers" at 19.2. Moreover, when she speaks of "giving thanks to God there according to custom" (16.2; see also 16.4), having just seen the cave of Elijah, it seems probable that by thanksgiving here and elsewhere in her narrative she was referring to the use of this form of worship too.

Was this pattern one that was entirely created by Egeria? That seems unlikely when she was accompanied on her journeys by monks and presbyters, who would surely have wanted to adopt forms with which they were already familiar. Indeed, in at least one case this act of prayer took place in a church in the presence of the presbyter and monks who were stationed there (14.1) and in another two instances in the presence of the local bishop, who gave a blessing at the end and in the second case is explicitly said to have led the prayer (20.3; 21.1). Surely, these men would have followed a form of worship that accorded with their own custom? In most of the occasions that Egeria describes, the leader of this prayer is unspecified, which neither proves nor precludes the possibility that women sometimes may have served in this role.

Furthermore, the pattern that is described for these pilgrim devotions bears a strong resemblance to certain of the acts of worship that formed part of the Jerusalem liturgy. Thus, during the procession from the Mount of Olives to the city in the early hours of Good Friday, short services were held in the places where Jesus was said to have prayed and where he was arrested, and these consisted of an appropriate prayer, an appropriate psalm, the gospel reading about the event, and at least in the first case a further prayer (36.1, 3). A similar act of worship occurred on the Saturday before Holy Week in a church marking the spot where Mary, the sister of Lazarus, was believed to have met Jesus (Jn 11:29-30): "One hymn is recited and one antiphon and that passage from the gospel is read where the sister of Lazarus meets the Lord. And then when prayer has been made and all have been blessed . . ." (29.4). Although in all these instances the order of the psalm and reading is the reverse of the worship at the holy places outside the milieu of the Jerusalem church (conceivably because these were gospel readings rather than the Old Testament lections used elsewhere?), it does tend to confirm that in those latter places Egeria was experiencing a standard pattern rather than something devised by her at the time. Her own contribution perhaps may have been simply to request that prayer be made on those occasions and sometimes to suggest which Bible passage should then be read.

On one occasion she appears to have participated in a regular Sunday Eucharist with presbyters and monks (3.6), but on other occasions her party seems to have asked that the Eucharist should be celebrated specially for them—as when they celebrated the Eucharist in another church later that same day (4.3). Although that too may have been a regularly scheduled Sunday service and Egeria does not say that they received Communion again, she explicitly states that the following morning they did ask the presbyters to offer the Eucharist at the place where they had spent the night (4.8). They did the same on another occasion when they had visited the tomb of Job (16.7). There seems to have been some limitation, however, as to when their request could be granted: they had been unable to have yet a further Eucharist on the first Sunday, quite possibly because of the late hour of the day (4.8). On another occasion Egeria records them having prayed and received Communion, but does not mention an actual celebration of the Eucharist (23.6). Was that omission simply accidental, or was there really not a Eucharist, perhaps because no presbyter was present, and Communion was instead received from bread (and possibly wine) consecrated on a previous Sunday and preserved by the monks and nuns living there for their daily Communion?

Egeria's accounts of the various eucharistic celebrations also raise the question as to whether they always included several prearranged readings. For the first Sunday Eucharist that she mentions, she states that there was an appropriate reading "from the book of Moses" and the "oblation" (her standard expression for the eucharistic action) was made (3.6); for the second that day, "we made both the oblation there and most earnest prayer, and that passage from the book of the Kingdoms was read" (4.3; she went on to imply that she selected the reading); and for the other two occasions she simply says that the oblation was made. Of course, it is possible that each celebration was indeed preceded by a full liturgy of the word and that Egeria only chose to mention the reading from Exodus on the first occasion and refer to the reading from 1 Kings at the end of the second because those readings were concerned with the specific places in which the service was being held. It is also possible, however, that as yet every Eucharist did not automatically include readings. As we will see later in this Introduction when we examine the eucharistic liturgy at Jerusalem, Egeria regularly uses the Latin verb *procedo* there to indicate a eucharistic liturgy of the word and seems to limit "the oblation" to the eucharistic action proper.[168] Thus it may be significant that she omits *procedo* in relation to the second Eucharist on Holy Thursday, when there apparently was no liturgy of the word attached to it, and also in relation to the Saturday morning Eucharists in Lent, which seem to have followed directly on from the overnight vigil of readings and psalmody.

At least one further question remains unanswered. Why does she request a celebration of the Eucharist at some of the holy places that she visits but not at others, where instead there is a service of prayers, reading, and psalm? We have noted that the lateness of the hour may have precluded a Eucharist in one instance (4.8), but that does not appear to have been the case in others. Sometimes it is possible that there may not have been a presbyter present to lead the worship, but that was not always so. Thus, after celebrating the Eucharist for a second time on a Sunday, another place is shown to her "by presbyters and monks," but prayer and not a Eucharist is held there (4.4); and when she visits the plain near Livias, she is accompanied by a presbyter and deacons, but the Eucharist is not celebrated (10.3, 7). The answer may appear to be that there was no church building there in these two instances, but this does not seem to have been the reason for there being no Eucharist when she visited the church on the summit of Mount Nebo, as the presence of presbyters and monks is mentioned (12.1-3), nor when she went to Sedima, where the presbyter of that place and other clergy take her to the church (14.1). Indeed,

[168] See below, pp. 82–83.

when she was at Carrhae, there was both a church building and a bishop (20.3); the same was true later when she visited the well where Jacob was said to have watered Rachel's sheep (21.1); and yet in neither case did she mention requesting that a Eucharist be celebrated. Could it be that on at least some of those occasions she did ask but her request was refused for some reason? Otherwise, this variation in her piety must remain a mystery.

Jerusalem and Its Ecclesiastical Buildings

Prior to the fourth century Jerusalem had been a small and insignificant city. After the Jewish revolt in the year 70, it had been partially destroyed, and following the end of the Bar Kochba rebellion in 135, the Jewish population had been expelled and the city then refounded by Roman Emperor Hadrian as the pagan Aelia Capitolina—Aelia after the emperor's second name and Capitolina in reference to the three Roman "capitoline" gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. It was built according to the standard plan of a Roman city, which had a gate in the middle of each of its four sides and two principal streets connecting them, one running north to south, the *cardo maximus*, and the other east to west, the *decumanus maximus*. Roman engineers tried to build their roads as straight and level as possible but here they had to contend with Jerusalem's hilly terrain and in particular with the Temple Mount on the east side, as well as a military camp on the south side. Hence, in this case a second pair of main roads was added, as can be seen in Figure 2. The main *cardo* was wide, flanked by rows of columns and shops, and, following usual Roman practice, the main Forum was located at its junction with the main *decumanus*. Adjacent to the Forum, at the junction of the same *cardo* with the other *decumanus*, the emperor Hadrian erected a large temple to Venus, which later became the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Other temples and shrines were built throughout the city, but the vast Temple Mount was left in ruins except for a temple to Jupiter, demolished in the fourth century, and two statues.[169]

[169] The pilgrim from Bordeaux described them as being two statues of the Emperor Hadrian (see Appendix A, p. 201), but Wilkinson, 30, n. 4, suggested that the second may have been of Antoninus, his heir and successor. Jerome, *Comm. in Isaiam* 1.2.9, spoke of a statue of Hadrian and an idol of Jupiter.

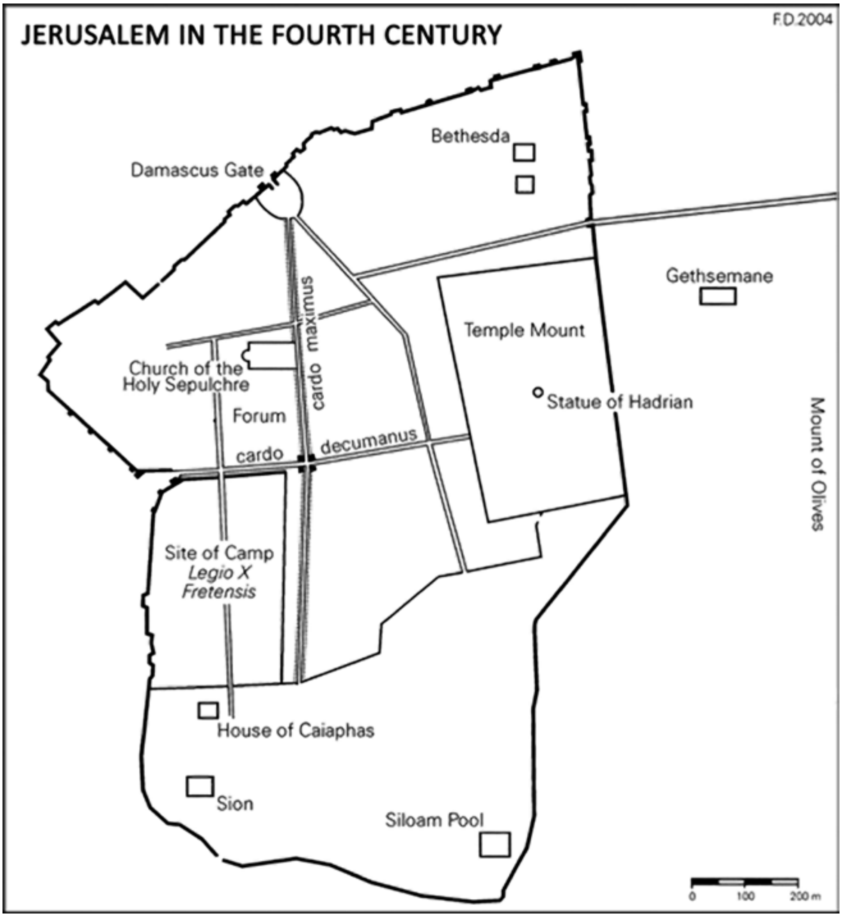

Figure 2

Eusebius recorded a list of each of the successive bishops of the minority Christian community in Jerusalem from earliest times down to the beginning of the third century; whether historically accurate or not, the list's compilation suggests a growing sense of self-importance by that church and a desire to demonstrate its apostolic roots.[170] It is

[170] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl*. 4.5; 5.12; 6.10. On the Christian community in Jerusalem before Constantine, see Oded Irshai, "From Oblivion to Fame: The History of the Palestinian Church (135–303 CE)," in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land*, ed. Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 91–139.

possible that the Christian inhabitants had already begun to cultivate the biblical sites that would come to be regarded as sacred and as places of pilgrimage in the fourth century even before the emperor Constantine embarked on his program to build the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on the supposed site of the crucifixion and burial of Jesus and another church on the Mount of Olives as well as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.[171] But this development, coupled with the cessation of the persecution of Christians, naturally boosted the numbers of those visiting the city, leading to an increase in its economic prosperity, the size of its resident population, and its importance in the secular world as well as in Christian circles. [172] More churches and hospices for pilgrims were built, as were monasteries for the several male and female religious communities that were attracted to settle there. Nevertheless, even by the end of the fourth century it still cannot properly be described as a Christian city: pagan temples, festivals, and other suchlike practices continued to exist and were no doubt supported by a sizable number of its inhabitants.

1. Sion

The earliest Christian community in Jerusalem seems to have been centered in the area of Sion, located southwest of the city, outside the original walls of Aelia Capitolina and set on a hill. According to Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus from 367 onward, when the emperor Hadrian visited the city in 130, he found the city in ruins,

> except for a few houses and for the small church of God, which stood where the Disciples, who returned after the Saviour ascended from the Mount of Olives, went up to the upper chamber. For there it was built, that is in the part of "Zion" that escaped devastation; and [there were] parts of houses around "Zion"

[171] For the disputed question as to whether Jerusalem was already a place of pilgrimage before this, see above, pp. 42–44. For Constantine's influence on Jerusalem, see E. D. Hunt, "Constantine and Jerusalem," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997): 405–24.

[172] For a postcolonial perspective on these developments, see Andrew S. Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews: The Holy Land and Christian Empire in Late Antiquity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

> itself and seven synagogues, which stood alone in "Zion" merely as huts, of which one survived to the time of Maximonas the Bishop and the Emperor Constantine "as a cottage in a vineyard" according to the Scripture.[173]

By the time of Egeria's visit the main focus had shifted to the new buildings over the sacred sites erected by Constantine, but some liturgies for the Jerusalem Christian community were still held on Sion (25.11; 27.5; 39.2, 5; 40.2; 43.3), which suggests that a larger church had been built there during the fourth century. Such a church is not mentioned by Eusebius as among those that Constantine erected, nor explicitly by the pilgrim from Bordeaux, who only noted the existence of the one remaining synagogue there, but it was described in the middle of the fourth century by Cyril of Jerusalem as "the upper church of the Apostles," where the Holy Spirit descended on them at Pentecost,[174] the description of it as "upper" seemingly referring to its location in a higher part of the city.

In addition to other services there, Egeria records that the Jerusalem Christians assembled in the church on the evening of Easter Day and again one week later (39.5; 40.2) to commemorate the appearances of the risen Christ to the disciples "when the doors were shut" (Jn 20:19-29) and also in the morning of the feast of Pentecost (43.3) to commemorate the descent of the Spirit (Acts 2:1-41), in both cases when and where those events were believed to have happened. She does not refer to any association of Sion with the place of the Last Supper—the evening Eucharist on Holy Thursday was not offered there but "behind the Cross," the only day in the year when this was done (35.2)—although later tradition certainly made that connection.[175] Many Christians also went to Sion on the morning of Good Friday to pray at the pillar where Christ was scourged (37.1).

[173] ET from Renan Baker, "Epiphanius, *On Weights and Measures* 14: Hadrian's Journey to the East and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 182 (2012): 157–67, here at 158. For a critical view of the existence of a church building there at this time, see Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 207–19.

[174] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Baptismal Catecheses* 16.4 (ET from *NPNF* 2:7, 116).

[175] See p. 94.

2. *The Rotunda of the Resurrection (Anastasis)*

According to Eusebius, when Constantine ordered the temple of Venus to be cleared from its site, Christ's tomb was discovered there, and the cave, as it was known, was then excavated from the rock that had previously surrounded it, so that it stood clear above ground, after which the emperor adorned it with columns.[176] As neither Eusebius, nor the pilgrim from Bordeaux, nor Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Baptismal Catecheses* mentions anything enclosing the cave, it seems highly likely that the large rotunda over it, measuring approximately 120 feet in diameter, must have been added somewhat later, as Egeria certainly speaks of the existence of a building with doors (24.1, 9; 25.2; 47.2), which she calls the Anastasis ("Resurrection") and where the daily hours of prayer were observed.[177] She also mentions an enclosure (*cancelli*) at the mouth of the cave itself (24.2; 47.1), which appears to have been a waist-high pierced stone balustrade,[178] and the existence of a lamp constantly burning within (24.4), something often noted by later pilgrims. She speaks of worshippers "coming down" to the Anastasis (24.1, 3, 4, 9): John Baldovin thought that this meant that the Anastasis was on a lower level than the rest of the church complex, while Maraval argued instead that there were rooms on an upper floor where pilgrims and ascetics might rest and where the clergy resided.[179] Although not mentioned by Egeria, both Cyril of Jerusalem and Jerome speak of the presence of the stone that had originally sealed the mouth of the tomb.[180]

3. *The Martyrium or Major Church*

Again according to Eusebius, after the tomb was excavated, Constantine then ordered the construction of a very large and grand

[176] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.25-28, 33-34.

[177] On the shape of the building, see Edward J. Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (London/New York: Routledge, 2000), 18–20.

[178] See Wilkinson, 173–74.

[179] John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 228 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1987), 47; Maraval, 234, n. 3.

[180] Cyril, *Baptismal Catecheses* 14.22; Jerome, *Ep.* 108.9.

basilica to its east, with a courtyard between the two that had colonnades on three sides.[181] This basilica seems to have been generally known as the Martyrium—in Greek, *martyrion*. In the New Testament, this term means testimony or witness (see, for example, Mt 8:4; 10.18; 24.14; Acts 4:33; 1 Cor 1:6), but it had come to be used by later Christians, together with its plural *martyria*, to denote the tombs or shrines of martyrs and so, by extension, this building too. Cyril of Jerusalem refers to it by this name, offering the rather fanciful explanation that it may have been foreseen in Zephaniah 3:8;[182] but Egeria gives the more likely reason that it was because it was on the site of Christ's passion (30.1). She also calls it "the major church," either because of its actual size—it measured approximately 190 feet by 130 feet—or to indicate that it was the principal church of the city, in effect its cathedral, though that term would be anachronistic.

Dedicated in 335, timed to coincide with the celebration of thirty years of Constantine's reign, its primary use was for the regular celebration of the Eucharist,[183] presumably as much because its size enabled it to accommodate a large congregation as for its association with the death of Christ. The orientation of the church toward the west rather than the traditional east was dictated by Jerusalem's topography and city plan. Eusebius described the building as follows, moving from west to east:

> On the side opposite the cave, which looked towards the rising sun, was connected the royal temple, an extraordinary structure raised to an immense height and very extensive in length and breadth. Its interior was covered with slabs of varied marble, and the external aspect of the walls, gleaming with hewn stone fitted closely together at each joint, produced a supreme object of beauty by no means inferior to marble. Right up at the top the material which encased the outside of the roof was lead, a sure protection against stormy rain; while the interior of the structure was fitted with carved coffers and like a vast sea spread out by

[181] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.35. For the suggestion that in reality Constantine intended to build this basilica first, and only began to excavate the tomb afterward, see Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 138–42; but cf. Martin Biddle, *The Tomb of Christ* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 70.

[182] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Baptismal Catecheses* 14.6.

[183] For occasions when the Eucharist was celebrated elsewhere in and around Jerusalem, see the section on Eucharist below, pp. 79–83.

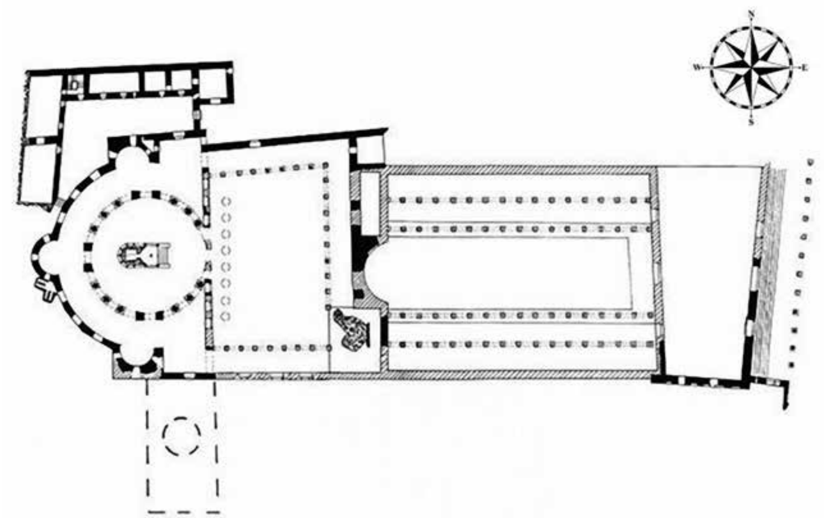

Figure 3: Plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher
in the Fourth Century

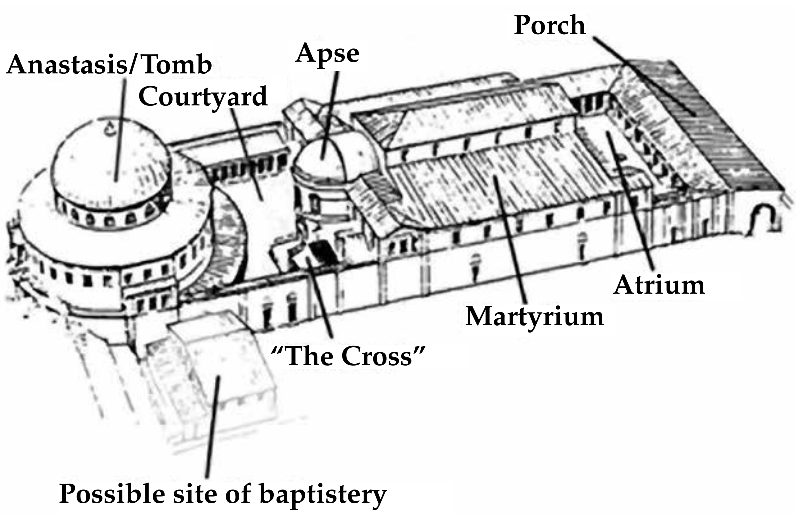

Figure 4: Artist's Impression of the Church Buildings

> a series of joints binding to each other through the whole royal house, and being beautified throughout with brilliant gold made the whole shrine glitter with beams of light. Round each of the sides extended twin ranges of double colonnades, in upper and lower storeys, their tops also decorated with gold. Those at the front of the house rested upon huge pillars, while those inside the front were raised under blocks plentifully decorated all round their surfaces. Three doors well placed to face the sunrise received the crowds flowing in. Facing these as the chief point of the whole was the hemisphere attached to the highest part of the royal house, ringed with twelve columns to match the number of the Apostles of the Saviour, their tops decorated with great bowls made of silver, which the emperor himself had presented to his God as a superb offering.
>
> For those going on from there to the entrances situated at the front of the shrine, another open space awaited them. Arcades stood there on either hand, a first court and colonnade beyond, and finally the gates of the court. Beyond these, right in the middle of the open square, the porticoes forming the entrance to the whole, beautifully wrought, offered to those passing outside a striking view of what was to be seen within.
>
> This then was the shrine which the emperor raised as a manifest testimony of the Saviour's resurrection, embellishing the whole with rich imperial decoration. He adorned it with untold beauties in innumerable dedications of gold and silver and precious stones, set in various materials. In view of their size, number and variety, to describe in detail the skilled craftsmanship which went into their manufacture would be beyond the scope of the present work.[184]

Eusebius makes no mention of the site of Christ's crucifixion, nor does he allude here to the discovery of the supposed wood of the cross that was claimed to be responsible for the identification of the tomb as being that of Jesus,[185] although he seems to do so in an earlier

[184] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.36-40; ET from Cameron and Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine*, 136–37. On the disputed nature of the "hemisphere," see Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 18.

[185] For the various theories that have been advanced to explain his silence, see Louis van Tongeren, *Exaltation of the Cross: Toward the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy*, Liturgia Condenda 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 24–26.

speech in praise of Constantine delivered in 336 that refers to the appearance of "the saving sign," as also does the emperor himself in a letter to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem from 312 to 335, quoted by Eusebius that mentions the "token" and "proof" of Christ's passion that had been hidden in the earth for so many years.[186] Both Cyril[187] and Egeria (37.1-3; 48.1) were certainly aware of the existence of the wood of the cross, but neither of them specifically identified the rocky outcrop that had been incorporated into the corner of Constantine's basilica as having been the site of Christ's crucifixion. It is true that the pilgrim from Bordeaux spoke of "the little hill of Golgotha" as the place where Christ had been crucified, but as both Cyril and Egeria regularly apply the name Golgotha to the whole area of the complex of ecclesiastical buildings rather than to that particular place within it, the pilgrim may not have had the rocky protuberance in mind as being the "little hill."[188]

Nevertheless, the rock featured prominently in the devotional life of the Jerusalem church. Egeria referred to it as "the Cross," an expression that has led some scholars to believe that it was not simply the rocky outcrop but that a jeweled replica or some other representation of the cross itself had been set up there,[189] a view encouraged by a particular phrase in the manuscript referring to Good Friday, "which is now standing" (see the commentary on 37.1). She spoke of the Christian congregation going "before the Cross" and "behind the Cross." The former meant assembling in the courtyard facing the

[186] Eusebius, *De laudibus Constantini* 9; *Vita Constantini* 3.30. On the interpretation of both references, see Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 12–14; Vered Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled: The Early Byzantine Concentric Churches of Jerusalem* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 49, n. 32.

[187] In a letter written to the Emperor Constantius in 351, Cyril stated that it was found in the time of Constantine (see Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 69), and in his *Baptismal Catecheses* 10.19 (ET from *NPNF* 2:7, 63), he says that it is "seen among us to this day, and from this place now almost filling the whole world, by means of those who in faith take portions from it," an allusion to the many fragments of the wood that had been acquired by Christians in other places, as he also indicates in ibid. 4.10; 13.4.

[188] For the pilgrim from Bordeaux's remark, see Appendix A, p. 202; for Cyril, see, e.g., *Baptismal Catecheses* 1.1; and for Egeria, see, e.g., 25.1.

[189] See, for example, Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 122–23, 141; Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, 21; and for a critique of the theory, Christine Milner, "'Lignum Vitae' or 'Crux Gemmata'? The Cross of Golgotha in the Early Byzantine Period," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 20 (1996): 77–99.

rock; the latter seemingly involved gathering in and around the space on the opposite side of it, but a space so small that it is difficult to envisage many people being accommodated there or why they should want to do so, which has led some to suggest that by "behind the Cross" Egeria did not mean that space but the Martyrium itself,[190] although that seems unlikely.

Every day immediately after evening prayer the bishop led an act of devotion before the Cross, which he then immediately repeated behind the Cross (24.7). The reason for this repetition is not apparent, because on other occasions worship took place only in one of the two settings. Thus, on Sunday mornings the vigil of the resurrection ended with an act of worship before the Cross (24.11); on the octave of the Epiphany the Eucharist was celebrated there (25.11); on Holy Thursday it was offered behind the Cross (35.2); on the morning of Good Friday there was an act of worship before the Cross (36.4), the veneration of the wood of the cross took place behind the Cross (37.1), and then the principal liturgy of the day took place before the Cross (37.5); and on the Saturday of Easter Week the Eucharist was celebrated before the Cross (39.2).

The Golgotha complex must also have included a baptistery in the fourth century, as it is mentioned by the pilgrim from Bordeaux and presumably used for the Easter baptisms referred to by Egeria (38.1). Its precise location has not been identified. Most scholars place it on the south side of the buildings, but Juliette Day has followed some others in arguing for a site to the north.[191]

4. Eleona

Construction of this church on the west side of the Mount of Olives (Eleona from the Greek meaning "olive grove") was attributed by Eusebius to both Constantine and his mother Helena, the site being chosen because it was over a cave in which it was believed that Jesus

[190] See Shimon Gibson and Joan E. Taylor, *Beneath the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1994), 78–79; Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*, 34–35.

[191] Juliette Day, *Baptism in Early Byzantine Palestine 325–451*, JLS 43 (Cambridge: Grove Books, 1999), 18–27.

used to teach when he and his disciples visited the Mount of Olives.[192] Although such a cave is not mentioned in the New Testament, the tradition known to Eusebius is corroborated by Egeria (30.3). Described as "very beautiful" by Egeria (25.11), the church was used for worship chiefly in Holy Week and Easter Week and again on the afternoon of Pentecost, when the Jerusalem church celebrated Christ's ascension, as it was also close to the hillock from which Jesus was thought to have ascended into heaven, the Imbomon (meaning "on the hillock").[193] Hence the visits to this church very often also included a further service at the Imbomon (see, for example, 31.1). Although a church was eventually built at the Imbomon as well through the patronage of the noblewoman Poemenia —it was mentioned by Jerome in 392—this seemingly had not yet happened when Egeria was there. As John Wilkinson rightly observed, she called it simply a "place" and not a church, and she did not speak of it as specially decorated at the great festivals like other churches, or as a place in which the Eucharist was celebrated.[194]

5. Other Churches

Egeria mentions three other churches in the area around Jerusalem that were not part of Constantine's building program. On the way down from the Mount of Olives to Gethsemane was what Egeria calls "a fine church" (36.1) at the place where Jesus was believed to have

[192] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.43: "The emperor's mother erected on the Mount of Olives the monument to the journey into heaven of the Saviour of the Universe in lofty buildings; up by the ridges at the peak of the whole mountain she raised the sacred house of the church, and constructed just there a shrine for prayer to the Saviour who chose to spend his time on that spot, since just there a true report maintains that in that cave the Saviour of the Universe initiated the members of his guild in ineffable mysteries. There also the Emperor bestowed all kinds of offerings and ornaments on the great King"; ET from Cameron and Hall, *Eusebius: Life of Constantine*, 137–38. See also Eusebius's earlier works, *Demonstratio evangelica* 6.18; *De laudibus Constantini* 9.16–17. For the tradition among many Gnostic groups of Christ handing on secret mysteries on the Mount of Olives, see Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 149.

[193] Although the pilgrim from Bordeaux understood it to be the mount of the transfiguration: see Appendix A, p. 202.

[194] Jerome, *Comm. in Zeph.* 1.15ff.; Wilkinson, 15, 171. See below, p. 82.

prayed on the night he was betrayed, and hence it formed a location for prayer and a reading of the relevant passage from Mark 14 on the night of Holy Thursday. There was also a church at Bethany about two miles east of Jerusalem in the place where it was thought that Jesus met Mary, the sister of Lazarus, whom he raised from the dead (Jn 11:29-30); this was about five hundred paces from the tomb of Lazarus itself, which was known as the Lazarium (29.4). Although both Eusebius and the pilgrim from Bordeaux refer only to Lazarus's tomb and not to another church at the Lazarium, it seems evident that a church had been built at the site by the time of Egeria's visit because she includes the Lazarium among the churches that were richly decorated at the paschal season (39.1) and speaks of it as constituting one of the places where the Eucharist was celebrated in the octave of the Epiphany (25.11). Jerome confirms the existence of the church in about 390.[195]

Although not in Jerusalem itself but over five miles south of the city, we may include here the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, both because it was one of the churches built by Constantine[196] and also because it played a part in the liturgical observances of the Jerusalem Christians. The belief that Jesus had been born in a cave was already well established before the fourth century, and Constantine erected an octagonal sanctuary over the supposed cave with a nave extending westward from it.[197] Unfortunately, the part of Egeria's manuscript that described the nocturnal celebration of the nativity/Epiphany at Bethlehem is missing, but from what remains (25.6) it is clear that the Christians from Jerusalem had gone there for that event and then returned to Jerusalem to keep the eight days of the festival, while the Christians of Bethlehem continued the celebrations there. Egeria also records a further visit to Bethlehem on the fortieth day after Easter, which we shall consider in the section on the liturgical year.

The Liturgies of Jerusalem

Egeria's documentation of liturgical life in late fourth-century Jerusalem is extensive but not exactly systematic. She addresses some

[195] Jerome, *Onomasticon, Bethania*; cf. Maraval, 268, n. 2, who believed that there was as yet no church as such there in Egeria's day.

[196] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3.41-43.

[197] See Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 99–112.

topics in multiple places, and an offhand comment in one chapter frequently complements information provided elsewhere in her writings. Piecing material from various parts of the manuscript together results in a more coherent vision of the whole, but also leaves readers and scholars with questions and inconsistencies to ponder when comparing the data she reveals with that from other roughly contemporary sources. Some inevitable gaps remain where Egeria simply skips over facts we greatly desire to know in the interest of not repeating what she presumes her readers *already* know.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable things about Egeria's description of public worship in Jerusalem is the way she nearly always mentions the *missa*, the ritual dismissal at the end of every service, which apparently involved the blessing by the bishop of the catechumens, if present, and then of the faithful, after which individuals "come to his hand" (see, for example, 24.2, 6-7), a phrase probably meaning that they received a personal laying on of hands in blessing from him, rather than that they each kissed his hand.[198] This concluding rite must have taken quite some time on each occasion, which probably explains the attention Egeria gives to it. However, she sometimes uses the word *missa* in a way that seems to imply she is thinking of the complete liturgical rite rather than just this final part at points where she does not mention any other elements of the rite taking place (see, for example, 39.1; 41). Furthermore, in those two particular instances she uses the word in conjunction with the phrase "in its order," which seems for her to denote a celebration of the Eucharist (see the commentary on 3.6). Nevertheless, for the sake of consistency, we have translated it as "dismissal" every time it occurs. A similar tendency to use the word to denote a complete rite can also be seen in other Western sources: John Cassian describes the monastic night office as a *missa*,[199] and the sixth-century monastic rules of Caesarius of Arles and his successor Aurelian regularly refer to a variable number of *missae*, each made up of three readings, three prayers, and three psalms, to be repeated during the night. The word had not yet acquired the narrower sense it would have later, however, of referring exclusively to the Eucharist.

[198] *Pace* John F. Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*, JLS 9 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1989), 31, n. 4; Gingras, 89–92; Maraval, 237, n. 2. For the meaning of the terms "the catechumens" and "the faithful," see below, p. 84.

[199] John Cassian, *De inst. coen.* 3.6.

A significant feature of liturgy at Jerusalem was that it was often what is called "stational," that is, it was not always held in one place but the same service might be held each day in a different predetermined place (the Latin word *statio* meaning "standing place")—or alternatively the worshipping community itself might move from one place to another on the same occasion, performing a liturgical rite in each place as it went. These rites were often, though not always, brief commemorations of a biblical event associated with the place and centered around the reading of a relevant Scripture passage, very similar to the worship offered in the other holy places visited by Egeria elsewhere on her travels.[200] The journey from place to place would be made in procession, always with the presence of the bishop and usually accompanied by the singing of psalms or hymns, thus rivaling the public processions of the surrounding pagan culture.[201] For example, after evening prayer each day "the bishop is led from the Anastasis to the Cross with hymns," where there was prayer and blessing, but no Bible reading (24.7). Stational liturgy was not a phenomenon unique to Jerusalem at the time, as Christians in cities throughout the Roman Empire laid claim to public space after the cessation of persecution, but the abundance of holy sites in and around Jerusalem gave this trend even greater scope than in those other places.[202]

1. Daily Worship

The daily services of Jerusalem were distinctive in two principal ways. First, as *the* great center of Christian pilgrimage, Jerusalem had more people with leisure and inclination to attend them than would have been the case in other cities in the ancient Christian world; and second, the many male and female monastics who lived there regu-

[200] See above, pp. 53–55. The term *Verkündigungsgottesdienst* (proclamation service) was applied to such rites by Rolf Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 48 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1968), 5.

[201] See, for example, Fritz Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[202] The definitive study of this feature of early Christian liturgy is Baldovin, *Urban Character*.

larly joined in those services with the bishop, clergy, and people, rather than observing their hours of prayer in their own communities, as seems generally to have been the case elsewhere. It is not surprising that what Egeria describes, therefore, has the appearance of a combination of what have been designated by modern scholars as "monastic" and "cathedral" patterns of daily prayer. The appellation "monastic" does not merely denote the main participants but also the particular kind of prayer, primarily meditation on Scripture, or more often specifically on the canonical psalms, usually recited in their biblical order and characterized by the alternation of psalms and silent prayer, and done by individuals alone as well as in groups. "Cathedral" prayer, on the other hand, was essentially corporate in character—the local Christian community at prayer—presided over by its ordained ministers and engaged in praise of God on behalf of all creation and intercession for the needs of the world. "Urban monastic" communities, such as those in Jerusalem, tended to have a hybrid pattern of daily worship, fusing aspects of "monastic" prayer with elements from "cathedral" liturgy.[203]

The best attested pattern of regular prayer recommended to early Christians was three times each day and once again during the night. By the middle of the third century, at least in North Africa, this counsel had increased to five times a day—morning, third, sixth, and ninth hours, and evening—as well as in the night, [204] and that expanded regimen continued to be encouraged by preachers everywhere in the fourth century.[205] In reality, however, only morning and evening were generally celebrated publicly in the churches at this period, and the observance of the other hours was usually limited to exceptionally pious individuals and to monastic groups. Although these morning and evening services were now beginning to be regarded as the spiritual fulfillment of the twice-daily sacrifices prescribed in the Old

[203] For more on the distinction between these fourth-century forms of daily prayer, see Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church*, Alcuin Club Collections 63 (London: SPCK, 1981/New York: Oxford University Press, 1982; reprinted Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2008); idem, *Reconstructing Early Christian Worship* (London: SPCK, 2009/Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2010), 101–16; Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986, 2d ed., 1993).

[204] See Tertullian, *De or.* 24–25; Cyprian, *De Dom. orat*. 34–36.

[205] See John Chrysostom, *De Anna sermo* 4.5; *Expos. in Ps.* 133; *Hom. in Act.* 26.

Testament,[206] there is really no sign that their form at Jerusalem or elsewhere at this time was at all influenced by what had been the actual practices of the temple several centuries earlier, in spite of the valiant attempt by Wilkinson to see parallels between the Christian and Jewish evening liturgies.[207]

From Egeria's extended description of the daily services at Jerusalem in chapters 24 and 25 together with scattered references elsewhere in her writing, we have attempted to represent that pattern in tabular form in Figure 5. Interestingly, Egeria notes that some lay people, probably for the most part pious pilgrims, would be present at the "monastic" night office (24.1), celebrated each day at cockcrow (by which is meant about three hours before sunrise), as well as at the combined "cathedral" and "monastic" services during the day. The presence of pilgrims may also have been responsible for encouraging the retention of the sixth hour within the regular "cathedral" pattern throughout the year (rather than morning and evening prayer alone), as well as the addition of the ninth hour to this pattern, except for Sundays[208] and during the Easter season (which thus continued to reflect the more ancient Christian tradition of prayer just three times a day). While public prayer at the third hour was added to the weekday cycle at Jerusalem only during Lent (27.4), it is highly probable that the hour was still observed during the rest of the year by the monastic communities there, either in their own houses or individually wherever they were working.

Because the bishop generally only arrived well after each service had begun, some have concluded that he only attended the part of it for which he was required to act—the leading of the intercessions.[209] But that was not true of evening prayer, where he came and sat for further "hymns and antiphons" (24.4) before those prayers, nor of the Sunday vigil, where he was present from the beginning (24.9). This suggests the possibility that his arrival actually marked the end of the "monastic" part and the beginning of the true "cathedral" portion of each service, and that, apart from evening prayer, the other daily "cathedral" services in Jerusalem consisted only of prayer and

[206] See in particular Chrysostom, *Expos. in Ps.* 140.3.
[207] Wilkinson, 68–70.
[208] For details of this, see 24.8–25.4 and the accompanying commentary.
[209] See, for example, Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 53.

THE CYCLE OF DAILY SERVICES AT JERUSALEM IN THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY

M = “monastic” service; C = “cathedral” service

	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Pre-cockcrow	M						
Cockcrow	Vigil	M	M	M	M	M	M
Morning	Eucharist	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C or Eucharist?
Third hour		(Lent only)	(Lent only)	(Lent only)	(Lent only)	(Lent only)	(Lent only)
Sixth hour	C	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C
Ninth hour		M + C	M + C	Word or Eucharist	M + C	Word or Eucharist	M + C
Evening	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C	M + C

Figure 5

not of selected psalms and hymns as well as prayer, and thus had retained a more primitive character than elsewhere. For example, at Antioch, "cathedral" morning prayer as well as evening prayer already included both selected psalms and intercessions.[210]

Egeria apparently uses the terms "antiphons," "hymns," and "psalms" interchangeably, and she does not seem to intend any specific differences between them (cf. Eph 5:19; Col 3:16). Other writers at the time similarly often use the word "hymns" when speaking of the canonical psalms.[211] The use of the word "antiphons" suggests that at least some of the psalms were performed responsorially, that is, with the verses sung by a soloist and the congregation responding to each one with a repeated refrain or antiphon, and indeed Egeria confirms that this was the method employed at the Sunday vigil service (24.9). She uses the Latin verb *dico*, literally "say," to describe the performance of the hymns and psalms, which we have consistently rendered as "recite" in this context in our translation, but that certainly does not mean that these texts were not chanted.[212] She also remarks, apparently with some surprise, that the psalms chosen for all the regular daily services were always "appropriate" to the occasion (25.5). If she is to be believed, this seems to imply that the community from which she came tended instead to recite psalms in their biblical sequence in their worship—regardless of the hour, day, or season. This would be quite typical of a more monastic milieu. In Jerusalem, however, not only did "cathedral" services use the psalms very selectively, as was also the case elsewhere, but even "monastic" services did the same, including—very unusually—the night office too. She gives no indication at all, however, what any of these "appropriate" psalms and hymns might have been.

None of the regular daily services as Egeria describes them included any Scripture readings, but she reveals that on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent the services at the ninth hour on other days were replaced

[210] See *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.59; John Chrysostom, *Expos. in Ps.* 140.1; *Hom. in Matt.* 11.9.

[211] See, for example, Augustine, *Retract.* 2.11; Epiphanius, *Adv. haer.* 3.23; Eusebius, *Comm. in Ps.* 60.1.

[212] See Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, 50; Peter Jeffery, "The Earliest Christian Chant Repertory Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994): 1–39.

by a service of the word that included preaching by the bishop and presbyters (27.5). She adds that the same service also continued in the other weeks of the year, but she is not clear whether it then included the Eucharist or not (see the section on the Eucharist below). Because this particular service was held in a different location from the other services in the rest of the week—on Sion, the ancient center of the Jerusalem church, rather than in the much more recent Anastasis—it may well have represented an older tradition than the public celebration of the daily hours of prayer. Indeed, Tertullian in North Africa at the beginning of the third century already implied the existence of a similar service at the ninth hour, coinciding with the time of the conclusion of the fast on those two regular days of fasting in early Christianity.[213] That the service known to Egeria was also connected to the practice of fasting seems to be supported by the fact that it apparently did not take place if the feast day of a martyr fell on it, when presumably fasting was also suspended (except during Lent). Furthermore, during the Easter season, when there was no fasting, it was transferred to the morning (27.5; 41). According to Epiphanius, this was the practice everywhere in the fourth century.[214]

On occasion, one of the usual hours of prayer could be replaced by another service. This was particularly true of the ninth hour, which was superseded not only by the service of the word on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, but also by a special service each weekday in Holy Week (32.1; 33.1; 34; 35.1; 37.8).

2. *Vigils*

A vigil is essentially an extended period of watching and waiting before a major liturgical event, which early Christians filled with the recitation of psalms and/or the reading of Scripture together with prayer, each such unit being repeated a varying number of times as needed. Egeria mentions several all-night vigils in the course of the liturgical year in Jerusalem, as well as some shorter ones, distinct from the regular "monastic" night office. The most frequent of this latter group was held in the early hours of every Sunday morning, and was clearly intended to be a weekly commemoration of Christ's

[213] Tertullian, *De ieiun.* 10.
[214] Epiphanius, *De fide* 22.

resurrection on the very day of the week and in the very place—around the tomb—where it had happened, because it culminated in a reading of one of the gospel narratives of Christ's passion and resurrection (24.9-11). This reading was preceded by a group of three psalms sung responsorially, with prayer after each psalm—one of the most typical units of ancient vigil services, and indeed of monastic prayer generally, in ancient Christianity. The prayer usually consisted of a short period of silence followed by a brief collect, for which the worshippers knelt.[215] Egeria gives no details of this practice, but it was probably also done this way in Jerusalem. Nor does she state which psalms were used for the vigil: normal "monastic" practice was to use them in consecutive order from the Psalter, but as she says that the psalms were always appropriate (25.5), that may not have been so here.

Egeria gives no hint that the unit of three psalms was repeated at this Sunday vigil, and so it must have been a relatively short liturgy. But the daily "monastic" night office at Jerusalem appears to follow an extended version of this pattern, almost certainly with multiple groups of three psalms, each psalm being followed by prayer, which accounts for the constant presence of deacons to pronounce the bidding to pray and presbyters to recite each collect (24.1). Because in other monastic communities their own members normally recited the prayers, this provides yet another indication—like the public celebration of prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours—of some "cathedral" influence here on what had otherwise been essentially "monastic" practice.

The weekly all-night vigil in Lent, beginning with the evening office on Friday evening and ending on Saturday morning, had a different structure, with alternated psalms and biblical readings (27.7-8; 29.1-2). John Cassian mentions identical vigils being held throughout the year in Palestinian monasticism, which implies that, as with prayer at the third hour, the Jerusalem custom was simply a Lenten extension to the whole local church of something done year-round by its monastic communities on their own. He provides a more detailed description of these vigils than Egeria, with each unit consisting of

[215] See, for example, *Ps.*-Athanasius, *De virginitate* 20; Cassian, *De inst. coen.* 2.7–8.

two groups of three psalms, followed by a group of three readings. He says that the monks there divide the vigils

> into an office in three parts, that by this variety the effort may be distributed and the exhaustion of the body relieved by some agreeable relaxation. For when standing they have sung three psalms antiphonally, after this, sitting on the ground or in very low stalls, one of them repeats three psalms, while the rest respond, each psalm being assigned to one of the brethren, who succeed each other in turn; and to these they add three lessons while still sitting quietly. And so, by lessening their bodily exertion, they manage to observe their vigils with greater attention of mind.[216]

Although neither Egeria nor Cassian here explicitly mentions prayer after each psalm, it is most likely that it was done. Nor do they say how many times this unit was repeated in the course of the night, perhaps because that might vary in order to fill the period completely.

The main services added in Holy Week seemingly adopted the same vigil structure, even though they were held during the day rather than at night.[217] On the preceding Saturday, there was an afternoon gathering at the Lazarium at which "hymns and antiphons appropriate to the day and place are recited, similarly also readings all appropriate to the day are read" (29.5). Likewise, on Palm Sunday there was a gathering on Eleona from the seventh to the ninth hour at which "hymns and antiphons appropriate to that day and place are recited, similarly also readings," and at the ninth hour they moved on to the Imbomon, where until the eleventh hour "hymns and antiphons appropriate to the place and day are also recited there; similarly also readings and prayers are interspersed" (31.1). From Monday to Wednesday there were similar gatherings at the Martyrium also lasting four hours, from the ninth hour of the day until the first hour of the night (32.1), as well as a service of the same kind at the ninth hour on Good Friday (37.8). Egeria listed exactly the same elements for the longer vigil during the night from Holy Thursday to Good

[216] Cassian, *De inst. coen.* 3.8; ET from *NPNF* 2:11, 217.

[217] For a tabular display of these vigil services, see Figure 6, p. 93.

Friday both on Eleona and at the Imbomon (35.3-4), as well as for a shorter daytime vigil service again on Eleona on the feast of Pentecost (43.5). The later Armenian Lectionary places the Holy Thursday vigil on Eleona alone and not at the Imbomon; by this time it consisted only of psalms and not readings as well, the psalms being arranged in five units of three psalms each, with a prayer "said with kneeling" after each group of three psalms.[218] The only reading here was John 13:16–18:1, at midnight following the vigil.

A third vigil structure occurred at the major festivals of Epiphany and Easter. Although the portion of Egeria's manuscript referring to the former is missing and she supplies no details at all of the latter, the Armenian Lectionary once more helps to fill these gaps by revealing that these vigils focused primarily on Old Testament readings rather than on psalmody. Those at Epiphany were: Genesis 1:29–3:20; Isaiah 7:10-18; Exodus 14:24–15:21; Micah 5:2-7; Proverbs 1:1-9; Isaiah 9:5b-7; Isaiah 11:1-9; Isaiah 35:4-8; Isaiah 40:10-17; Isaiah 42:1-8a; followed by Daniel 3:1-90, divided into three parts with nonbiblical antiphons between each part. The Epiphany vigil seems to have been modeled on the Easter vigil, as the first, third, and final readings are found substantially (and more appropriately) there as the first, fifth and final one, including the same division of that final one into three parts with the same antiphons. Clemens Leonhard has suggested that the motive behind the adoption of two of these Easter readings at Epiphany may have been as much musical as theological, because Daniel 3 is a canticle and Exodus 14 ends with one in Exodus 15.[219] The Easter vigil readings were twelve in number, rather than the eleven of Epiphany: Genesis 1:1–3:24; Genesis 22:1-18; Exodus 12:1-24; Jonah 1:1–4:11; Exodus 14:24–15:21; Isaiah 60:1-13; Job 38:1-28; 2 Kings 2:1-22; Jeremiah 31:31-34; Joshua 1:1-9; Ezekiel 37:1-14; Daniel 3:1-90. While the oldest manuscripts make no reference to psalmody at the Epiphany vigil, it appears that parts of Psalm 118 may have been used before each of the readings at the paschal vigil. The rubrics

[218] For the Armenian Lectionary, see below, p. 87. See also Athanase Renoux, "Liturgie de Jérusalem et lectionaries arméniens. Vigiles et année liturgique," in *La Prière des Heures*, ed. Msgr. Cassien and Bernard Botte, Lex Orandi 35 (Paris: Cerf, 1963), 167–99, here at 187–90.

[219] Clemens Leonhard, *The Jewish Pesach and the Origins of the Christian Easter* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2006), 302, 310, n. 515.

for the latter make clear that each reading was followed by prayer with kneeling. There was also a vigil on the eve of the celebration held in Bethlehem on the fortieth day of the Easter season, whatever that festival may have been (42), but Egeria supplies no details of it.

Finally, the principal service of the day that began at noon on Good Friday for three hours has a similar form to these vigils, but this time including readings from the New Testament as well. Egeria says that the readings all concern Christ's passion, from the Psalms (evidently treated as messianic prophecy), from the Epistles and Acts, and from the gospels (37.5). She adds that hymns and prayers were also interspersed (37.6). The Armenian Lectionary, on the other hand, has a pattern of eight psalms, eight readings from the prophets, and eight readings from the New Testament, arranged in the traditional groups of three, so that each psalm is followed first by a prophetic reading and then by a New Testament reading, with a prayer said kneeling concluding the group. The last four groups also have a reading of the passion narrative from each of the four gospels in turn added to them. The late third-/early fourth-century Syrian church order, the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, describes an Easter vigil that consisted of "reading the prophets and the Gospel and the psalms" (5.19.1) and thus suggests the possibility that this pattern of vigil may have been more widely known in the region.

3. Eucharist

Egeria reveals very little about the contents or frequency of the Eucharist at Jerusalem. She describes the main Sunday morning service each week as taking place in the Martyrium rather than in the Anastasis where all the other regular daily services were held. She says that "everything is done according to the custom by which it is also done everywhere on the Lord's Day" (25.1), but of course she does not tell us what that custom was. She does not even state explicitly that it was a Eucharist, but it obviously was so, and in her later description of Pentecost she does note that the Eucharist was celebrated every Sunday morning throughout the year (43.2). Apparently, the only element in the Eucharist that was unfamiliar to her was the Jerusalem custom of the preaching of multiple sermons on a single occasion by the bishop and presbyters, as she does not comment on anything else. She also mentions later that the bishop normally sat to preach (46.4). For more detailed information about the Eucharist in Jerusalem one must rely on other sources, and especially the *Mystagogical Catecheses* usually attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, though they may have been edited by—or even be the work of—his immediate successor, John.[220] Yet, even the *Mystagogical Catecheses* reveal nothing about the first part of the rite, the liturgy of the word.

Egeria makes no reference to a service of morning prayer preceding the Sunday Eucharist. Did the earlier resurrection vigil or the Eucharist itself substitute for it, or was it one of the things done everywhere and so did not merit a comment? The fact that she does not mention morning prayer on the feast of the Epiphany, but only the Eucharist followed by midday prayer (25.10), or morning prayer on Saturday mornings in Lent when the Eucharist was celebrated (27.8), may perhaps confirm that it was also omitted on Sundays. Moreover, because the regular daily prayer services were held in the Anastasis, if there had been a distinct morning prayer on Sundays, we might have expected it to have been there and not in the Martyrium.

Was the Eucharist also celebrated on days other than Sundays? In her description of the service of the word at the ninth hour on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, Egeria says that they do "everything that it is the custom to do at the ninth hour, except for the oblation" (27.6). This certainly could mean that outside Lent the service did include the Eucharist, but it is also possible that Egeria could be saying that a Eucharist at the ninth hour on these days was customary in the region from which she came, but not at all in Jerusalem. On the other hand, the celebration of the Eucharist at the conclusion of the fast on those days throughout the year would have been quite appropriate, and its suspension in Jerusalem during Lent, when people were encouraged to fast all week (28), would have been understandable, as fasting would have included fasting from the reception of Communion. During the Easter season, when there was no fasting,

[220] See Maxwell E. Johnson, *Lectures on the Christian Sacraments, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem: Greek Original and English Translation*, Popular Patristics Series (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2017). On the question of authorship, see also Alexis Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses*, Patristic Monograph Series 17 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2001); and Juliette Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt* (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 11–25, 138–40.

this service was transferred to the morning (41). Whether the use of the expression "in its order" in connection with it might imply that it was eucharistic, at least in that season, see the commentary on this phrase at 3.6 (pp. 107–8). Practice outside Jerusalem appears to have been mixed. Canon 49 of the Council of Laodicea (380) directed that "during Lent bread must not be offered except on Saturday and Sunday alone," seemingly implying, like Egeria, that outside Lent it *was* offered on other days. *Apostolic Constitutions*, however, makes no reference anywhere to the Eucharist on days other than Saturday and Sunday, and certainly at Alexandria the services on Wednesday and Friday remained as services of the word throughout the year.[221]

There is similar uncertainty about the celebration of the Eucharist on Saturday mornings. Egeria states that during Lent the Eucharist was held in the Anastasis at the end of the all-night vigil there (rather than in the Martyrium) "earlier" in the morning, before sunrise, for the sake of those who had been fasting all week, who could now break their fast (27.7-9). Does that mean that during the rest of the year there was also a Eucharist on Saturday mornings, but at a somewhat later hour? The use of the comparative word "earlier" (*maturius*) seems to imply that, but Egeria was not always precise in her use of comparatives and superlatives. It is possible that it was a purely Lenten phenomenon to mark the conclusion of the week's fast, which would not have been the case in the rest of the year, especially if there had already been a Eucharist on the preceding Friday afternoon to mark the end of that day's fast. She certainly did not mention a Saturday Eucharist in her description of the regular weekly cycle of services, but neither did she mention there the existence of the Wednesday and Friday services. On the other hand, there is evidence for the regular celebration of the Eucharist on Saturdays throughout the year in other centers of Christianity at this period, which may support the supposition that it was also held on every Saturday in Jerusalem.[222]

Finally, it seems that the Eucharist was celebrated daily during the Easter octave, as Egeria says that the community assembled in the

[221] Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 5.22.

[222] Ibid., "Although almost all the churches throughout the world celebrate the sacred mysteries on the sabbath of every week, yet the Christians of Alexandria and Rome, on account of some ancient tradition, refuse to do this"; ET from *NPNF* 2:2, 132. See also *Apostolic Constitutions* 5.20.19.

Martyrium not only on Easter Day itself and the following Sunday, but also on the Monday and Tuesday, while on Wednesday they assembled on Eleona, Thursday in the Anastasis, Friday on Sion, and Saturday "before the Cross" (39.2). As the gatherings in the Martyrium were quite obviously eucharistic, or they presumably would have been held in the Anastasis like other daily services, there is no reason to suppose that any of the others were not eucharistic too. The same appears to be the case for the octave of the Epiphany (25.10-11) and for the octave of the anniversary of the dedication of the Martyrium (49.3). It is no clearer, however, whether or not the Eucharist was preceded by morning prayer on these days than it was on Sundays.

As for where the Eucharist was celebrated, the Sunday service was always in the Martyrium, and indeed the Eucharist seems to have been celebrated elsewhere in and around Jerusalem rather than in the Martyrium for only one of three reasons: first, when it immediately followed another liturgical rite that had occurred in another place, as for example on Saturday mornings in Lent in the Anastasis at the end of an all-night vigil (27.8); second, during the octaves of the three major festivals in the year, Epiphany, Easter, and the Encaenia, when on some days it was held in a different church in the vicinity each time (25.10-11; 39.2; 49.3); and third, when in the course of the liturgical year another place was directly associated with the particular biblical event being observed on that day, as, for example, on the day of Pentecost, when it was celebrated on Sion, believed to have been the place where the Holy Spirit had descended on the disciples (43.3). Egeria states that this was the only time in the whole year when a Sunday Eucharist was celebrated somewhere other than in the Martyrium (25.6), but even then the Eucharist was also held there earlier in the morning before the second celebration on Sion (43.2).

Regarding the structure of the eucharistic rite, it has been suggested that Egeria regularly used the Latin verb *procedo* (which we have consistently translated as "assemble" in this context) as a quasi-technical term for assembling for a eucharistic-type liturgy of the word,[223] and that certainly seems to be the case, as it is used only of the services on Sundays and festivals in the Martyrium (25.1, 6; 27.3;

[223] See A. A. R. Bastiaensen, *Observations sur le vocabulaire liturgique dans l'Itinéraire d'Égerie*, Latinitas Christianorum primaeva 17 (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1962), 26–39; Christine Mohrmann, "Missa," *Vigiliae Christianae* 12 (1958): 67–92, here at 76ff.; Wilkinson, 179.

30.1; 39.2; 41; 43.2; 49.3), of festal Eucharists held elsewhere (25.6, 11; 26; 39.2; 49.3), and of the Wednesday and Friday services of the word on Sion, whether followed by the Eucharist or not (27.5-6; 41). It is never used for the daily prayer services in the Anastasis, nor for any of the various special services held in either the Martyrium or other locations during the year, nor even in relation to the Lenten Saturday morning Eucharist in the Anastasis, which probably did not have its own liturgy of the word but followed directly on the vigil readings. On the other hand, the verb is not entirely exclusive to that context: Egeria uses it twice of the sun rising (27.8; 37.1).

Egeria's standard term for the Eucharist, *oblatio*, "oblation," with its cognate verb, *offerre*, "offer," seems to relate to the eucharistic action proper rather than to the whole rite that included the liturgy of the word. Thus, in some instances the expression follows a reference to a preceding Old Testament reading (3.6; 4.3-4), a reading from Acts (43.3), the resurrection gospel (38.2), a full service of the word (27.6), or a longer vigil of readings (27.7-8; 29.1, 3). In other cases, what preceded is described in more vague terms: "they do what is to be done" (35.1), "they do there what is also customary with us" (38.2), and "everything also is done that is customary to do" (43.2), which seems to imply some form of liturgy of the word. It is also possible, however, that in at least some instances where there is no mention of anything preceding the "oblation" (4.8; 16.7), there might not have been a liturgy of the word at all. This seems even more likely where the reference is to the second celebration of the Eucharist following immediately after the first on Holy Thursday (35.2). Moreover, on those occasions listed above where only one reading is mentioned, we should not automatically assume that there were always other readings as well: there is no reason to suppose that as yet the Eucharist could not possibly take place unless at least an epistle and a gospel were included.

4. Christian Initiation

Egeria supplies more information about the process of preparation for baptism than she does about the Eucharist, even if she is similarly brief about the baptismal rite itself —in this case not surprisingly, as she would not have been able to witness personally what took place in the baptistery. In common with the rest of the ancient Christian world after the Council of Nicaea in 325, Easter had become the normative occasion for the celebration of the baptism of new converts, and the season of Lent was devoted to their preparation. Egeria makes no mention of baptisms taking place at any other point in the year. Those preparing for baptism were known as catechumens, from the Greek for "those being instructed," while baptized Christians were described as "the faithful." In Jerusalem catechumens submitted their names on the day before Lent began, and on Monday, the first day of Lent, there was an examination of their prior conduct (45.1-3). Only those whose sponsors vouched for their virtuous behavior then had their names formally inscribed by the bishop and were permitted to proceed. Thereafter, each weekday during Lent the candidates underwent exorcism in order to drive out any remaining traces of evil, and they also received three hours of teaching by the bishop between morning prayer and prayer at the third hour.

Egeria states that the bishop's teaching for the first five weeks covered the Scriptures, beginning with Genesis, and in the sixth and seventh weeks he expounded the Creed to them (46.2-3). A similar program is outlined in *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.39, and the book of Genesis featured prominently in the Lenten readings at Antioch.[224] Ambrose of Milan also drew moral lessons in his preaching to his baptismal candidates from the patriarchal narratives read to them in Lent.[225] There is, however, an apparent discrepancy between Egeria's testimony and Cyril of Jerusalem's *Baptismal Catecheses* from the mid-fourth century, which are only eighteen in number and focus almost exclusively (nos. 4–18) on the contents of the Creed, without a clear indication that another series of lectures on the Scriptures had preceded them. Nor would they have been sufficient to fill three hours of teaching each day. Moreover, the listing of the biblical readings used in baptismal instruction in the later Armenian Lectionary correlates very closely with those mentioned by Cyril. Various theories have been put forward to account for these disparities, including the possibility that the teaching was not really given on every single day of the week, or that Egeria was simply mistaken about what it covered, or that the additional time would have been needed to translate Cyril's words into Syriac (see 47.3-4).[226] Maxwell Johnson, however, has argued that Cyril's lectures reflect an older tradition when the final period of baptismal preparation was only three weeks in length and con-

[224] See Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems*, 132–37.

[225] Ambrose, *De mysteriis* 1.1.

[226] See, for example, Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*, 12–14.

centrated on the Creed alone.[227] Moral teaching based on the Old Testament would at that period have belonged to a prior stage of the catechumenate. Given the extent of liturgical developments in the fourth century more generally, it is certainly possible that some changes in the catechumenal process were introduced in the decades separating Cyril's *Baptismal Catecheses* and Egeria's Jerusalem journey.

At the end of those seven weeks each of the candidates was required to repeat back to the bishop the Creed they had learned (46.5-6), and they were baptized at the Easter vigil. Egeria provides no detail of this rite. As in the case of the Eucharist, one needs to turn to the *Mystagogical Catecheses* attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem for that.[228] She says simply that "the paschal vigil is done in the same way as with us," with one exception: after the newly baptized had been clothed and left the baptistery, they were led with the bishop to the Anastasis, where the bishop went inside Christ's tomb, and after one hymn had been sung, he said a prayer for them and then returned with them to the Martyrium, where the people were keeping the vigil (38.1-2). This unique postbaptismal ceremony was presumably intended to relate their initiation to the resurrection of Christ.[229]

[227] See Maxwell E. Johnson, "Reconciling Cyril and Egeria on the Catechetical Process in Fourth-Century Jerusalem," in *Essays in Early Eastern Initiation*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw, JLS 8 (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1988), 18–30; Johnson, "From Three Weeks to Forty Days: Baptismal Preparation and the Origins of Lent," *Studia Liturgica* 20 (1990): 185–200 = *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation*, ed. Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1995), 118–30. See also Nicholas V. Russo, "The Distribution of Cyril's *Baptismal Catecheses* and the Shape of the Catechumenate in Mid-Fourth-Century Jerusalem," in *A Living Tradition: On the Intersection of Liturgical History and Pastoral Practice*, ed. David Pitt, Stefanos Alexopoulos, and Christian McConnell (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), 75–100.

[228] See n. 220 above; also Maxwell E. Johnson, "Baptismal Liturgy in Fourth-Century Jerusalem in the Light of Recent Scholarship," in *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship*, ed. Bert Groen, Steven Hawkes-Teeples, and Stefanos Alexopoulos, Eastern Christian Studies 12 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 81–98; Juliette Day, "The Catechetical Lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem: A Source for the Baptismal Liturgy of Mid-Fourth Century Jerusalem," in Paul F. Bradshaw and Juliette Day, *Further Essays in Early Eastern Initiation*, JLS 78 (Norwich: SCM-Canterbury Press, 2014), 24–56.

[229] For a critical review of Egeria's evidence concerning these postbaptismal actions, see Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem,* 121–22.

During the eight days from Easter Day to the following Sunday, Egeria reports that the newly baptized continued to assemble in the mornings for an explanation of the rites in which they had just participated, but in the Anastasis rather than the Martyrium as before Easter (47.1).[230] The Christian tradition of concealing its central teachings from the uninitiated had caused catechumens who were not yet going to be baptized to be excluded from the Lenten instruction sessions.[231] Similarly, baptismal candidates were not told anything about the rites of baptism and Eucharist before they had undergone them, hence the emergence of this postbaptismal mystagogy, as it is called. The intention behind this latter development, which had also been adopted in some other places, such as Milan, but not in Antioch, was apparently to heighten the sensory and dramatic impact of the rites because they were a surprise to the candidates and so to produce a profound psychological effect on those experiencing them. Perhaps this was done in part to make up for the frequent lack of a genuine prebaptismal conversion experience as the number of Christians increased in the post-Constantinian era.[232]

The Liturgical Year in Jerusalem

Many of what later became standard elements in the liturgical year elsewhere had their roots in fourth-century Jerusalem. As in other places in the surrounding area that were associated with the biblical narratives, so too in Jerusalem growing numbers of pilgrims wanted to visit the sacred sites linked to the life and death of Jesus and, if possible, to be in those places on the very days of the year when he was said to have been there. It was inevitable, therefore, that the local

[230] Cyril, *Baptismal Catecheses* 18.13, confirms the Anastasis as the place of assembly for this teaching. Egeria's statement should probably not be taken literally to mean every single morning, as the preceding Eucharist on at least two days of that week, Wednesday and Friday, was at such a distance (on Eleona and Sion, respectively: see 39.2) as to make an immediate return to the Anastasis quite difficult. Moreover, there are only a total of five *Mystagogical Catecheses* for this week.

[231] 46.2; see also Cyril, *Procatechesis* 12.

[232] See Paul F. Bradshaw, "The Fourth Century: A Golden Age for Liturgy?" in *Liturgie und Ritual in der Alten Kirche*, ed. Wolfram Kinzig, Ulrich Volp, and Jochen Schmidt (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 99–115, here at 108–12.

church would arrange liturgical commemorations in those holy places for those occasions, and thus expand the liturgical year. The visitors would then carry back to their home churches some of the ceremonies that had impressed them on their visit and attempt to reproduce them there to some extent.[233] But the traffic may not have been all one way: the pilgrims would naturally also bring with them local practices of their own, which they would expect to find in Jerusalem too, and the host church there would probably have been willing to oblige and adopt them.

While Egeria only occasionally notes the specific biblical readings that were read on the various festivals and holy days of the year, we are fortunate in having the Armenian Lectionary (hereafter AL) to assist in filling in the blanks.[234] While this early fifth-century work does not list any readings for the ordinary Sundays or weekdays in the year, it not only reproduces the readings for the festivals and commemorations of the liturgical year that were observed in Jerusalem at the time of its compilation but also notes the locations in which the various liturgies were celebrated and a number of other ritual directives. Some changes and elaboration had obviously taken place in the intervening period, but much of what it contains can reasonably be assumed to reflect the practice at the time of Egeria's visit, and consequently reference to its provisions will be made where appropriate in this Introduction and in our commentary.

Although there were some variations in the patterns of readings through the year, and particular forms for vigils and stations, in AL

[233] See, for example, Paul F. Bradshaw, "The Influence of Jerusalem on Christian Liturgy," in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 251–59. On the unique possibilities for convergence of text, time, and topography in fourth-century Jerusalem see chapter 4 of Smith, *To Take Place*, especially 88–95. On the movement of rites more generally, see Anne McGowan, "Eastern Christian Insights and Western Liturgical Reforms: Travelers, Texts, and Liturgical Luggage," in *Liturgy in Migration: From the Upper Room to Cyberspace*, ed. Teresa Berger (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2012), 179–208.

[234] Introduction, text, and French translation in Athanase (Charles) Renoux, *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121*, Patrologia Orientalis 35.1, 36.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969–71); ET in Wilkinson, 175–94. For the later liturgies of Jerusalem, see Stig Simeon Frøyshov, "The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy: New Sources and Studies," in *Inquiries into Eastern Christian Worship*, 227–67.

regular services of the word usually comprised two or three Old Testament readings followed by a psalm with an antiphon formed from one of its verses. Eucharistic liturgies normally had a psalm, an epistle, a psalm verse for the Alleluia chant, and a gospel. We have generally included the psalms when we have listed the readings and consequently used the ecclesiastical expression "propers" to designate the whole group, but have not added the antiphon or Alleluia verse. Readers interested in knowing those details should consult an edition of the whole lectionary.

1. Epiphany

The year began with Epiphany, celebrated on the night of the equivalent of January 5–6 and focused exclusively at Jerusalem on Christ's nativity and not, as at Alexandria and elsewhere in the Christian East, on his baptism.[235] Hence the whole Jerusalem church went to Bethlehem to celebrate it. Unfortunately, as noted earlier in this Introduction, the part of Egeria's diary describing that celebration is missing, but the notes in AL indicate that there was first on January 5 a brief stational liturgy at the "place of the shepherds," with Luke 2:8-19, the angelic visit to the shepherds, being read there. Then Matthew 1:18-25, the account of the birth of Jesus, was read in the cave of the nativity, followed by a nocturnal vigil and Eucharist in the Bethlehem church itself, for which the propers were Psalm 2, Titus 2:11-15, and Matthew 2:1-12, the visit of the Magi. The bishop and the Jerusalem Christians then returned to their city to celebrate Epiphany there on January 6 and throughout its octave, with stations at various places in and around Jerusalem (see the section below on octaves), while the Bethlehem church kept the octave where they were (25.7-12).

2. Lent

Early Christians everywhere called Lent "the forty" or "the fortieth," in Latin *Quadragesima*, the term Egeria uses. Modern scholars

[235] For the origins and early history of Epiphany, see Paul F. Bradshaw and Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity*, Alcuin Club Collections 86 (London: SPCK/Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2011), 131–51.

mostly concur with locating the origin of Lent in a forty-day season of fasting observed by the church in Egypt in imitation of Jesus's forty days in the wilderness that was not connected in any way to Easter but may have followed the commemoration of his baptism on January 6. Because this season apparently culminated in the baptism of new converts, who had been fasting with the faithful, it was adopted by other churches in the fourth century, but moved to a position such that it ended on the Thursday immediately prior to the established fast days of the Friday and Saturday before Easter, as that festival was already the preferred occasion for baptism at Rome and in North Africa.[236] Some Eastern churches, however, had already extended the pre-Easter two-day fast to six days beginning on Monday, which would later evolve into Holy Week as we know it. In an attempt to preserve that week's distinctive identity, they tended to move the forty-day Lenten season proper back one week, ending it on the Friday immediately before that final week began and thus beginning it on the Monday six weeks earlier, thus making the whole period seven rather than six weeks long.[237]

AL prescribed just such a pattern for Jerusalem in the early fifth century. Egeria claimed, however, that Jerusalem already knew a total of *eight weeks* in her day—a seven-week Lent and the six-day fast of Holy Week. Since in the East actual fasting occurred only on Monday through Friday each week and never on Saturday or Sunday, except for Holy Saturday, this would have brought the number of actual days fasted to forty-one (27.1; 46.5). Her statement has been dismissed as misinformation,[238] or as "an experiment that did not last,"[239] or as reflecting the practice of an ascetic community in Jerusalem that

[236] For a full account, see Nicholas V. Russo, "The Origins of Lent" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2010); and for some recent challenges to the theory, Harald Buchinger, "On the Early History of Quadragesima: A New Look at an Old Problem and Some Proposed Solutions," in *Liturgies in East and West: Ecumenical Relevance of Early Liturgical Development*, ed. Hans Jürgen Feulner (Zurich: LIT Verlag, 2013), 99–117; and Maged S. A. Mikhail, "The Evolution of Lent in Alexandria and the Alleged Reforms of Patriarch Demetrius," in *Copts in Context: Negotiating Identity, Tradition, and Modernity*, ed. Nelly van Doorn-Harder (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2017), 169–180.

[237] So, for example, *Apostolic Constitutions* 5.13.

[238] A. A. Stephenson, "The Lenten Catechetical Syllabus in Fourth Century Jerusalem," *Theological Studies* 15 (1954): 103–16, here at 116.

[239] Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 92, n. 37.

began the Lenten fast one or two weeks before others did,[240] but some supporting evidence has been provided by Frans van de Paverd, who has argued that fourth-century Antioch also knew a similar eight-week Lenten pattern.[241]

In addition to the daily baptismal catechesis mentioned earlier in this Introduction, liturgical practice at Jerusalem in Lent primarily involved the addition of a public celebration of the third hour each weekday, parallel to those at the sixth and ninth hours (27.4), and an all-night vigil every Friday (27.7-8; 29.1-2), which we have discussed above in the section on vigils. Although AL does not list any readings for the Saturday or Sunday eucharistic services for the Lenten season, it does provide a complete six-week set of readings for the Wednesday and Friday afternoon services of the word on Sion (now at the tenth hour rather than the ninth hour of Egeria's day). Just two readings are normally specified for each Wednesday and three for each Friday, all from the Old Testament. The Wednesday readings are taken from Exodus and Joel, and the Friday readings from Deuteronomy, Job, and Isaiah, all in a semicontinuous fashion.[242] Why there should be this difference in the number of readings between Wednesday and Friday is not obvious. Perhaps it was to help extend the Friday service so that it really did form a continuous whole with the evening office and the all-night vigil. A psalm is also prescribed for each service, again in a semicontinuous series from Psalm 51 to Psalm 88, with one slight dislocation on the first Friday.[243]

Oddly, however, during the second week three readings each day for Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday are inserted, from the early

[240] Thomas J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York: Pueblo, 1986), 172–74.

[241] Frans van de Paverd, *St. John Chrysostom, The Homilies on the Statues*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 239 (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1991), XXIII, 210–16, 250–54, 358, 361.

[242] Exodus was read from 1:1 to 5:3; Joel from 1:14 to the end, but omitting 2:12-20 and adding Zech 9:9-16a to fill the final week; Deuteronomy from 6:4 to 11:25, but omitting 8:2-10, 9:25-29, and 10:16–11:9; Job from 6:2 to 21:34, but omitting 7:14–9:1, 10:2b–11:20, 13:7–16:1, 18:1–19:1, and 20:1-29; and Isaiah from 40:1 to 47:4, but omitting 40:18–41:29, 42:8b–43:21, 44:9-28, and 45:14–46:2.

[243] See further M. F. Lages, "Étapes de l'évolution du Carême à Jérusalem avant le Ve siècle. Essai d'analyse structurale," *Revue des études arméniennes* 6 (1969): 67–102, here at 81–84.

chapters of 1 Samuel, Proverbs, and Jeremiah, respectively, as though beginning a whole other series for the season. These are said to be in the Anastasis rather than on Sion, and a reading of Micah 4:1-7 is also added to the Wednesday service, so that all five days have three readings. Although it has been suggested that these services may once have belonged to the first week of Lent and simply remained there when the beginning of the season was moved back one week, that would still not explain why they do not continue in the other weeks, nor why Egeria did not know of their existence. Charles Renoux proposed that they were part of a far older pattern of Lenten readings that had fallen into disuse by the time of Egeria and resurfaced only much later, but his theory has been challenged by Harald Buchinger, who sees these readings as the beginning of a later extension of the weekday services in Lent.[244]

3. Great Week

A substantial portion of Egeria's narrative is devoted to a description of the services of Holy Week, or Great Week as she called it. These observances were preceded by an afternoon visit to Bethany on the Saturday before, ending at the Lazarium, the tomb of Lazarus, whom Jesus had raised from the dead (29.3-6). Although Thomas Talley thought that this commemoration was not native to Jerusalem but had been imported and was centered around a dramatic reenactment of the raising of Lazarus (Jn 11:1-46),[245] Nicholas Russo has more recently argued that it did originate in Jerusalem after all but by the time of Egeria's visit the focus had shifted to the subsequent visit of Jesus to Bethany, when Mary anointed his feet, which was said to have taken place six days before the Passover (Jn 12:1).[246] AL prescribes John 11:55–12:11 as the gospel reading at the Lazarium.

Foundational to this week seems to be an assembly every day patterned after a vigil (see above, pp. 77–78), in most cases held in the Martyrium beginning at the ninth hour and lasting for four hours, as shown in Figure 6, where all assemblies having a vigil structure are marked by shading. It looks as though this was the oldest way

[244] Buchinger, "On the Early History of Quadragesima," 105–6.
[245] Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 181–82.
[246] Russo, "Origins of Lent," 230–54.

in which the Christian community here had prepared for the Pascha at the end of the week, with adjustments to the time and place of some of the vigil services having gradually been made, as stations at places associated with the biblical events of that week were added. Even Lazarus Saturday had acquired a vigil service of this type in the afternoon (29.5). The ninth hour was probably chosen for the vigil to begin because it was the normal end of the working day and also marked the usual conclusion of a day's fasting in the rest of the year. Was the institution of this lengthy daily vigil associated with the original extension of fasting to the full week before Pascha?

On Palm Sunday the vigil began earlier, at the seventh hour on Eleona, then moved after two hours to the Imbomon for another two hours before the triumphal entry into Jerusalem was reenacted from there in a procession with palm or olive branches from the Mount of Olives to the city (31). On Monday through Wednesday the vigil was kept in the Martyrium and again lasted four hours, from the ninth hour to the first hour of the night, ending with the regular daily evening service, but held there rather than in the Anastasis and followed by a brief station in the Anastasis instead of the usual evening devotions at the Cross (32). On Thursday the vigil was moved to Eleona and the Imbomon again, but beginning later into the evening and increased in length in order to lead into a procession from there back to the city marking the significant moments of that night (35.3-4). On Good Friday the afternoon vigil remained in its normal place and time, in spite of the introduction of a passion vigil in the three hours preceding it (37.8). On Saturday there was, unusually, no service at the ninth hour, but Egeria tells us that preparations were made for the paschal vigil (38.1).

On Holy Thursday the Eucharist was celebrated twice, first in the Martyrium at the eighth hour, and then immediately again behind the Cross, at which Egeria makes the point that all received Communion and that it was the only occasion in the year when it was celebrated there (35.1-2), so there must have been some special significance attached to it. The fact that the archdeacon makes an announcement about the evening at the end of the first celebration rather than the second implies either that the latter had been added to the original pattern or that most of the congregation at the first celebration did not remain for the second, but the reason for this double celebration has been debated.

HOLY WEEK SERVICES

Vigils of psalms, readings, and prayers are marked by shading

HOUR	SATURDAY	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
	All morning services as usual							3rd hour only
6th		Usual service in Anastasis	6th hour in Anastasis	6th hour in Anastasis	6th hour in Anastasis	6th hour in Anastasis	Passion vigil before the Cross	6th hour in Anastasis
7th	Vigil at Lazarium	Vigil on Eleona						
8th						Eucharist in Martyrium		
9th		Vigil at Imbomon	Vigil in Martyrium	Vigil in Martyrium	Vigil in Martyrium		Vigil in Martyrium	
10th	*Lucernarium* in Anastasis					2nd Eucharist behind Cross		*Lucernarium*? Paschal vigil in Martyrium
11th		Palm procession				+ usual prayer, but in Anastasis		
12th		*Lucernarium* in Anastasis						
1st		+ usual prayer at Cross	*Lucernarium* in Martyrium +usual prayer, but in Anastasis	*Lucernarium* in Martyrium + usual prayer, but in Anastasis; then station on Eleona	*Lucernarium* in Martyrium + station in Anastasis	Vigil on Eleona until 5th hour; vigil on Imbomon, 6th hour to cockcrow	Station in Anastasis	
						Procession to city with stations	Voluntary vigil in Anastasis	

Figure 6

Was it simply to accommodate an overflow congregation from the first? But the limited space behind the Cross would not easily have provided room for many people, and there must surely have been a particular reason why that specific location, never otherwise used for the Eucharist, was chosen. Talley suggested that the two may have been intended for quite different pilgrim communities that were following different chronologies of Holy Week,[247] but there is no other evidence for that. Pierre Jounel made the more promising suggestion that the first celebration had originally marked the end of the Lenten fast and the second commemorated the Last Supper.[248] Augustine certainly knew of the existence in some places of two celebrations on this day, but in his case one in the morning and the other in the evening, and he thought the reason for this was so that those who wished to bathe on that day might break their fast earlier in the day by receiving Communion.[249] AL implies that the two celebrations followed just a single liturgy of the word with propers that focused on the Last Supper (Ps 23; 1 Cor 11:23-32; Mt 26:17-30), but it moved the second celebration to before the Cross (perhaps because the courtyard there would have afforded more space than behind the Cross) and it added a third celebration on Sion with similar propers (Ps 23; 1 Cor 11:23-32; Mk 14:1-26), no doubt because that location had become associated with the Last Supper by the fifth century.

The eucharistic celebrations over, after a brief station at the Anastasis the worshippers returned home for a meal, thus breaking their fast, and then went to the cave on the Mount of Olives, where they kept the vigil from the first to the fifth hour of the night, during which Egeria says Jesus's discourse given in that very spot was read (35.2-3). AL identifies this as John 13:16–18:1, which that gospel associates with the Supper, not the Mount of Olives. At midnight they went to the Imobomon to continue the vigil, and at cockcrow they moved on to a church believed to be the site where Jesus prayed during that night (35.4–36.1). Afterward they continued on to Gethsemane for a gospel reading about the Lord's arrest, identified by AL as Matthew 26:31-56, and on into the city as dawn was breaking, ending before

[247] Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 44–45.

[248] Pierre Jounel, "The Year," in *The Church at Prayer*, vol. 4, ed. A.-G. Martimort et al. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1986), 31–150, here at 48.

[249] Augustine, *Ep.* 54.4-7.

the Cross, where the account of Jesus before Pilate was read, again identified by AL as John 18:28–19:16. The bishop then sent them home with words of encouragement for a short rest before the Good Friday observances began, though Egeria records that the people made an additional station on Sion to pray at the column where the Lord was scourged (36:2–37:1).

Although this long stational vigil was obviously intended to commemorate significant moments in the passion narrative in the very places in which they were believed to have happened, it is to be noted that no attempt was made to replicate every detail of the story. The procession through the city did not seek to imitate exactly the route taken by Jesus, with a detour to the house of Caiaphas or Pilate as happened in the later AL, and there was no dramatic reenactment of the events leading up to the crucifixion. It did not even adhere closely to the timescale of the gospel events: at cockcrow the procession was only just beginning its descent from the Imbomon (36.1), whereas by that time Jesus had already been arrested and been denied by Peter.

The activity conforms, therefore, more to a liturgical style that Kenneth Stevenson many years ago labeled as "rememorative," in which biblical events were celebrated but not directly reenacted.[250] The visits to places and the readings helped to remind worshippers of the story and to bring it alive for them, but this procession did not try to reproduce every detail in the manner in which later medieval passion plays would do or even the later observance of Palm Sunday, when a live donkey or a wooden replica of one would be brought into the scene. The primary element governing the choice of what to include and what to leave out on this route seems to have been not so much their mention in the gospel accounts as the prior existence on the pilgrim trail of specific places that were already associated with those particular events. In other words, it was geography, rather than history, that shaped the initial development of this procession and indeed many of the other Holy Week rites.

On Good Friday the regular daily services appear to have been entirely suspended. In the morning there was no liturgy as such but an opportunity for people to view and venerate the wood of the cross and other relics in the space behind the Cross (37.1-3). The main

[250] See Kenneth Stevenson, *Jerusalem Revisited. The Liturgical Meaning of Holy Week* (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1988), 9–10.

liturgy of the day was held before the Cross and lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, taking the form of a vigil of psalms, readings, and prayers (37.4-7), culminating in the reading of the account of the death of Christ from John's Gospel. When that was over, there was a similar vigil service in the Martyrium as had been held there on Monday through Wednesday, ending with a brief liturgy in the Anastasis commemorating the burial of Jesus (37.8). A formal all-night vigil like those on the other Friday nights in Lent was not held, but Egeria reports that many people did in fact keep vigil in the Anastasis for some or all of the night, as they were able (37.9).

4. The Easter Season

Easter, known as "Pascha" by all early Christians—the same Greek word being used to designate the Jewish Passover as to denote the premier Christian festival—centered around a vigil held during some part of the night between Holy Saturday and Easter Day. Egeria provides no details of this vigil, because it was, she said, the same as at home, beyond her reference to the visit to the Anastasis by the newly baptized. After the Eucharist had been celebrated in the Martyrium at the conclusion of the vigil, however, there was a second celebration of it in the Anastasis that included the reading of one of the gospel accounts of the resurrection (38). At the end of the day after the usual evening service there was a gathering on Sion (39.4-5) to commemorate Christ's appearance to the disciples "on . . . the first day of the week" (Jn 20:19-25). The following Sunday evening the appearance eight days later (see Jn 20:26-29) was similarly commemorated (40.2).

By the end of the second century Christians had begun to extend the celebration of Easter into a season lasting for a total of fifty days, every day of which was treated like a Sunday with no fasting or kneeling for prayer,[251] and this continued to be the case in Jerusalem. In the fourth century, however, we encounter in some places a tendency to give special emphasis to the first week, from Easter Day to the following Sunday, thus creating an octave of celebration. At Jerusalem the Eucharist was celebrated each day of the octave at various places in and around the city (39.1-2; see the section below on oc-

[251] See further Bradshaw and Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts, and Seasons*, 69–74.

taves). In addition to this and to the delivery each day of addresses to the newly baptized during Easter Week (see above, p. 86), there was also a daily assembly of those members of the Christian community who were willing on Eleona and at the Imbomon for psalmody and prayer before returning to the Anastasis for the usual evening service (39.3-4). For the rest of the fifty-day season, there was neither fasting nor a service at the ninth hour any day, those on Wednesdays and Fridays being relocated to the morning.

Egeria describes a special liturgy on the fortieth day, which, not surprisingly, some commentators have thought must be a commemoration of Christ's ascension, even though it took place in Bethlehem (42).[252] However, because she refers to two distinct liturgical acts on the fiftieth day as celebrating the bestowal of the Holy Spirit and Christ's ascension, respectively (see below), scholars today are generally agreed that the rite on the fortieth day was definitely not in honor of the ascension, even though they are puzzled about what it might have been. The commemoration of the slaughter of the Innocents occurs on May 18 in one manuscript of AL, which would have been the fortieth day after Easter in the year 383. Did Egeria assume that it happened on that fortieth day every year? [253]

On the fiftieth day, there were the normal Sunday services in the morning, but they finished much earlier than usual so that the people could get to Sion at the third hour to commemorate the descent of the Holy Spirit at the time and in the place where it was thought to have happened, concluding with another celebration of the Eucharist (43.1-3). Then after returning home to eat, they went up to the Imbomon to commemorate the ascension. The normal evening service was held afterward in the nearby church on Eleona, presumably because there was not time to return to the Anastasis for it, as was customary (43.4-6). That, however, was not the end of the day: they went all the way back to the Martyrium for a further liturgical rite, followed by another in the Anastasis, another at the Cross, and then back up to Sion for a final observance, ending around midnight (43.7-9). Although celebrating the ascension on the same day as the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost may seem strange to modern eyes, especially as the Acts of the Apostles states clearly that it took place after forty

[252] For example, Wilkinson, 78–79.

[253] Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 88–90; Talley, *Origins of the Liturgical Year*, 64.

days (Acts 1:3), it was not unknown elsewhere in fourth-century Christianity.[254]

5. Octaves

Egeria provides one of the earliest descriptions of a liturgical phenomenon that would become universal in later centuries—the prolongation of a major festival throughout the week that followed it, resulting in a total of eight days of celebration. This custom seems to have begun with Easter, possibly inspired by the duration of the Feast of Unleavened Bread that followed the Passover in Jewish practice. At Jerusalem not only Easter but two other annual festivals were augmented in this way—Epiphany and the anniversary of the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher—and in each case the daily Eucharist was stational, held in different places on some of their eight days. Unfortunately, because Egeria's manuscript breaks off before she had finished describing the arrangements for the octave of the anniversary of the dedication, and because the octave does not exist in AL, we cannot compare its locations with either of the other two octaves, beyond noting that the first two days were at the Martyrium and the third on Eleona (49.3).

EPIPHANY (25.11)		EASTER (39.2)	
Day 2	Martyrium	Monday	Martyrium
Day 3	Martyrium	Tuesday	Martyrium
Day 4	Eleona	Wednesday	Eleona
Day 5	Lazarium	Thursday	Anastasis
Day 6	Sion	Friday	Sion
Day 7	Anastasis	Saturday	Before the Cross
Day 8	Before the Cross	Sunday	Martyrium

Just as we have seen that the Epiphany vigil appears to have been modeled on the Easter vigil,[255] so too does its octave seem to be derived from that of Easter. John Baldovin has noted that it was tra-

[254] See Robert Cabié, *La Pentecôte: L'evolution de la Cinquantaine pascale au cours des cinq premiers siécles* (Paris: Desclée, 1965), 117–38.

[255] See above, p. 78.

ditional to go to Sion on Wednesdays and Fridays, which would account for Sion as the choice for the Friday station in the Easter octave,[256] and Eleona provides a similarly distant station for Wednesday, one that was close to the site of the ascension on the Imbomon, which would have been particularly appropriate for the Easter octave. But for some of the other days the Epiphany vigil appears to have preserved an older arrangement of the Easter stations. Thus, Baldovin suggested that the Lazarium was probably considered too far away to use during the Easter octave because of the need to return immediately to the Anastasis for the postbaptismal mystagogical catechesis,[257] and so we may surmise that once that catechesis had become established, the station was changed to the Anastasis instead and the open-air location before the Cross introduced for the Saturday station even though the Eucharist was normally held in the Anastasis on a Saturday morning, at least during Lent if not year-round. That would also explain why, according to Egeria, the Lazarium was decorated for Easter (39.1), even though it was not actually used for a service. Sunday in the Easter octave would naturally involve a return to the Martyrium, as the Sunday Eucharist was always held there, which was not necessarily so at Epiphany as the eighth day there did not always fall on a Sunday. Further minor changes in the locations were also made in AL, including the introduction of the use on the second day of both octaves of the martyrium of St. Stephen, built by Melania the Younger in 439.[258]

6. Other Festivals

Apart from a very brief reference to fasting on a Wednesday or Friday being suspended if a martyr's day happened to fall on one of them, except if it were during Lent (27.5), Egeria makes no other mention of the existence of saints' days in the annual Jerusalem calendar, so we do not know how many such days there were. AL,

[256] Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 94.

[257] Ibid., 94–95.

[258] For a detailed study of the development of this day in honor of Stephen and its relation to the feast of Stephen on December 27, see Hugo Méndez, "Stephen the Martyr (Acts VI–VIII) in the Early Jerusalem Lectionary System," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 68 (2017): 22–39.

however, lists a large number of saints' days and other festivals, including the commemoration of some major Old Testament figures: Peter Abshelama, martyr (Jan 11); Antony, hermit (Jan 17); the Emperor Theodosius (Jan 19); the forty martyrs of Sebaste (Mar 9); Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (Mar 18); John, bishop of Jerusalem (Mar 29); Jeremiah (May 1); Apparition of the Holy Cross (May 7); Holy Innocents (May 9 or 18); the Emperor Constantine (May 22); the prophet Zechariah (June 10); the prophet Elisha (June 14); the Ark of the Covenant (July 2); the prophet Isaiah (July 6); the Maccabees (Aug 1); the Virgin Mary (Aug 15); the apostle Thomas (Aug 23); John the Baptist (Aug 29); dedication of the holy places at Jerusalem (Sep 13); the apostle Philip (Nov 15); the apostle Andrew (Nov 30); Jacob and King David (Dec 25); Stephen, protomartyr (Dec 27); the apostles Paul and Peter (Dec 28); the apostles James and John (Dec 29).[259]

Clearly, at least several of these must have been added after Egeria's time, as their deaths had not occurred by then (Theodosius, Cyril, and John of Jerusalem), and it is likely that some others were also later additions. Although, therefore, many of the other days must have been celebrated at Jerusalem in the late fourth century, the only one of which we have absolute certainty is the anniversary of the dedication of what AL calls "the holy places at Jerusalem," the Martyrium and the Anastasis, on September 13, known as the Encaenia ("Dedication"). Both the word and the concept were apparently taken over from the feast of the dedication of the Jerusalem Temple (see 1 Kgs 8; 2 Chr 7). According to Michael Fraser, the feast was designed as a Christian interpretation of the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles,[260] in conjunction with which the original dedication of the temple had taken place. It has been suggested that Constantine chose September 13 for the dedication because it was the date of the dedication of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill in Rome,[261] and the Martyrium

[259] See further Harald Buchinger, "Das Jerusalemer Sanctorale: Zu Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung," in *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Cult of Saints in Past and Present*, ed. Marcel Barnard, Paul Post, and Els Rose, Liturgia Condenda 18 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 97–128.

[260] Michael Fraser, "The Feast of the Encaenia in the Fourth Century and in the Ancient Liturgical Sources of Jerusalem" (Ph.D. dissertation, Durham University, 1995); accessible at www.encaenia.org.

[261] Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (London: Mowbray, 1958), 183.

was built over a shrine to Jupiter. Egeria reported that it was also the anniversary of the day on which the cross of Christ had been found, and it was obviously accorded equal status with Epiphany and Easter, with an octave of celebration and huge crowds gathering there from other provinces for it (48–49).

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

1 [1] . . . were shown according to the Scriptures. Meanwhile, as we journeyed, we arrived at a certain place where the mountains through which we were going opened up and made an immense valley, huge, very flat, and quite beautiful, and across the valley appeared the holy mountain of God, Sinai. This place where the mountains opened up is next to that place in which are the "Graves of Lust." [2]When we came into that place, those holy guides who

1 1. In its present incomplete state, the manuscript begins partway through a sentence. For what might have preceded this, see the Introduction, pp. 15–19. The valley that Egeria entered was the Wadi el Rahah, "Valley of Rest," and what she would have seen would have been Jebel Sufsafa, its peak about 7,100 feet above sea level, which would have obscured the view of Jebel Musa, literally "Mount Moses," behind it, rising to about 7,500 feet, which had become identified with the biblical Sinai during the fourth century. What are called the "Graves of Lust" were being identified with *Kibroth Hattaavah* of Num 11:34, where the Israelites were buried who had lusted after the fleshpots of Egypt and consequently died of a plague. These large stones were possibly ancient tombs, although probably not of the wandering Israelites. Gingras, 162, n. 5, identified this as an example of the transposition by guides to the neighborhood of Sinai of a site that should have been far away, either an innocent mistake or a calculated effort to boost the local tourist/pilgrim economy. On rival claims to holy sites, see the Introduction, p. 47, n. 146. And for more on the topography and history of the Sinai peninsula in general and Christian appropriation and development of sites within it, see the introduction in Daniel F. Caner, *History and Hagiography from the Late Antique Sinai*, Translated Texts for Historians 53 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), especially 17–39.

2. The "holy guides" would have been monks and possibly some clergy as well (see 7.2; 11.3), a not unusual arrangement, especially for female religious:

were with us reminded us, saying, "The custom is that prayer should be made here by those who come when the mountain of God is first seen from this place"; as we also did. From that place to the mountain of God was about four miles altogether across that huge valley that I mentioned.

2 [1]The valley is very huge, lying under the side of the mountain of God, and was, as far as we could estimate by looking or they said, about sixteen miles in length and they claimed was four miles in width. So we had to cross this valley in order that we could reach the mountain. [2]This is the huge and very flat valley in which the children of Israel stayed on those days when holy Moses ascended the mountain of God and was there forty days and forty nights. This is the valley in which the calf was made, the place of which is shown to this day; for a great stone stands fixed there in that place. So this is the same valley at the head of which is that place where, when holy Moses was feeding his father-in-law's flocks, God spoke to him again from the burning bush.

[3]And because our route was that we should first ascend the mountain of God, because the ascent was better from the direction

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see the Introduction, p. 29, n. 88. A Roman mile measured 5,000 feet (1,000 paces of five feet each), i.e., a little shorter than a U.K./U.S. mile. On worship in the holy places, see the Introduction, pp. 53–57.

2 1. Sixteen miles exaggerates the length greatly, and could only come near to being the case if the lengths of other valleys to which it was conjoined were added. Wilkinson, 107, n. 6, suggested that this may be something Egeria had heard her guides say; Caner, *History and Hagiography*, 218, n. 43, similarly proposes that Egeria may have estimated the valley's length herself based on information she was given about its width. The Wadi el Rahah proper is only about half a mile at its widest point, but she may be including in its width the Wadi el Deir, which extends from that valley at a right angle and is nearly four miles from end to end.

2. The references are to Ex 19:2; 24:18; 32:1-6; 3:1–4:18. When Egeria says that God spoke "again" from the burning bush, she is reproducing that word from the LXX of Ex 3:15 and 4:6, or more probably from the Old Latin translation of it.

3. In the sixth century the monastery of St. Catherine was built near the site of the burning bush. "Desire" is a concept Egeria invokes frequently, often, as here, in reference to seeing certain places or following a particular route; sometimes it is specifically identified as one fulfilled by God: see, e.g., 3.2; 16.4; 23.5. This is one of only a few occasions on which she explicitly refers

we were coming, and then from there descend to the head of the valley, that is, where the bush was, because the descent from the mountain of God was better from there, thus this was agreed, that having seen everything we desired, descending from the mountain of God, we should come to where the bush is, and return from there to the route right through the middle of that valley, where it extends in length, with the men of God who were showing us each of the places that are in Scripture throughout that valley; as was also done.

[4]So, as we went from that place where, on coming from Pharan, we had made our prayer, our route was that we should cross through the middle of the head of that valley and so turn to the mountain of God. [5]The mountain itself appears from around to be singular, but when you reach it, there are more, but the whole is called the mountain of God, but that particular one on the summit of which the glory of God descended, as it is written, is in the middle of them all. [6]And whereas all these that are around are so very high as I think I never saw, yet that middle one, on which the glory of God descended, is so much taller than all those that, when we had gone up it, absolutely all those mountains that we had perceived as very high were so far below us as if they were very little hills. [7]This certainly is quite marvelous and without

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to "men" or "men of God" rather than just to "holy ones" in the masculine plural: see also 4.6; 5.11. In other contexts "man of God" seems to have had a particular meaning for her, over and above "holy one," as indicating someone of extraordinary renown or with a special reputation for holiness: see 9.1; 20.2, 6.

4. Pharan, or Paran, the modern Feiran, was a town built at an oasis in the Wadi Feiran about thirty-one miles from Mount Sinai.

5. Egeria explains that, when approaching, there appears to be only one mountain, but actually it is a range made up of several peaks. The biblical references to the descent of God's glory on Sinai are Ex 19:18-20; 24:16.

6. In fact, Egeria's impression here and at 3.8 was mistaken, as it was not actually the highest peak in the mountain range: Jebel Katharina was over 1,100 feet higher. Maraval, 127, n. 1, suggested that its relative isolation could create the illusion to a climber that it was higher.

7. The Latin phrase *de contra* is translated literally here as "from the other side," but is rendered as "at a distance" by Gingras, 166, n. 20, and as "facing you" by Wilkinson, 108, n. 6. Although "brothers" can be used simply to

God's grace I think it would not be, that, whereas the middle one, which is properly called Sinai, that is, on which the glory of the Lord descended, is taller than them all, yet it cannot be seen unless you come to the very foot of it, but before you go up it; for afterward, having fulfilled your desire, you come down from there and see it from the other side, which it is not possible to do before you go up. Before we arrived at the mountain of God, I had already known this from what the brothers reported, and after I arrived there, I knew that it was definitely so.

3 [1]So we reached the mountain late on the Sabbath, and arriving at some monastic cells, the monks who lived there received us there very kindly, affording us every kindness; for there is also a church there with a presbyter. So we stayed there that night, and from there early on the Lord's Day we began to ascend each of the mountains with that presbyter and the monks who lived there. The mountains are ascended with immense labor, because you cannot go up them very slowly by going round, in a spiral as we say, but you go completely straight up as if by a wall and it is necessary to descend straight down each of those mountains until you arrive at the very foot of that middle one, which is properly Sinai.

[2]So, by the will of Christ our God and helped by the prayers of the holy ones who were accompanying [us], and with great labor,

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refer to fellow Christians, as apparently in 47.4, here it probably means the monks guiding her, one of the earliest examples of its use in that sense. She has to clarify that she does mean monk when she uses it in 10.3; 15.3; 16.2.

3 1. "Sabbath" is the standard early Christian name for Saturday, the seventh day of the week: see Gen 2:2-3. The Latin terms rendered here as "kindly" and "kindness" had become specialized among Christians to describe the hospitality shown to travelers: see also 5.10; 11.1; and Gingras, 167, n. 24. Egeria and her companions probably stayed in some sort of guest house attached to the monastic community. This is the first of four churches with presbyters in the vicinity of Sinai that she mentions (see 3.4; 4.1, 6), the main purpose of which must have been to minister to the monks living in their cells nearby, as most monks at this time would not have been ordained clergy. The word "spiral" here is the Latin word for a snail, with this secondary meaning no doubt arising from its shape.

2. The reference to the necessity to go on foot indicates that Egeria generally rode during her journeys, presumably on a donkey or mule, or possibly on a camel across desert regions; see also 7.7; 11.4; 14.1. For "the fourth hour," see the Preface, p. vii, on the Roman divisions of the day. "When the mountain smoked" is a reference to Ex 19:18.

it was necessary for me to ascend on foot because it was not possible to ascend in the saddle (however, the labor itself was not felt, but the labor was partly not felt because I saw the desire that I had being fulfilled by God's will), at the fourth hour then we arrived at the summit of the holy mountain of God, Sinai, where the Law was given, that is, at the place where the glory of the Lord descended on that day when the mountain smoked. [3]So in that place there is now a church, not large because the place itself, that is, the summit of the mountain, is not very large, but the church has great grace.

[4]So, when by God's will we had reached that summit and arrived at the door of that church, behold, a presbyter who was assigned to that church, coming from his monastic cell, met [us], a healthy old person and a monk from his early life and, as they say here, an ascetic and—what more [shall I say]?—one who was worthy to be in that place. Other presbyters also met [us], as well as all the monks who lived there near that mountain, that is, those who were not hindered either by age or by infirmity. [5]Indeed, no one lives on the summit of that middle mountain, for nothing is there other than the church alone and the cave where holy Moses was.

[6]When everything from the book of Moses had been read in that place and the oblation had been made in its order with us

3. This church, the second at Sinai that Egeria mentions (see 3.1), had been built by the monk Julian Saba (d. 367), according to Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 2.13.
4. Egeria uses this local term "ascetic" six times to describe a particular category of monk: see also 10.9; 16.5; 20.5, 11, 13. In 20.5 it is applied to those "who live in solitude," but her other uses indicate that cannot have been the defining characteristic of an ascetic as far as she was concerned. That more than one presbyter was present here, in contrast to the other churches that she visited in the area, seems to imply that they had gathered from the churches around to celebrate the regular Sunday liturgy together at this sacred site on the summit of Sinai (see 3.6).
5. For the cave, see Ex 33:22. It was also mentioned by Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 2.13. On the custom forbidding overnight stays on the summit of Mount Sinai, see Caner, *History and Hagiography*, 20–21, 63–66.
6. By "everything from the book of Moses," Egeria means all of the passages in Exodus relevant to that place. The "oblation" is her standard term for the Eucharist: see the Introduction, p. 83. She uses the phrase "in its order" seven times altogether: see also 26; 39.1 ("in their order"); 41; 42; and 43.3 (twice). In every case it is clearly in connection with a celebration of the Eucharist, except for 41 where there might have been a liturgy of the word alone; but