# THE MAPS USED BY THEODOSIUS: ON THE PILGRIM MAPS OF THE HOLY LAND AND JERUSALEM IN THE SIXTH CENTURY C.E.

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Pilgrimages to Jerusalem and other *loca sancta* helped shape the life of the Holy Land during the Byzantine period and even a bit after the Muslim conquest. The building of hostels and the production of souvenirs accompanied the founding of churches and the discovery of relics. Traveling required trained guides and descriptive guidebooks. Several such books pertaining to the *itinera Hierosolymitana* survive in the form of professional handbooks or memoirs of individual pilgrims. It is very reasonable to suppose that maps of the *loca sancta* were also drawn, though none are preserved today. This article will try to prove the existence of such maps of the Holy Land and of Jerusalem and then reconstruct their shape by considering a literary description in an early sixth-century text.

The Latin composition *De situ Terrae Sanctae*[1] (On the Topography of the Holy Land), ascribed in one of the manuscripts to Theodosius[2] the archdeacon, is one of the most important descriptions of Palestine and Jerusalem. Since it mentions Emperor Anastasius (491–518) in various contexts and the buildings constructed by him,[3] but does not mention the building projects of Emperor Justinian (527–65), scholars have dated the work to the period between the death of Anastasius and the beginning of Justinian's building campaign, that is, between 518 and 530.[4]

Theodosius' work is composed of a number of individual units assembled by an editor into a single composition. The results of this effort, however, display a lack of polish and uniformity in terms of both structure and language. These basic components were recently shown by J. Wilkinson in his meticulous analysis of the text.[5] Wilkinson discerns a number of different sources or groups of sources: (1) itineraries, originally guides of a general nature to the major cities of Palestine, which through the inclusion of pilgrim sites in these cities were adapted for the use of Christian pilgrims; (2) an account of the Jerusalem circuit; (3) Christian itineraries—intended from the beginning for use by Christian pilgrims—which do not focus on major civil settlements; (4) a source or sources which describe many

This is a revised version of an article published in Hebrew in *Cathedra* 11 (1979), 63–85. An English abstract of part II was published in the *Abstracts of Papers of the Byzantine Studies Conference*, 10 (1984), pp. 2–3. The present version was prepared while I was a Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks, to the staff and librarian of which I owe many thanks. I especially thank Professor Michael Maas for his useful help and advice.

[1] The major scholarly editions are T. Tobler and A. Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terrae Sanctae* (Geneva, 1879), 63–80; intro., pp. xx–xxiv; J. Gildemeister, *Theodosius de situ Terrae Sanctae und der Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (Bonn, 1882); and P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (Vienna, 1898), CSEL 39, pp. 132–50; intro., pp. xviii–xxvi. Geyer's edition was republished in CCSL 175 (Turnhout, 1965), 113–25. See also the addendum in vol. 176, pp. 852–53. The references to Theodosius in this article are to this most recent edition in CCSL. The work, either in part or in its entirety, has been translated into various European languages. Among the English translations see J. H. Bernard, *Theodosius*, in PPTS (London, 1893) and J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), 63–71; see also the introduction, p. 5, and the addendum, "Sources of Theodosius," pp. 184–92. See also, recently, H. Donner's translation and discussion: H. Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land* (Stuttgart, 1979), 190–98 (intro.), 199–225 (text and comm.).

[2] On the name of the author, first cited as Theodoricus or Theodorus and corrected based on the ms. tradition to Theodosius, see Tobler-Molinier, *Itinera*, xx–xxi; Gildemeister, *Theodosius*, 9; Geyer, *Itinera* (1898), xviii–xix.

[3] See, for example, CCSL 175, chap. 20, p. 121; chap. 28, p. 124; chap. 29, p. 124.

[4] Most scholars tend to accept the later date ca. 530; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 185, stresses the fact that the name of Justin I (518–27) does not appear in the work and thus prefers the earliest possible date, ca. 518 C.E.

[5] Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, app. 3, pp. 184–92.

cities of the East Roman Empire and whose author is recognized by the use of the term *sanctus*, while the editor or editors preferred the title *dominus* or *domnus*; and (5) the work of Theodosius himself, the editor or compiler, which was also possibly revised or polished by later editors (not later than the eighth century, however, the date of the two earliest manuscripts). Although some of Wilkinson's conclusions are valid, for example, the distinction between the Palestinian itineraries and the descriptions of other provinces, his method seems to go a little too far. Instead of dealing with groups of sources, he sometimes prefers to break down each and every sentence into its component parts. It seems that Wilkinson diminishes the role of Theodosius himself so that instead of being the true author of those analyzed parts of the text he becomes only little more than an editor or compiler of several existing compositions.

The work is essentially a pilgrim guide and not a personal account of an individual pilgrim. However, even if the work does not bear the mark of personal experience, it is difficult to doubt that Theodosius was personally acquainted with many of the sites described, especially Jerusalem and including the Jericho region, the Jordan River, and the area east of it which are described in relative detail.

## I. Itineraries and Description of Sites

The work consists of thirty-two short chapters or paragraphs. This format is usually justified in terms of the topic discussed since every paragraph contains a description of one itinerary or brings into play an independent source. Occasionally, however, the division between chapters is purely of a technical nature and is not warranted by content. Most of the chapters or paragraphs are part of larger units, although from paragraph 12 ff they do not always follow one another in logical order. The composition may be roughly divided into two major sections: (1) the systematic and detailed description of Palestine and Jerusalem (paragraphs 1–11) and (2) the description of sites outside of Palestine as well as addenda and repetition of material presented on traditions and locations in Jerusalem and Palestine. The first section describes five journeys from Jerusalem to different places in the Holy Land.[6]

The first journey (par. 1) starts at Porta Beniamin[7] in Jerusalem and goes to Jericho and the Jordan. Near Jericho (Hiericho) ancient Gilgal (Galgala) is mentioned; then the Field of the Lord (Ager Domini, ubi Dominus Ihesus Christus unum sulchum de manu sua aravit); the altar of the Twelve Stones (duodecim lapides, quos levaverunt filii Israel de Iordane); and also nearby prophet Elisha's Spring (fontem Helysaei) and the house of Rahab (publicanae, quae excepit exploratores). The distances (in miles) are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jerusalem—Jericho | 18 |
| Jericho—Jordan | 7 |
| Jericho—Gilgal | 1 |
| Jericho—Elisha's Spring | 2 |

The second journey (par. 2) goes from Jerusalem toward Samaria and Galilee. The first station is Bethel, erroneously called Bethsaida (in qua Bethsaida vidit Iacob in somnis angelos ascendentes et descendentes de caelo). From here the journey proceeds to Shechem, erroneously called Samaria (quae dicitur modo Neapolis. Ibi est puteus quem fabricavit Iacob, ibi sunt ossa sancti Ioseph). Next are Sebastea (ubi domnus Iohannes decollatus est), Scythopolis (ibi domnus Basilius martyrizatus est), the Sea of Galilee (mare Tyberiadis, ibi domnus Iesus Christus pedibus ambulavit), and Tiberias. From here it goes to Magdala (Magdale, ubi domna Maria nata est) and to the "Seven Springs"—Heptapegon (septem fontes, ubi domnus Christus baptizavit apostolos, ubi et saturavit populum de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus). It then proceeds to Capharnaum and Bethsaida (ubi nati sunt apostoli Petrus, Andreas, Philippus et filii Zebedaei).

The last station in this journey is Paneas, near Dan, the northern border of the biblical Land of Israel (Paniada, inde fuit mulier, quam domnus Christus liberavit de fluxu sanguinis, nomen ipsius mulieris Mariosa; ibi est statua Domni electrina, quam ipsa Mariosa fecit).

Near Paneas the two sources of the Jordan—Ior and Dan—and the summit of Mount Lebanon are mentioned. The distances (in miles) are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jerusalem—Bethel | 12 |
| Bethel—Shechem-Neapolis | 18 |
| Neapolis—Sebastea | 6 |
| Sebastea—Scythopolis | 30 |
| Scythopolis—Tiberias | 24 |
| Tiberias—Magdala | 2 |
| Magdala—Heptapegon | 2 |
| Heptapegon—Capharnaum | 2 |
| Capharnaum—Bethsaida | 6 |
| Bethsaida—Paneas | 50 |

The third journey (par. 3) goes toward the southwest coastal plain. It starts at the west gate (Porta Purgu David) and proceeds to Mount Buzana (ubi pugnavit David cum Golia).[8] From here it goes to Eleutheropolis and the place of the prophet Zechariah (ubi requiescit sanctus Zacharias).[9] From here it proceeds to

[6] For geographical interpretation and the identification of sites see the excellent commentaries of Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, and Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*.

[7] For the name Porta Beniamin, see below and note 44.

[8] The name of the mountain, which is correctly explained by Theodosius as "lucerna," is of Hebrew-Aramaic origin, בוצינא meaning "light," "lamp."

[9] The common identification of the site of prophet Zechariah is with the Arab village of the same name—Zakariya (grid ref.

Ascalon (Ascalona) and via the cities of Anthedon (Antedona) and Maiumas (Maioma) to Gaza. Then it continues to Raphiah (Rafia) and Betulia (ubi Olofernis mortuus est). The distances (in miles) are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jerusalem—Mount Buzana | 15 |
| Mount Buzana—Eleutheropolis | 15 |
| Eleutheropolis—Zechariah's place | 6 |
| Zechariah's place—Ascalon | 20 |
| Ascalon—Gaza | 12 |
| Gaza—Raphiah | 24 |
| Raphiah—Betulia | 12 |

The fourth journey (par. 4) leads to the central coastal valley and "Lower" Galilee. The first station is biblical Kiryat Yeʿarim, mistakenly called Shiloh (Silona, ubi fuit arca testamenti Domni). Then it goes to Emmaus (quae nunc Nicopolis dicitur, in qua Emmau sanctus Cleopas cognovit Domnum in confractione panis; ibi et martyrium pertulit). From here it proceeds to Diospolis (ubi sanctus Georgius martyrizatus est; ibi et corpus eius et multa mirabilia fiunt). Next is Jaffa (Ioppe, ubi sanctus Petrus resuscitavit sanctam Tabitam; ibi et cetus iactavit se victo Ionam) and then Caesarea Palaestinae (ibi baptizatus est domnus Cornelius a domno Petro et martyrizatus est). Next, already in Galilee, is Diocaesarea (inde fuit Simon Magus). The road branches there in two directions, one to Cana Galileae and the other to Nazareth and Mount Tabor (syce Taburi; ibi Domnus post resurrectionem apostolis apparavit).

The distances (in miles) are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jerusalem—Kiryat Yeʿarim (Silona) | 8 |
| Kiryat Yeʿarim—Emmaus-Nicopolis | 9 |
| Emmaus—Diospolis | 12 |
| Diospolis—Jaffa | 12 |
| Jaffa—Caesarea | 30 |
| Caesarea—Diocaesarea | 30 |
| Diocaesarea—Cana | 5 |
| Diocaesarea—Nazareth | 5 |
| Nazareth—Mount Tabor | 7 |

The fifth journey (par. 5) goes to the south, toward Hebron. The first station is the place of the baptism of the Eunuch by Philip. Next is the Oak of Mamre (Terebintus, quod appelatur Ilex Mambre). From here it proceeds to the "Double Cave" (ad speluncam duplicem ubi requiescunt patriarchae) and Hebron (Cebron, ubi habitavit sanctus David).

The distances (in miles) are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jerusalem—Philip's place | 16 |
| Philip's place—Mamre | 2 |
| Mamre—"Double Cave" | 4 |
| "Double Cave"—Hebron | 2 |

The five journeys go from Jerusalem on five main roads leading toward the east, north, northwest, southwest, and south. Except for describing the third and fourth journeys in the wrong order, the order is consistent starting in the east and progressing counterclockwise. The stations and destination points usually have a clear Christian significance, although some major stations that have no special Christian connotation are included. These are found mainly in the third itinerary to the southwest. This road was frequently used by pilgrims coming from Egypt and Sinai, but has no real importance in Christian tradition. The only biblical connection was created by moving the location of the victory of Judith over Holofernes from the unidentified Betulia in the Samarian hills to the famous Betulia on the Egyptian border.

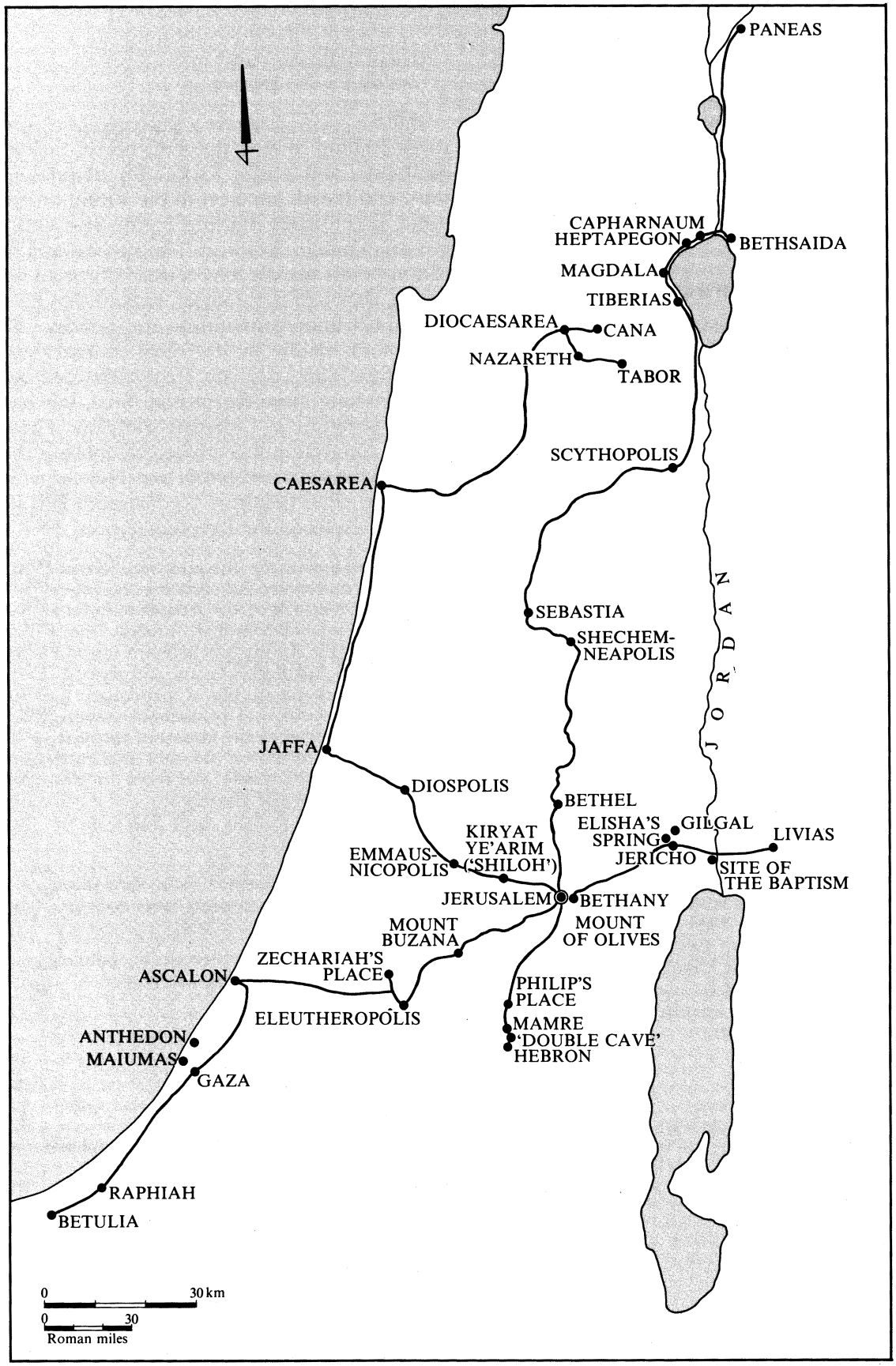
Paragraph 6 notes the distances from Jerusalem of holy places in its vicinity. All visits may be completed in a one-day round trip: from Jerusalem to Rama (Ramatha, ubi requiescit Samuhel), 5 miles; from Jerusalem to modern Ein Karem (ubi habitavit sancta Elisabeth), 5 miles; to Anathoth (Anato, ubi natus est domnus Hieremias propheta, ubi et requiescit), 6 miles; to Bethany (Betania, ubi resuscitavit domnus Christus Lazarus), 2 miles; to the Mount of Olives (inde Domnus ascendit in caelos; ibi sunt fabricatas numero XXIIII ecclesias), 1 mile; and from the Mount of Olives to the village of Hermippus (ubi dormivit Abdimelech sub arbore ficus annis XLVI, ibi fuit Baruch propheta), 1 mile.

This paragraph, which describes places in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, may belong to either the first section of the five major itineraries or to the second section, which describes Jerusalem. The second possibility seems more likely.

The next section (pars. 7–11) is dedicated exclusively to the description of Jerusalem and the holy sites within it. The first two paragraphs are of special importance since they give the distances between several major monuments. The basic unit is the pace (passus) = 1.48 m, one thousand of which make one Roman mile.

Paragraph 7 mentions the Holy Sepulcher (sepulchrum Domini) with Calvary, the place of the Crucifixion, below which is the altar of Abraham; it also mentions the site of the Invention of the Cross, erroneously called Golgotha by Theodosius. Then come Zion (sancta Sion, mater omnium ecclesiarum), which was founded by Christ and the apostles in the house of Mark the Evangelist; Caiaphas' house, which is also the site of the repentance of Peter (Domus Caiphae, quae est modo ecclesia sancti Petri); the Praetorium, as well as the Church of the Holy Wisdom (praetorium Pilati, ibi est ecclesia sanctae Sophiae), and near

144 124), some 12 km (= ca. 8 Roman miles) north-northeast of Eleutheropolis. See M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem, 1954) (hereafter Avi-Yonah, *MMM*), 86–87, p. 68; idem, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine*, Qedem 5 (Jerusalem, 1976), 47. This place is located a little north of the road from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis, but very far from the road from Eleutheropolis to Ascalon, where it was located according to Theodosius. Another identification, therefore, suggested by Wilkinson, fits better the topographical situation. This is Horvat Dikhrin, a large ruin of the Byzantine period, the name of which may also be reminiscent of the name Zechariah. It is located some 6 km (= ca. 4 Roman miles) northwest of Eleutheropolis (grid ref. 136 119) near the main road from Eleutheropolis to Ascalon (see Map 1). See Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 154.




Map 1. Location of the sites mentioned by Theodosius and the roads leading to them

it the Pit of Jeremiah (iuxta se missus est sanctus Hieremias in lacum).

Paragraph 8 describes the Church of St. Stephen, outside the present Damascus Gate (sanctus Stephanus foras porta Galilaeae) built by Eudocia; the Pool of Siloam, which is inside the walls (Siloe, quae piscina intra murum est); the Pool of the Probatica (piscina Probatica, ibi domnus Christus paralyticum curavit, cuius lectus adhuc ibi est); and the Church of Mary (ecclesia domnae Mariae) at the same place.

Paragraph 9 speaks about St. Jacob who was ordained by Christ and later was thrown down from the pinnacle of the Temple Mount (pinna templi)[10] but suffered no injury. Later still he was killed by a fuller and was buried on the Mount of Olives together with St. Zachariah and St. Simon.

Paragraph 10 deals with the area of the Cedron valley (vallis Iosaphat, ibi Domnum Iudas tradidit), where there are a church of Mary (ecclesia domnae Mariae matris Domini) and a cave (ibi et Dominus lavit pedes discipulorum, ibi et cenavit).

Paragraph 11 tells about the enclosed convent of virgins below the pinnacle (pinna templi subtus monasterium est de castas), who receive their food through the walls above them and draw water from cisterns.[11]

The next section (pars. 12–16) describes sites outside the Holy Land: Memphis in Egypt and other places in Asia Minor, the Black Sea area, Cappadocia, and Armenia. There is no geographical consistency, but all sites are connected with saints, martyrs, or biblical figures.

Paragraphs 17–22 and the second half of paragraph 23 form a separate section dedicated to the Holy Land. In general it describes in great detail sites already mentioned in the first part. All these sites fall within a single journey (the first journey), which starts at the Mount of Olives and extends east of the Jordan to Livias. This section is almost equal in length to the description of the five journeys of the first part. A personal acquaintance with the area described is clearly shown; there is no comparable description in the first part of the work, except perhaps in the description of a few sites in Jerusalem.[12]

The places mentioned are the summit of the Mount of Olives with the site of the Ascension and a neighboring cave called Matzi (the Disciples, Μαθήται); here is a place called Ancona (par. 21) where the imprint of the shoulders of the Lord is shown in the rock, with a church built near it. In the nearby Bethphage (Betfage) there is a church in which St. Tecla is (buried); from here the Lord took the young donkey to ride upon into the city (cum intravit de Porta Beniamin in Hierusalem). Also mentioned are Bethany and Lazarus' tomb (par. 23) and near Jericho (par. 18) the Field of the Lord in Galgala, irrigated by Elisha's spring, the hills (monticuli) near the Jordan (par. 22; quando Domnus ad baptismum descendit, ipsi montes ante ipsum ambulabant gestiendo et hodie velut saltantes videntur). The site of the Baptism is noted (par. 20; in loco, ubi Domnus baptizatus est, ibi est una columna . . . facta est crux ferrea) as well as a church (ecclesia sancti Iohannis Baptistae quam fabricavit Anastasius imperator). Opposite to it, on the other side of the Jordan, is the small Mount Hermon (Armona), from which the prophet Elijah ascended to heaven, Elijah's tomb, and a church above it. Farther on is the Dead Sea (maris mortuus ubi Sodoma et Gomorra dimersae sunt cum aliis tribus . . . ibi est uxor Loth quae facta est statua salis). The journey is concluded in Livias and Moses' springs (par. 19; in ipsa Leviada Moyses lapidem de virga percussit et fluxerunt aquae); Theodosius mentions the large spring that waters the town, the Nicolaitan palm trees, and the hot spring in which lepers are cured.

Only two distances are mentioned here to complete the list given in paragraph 1:

| | |
|---|---|
| Jordan—Livias | 12 miles |
| Site of the Baptism—Dead Sea | 5 miles |

He also repeats the distance from Jerusalem to Bethany (par. 6): 2 miles

From here to the end of the composition (pars. 23–32) separate journeys unconnected with each other are described. The first half of paragraph 23 mentions Saraptha in Phoenicia (ubi sanctus Helias missus est ad viduam illam . . . et filium eius suscitavit). The distance to Sidon is 12 miles.

Paragraph 24 is a list of thirteen cities (quas Hiesu Nave destruxit, ubi manebant Amorrei, Gergesaei et Ferezei). Among these are Madaba, Philadelphia, Gerasa, Bostra, Damascus, Gadara, Abila, Capitolias, and several unidentifiable names. Paragraph 25 indicates that Jerusalem is in Palaestina, in the land of Canaan, and also mentions Galilea, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia Prima, Armenia Secunda, and Persian Armenia.

Paragraph 26 deals with the city of Ephesus. Para-

[10] The Pinnacle of the Temple (pinna templi) is, it seems, the southeastern corner of the Temple Mount, which was preserved to a great height and which looked out over the grave of Jacob in the Kidron Valley. Cf. the description of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, 590 (CCSL 175, p. 15).

[11] It is possible that the Enclosed Convent of Virgins was built on the slope below the Temple Mount and has not yet been discovered. However, it is also possible that it was to be found in the hollows of the Temple Mount itself, the Herodian vaults, which are known today after a period of Crusader building as "Solomon's Stables." On these hollows under the pinnacle see also the description of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (ibid.) who mentions large water cisterns. The description of Theodosius itself further aids in the identification of the Enclosed Convent with Solomon's Stables. Theodosius states that their food is let down to them from the walls, but they have their water there in cisterns.

[12] As mentioned above, this section may have been composed by Theodosius himself, and it was perhaps the only journey he made in the country other than the voyage to Jerusalem itself. His special acquaintance with the Mount of Olives can be explained by the fact that there was the center of the Latin-speaking community in Jerusalem, around the monasteries of Melania "the Elder," Innocentius, and Melania "the Younger."

graph 27 speaks about Mount Sinai and Pharan and describes two ways of going from Jerusalem to Sinai: from Jerusalem to Elusa, 3 night stations (mansiones), from Elusa to Aila, 7, and from Aila to Mount Sinai, 8 stations. A longer way via Egypt requires 25 night stations.
Paragraph 28 deals with the evil deeds of the governor (praepositus) Urbicius, who tried to carry away and send to Constantinople the stone near Bethlehem upon which Mary sat. He could not remove it from Jerusalem where the stone had been placed as an altar in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Paragraph 29 describes the city of Daras in Mesopotamia, fortified by Emperor Anastasius. Paragraph 30 mentions cities in Armenia, Persis, and Babylon. Here the source of information is explicitly mentioned: the deacon Eudoxius who came from that province.
Paragraph 31 speaks about the feast of the Invention of the Cross by Helena. Paragraph 32 gives an *itinerarium*—list of road stations and distances—from Tarsus in Cilicia to Amida on the Persian border.

The information presented in the second section was drawn from various sources, some of which represented the personal knowledge of Theodosius or a source whose author was personally familiar with the site in question. This is the case, for the most part, regarding Jerusalem, the Mount of Olives, and various sites around the Jordan River. Others represented information told to Theodosius, such as the information given him by the deacon Eudoxius (par. 30), while other sources that served him were road maps or the commentary accompanying such maps, as was the case in the itinerary from Cilicia to Mesopotamia (par. 32). Still others were itinerary guides, such as in the itinerary from Jerusalem to Sinai (par. 27).

The paragraphs in the second part of the work are not placed in any systematic order. At times, however, there does seem to be a logical connection between them. The resurrection of Lazarus on the Mount of Olives follows the story of the resurrection of the son of the widow from Saraptha by Elijah (par. 23). At times the connection is limited to some sort of external association between events or places. Thus the section on Memphis in Egypt (par. 14) tells of Joseph's stay in prison there, and it follows the story of the release of Andrew from prison in Sinope on the coast of the Black Sea (par. 13). In most cases, however, it is difficult to ascertain any logical reason for the order of the paragraphs, and it would appear that the editor simply placed them one after another in a mechanical manner.

As mentioned above, this was not the case regarding the first part of the composition, which excels in its uniform and systematic presentation of the material. The major part of my study will seek to determine the geographical sources of this first section.

## II. The Map of Palestine Used by Theodosius

Descriptions of excursions to holy sites in Palestine were generally short and functional, although they were often replete with references to holy traditions and miracles. For the most part they list the stations one after the other and the distance between them.

I have already discussed the problem of sources and the internal division that Wilkinson attempted to uncover in the text: the role of Theodosius the editor as against the various texts from which he culled his information.[13] The functional section—the stations and distances—were, in his view, taken from a civil itinerary, to which the editor added the Christian traditions.

However, a comparison of our composition with secular itineraries does not confirm this assumption. The *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti,* probably from the third century, describes the coast and does not include Jerusalem. In it the road between Caesarea and Diospolis passes through the station of Betaro which, although not yet identified, is certainly to be found in the eastern coastal plain (Sharon), in the easily traveled and shortest part of the road between Diospolis and Caesarea.[14] Theodosius' suggested route, however, passes through Joppa (modern Jaffa), a detour certainly understandable in light of Christian interest in the city. Moreover, the distances between Ascalon and Gaza and between Gaza and Raphiah in the *Itinerarium Antonini* are not identical with those of Theodosius, although the differences are not great. After Raphiah the *Itinerarium* lists the next logical site, Rhinocorura (El-Arish),[15] while the description of Theodosius stops at Betulia, the border city that according to tradition was the site of the victory of Judith. It is even more difficult to uncover any degree of similarity between Theodosius and the representation of Palestine in the Tabula Peutingeriana,[16] even though this map stresses Jerusalem to a greater extent.

[13] See above, note 5.

[14] *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti,* 150, in O. Cuntz, ed., *Itineraria Romana* (Leipzig, 1929), 21. A possible identification of this place is with the modern village of El-Tireh.

[15] Ibid., 151.

[16] K. Miller, *Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingerische Tafel,* seg. x (Ravensburg, 1888); idem, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart, 1916), 830–36.

*The Account of the Journey of Theophanes* through Palestine between 317 and 323 C.E., a document on papyri listing road stations and expenses of Egyptian officials, is also limited to the coastal route.[17] The distance between Raphiah and Gaza, 24 miles, is identical to the distance given by Theodosius, but this is in fact the only detail common to both. The boundary station of Theophanes is Boutaphis (Βουτάφις) and not Betulia. Moreover, the journey of Theophanes through the central part of the coastal valley (Sharon) is in accordance with the easier and more efficient route suggested by the *Itinerarium Antonini* and thus passes through the eastern part of Sharon and does not detour through Jaffa.

A comparison between the description of Theodosius and the itinerary of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* dating from 333 C.E., can prove most enlightening.[18] This composition describes the journey from Bordeaux in Gaul to Jerusalem. Most of it is only a civil gazetteer of roads and road stations. However, in the description of Jerusalem and some other parts of the Holy Land this guide does indeed incorporate Christian elements within the framework of a civil itinerary. The similarity between this part and certain sections of Theodosius is quite clear. This similarity is especially pronounced in the description of the journey to Jericho and the Jordan[19] since both mention identical sites and traditions, although there are unique aspects to both descriptions and thus Theodosius is not dependent upon the earlier account of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. Even the distance between Jerusalem and Jericho, 18 miles, is identical in both accounts (although not the distance between Jericho and the Jordan). Another section of the account of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the road from Neapolis to Jerusalem,[20] is also quite similar to the parallel account in Theodosius (par. 2). The similarity even extends to the distance between Jerusalem and Bethel, 12 miles (which the Bordeaux Pilgrim mistakenly refers to as "Bethar").[21]

These sections are markedly Christian and they belong to the body of Christian pilgrimage literature which began to appear in the fourth century C.E. Even the distances in these sections are expressed in an expanded form. Thus, for example, the description of the distance in that same section between Neapolis and Bethel (Bethar): "Inde milia XXVIII euntibus Hierusalem in parte sinistra est villa quae dicitur Bethar"; 588, 7–8. (The Bordeaux Pilgrim here partly follows the slightly earlier description of the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius in the entry "Bethel").[22]

The sections of the Bordeaux Pilgrim belonging to the civil itinerary are in contrast quite pronounced in their terse nature and uniform structure and include only the name of the site and the number of miles between that site and the preceding one. Thus, for example, in the circuit between Jerusalem and Caesarea in the Bordeaux Pilgrim, 600, 1–6:

Item ab Hierusolyma, sic:

| | |
|---|---|
| Civitas Nicopoli | milia XXII |
| Civitas Lidda | milia X |
| Mutatio Antipatrida | milia X |
| Mutatio Betthar[23] | milia X |
| Civitas Caesarea | milia XVI |

In the parallel section of Theodosius (par. 4) the picture is quite different: from Jerusalem (Hierusalem) to "Shiloh" (Silona, mistakenly replacing Kiryat Yeʿarim), 8 miles; from there to Emmaus (Nicopolis), 9 miles; from Emmaus to Diospolis (Lydda), 11 miles; from Diospolis (Lydda) to Joppa, 12 miles; from Joppa to Caesarea, 30 miles.

The similarity between Theodosius and the markedly Christian sections of the Bordeaux Pilgrim and the striking difference between Theodosius and the "civil itinerary" of the Bordeaux Pilgrim and the other works discussed prove that Theodosius did not draw even his geographic functional information from such "civil" itineraries but rather from Christian works.

There is, of course, room for the hypothesis that Theodosius based his composition on a literary source that has not yet been discovered. However, it seems more likely that Theodosius derived his information not from an ordinary pilgrim guidebook but rather directly from a map. This map,

[17] Papyrus 627, 1.236 ff; C. H. Roberts and E. C. Turner, *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library,* IV (Manchester, 1952), 120. See also M. Schwabe, "Documents of a Journey through Palestine in the Years 317–323 C.E.," *Eretz-Israel* 3 (1954), 181–86 (Hebrew).

[18] *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* ed. P. Geyer and O. Cuntz, CCSL 175, pp. 1–26.

[19] Ibid., 596–98, pp. 18–19.

[20] Ibid., 587–89, pp. 13–14.

[21] It would seem likely that the distance between Bethel and Shechem-Neapolis was identical in both cases—18 miles—as stated by Theodosius and as is the case regarding the real distance between the sites. The xviii in the mss. of the Bordeaux Pilgrim was corrupted into xxviii.

[22] Eusebius, *Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen,* ed. E. Klostermann, GCS 11, I (Leipzig, 1904), 40, line 20.

[23] This is Betaro mentioned above, in the eastern part of Sharon, and should not be confused with Bethar-Bethel which appears in the Bordeaux Pilgrim in another paragraph; see above.

which I am attempting to reconstruct, was created for the use of Christian pilgrims who came to the Holy Land and established their base in Jerusalem. From this city they set out on their journeys throughout Palestine. We can learn about the manner in which the road maps of those days were drawn through the graphic representation of the Tabula Peutingeriana (Figs. 1–2). The Tabula is a very long and rather narrow scroll which does not contain the real proportions or geographical details of the countries described in it. Similarly, it does not appear likely that the author of our map made the effort to depict in exact detail the various aspects of the routes, at least from a topographic standpoint. It is likely that he made do with an attempt to depict the general direction, marking major intersections, stations, and settlements and marking in numerical characters the distance between each station. The author of the map most likely utilized the empty spaces between sites to add short phrases of explanation or biblical quotations that fit the sites and traditions surrounding them.

This map, whose very existence I wish to prove, was probably drawn by hand, on parchment, and circulated in a limited number of copies, perhaps no more than a few dozen, which were used for a very long period. It is likely that individual pilgrims did not use such a map, but rather it was used by professional guides who conducted the pilgrims from site to site. It may also be that maps were bought by wealthy pilgrims as souvenirs. There were, most likely, Greek as well as Latin versions.

It is my contention that a copy of this map came into the possession of Theodosius and served as the basis for the core of his information: names, distances, and traditions regarding the holiness of sites or individual buildings. This information, to which he added information based on personal knowledge and additional sources, was the basis for the description pertaining to Palestine in his work and particularly for the description of the journeys appearing in the first half of it. One may assume that this part of Theodosius' work—his contribution to the text—in addition to copying information found on the map, was one of selection and editing, whereby he decided which information to include and which to delete from the vast amount of material on the map.

This hypothesis, that Theodosius used a map, can be further corroborated through a comparison with the mosaic map from Madaba. The Madaba Mosaic is somewhat later than the description of Theodosius. The map was drawn, in any event, after 543 C.E., the year in which the "Nea" Church in Jerusalem, which appears on the map, was dedicated. It would appear that Avi-Yonah's view that the map was composed in the latter half of the sixth century is correct.[24]

The problem of the sources of the map is difficult and complex and beyond the scope of my study.[25] It is generally accepted among scholars, however, that the artist at Madaba worked from a different map, perhaps an improved version of the one Eusebius appended to his *Onomasticon*.[26] The map used by the artist in Madaba was essentially one for pilgrims which included the holy sites and the major settlements of Palestine.[27] It seems likely that the map used in Madaba was simply a different copy—perhaps dating somewhat later and written in Greek—of the very map used by Theodosius.

The Madaba Map is not a topographic map. Even though the general layout of the land, mountain ranges, rivers, and the sea is maintained, it is hard to claim that the map exhibits a high degree of exactitude in this respect. The relationship of various settlements to one another is especially distorted. This is essentially the result of the cramped manner in which the settlements are portrayed and the accompanying inscriptions, which took up more space than that allotted for them on the map. However, at times the lack of topographic detail can be explained only in terms of a lack of knowledge or a disregard for such detail. The Madaba Map included more settlements than those mentioned by Theodosius. The artist included details that were most likely included on the original map but were omitted by Theodosius for the sake of economy. The artist of the Madaba Mosaic certainly had other sources at his disposal, some of which I will discuss below.[28] The description of Theodosius also included sites that do not appear on the Madaba Mosaic. These missing sites, however, most likely did appear in the sections of the mosaic that have not survived.

[24] Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, 16–18.

[25] A comprehensive study is promised by Donner and Cüppers who during the 1960s worked on the cleaning and restoration of the mosaic; in the words of the authors, it will serve as an "introduction to the early Christian topography of Palestine." See H. Donner and H. Cüppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba*, I: Tafelband (Wiesbaden, 1977), viii.

[26] Eusebius, *Onomastikon*, 2.

[27] See, for example, Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, 28–32. Avi-Yonah tends to date the initial stage of the map to the fifth century; the revision and updating took place, according to him, in the sixth century.

[28] See below, 139 f.

In order to prove that both Theodosius and the Madaba Mosaic derive from a common source it will be necessary to show that all the descriptions and sites mentioned by Theodosius and which should be located in those parts of the mosaic that were not destroyed do indeed appear in the Madaba Mosaic. Since the latter is not a topographic map it is difficult to be absolutely certain regarding the location of sites on the map and whether the absence of a site is the result of the destruction of sections of the mosaic or whether it was intentionally omitted from the map. Even so, it would appear that a comparison, here undertaken, will prove my point.

All of the sites mentioned in the first itinerary of Theodosius are located in those areas that have been preserved almost in their entirety in the map (Fig. 3). These sites do indeed appear in the Madaba Map with almost amazing similarity: Jericho is marked by both artistic representation and by an inscription, Ἰεριχώ;[29] both sides of the Jordan River are depicted in great detail; Gilgal is represented as being near Jericho and to the northwest of it. The altar of the twelve stones is depicted pictorially and an inscription states: "Galgala, also the Twelve Stones"; Γάλγαλα τὸ καὶ Δωδεκάλιθον.[30] Compare Theodosius' "Galgala . . . ibi sunt duodecim lapides." Elisha's Spring is depicted on the map as if it were flowing from a church (see below), with above it the inscription "of Saint Elisha" (τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐλισσαίου).[31] The Lord's Field (ager Domini) does not appear on the map, unless we assume (see below) that this is represented by the dates growing above the waters of the spring, between "of Saint Elisha" and Jericho. Rahab's house is also not depicted explicitly on the map.

As previously stated, Theodosius expands his description of this region in paragraphs 18–20. There he discusses Livias and the waters Moses extracted from the rock. Nearby, he states, there were superior Nicolaitan date palms. Livias does appear on the map (in accordance with the view of Donner and Cüppers and against the view of Avi-Yonah), and next to it are date palms.[32] However, since the upper part of the representation is destroyed and since there is no inscription, it is difficult to determine aspects regarding the city with certainty, and it is not possible to know whether the map depicted the spring of Moses. Here Theodosius specifically mentions a church constructed above Elisha's Spring, as is also depicted by the map. The site of the baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist appears in the Madaba Map as a church, which according to Theodosius was built by Anastasius in honor of John. According to the description of Theodosius, this place (Beth-Abara of the New Testament) was shown to the west of the Jordan River and not to the east of it, as would seem to be understood by certain sources.[33] The church in the Madaba Map does indeed appear to the west of the Jordan, and in accordance with the description of Theodosius the description in the map stresses the role of John the Baptist over that of Jesus himself: "Beth-Abara of Saint John the Baptist" (Βεθαβαρὰ τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτίσματος). The entry point of the Jordan into the Dead Sea mentioned by Theodosius does appear on the map, but Lot's Wife is not found. Likewise, the "little hill called Hermon" on the eastern side of the Jordan where Elijah was taken up to heaven does not appear, unless one assumes that this is the small hill placed east of the Jordan and near Aenon.[34]

Of Theodosius' second journey only the second part, between Jerusalem and Neapolis, has been preserved in the Madaba Map (Fig. 4). The first station of that journey, Bethel, is marked by a building or buildings (because of the cramped nature of the representation it is difficult to connect the building to the inscription) and the inscription: "Luz, which is also Bethel"; (Λουζὰ ἢ καὶ Βεθήλ).[35] Jacob's dream is not explicitly depicted, but the use of the name Luz undoubtedly hints at it. Shechem (which Theodosius mistakenly calls Samaria) is represented on the map both pictorially and epigraphically and is placed near Neapolis, the new city which Theodosius identified with ancient Shechem. Two other sites which Theodosius mentions in the environs of Shechem, the well constructed by Jacob and the resting place of Joseph's bones, also appear on the map: "Here is Jacob's Well" (Ὅπου ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ Ἰακώβ) and "of Joseph" (τὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ).[36]

The route of the third itinerary passes through areas that have been only partially preserved in the

[29] Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, 25, p. 44.
[30] Ibid., 5, p. 36.
[31] Ibid., 26, p. 44.
[32] Photographs in Donner and Cüppers, *Mosaikkarte*, pls. 10, 100. See also H. Donner and H. Cüppers, "Die Restauration und Konservierung der Mosaikkarte von Madeba," *ZDPV* 83 (1967), 22–23.
[33] See discussion in Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, 7, pp. 38–39.
[34] See photographs in Donner and Cüppers, *Mosaikkarte*, pls. 10, 98.
[35] Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, 43, p. 48.
[36] Ibid., 32, 34–35, pp. 45–47.

depiction of the mosaic (Fig. 5). Luckily, most of the stations have been preserved, although sometimes in a fragmentary form. Most prominent is the lack in the mosaic of Theodosius' first station, Mount Buzana, the site of the battle between David and Goliath. It is possible that this site actually appeared on the map but was destroyed, since there is a gap in the mosaic east of Socho (Σωχώ) in the area where the battle took place according to the biblical account (I Sam. 17.1). However, it would seem more likely that the mosaicist simply left out this unidentified geographic feature (which appears only in Theodosius and in no other source). The remaining stations have all been preserved in the mosaic: the city of Eleutheropolis is partly seen, although its inscription has been destroyed; the church next to the grave of the prophet Zechariah (τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ζαχαρίου) and near Beth-Zechariah (Βεθζαχάρ) is portrayed in all its splendor, standing for "loco, ubi requiescit sanctus Zacharias" (Fig. 6). Part of the city of Ascalon and its inscription appear on an isolated fragment of the mosaic which has been preserved. The southern part of Gaza has been preserved as well as half of its inscription (Fig. 7). West of Gaza is Maiumas, but Anthedon between Ascalon and Gaza has been destroyed. The first three letters of Raphiah have survived. The inscription "Bitulion" (B[ητ]ύλιον) has remained from Betulia and next to it the inscription "Borders of Egypt and Palestine" (Ὅροι Αἰγύπτου κ[αὶ] Παλαιστίνης).

The fourth itinerary, the excursion from Jerusalem via the coastal road to Galilee, is for the most part missing from the map, and only the section nearest Jerusalem has been preserved. The first station is Shiloh which formerly housed the Ark of the Covenant. The Madaba Map marks Shiloh in its correct location, as opposed to Theodosius,[37] together with the following inscription: "Shiloh, There Once the Ark" (Σηλὼ ἔνθα [τὸ πρ]ὶν ἡ κιβωτός), standing for "Silona, ubi fuit arca testamenti Domni."[38] From there Theodosius proceeds to Emmaus-Nicopolis. The Madaba Map portrays Nicopolis in great detail, but makes do with a short inscription: "Nicopolis" (Νικόπολις).[39] The next stop is Diospolis, which the map also depicts in great detail[40] and adds the identification "Lod or Lydea, which is also Diospolis" (Λὼδ ἤτοι Λυδέα ἥ κ[αὶ] Διόσπολις). The northern part of Lydda and the continuation of the itinerary have been completely destroyed and thus are missing from the map.

The fifth itinerary to Hebron has been basically preserved (Figs. 5–6). Theodosius, who for unknown reasons skips over Bethlehem (or perhaps sought to include it among the areas surrounding Jerusalem, a section which has been lost), stops at the spring near Beth-Zur, "ubi baptizavit domnus Philippus eunuchum." The Madaba Map portrays the spring pictorially and adds an inscription parallel to Theodosius' description: "Of Saint Philip. There they say was baptized Candaces the Eunuch" (τὸ τοῦ ἁγ[ίου] Φιλίππου. ἔνθα λέγουσι βαπτιζῆναι Κανδάκην τὸν εὐνοῦχον).[41] From here Theodosius proceeds to "Terebintus, quod appelatus ilex Mambre." From the Oak of Mamre he proceeds to the "Double Cave" (ad speluncam duplicem), the burial place of the patriarchs, and from there two miles(!) to Hebron. The distinction between the Double Cave and Hebron is not clear, and it is difficult to ascertain the source of Theodosius' confusion. This area is only partly preserved in the Madaba Map. The Oak of Mamre appears and above it the inscription, "The Oak of Mamre" (Ἡ δρῦ[ς] Μαμ[βρῆ]). Nearby to the north is the church of Mamre and the inscription, "Arba, also the Terebinth" (['Αρβὼ] ἥ καὶ [Τερ]έβινθος).[42] Hebron and the Double Cave are missing from the map; they were probably included in the part that has been destroyed.

In addition one can cite the fragment of the mosaic published by Germer-Durand and further completed by Clermont-Ganneau: "Sarephtha which is the large village. There the child was resuscitated that day" (Σαρεφθὰ [ἡ] μάκρα κώ[μη] ὅπου τέκν[ον ἠγέρθη ἐν τ]ῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ).[43] Theodosius expands upon this area in paragraph 23.

Thus in answer to the question whether all of the sites and descriptions that appear in Theodosius are found in the Madaba Map, one can state that such is almost always the case. Those few sites mentioned in Theodosius which are not found in

[37] Theodosius uses the name Shiloh (Silona) for Kiryat Ye'arim, which is also a station of the ark (I Sam. 7.1–2). The site is identified with Kiryat El-Anab or Abu-Ghosh, on the road to Emmaus. See also Bernard, *Theodosius* (above, note 1), 9; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (above, note 1), 65.

[38] Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, 31, p. 45.

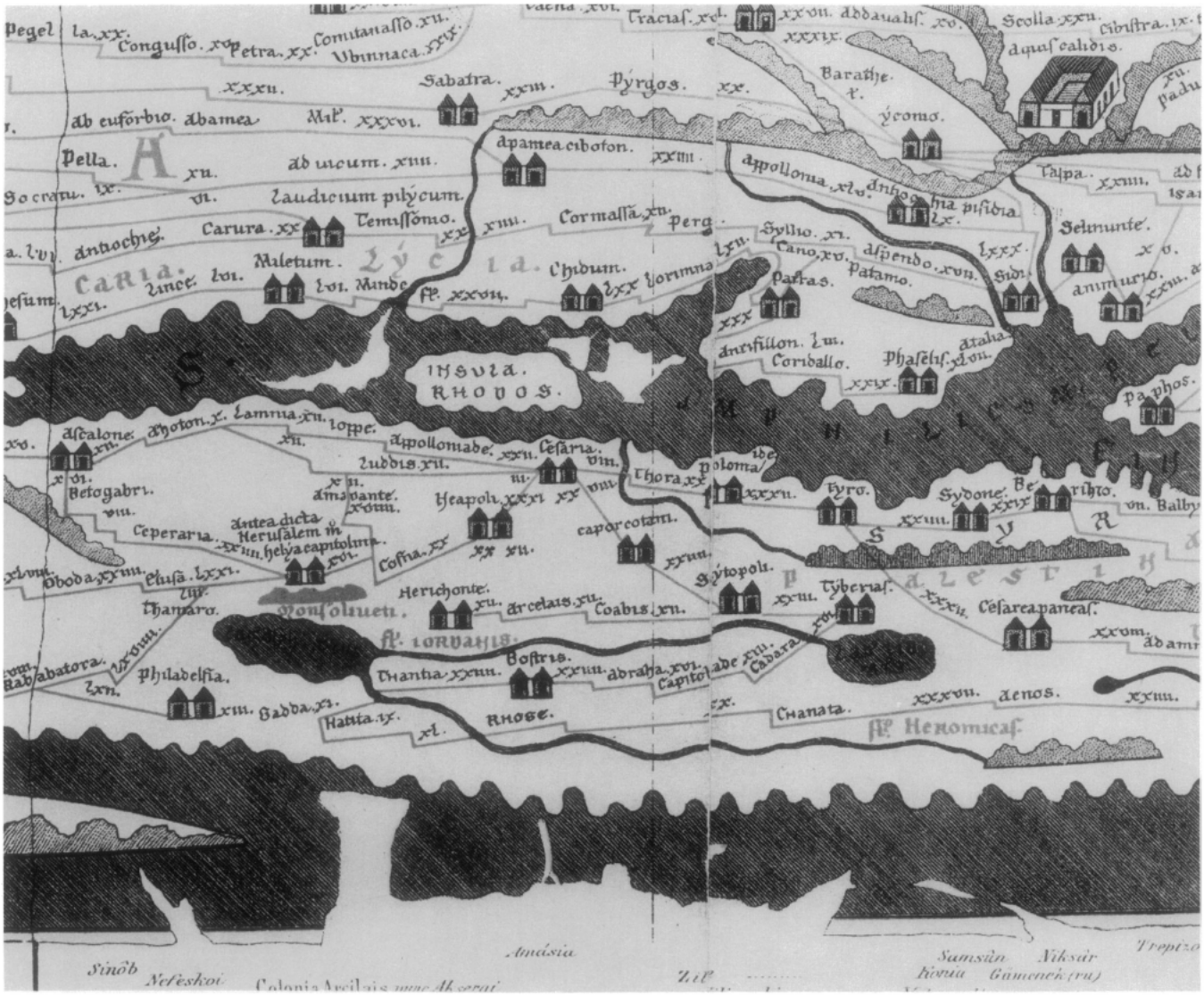
[39] Ibid., 74, p. 64.

[40] Ibid., 62, pp. 61–62. The place of St. George in Diospolis and his cult there, which are cited by Theodosius, are depicted in the map by the detailed presentation of the Church of St. George. See the discussion in Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, loc. cit.

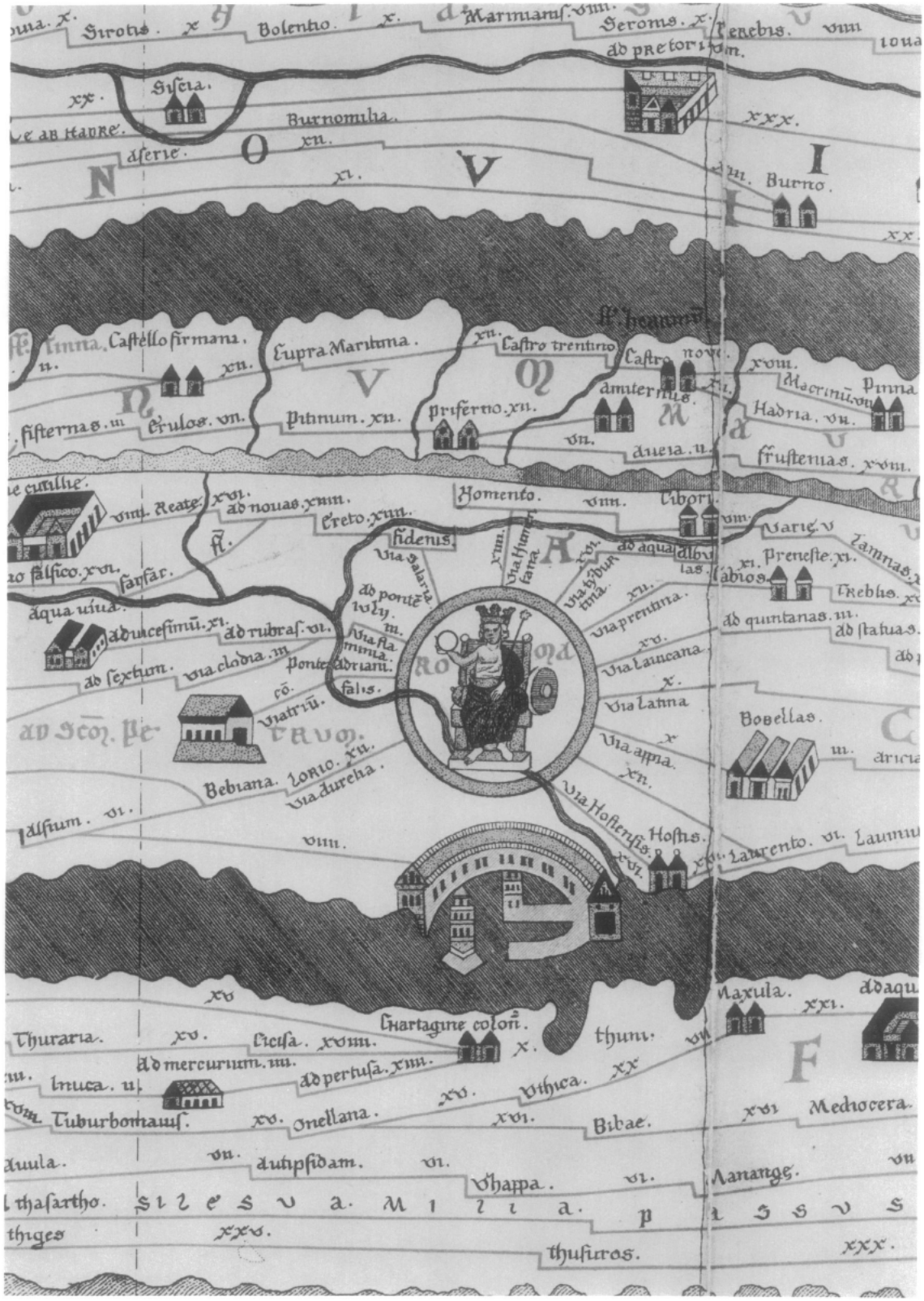
[41] Ibid., 81, p. 67.

[42] Ibid., 82–83, pp. 67–68.

[43] Ibid., 141, p. 77.



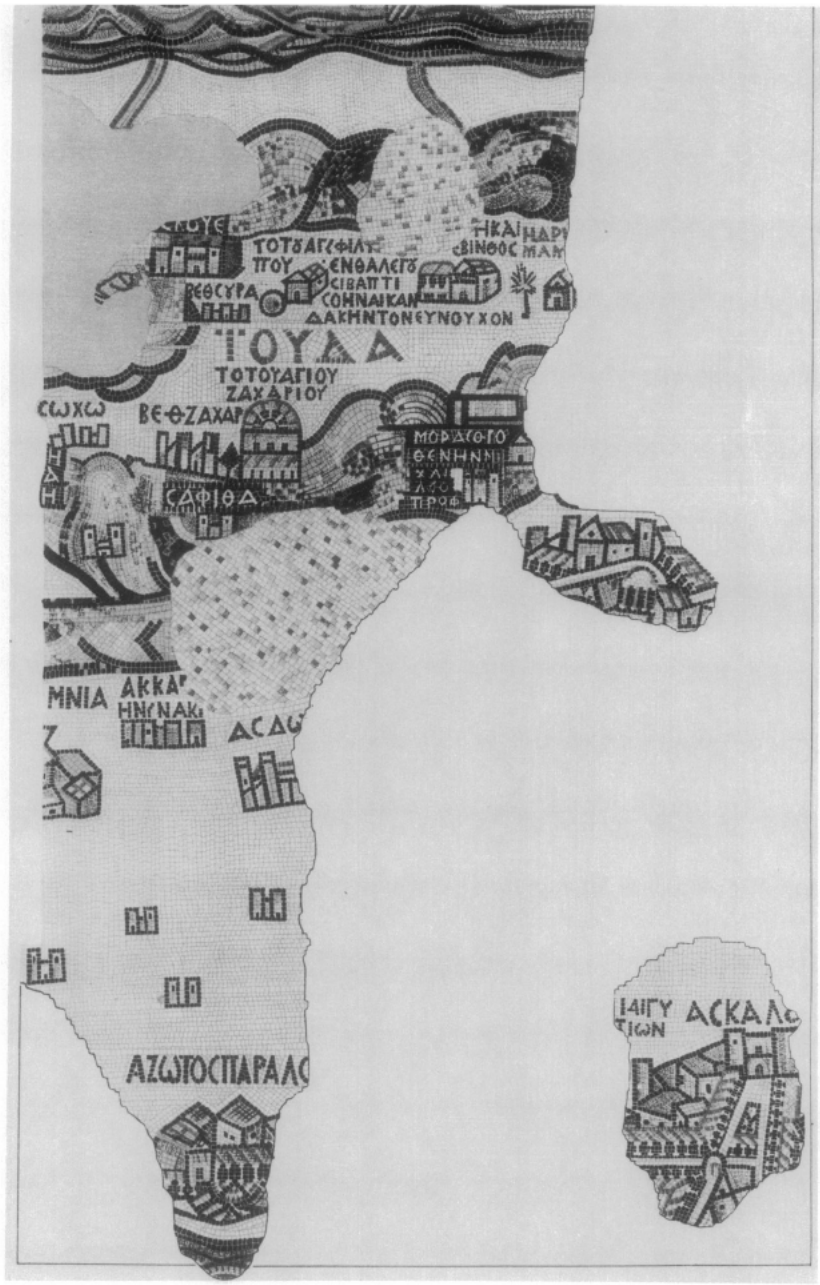

1. Tabula Peutingeriana, segs. IX–X, map of Palestine
(photo: K. Miller, *Weltkarte des Castorius* [Ravensburg, 1888])




2. Tabula Peutingeriana, seg. v, Rome, center of all roads (photo: Miller, *Weltkarte*)

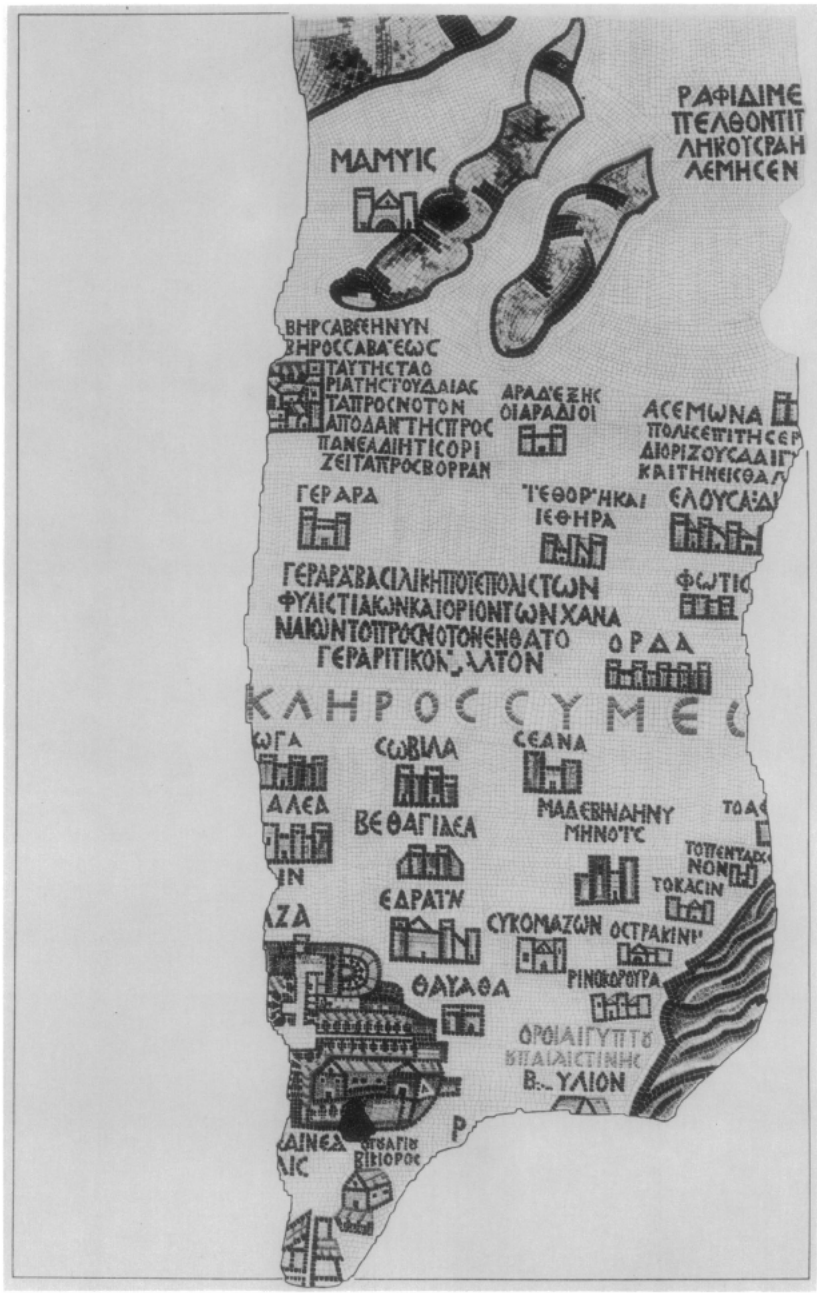

3. Madaba Map, Jericho and the Jordan; left of Jericho, Elisha's place and Galgala; above it, Beth-Abara and the place of the Baptism (photo: R. Cleeve)


4. Madaba Map, Jerusalem and Neapolis (left); between them, Joseph's place, Jacob's Well, and Shechem; above and left of Jerusalem, "Luz, which is also Bethel"; above Neapolis, Shiloh; on the right, Nicopolis; below Jerusalem, "Lod or Lydea, which is also Diospolis" (drawing from P. Palmer and H. Guthe, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba* [Leipzig, 1906], pls. 6–7)



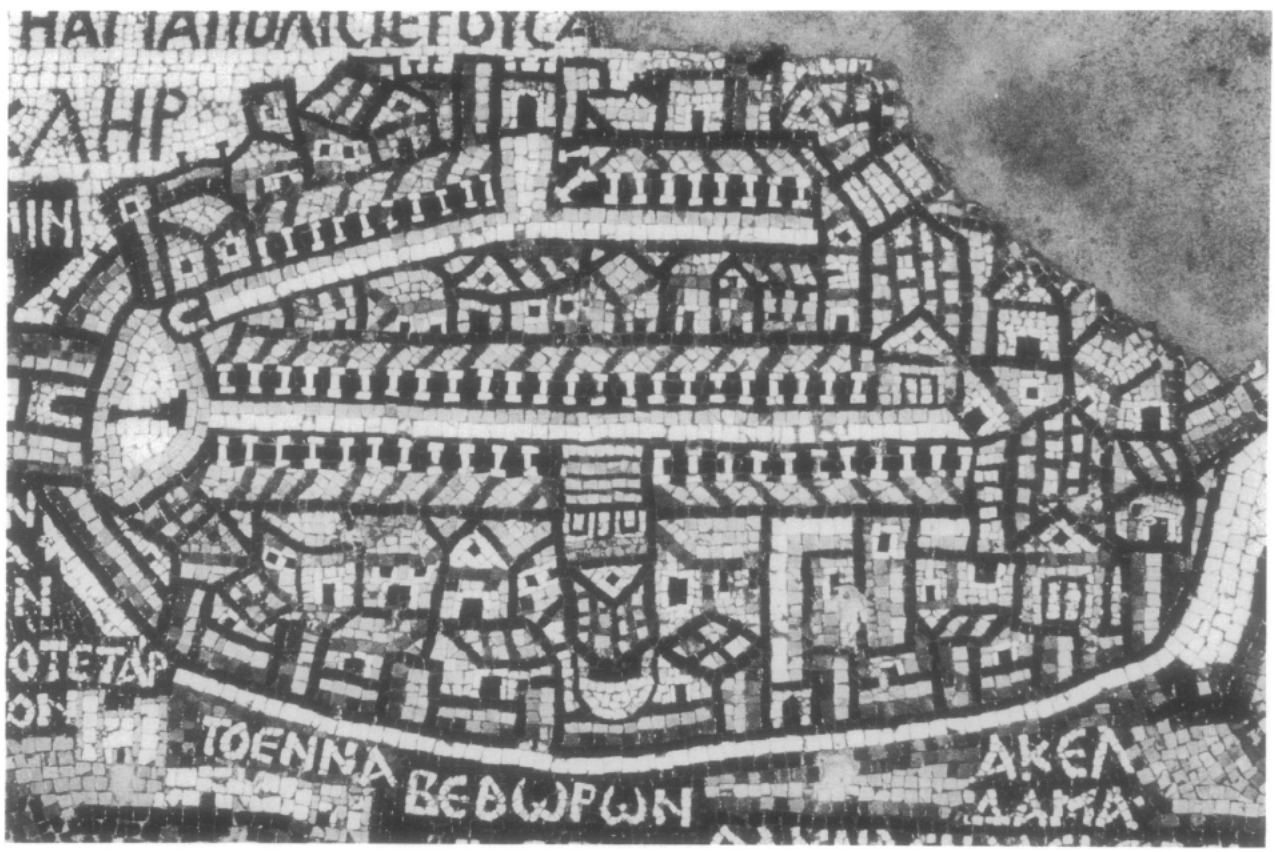

5. Madaba Map, the Judaean hills and the coastal valley south and west of Jerusalem; on the left, Socho; nearby, Beth-Zechariah and Zechariah's tomb; on the right, Eleutheropolis (no inscription remaining); bottom right, Ascalon; top, Philip's place (the church and the round pool of the spring) and the Oak of Mamre (drawing from Palmer-Guthe, *Mosaikkarte*, pl. 8)


6. Madaba Map, the Judaean hills; bottom left, Zechariah's tomb; top left, Philip's place; top right, the Oak of Mamre and nearby, on the left, the Church and precinct of Mamre (photo: R. Cleeve)




7. Madaba Map, the region of Gaza (left) and the southwestern coast; to the right of Gaza, the first letter of the name Raphiah (two more letters, not shown here, survived); bottom right, Betulia and the "Borders of Egypt and Palestine"; above it, the stations of the northern Sinai road to Egypt along the Mediterranean coast (drawing from Palmer-Guthe, *Mosaikkarte*, pl. 9)

8. Madaba Map, "Lod or Lydea, which is also Diospolis." The church at the center most likely represents St. George's basilica (photo: R. Cleeve)



9. Madaba Map, Jerusalem (photo: R. Cleeve)

the map, such as the house of Rahab at Elisha's Spring or the Lord's Field at Gilgal, are monuments that are either nearby or that are found within the settlements described in the map. Only once is an important station missing—Mount Buzana where David defeated Goliath—and this is not a settlement but rather a geographic entity. Often the inscription accompanying the portrayal of a settlement on the Madaba Map appears to be an almost exact Greek version of the Latin text found in Theodosius. At other sites, the parallel in the Madaba Map is not in the inscription but rather in the picture, as in the altar of the Twelve Stones in Gilgal (Fig. 3), the Church of St. George in Lydda (Fig. 8), or the structure above the grave of Zechariah, among others.

The common source of both works, both verbal and graphic, is the pilgrimage map of Palestine. The characteristics of this map may be reconstructed through an analysis of the characteristics shared by both Theodosius and the Madaba Map.

This pilgrimage map consisted of sites and above them inscriptions that included not only their names but also biblical identifications and the traditions associated with the sites. At times—as, for example, in the Madaba Map—the pilgrimage map most certainly included titles and verses referring to large areas, especially the tribal territories.[44] Between the various settlements the map cited distances in miles. This map was far more detailed than one might assume simply from Theodosius. It included not only major pilgrim stations but also simple road stations. Otherwise it is impossible to understand how the artist of the Madaba Map was able to include insignificant sites and even nameless ones such as τὸ τέταρτον (the Fourth Mile) or τὸ ἔνναtον (the Ninth Mile) on the roads leading from Jerusalem (Fig. 4). Moreover, the original map dealt only with those areas within the Land of Israel, while the works above represented a blending of the concept of Byzantine Palestine with that of the traditional biblical Land of Israel.

In the southwest the city of Bitulia, the only large representation that appears in this area on the Madaba Map, also serves as the boundary point for Theodosius. This was undoubtedly the border of Palestine in the original map.[45] In the northeast one can reconstruct, with reasonable certainty, the border of the original map, in accordance with Theodosius, at Paneas, near the biblical Dan, the traditional northern boundary.

Both sources stress the centrality of Jerusalem. All of Theodosius' itineraries begin in Jerusalem. The artist of the mosaic gives graphic expression to this idea when he places Jerusalem in the geometric center of the map. It is most likely that the original map was drawn in such a manner.

I have already pointed out that the original map was more detailed than one might assume based simply on the impression received from a reconstruction dependent on Theodosius, and that the artist of the Madaba Map deleted even additional settlements. Theodosius also refrains from citing latitudinal routes and connecting thoroughfares between major highways. Thus in certain cases he mentions parts of the road which deviate from the main route, for example, Cana from Diocaesarea or Elisha's Spring from Jericho. The longitudinal route itself is not always the correct one based on topographical considerations. It is difficult to understand the itinerary turning to Samaria (Sebastea) on the Shechem (Neapolis)–Beth-Shean (Scythopolis) road. Most perplexing is that one travels to Nazareth via the coast and not via Samaria. All of these cases may be explained by the fact that Theodosius avoided the tendency to complicate his itinerary through the use of secondary roads and thus did not refrain from lengthening the journey, which in any event was not based on efficiency but on religious content. In the last case mentioned above, Theodosius refrained from traveling to Lower Galilee via Samaria since that route had already been used in a previous itinerary to Scythopolis and the Sea of Galilee, and he did not like to repeat routes in his itinerary. The artist of the Madaba Map, whose sources and methodology are worthy of a separate study, found in the pilgrimage map a basic framework to which

[44] This feature can perhaps explain the name "Gate of Benjamin" which appears in paragraphs 1 and 21 and is also mentioned by Arculf: Adamnanus, *De Locis Sanctis*, I, 1.3, CCSL 175, p. 185. This is probably the eastern gate of Jerusalem which was eventually to become St. Stephen's Gate or the Lion's Gate. The source of the archaic name is not clear, but there is no other name known for the gate that was near the Probatica Church. However, if we should understand the original map in the sense that the inscription "Lot of Benjamin" (tribus Beniamin) was written next to this gate, but outside of it (cf. the inscription κλῆρ[ος Βενιαμίν] and the drawing in the Madaba Map, Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, 53, p. 50), then the source of this name becomes clear. Since there was no other name, Theodosius gave that gate the title of "Gate of Benjamin," in accordance with the inscription near the gate, but outside it. From here the usage passed on to Adamnan.

[45] On the southwest border of Palestine see Y. Tsafrir, "The Provinces of Palestine: Names, Boundaries and Administrative Division," *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest*, I, ed. Z. Baras, S. Safrai, M. Stern, Y. Tsafrir (Jerusalem, 1982) (Hebrew), 363–64, 374.

he added details from various sources, whether maps or oral sources of information. This last type is most likely represented by the settlements in Moab, Edom, (and the Araba?) which are depicted in great detail and which were certainly known to the residents of Madaba. Likewise, the remarkable detail in the depiction of the cities and villages of the southwestern coastal valley and the western Negev most likely represent the firsthand acquaintance and sentiments of the artist or his guide. The representation of Egypt and the Nile Delta was most likely based on an Egyptian map.

Some of the cities preserved in the Madaba Map are portrayed in great detail: Jerusalem (Fig. 9), Neapolis (Fig. 4), Diospolis (Fig. 8), Eleutheropolis (Fig. 5), Azotos (Fig. 5), Jamnia, Ascalon (Fig. 5), Gaza (Fig. 7), Pelusion, Charachmoba. Each city appears to have warranted individual attention in terms of its depiction, and it is possible to identify actual buildings, for example, the Church of Eudoxia in Gaza, the Church of St. George in Diospolis, the theater of Neapolis, and so forth. Many studies have illustrated the authentic representation of Jerusalem.[46] We have no way of knowing if the artist of the mosaic made use of schematic maps or had any type of written descriptions or commentary, or whether he simply described the cities as best he could. Thus that with which he was personally acquainted was portrayed in a more faithful manner, and in the other cases the artist made do with conventional representations of walls, gates, colonnaded streets, and the like, while including in the city those buildings whose existence was known to him, whether of a secular or religious nature.

At least in the case of Jerusalem it is certain that the artist of the mosaic had a plan or a map of the city. I am also of the opinion that Theodosius had similar tools when describing Jerusalem. However, as opposed to what we have seen to be the case in other regions in Palestine, there is only a general similarity between Theodosius' description of Jerusalem and its depiction in the Madaba Map, and it is unlikely that in this case the two worked from a common source. I shall attempt to determine below the nature of the map that served Theodosius in his description of Jerusalem.

[46] Avi-Yonah, *MMM*, 52–53, with bibliography. See also bibliography in Donner and Cüppers, *Mosaikkarte*, xi–xvi. On Jerusalem see also R. T. O'Callaghan, "Madaba (carte de)," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, supp. 5 (Paris, 1957), 656–57; J. T. Milik, "La topographie de Jérusalem vers la fin de l'époque byzantine," *MUSJ* 37 (1960–61), 127–89; I. Ehrensperger-Katz, "Les représentations des villes fortifiées dans l'art paléochrétien et leur dérivées byzantines," *CahArch* 19 (1969), 1–27; and Y. Tsafrir, "Jerusalem," *RBK* 3 (Stuttgart, 1975), cols. 575–88. See also idem, *Zion: The Southwestern Hill of Jerusalem and Its Place in the Urban Development of the City in the Byzantine Period*, Diss. (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1975) (Hebrew), 331–43.

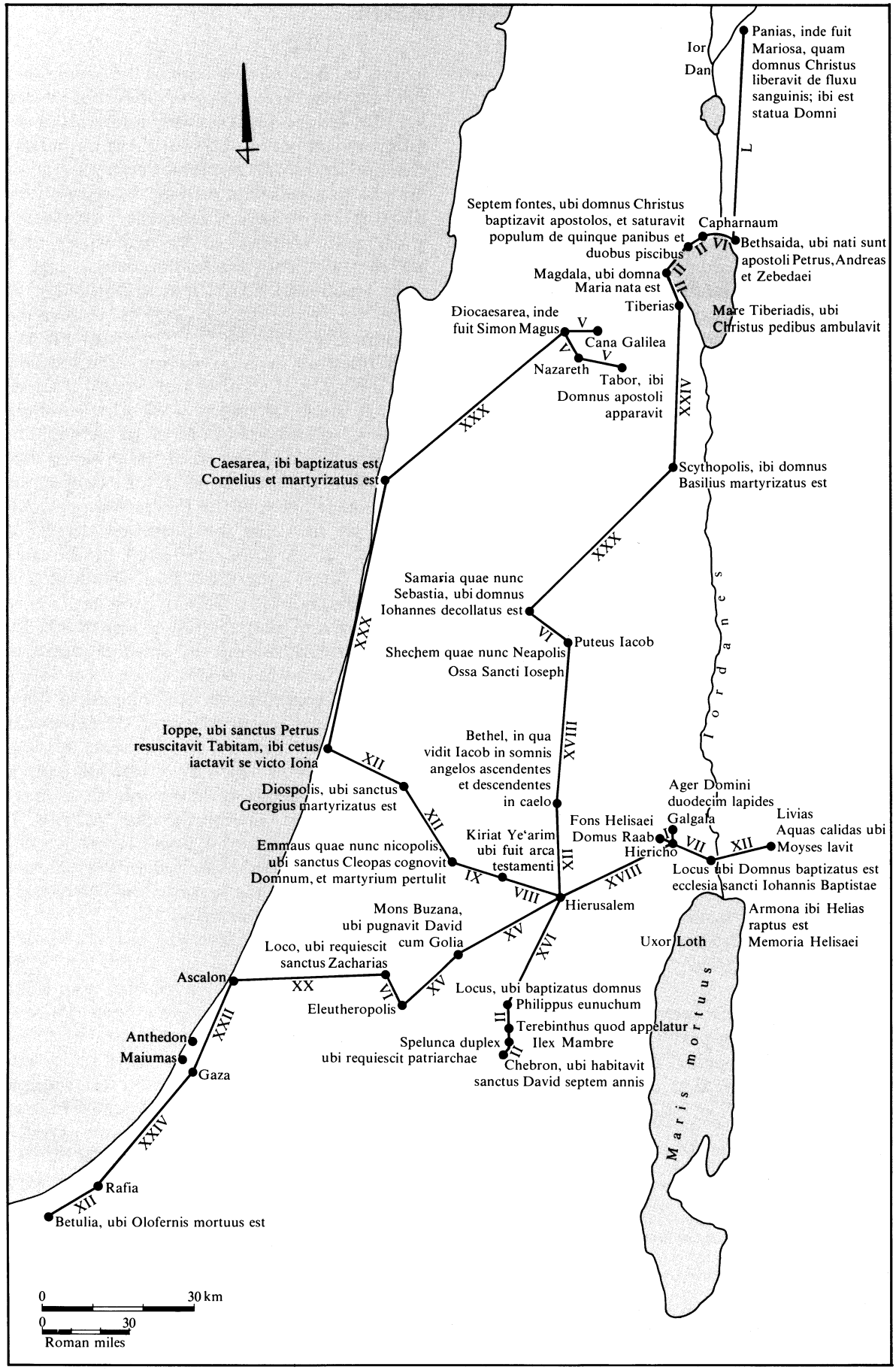
## III. The Map of Jerusalem Used by Theodosius[47]

The description of Jerusalem (paragraphs 7–11) is, as mentioned above, an independent unit. This is an extremely short description in which some of the most important and central sites are mentioned together with less important ones and with traditions of secondary importance. Just as Theodosius cites distances between the important sites surrounding the city and the city itself, such as the Mount of Olives and Bethany, he also attempts to provide his readers with distances between central monuments in the city. Thus most of the monuments described appear with the distance from the preceding site: the Holy Sepulcher, Calvary (Golgotha), "Golgotha" (which he mistakenly identifies with the place where the cross was discovered), the Church of Zion (sancta Sion), the House of Caiaphas (domus Caiphae) which is the Church of St. Peter (ecclesia sancti Petri), the Praetorium of Pilate which is the Church of St. Sophia (the Holy Wisdom), the Pit into which the prophet Jeremiah was cast (lacus ubi missus est Hieremias propheta), the Pool of Siloam (piscina Siloe), and the piscina Probatica (Sheep Pool) Church. He does not mention in terms of distances the Pinnacle of the Temple (the corner of the Temple Mount) and the Enclosed Convent of Virgins (probably within the recesses of Solomon's Stables).[48] Likewise, the distance was not recorded between Jerusalem and those buildings near the walls but outside them, such as the Church of St. Stephen north of St. Stephen's Gate and the buildings in the Valley of Jehosha-

[47] This part is based upon a discussion published in brief in Tsafrir, *Zion*, 143–49 (Hebrew).

[48] Above, note 11.

Map 2. *opposite* Partial reconstruction of the map used by Theodosius with the sites, distances in miles, and citations mentioned by him. (Errors of identification in Theodosius' text are corrected in this map.) The depiction of the roads in straight lines follows the style of the Tabula Peutingeriana. The hypothesized map, however, would have been larger. It had inaccurate proportions and site locations, and also contained the names of minor sites, road stations, and complementary inscriptions concerning particular regions or the tribes of Israel.


Panias, inde fuit Mariosa, quam domnus Christus liberavit de fluxu sanguinis; ibi est statua Domni
Ior
Dan
L
Septem fontes, ubi domnus Christus baptizavit apostolos, et saturavit populum de quinque panibus et duobus piscibus
Capharnaum
Bethsaida, ubi nati sunt apostoli Petrus, Andreas et Zebedaei
II
VI
III
III
Magdala, ubi domna Maria nata est
Tiberias
Mare Tiberiadis, ubi Christus pedibus ambulavit
Diocaesarea, inde fuit Simon Magus
V
Cana Galilea
V
Nazareth
V
Tabor, ibi Domnus apostoli apparavit
XXIV
XXX
Caesarea, ibi baptizatus est Cornelius et martyrizatus est
Scythopolis, ibi domnus Basilius martyrizatus est
XXX
Samaria quae nunc Sebastia, ubi domnus Iohannes decollatus est
XXX
VI
Puteus Iacob
Shechem quae nunc Neapolis
Ossa Sancti Ioseph
Iordanes
XVIII
Ioppe, ubi sanctus Petrus resuscitavit Tabitam, ibi cetus iactavit se victo Iona
XII
Bethel, in qua vidit Iacob in somnis angelos ascendentes et descendentes in caelo
Diospolis, ubi sanctus Georgius martyrizatus est
XII
Ager Domini duodecim lapides
Galgala
Livias
Aquas calidas ubi Moyses lavit
XII
Fons Helisaei
Domus Raab
VII
Hiericho
VII
Kiriat Ye'arim ubi fuit arca testamenti
XII
Emmaus quae nunc nicopolis, ubi sanctus Cleopas cognovit Domnum, et martyrium pertulit
IX
VIII
XVIII
Locus ubi Domnus baptizatus est ecclesia sancti Iohannis Baptistae
Hierusalem
Mons Buzana, ubi pugnavit David cum Golia
XV
XVI
Armona ibi Helias raptus est
Memoria Helisaei
Uxor Loth
Loco, ubi requiescit sanctus Zacharias
Ascalon
XX
XV
Locus, ubi baptizatus domnus Philippus eunuchum
II
Terebinthus quod appelatur Ilex Mambre
II
Spelunca duplex ubi requiescit patriarchae
Chebron, ubi habitavit sanctus David septem annis
XII
Eleutheropolis
Anthedon
Maiumas
XXII
Gaza
XXIV
Rafia
XII
Betulia, ubi Olofernis mortuus est
Maris mortuus
0
30 km
0
30
Roman miles

phat. The following represents the distances between the sites:[49]

From the Sepulcher to Calvary
15 paces (ca. 22.5 m)[50]

From Calvary to the place where the Cross was discovered 15 paces (ca. 22.5 m)

From the place the Cross was discovered to the Church of Zion 200 paces (ca. 300 m)

From the Church of Zion to the House of Caiaphas (St. Peter) 50 paces, more or less (ca. 75 m)

From the House of Caiaphas to the Praetorium (St. Sophia); beside it, according to Scripture, the Pit of Jeremiah
100 paces, more or less (ca. 150 m)

From Siloam to the Pit of Jeremiah
100 paces (ca. 150 m)

From the House of Pilate to the Sheep Pool (Probatica) 100 paces (ca. 150 m)

These distances are not realistic. The mistakes within the Holy Sepulcher complex are minor, but the discrepancies between Theodosius and the real distances regarding the other monuments are quite substantial. The distance between the place where the Cross was discovered and the Church of Mt. Zion is really 700 m and not 300 as Theodosius says. Between this church and the House of Caiaphas (Church of St. Peter) there is a distance of 300 m, while Theodosius cites 75. The distance from the Church of St. Peter to the Praetorium, whose exact location is not known, but was most likely in the city, not far from the Dung Gate of today,[51] was according to Theodosius 150 m, while the real distance was most likely closer to 600 m. The distance between the Pit of Jeremiah, near this church, and the Pool of Siloam was most likely in the area of 650 m, while Theodosius gives 150 m. The distance between the Praetorium and the Probatica was approximately 600 m, while Theodosius cites the figure 150.

Various attempts have been made to explain these inconsistencies at least partly by claiming that they are the results of copyists' errors in transcribing Roman numerals marking distances.[52] These attempts fail because they require the assumption that not only was there a degree of confusion regarding the letters representing numerals, but that numbers composed of two or three numerals were changed into single numeral numbers. A glance at the various manuscript versions, however, shows that there is hardly any discrepancy whatsoever regarding the numbers in the manuscript tradition and they all record similar numbers.

As mentioned above, it is impossible to determine the exact distance between certain sites or monuments from the Praetorium or Pit of Jeremiah since one can only surmise their location and thus a margin of error of some tens of meters may exist. It is also necessary to ask whether these distances were measured in terms of a straight line as the crow flies or in terms of the distance that one had to walk between them. If, for example, we take the distance between the Praetorium and the Probatica, we find that the northwest corner of the Temple, which is not reflected in the absolute straight line as the crow flies, required a much greater distance to be walked. Even in places where we expect a greater degree of exactitude, for example, in determining the short distances within the Holy Sepulcher complex, we meet with a degree of disappointment. As opposed to the more realistic figure of approximately 35 m between the Sepulcher and Calvary and between this and the traditional site in which the Cross was supposedly discovered, Theodosius cites only 22 m. Even so, the relationship between the description of Theodosius and the actual distance is much more acceptable in this case (1.6:1) than the situation regarding the distance between the Cross and Zion (2.3:1) or 4:1 in other cases.

It is clear that Theodosius also made use of a map in his description of the buildings of Jerusalem. It was most likely a municipal map which included the major monuments of importance to pilgrims. Points of only geographic and architectural importance, which would not be of major interest to pilgrims, would not appear on this map, just as they would not appear in the Madaba Map which dates, as we have seen, from a later period. The most blatant example of this point is the nonappearance of the Temple Mount in the map. Thus it was impossible for Theodosius to equate the distance factor regarding the Pinnacle of the Temple or the Enclosed Convent of Virgins.

[49] Future citation of these sites shall be in abbreviated form and based on correct identification.

[50] For the sake of convenience every pace has been rounded off from 1.48 m to 1.50 m.

[51] See Y. Tsafrir, "Muqaddasi's Gates of Jerusalem: A New Identification Based on Byzantine Sources," *IEJ* 27 (1977), 152–61.

[52] See, for example, J. Germer-Durand, "La maison de Caiphe et l'église Saint Pierre à Jérusalem," *RBibl* 23 (1914), 76–77; H. Vincent and F. M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (Paris, 1914–26), 484; E. Power, "The Church of St. Peter at Jerusalem," *Biblica* 9 (1929), 179–81; and idem, "The House of Caiphas and the Church of St. Peter," ibid., 10 (1929), 293–95.

The author of the map did not record distances within the city since for all intents and purposes this would have no importance. For the sake of completeness, Theodosius attempted to determine these distances based on the map that he used, although he did not know to which scale the map was drawn. Most likely, the major monuments were marked on the map together with a drawing of a church or some other sign (similar to the references to buildings in the earlier Tabula Peutingeriana, the medieval city maps of Jerusalem, and as is acceptable in tourist maps even today). Perhaps Theodosius sought to learn the scale by measuring the length of a particular church in the drawing (whose length he knew or at least thought he knew) and by dividing the distances between the various monuments in accordance with this measurement. It would seem, however, that the monuments were drawn out of proportion and were much larger on the map than their relative size warranted. Perhaps this is the reason why Theodosius erred regarding the scale of the map and arrived at much smaller distances than was actually the case.

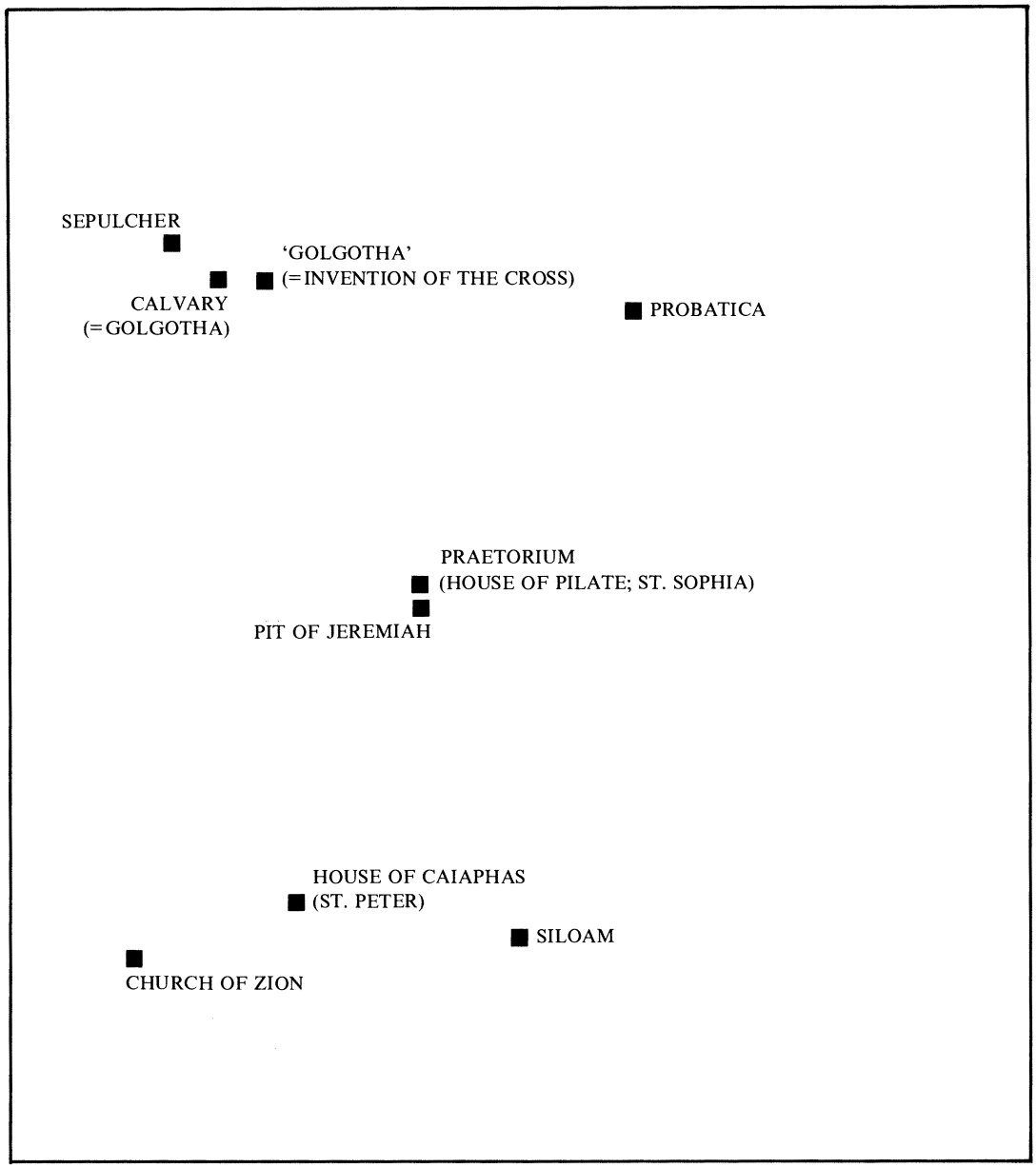
In order to test this assumption and reconstruct the map that in my opinion was used by Theodosius, I have attempted to locate the various sites in Jerusalem in accordance with a scale chosen at random and for convenience: 20 paces (29.60 m) equals 1 centimeter, i.e., a scale of 1:2960. The sites were placed as close as possible to their location (Map 3) in accordance with this scale. Opposite this sketch I have presented a second one (Map 4) which portrays the actual location of these sites. In this sketch a line has been chosen which precludes any chance of error, the line between the place where the Cross was discovered and the Church of Zion. This line was extended uniformly along the distance included in the first sketch. The resultant scale was much larger; since the actual distance was 700 m, every centimeter in the second sketch was equal to 70 m or a scale of 1:7000. The sites, the majority of whose locations can be pinpointed (excluding the Praetorium and the Pit of Jeremiah), were placed in accordance with this scale. The second sketch then represents a precise municipal map drawn to the scale of 1:7000. The similarity between the two drawings is quite clear, and it would seem that this serves as clear-cut proof that Theodosius did seek to determine distances (as the crow flies) in accordance with the map that he possessed, and he simply erred in his choice of scale.

However, it is also clear that the two sketches are different, and it seems that the map that Theodosius used was not exact in all details. It is impossible to imagine, however, that in the ancient world a map could be drawn exact in all details, without the use of the sophisticated cartographical techniques used today. Those sites somewhat distant from the others, such as Siloam and the Probatica, were moved toward the center, perhaps because of an attempt or a need to limit the format of the map. Moreover, those who would use such a map, particularly the pilgrim, did not give much importance to questions of exactitude in the map, so long as the general proportion and orientation were maintained, as well as a basic sense of distance. In such a manner an itinerary between the various holy sites in the city could be planned. Certain lack of detail in measurement may also be the result of the fact, noted above, that the churches were drawn on the map as full-scale monuments and out of scale. While measuring, it is possible that Theodosius measured from the end of one building but continued to measure from the other side or opposite side of the building. This would seem to be the case from the description of the Praetorium and the Pit of Jeremiah nearby. From Siloam the distance was measured to the Pit of Jeremiah, but from this point northward toward the Probatica the distance was measured from the House of Pilate (Praetorium). These two sites were so close to one another that there was no other way for Theodosius to measure. This resulted in distances, by no means negligible, being subtracted from Theodosius' computation.

We do not know where Theodosius found the distances between the sites in the vicinity of Jerusalem (paragraph 6). The distances are cited in Roman miles in accordance with the system generally used in pilgrim maps of Palestine. It is possible, therefore, that these distances were taken from the map mentioned above.

On the other hand, all of these sites are within walking distance of Jerusalem. The site farthest from Jerusalem is Anathoth, which is six miles from the city. A visit to these sites is not included in the longer pilgrim itineraries described above, and it would seem clear that most pilgrims came to these sites from Jerusalem and returned to the city on the same day. Some of these, such as the Mount of Olives and its attendant sites, were actually considered as part of the city and were included in the liturgy of the Jerusalem church.

It would, therefore, seem that a different assumption should be accepted. Thus the map of Jerusalem that Theodosius used included along its



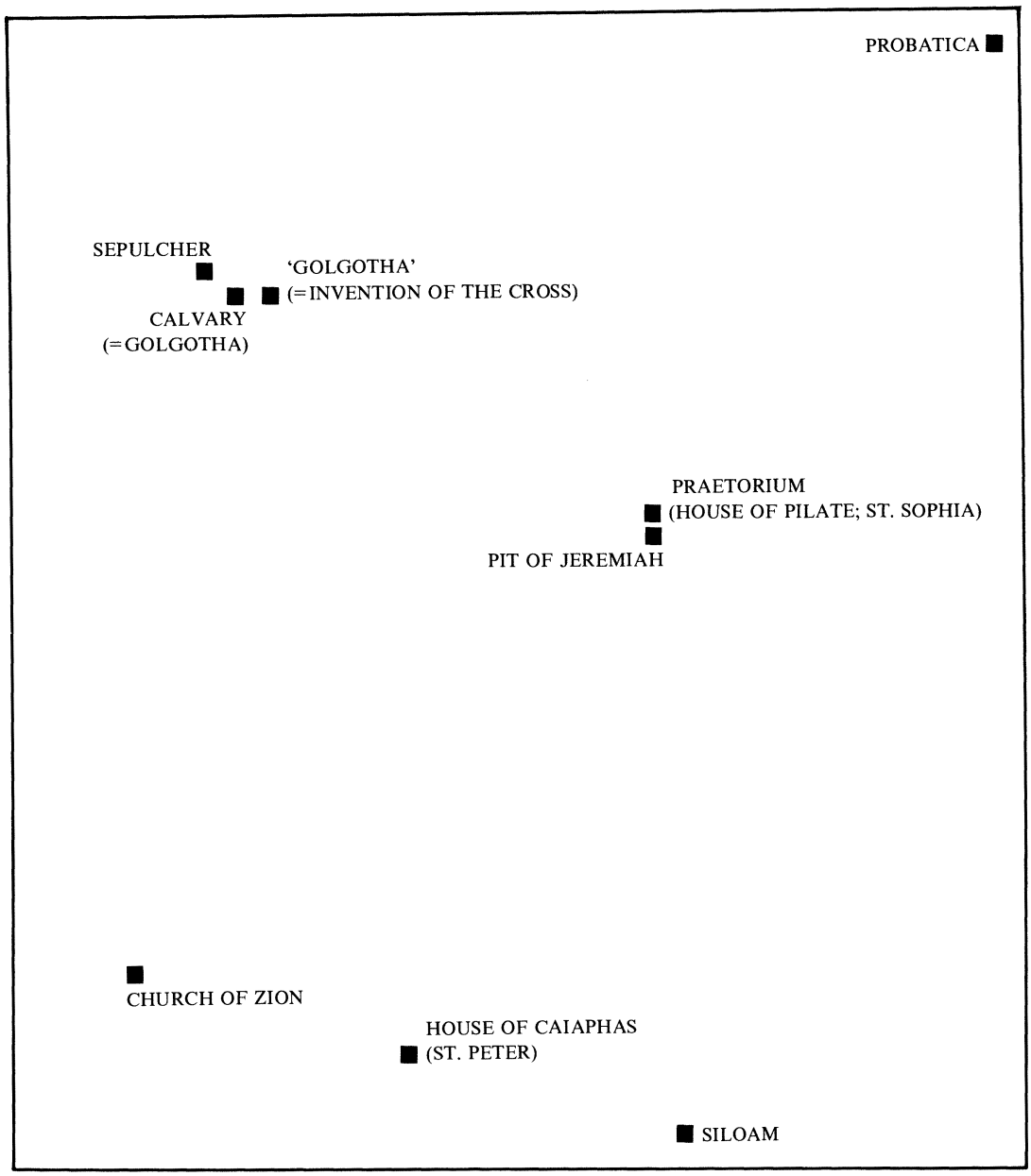

Map 3. The sites within Jerusalem mentioned by Theodosius, in a scale of 1:2,960 (1 cm = 20 passus or 29.60 m)

edges, outside the walls of the city, those sites near the city that did not require special preparation in order to be visited. Here the author of the map made do with a general reference to the correct direction and wrote the distance in miles between these sites in Roman numerals.

Some of these places were missing from the Madaba Map. These are for the most part the sites in the environs of the Mount of Olives, east of the city. It is likely that some of these sites were included in the mosaic but were in the part that has been destroyed. However, this cannot be the case regarding the dwelling-place of Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, which was undoubtedly placed in Ein Karem, since this site is west of Jerusalem. This would seem to strengthen my assumption that Theodosius used a city map of Jerusalem and not the general map of Palestine for these sites near the city.

As mentioned above,[53] this city map of Jerusa-

[53] See above, 140.




Map 4. Location of the sites within Jerusalem mentioned by Theodosius, in a scale of 1:7,000 (1 cm = 70 m)

lem was not the same map used by the artist of the Madaba Map, as was the case of the general map of Palestine. Thus we find an explanation for the somewhat bewildering absence of Elizabeth's house from the Madaba Map.

If my hypotheses are correct, the variety of pilgrim maps has been shown, revealing another facet of the practice of pilgrimage to the holy places.

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