THE

CHURCHES OF CONSTANTINE AT JERUSALEM:

BEING

TRANSLATIONS FROM EUSEBIUS AND THE EARLY PILGRIMS,

ΒY

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WITH A PREFACE BY COLONEL SIR C. W. WILSON, K.C.B., D.C.L.,

AND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND EXPLANATORY NOTES
AND DRAWINGS

Β¥

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THE PILGRIMAGE OF THE HOLY PAULA

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INTRODUCTION.

THE asceticism advocated, with so much eloquence, by Ambrose at Milan, and Jerome at Rome, during the last quarter of the fourth century, captivated the minds of Christians of all ranks. In Rome itself, where society was at the time under the influence of strong religious excitement, the opinions of Jerome were adopted with enthu-Partly from love of novelty, partly from the striking contrast between the austere life of an ascetic and the dissolute manners of the age, asceticism became the fashion. Many ladies of noble birth, renouncing the pleasures of society, devoted their lives to religious observances, and their wealth to good works; whilst others wandered off to lead a life of seclusion in lands which had once been hallowed by the presence of Christ, or performed long weary pilgrimages to places which had been the scene of some memorable event in sacred history.

Amongst those who had been deeply moved by the preaching of Jerome, were two ladies who afterwards became his most fervent disciples: Paula, a Roman matron of ancient lineage, great wealth, and high social rank; and Eustochium, her daughter, who, if we may believe her spiritual guide, was the first Roman maiden to take upon herself vows of virginity. When the Bishops of the East

were assembled in Council at Rome, under Pope Damasus, Paula entertained as her guest Epiphanius, the venerable Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, and frequently received at her house Paulinus, Bishop of Antioch. The presence of these holy men appears to have turned Paula's thoughts towards the East; at any rate, it was during their visit that she, a weak, fragile woman, who had hitherto lived a life of luxurious ease, and been daintily borne from house to house by her eunuchs, determined to face the dangers and hardships of a journey to St. Paul and Anthony in the desert. When spring arrived, and the Bishops returned to their churches, Paula distributed her wealth to her family, and, taking with her only Eustochium, accompanied them on their voyage. Why she changed her mind and finally settled at Bethlehem, we are not told; but the change was perhaps not unconnected with the return of Jerome to Palestine on the death of Damasus. Paula, after living twenty years in Bethlehem, died there, at the age of fifty-six, in 404 A.D., and as she left Rome in the spring of 382 A.D., her pilgrimage must have lasted about two years.

It seems probable, from the frequent use of the first person, that Paula was accompanied by Jerome during a certain portion of her pilgrimage; and we may perhaps infer, from its first occurrences, in connection with Joppa, that she met Jerome at that place, or possibly at Cæsarea Palæstina, on his return to Palestine.

2 This was the opinion of Erasmus, and is the view still held by the Latin Church.

¹ The expression 'cuncta largita est,' in chapter ii., is not to be taken too literally, for we afterwards find Sa. Paula subscribing towards the expenses of the brethren in Cyprus (ch. iii.); distributing alms at Jerusalem (chap. viii.); assisting the monks at Nitria (chap. xviii.); and building cells and monasteries, and founding inns in Palestine (chap. Perhaps the meaning is that Paula realized her property and made suitable provision for her children before leaving Rome on her pilgrimage.

The geographical value of the work is slight, but it supplies us with many interesting particulars of the places which a pilgrim of high social rank considered it necessary to visit in the last quarter of the fourth century. Perhaps the most important notice is that of the tomb of Helena, Queen of the Adiabeni, which is now the 'Tombs of the Kings,' to the north of Jerusalem.

From Rome Paula went down to the harbour, possibly Ostia, and thence, after bidding farewell to her children and relations, sailed for Cyprus. She stopped at Pontia (Ponza) Methone (Modon), Rhodes, and perhaps at Patara, in Lycia; and after reaching Cyprus passed some time in visiting the numerous monasteries on the island.

From Cyprus she crossed to Seleucia, near the mouth of the Orontes, and then proceeded to Antioch, whence, after a short stay, she travelled in the depth of winter, through Cœle-Syria to Berytus, and onwards by the usual coast road to Ptolemais. Here Paula appears to have left the coast, and to have followed the road across the plain of Esdraelon, 'the plains of Megiddo,' to Lejjûn (Legio); and thence to have crossed the hills to Casarca Palastina. She next visited Antipatris; Lydda, near which were Arimathea (Rantieh), and Nob (Beit Nûba); and Joppa. From this last place she returned to Emmaus ('Nicopolis'); and thence travelled by the Roman road through the Upper and Nether Bethorons to Gabaa (Gibeah of Benjamin); here she rested a short time before continuing her journey to Jerusalem by the great north road which passes close to the tomb of Helena (Tombs of the Kings) and enters the city by the Damascus Gate.

At Jerusalem the Proconsul, who was a friend of Paula's family, ordered the Prætorium to be prepared for her reception; but, in true pilgrim spirit, she declined the proffered hospitality, and preferred to live in a 'lowly cell' during

her stay in the Holy City. The only holy places and relics mentioned in the narrative are the Cross, the Tomb, the stone that was rolled away from the mouth of the Sepulchre, the church on Mount Sion, the column of the flagellation in the portico of the church, and the place where the Holy Ghost descended on the disciples. It may perhaps be inferred, from the allusion to the gates 'fallen into cinders and ashes,' that, at the time of Paula's visit, the old wall on Sion was still a heap of ruins, and had not been rebuilt.

From Jerusalem Paula proceeded, by Rachel's tomb, to Bethlehem, where she visited the 'Grotto of the Saviour,' and was shown the inn, the stable, and the manger; she then went to the spot where the shepherds were keeping watch by night; and afterwards passed by Philip's fountain, at Beit Sûr; Escol, and the oak of Abraham, to Hebron. On her return journey to Jerusalem she visited Caphar Barucha, whence she saw in the distance the country of Sodom and Gomorrha, Zoar, and Engaddi, and Thecua (Tekoa).

Paula next travelled by Bethany and Adomim to Jericho, whence, after visiting Galgala, and the fountain of Elisha, she went to the Jordan, to the spot where our Lord was baptized. From the Jordan she ascended to Bethel, and then passing through Shiloh, Shechem, and Samaria, came to Nazareth, whence she made an excursion to Cana and Capharnaum. On her return she climbed Mount Tabor, and here there is a break in the narrative of the journey, which is taken up again at Sochot (Shuweikeh). Paula probably returned to Jerusalem by the north road, and thence proceeded to Sochot by the Gaza road; and Jerome, possibly, did not think it necessary to describe a second time well known towns such as Samaria, Shechem, Bethel, and Bethlehem, which he had already noticed.

From Sochot Paula went to Samson's fountain, near

Eleutheropolis, and the tomb of Micah at Morasthim; and then travelled by Maresa, Lachis, and the desert, to the Pelusiac branch of the Nile; she next passed through the land of Gessen (Goshen), and over the plains of Tanis on her way to Alexandria, whence she visited Nitria. After a short stay with the monks and ascetics of Nitria, she was seized with a longing to return to the holy places in Palestine, and taking ship at Pelusium, crossed the sea to Majuma, probably the Majuma of Gaza. From this port she went to Bethlehem, and there, for the next three years, she was busily occupied in building cells, monasteries, and inns for pilgrims.

The known MSS. of Jerome's work belong to the eleventh century; and a list of these, as well as of the principal printed editions, is given in the preface to the 'Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ,' vol. i., p. xvi., published by the Société de l'Orient Latin.

The translation has been made by Mr. Aubrey Stewart.

C. W. W.

The following are the manuscripts:

- 1. Codex Bibliothecæ regiæ Monacensis, Cat. 12,104, MS. xi., qui majoris est momenti.
 - 2. Codex ejusdem Bibliothecæ, Cat. 14,031, m.f. xi. The principal editions are:
- 1468. Rome, fol.; among the other works of St. Jerome, ii., f. 235; ed. princeps.
- 1528. Lyons, 4to.; Jo. Crespin, edited by Erasmus, i., 195.
 - 1643. In the Acta Sanctorum, January, ii., 711.
- 1706. Paris, edited by Jean Martianay, with the works of Eusebius, iv., c., 669, et seq.

1734. Verona, among the works of Jerome, i., c. 684.

1869. Titus Tobler, in his Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ.

1879. Itinera Hierosolymitana (Société de l'Orient Latin), Geneva.

THE

PILGRIMAGE OF THE HOLY PAULA,

BY ST. JEROME.

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I. WHEN imperial letters brought the Bishops of the East and West together to Rome on account of certain disputes of the churches, Paula beheld those admirable men and high-priests of Christ, Paulinus, the Bishop of the city of Antioch, and Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus which is now called Constantia; of whom she had Epiphanius as her guest, while, though Paulinus lived in another house, she made him as it were her own by her kindness. Excited by their virtues, she at times thought of leaving her native land. Forgetful of her house, of her children, of her family, of her property, of everything connected with the world, she desired to proceed alone, if one may so speak, and unaccompanied into the desert of Paul and Antony.²

II. When at length the winter was spent, and the sea was open, the bishops returned to their churches, and she herself longed and prayed to sail with them. Why make my tale longer? She went down to the harbour, accompanied by her brother, her relatives, her connections, and,

¹ The ruins of Salamis are about three miles north of the modern Famagusta.

² The desert of the Wâdy'Arraba, on the west shore of the Red Sea, south of Suez.

more than these, by her children, who strove to surpass the affection of the kindest of mothers. Soon the sails were swelling in the breeze, and the ship, guided by the oars, gained the open sea. Little Lexotius piteously stretched forth his hands from the shore. Rufina, a grown-up girl, by her tears silently besought her mother to stay until she was married. Yet she herself, without a tear, turned her eyes heavenwards, overcoming her love for her children by her love for God. She forgot that she was a mother, that she might prove herself the handmaiden of Christ. Her frame was wrung with anguish, and her limbs seemed as though they were torn asunder as she struggled with her grief; and she was all the more to be admired because she had such strong affection to subdue. The sufferings of those who fall into the hands of the enemy and undergo the hardships of captivity are not more cruel than the sufferings of parents separated from their children. Yet, unnatural as is this separation, she, in the fulness of her faith, endured it; nay, her mind looked forward to it with rapture; and despising the love of her children through her greater love towards God, she contented herself with the companionship of Eustochium alone, the partner of her resolve and of her journey. Meanwhile the ship was ploughing the sea; and while all those on board looked back towards the shore, she kept her eyes turned away, that she might not see those whom she could not see without misery. I protest, none ever so loved her children, for before setting out she gave them all her property, disinheriting herself on earth that she might find an inheritance in heaven.

III. Being carried to the island of Pontia, which once was ennobled by the exile thither, under the Emperor Domitian, of that most noble of women, Flavia Domitilla, for her profession of the name of Christian, and seeing the cells

¹ Now Ponza, W.N.W. of Ischia.

in which she had endured her long martyrdom, taking the wings of faith, she longed to see Jerusalem and the holy places. The winds were sluggish, and all speed was slow. Between Scylla and Charybdis, entrusting herself to the Adriatic Sea, she came as if over a pond to Methone, and there having a little refreshed her fragile form:

'Placed on the shore her dripping limbs awhile,
Then on, by Malea and Cythera's isle;
She passes next between the Cyclades,
And threads her passage through those narrow seas.'

At length, after Rhodes and Lycia, she saw Cyprus, where she fell at the feet of the holy and venerable Epiphanius, and was kept there by him for ten days, not, as he meant, for rest, but for the service of God, as was proved by the facts. For, visiting all the monasteries of that country, as far as she was able she left behind her assistance for the expenses of the brethren, whom love of the holy man had collected thither from all the world.

IV. Thence by a short voyage she crossed the channel to Seleucia,² whence she ascended to Antioch. After being detained there a short time by the kindness of the holy confessor Paulinus, with the burning ardour of faith the noble dame, who before used to be carried by the hands of eunuchs, set out in the midst of winter, sitting upon an ass. I pass over the journey through Cœle-Syria and Phænicia, for I have not determined to write her itinerary (hodæporicon); I shall name those places only which are contained in the Sacred Volumes. Leaving Berytus,³ a Roman colony, and the ancient city of Sidon; on the shore of

Modon, to the west of Cape Gallo, on the south coast of the Peloponnesus.

Sarepta,¹ she entered the tower of Helias, in which she adored the Lord and Saviour; she then passed over the sands of Tyre, in which Paul impressed his knees,² to Acco, which is now called Ptolemais, and crossing the plains of Megiddo,³ witnesses of the death of Josiah, she entered the land of the Philistines.

V. Having in turn admired the ruins of Dor, once a very powerful city; and Strato's tower, named Cæsarea 4 in honour of Cæsar Augustus, by Herod, King of Judæa, in which she beheld the house of Cornelius, [which is] a church of Christ, and the houses of Philip, and the chamber of the four virgin prophetesses, she next visited Antipatris,5 a small half-ruined town, which Herod named after his father; and Lydda, which is turned into Diospolis, renowned for the resurrection and restoration to health of Dorcas and Æneas: and not far from thence, Arimathea,6 the town of Joseph who buried the Lord; and Nobe,7 once a city of priests, now a tomb of the slain; and Joppa, the harbour of the fugitive Jonah, and which, to allude to the fables of the poets, witnessed Andromeda chained to the rock: then, retracing her steps, [she came] to Nicopolis, which was formerly called Emmaus,8 in which the Lord, made known in the breaking of bread, consecrated the house of Cleophas as a church.

¹ Surafend. See note to Ant. Mart. Itin. chap. ii. ² Acts xxi. 5.

³ S. Paula appears to have travelled from Ptolemais viâ Legio (Lejjûn) to Cæsarea, and thus to have passed over the plain of Esdraelon.

⁴ Dor, now Tantûra, lies on the sea coast a few miles north of Cæsarea (Palæstina), now Kaisarieh.

⁵ Ras el 'Ain. ⁶ Probably Rantieh, on the plain north of Lydda.

⁷ Beit Nûba; the Biblical Nob must, however, have been in the mountains near Jerusalem.

⁸ Now Amwas; it is here wrongly identified with the Emmaus of the New Testament.

VI. And setting out from thence, she ascended to Upper and Lower Bethoron,1 cities founded by Salomon, but afterwards destroyed by various storms of war, beholding on her right Ajalon² and Gabaon,³ where Jesus the son of Nave,⁴ fighting against five kings, gave orders to the sun and moon, and where he condemned the Gabaonites, because of the frauds and wiles by which they had obtained the treaty, to be drawers of water and hewers of wood.5 Gabaa.6 a city destroyed even to the ground, she stayed for a short time-remembering its sin, and the concubine cut into pieces, and the three hundred men of the tribe of Benjamin reserved for the sake of the Apostle Paul. Why do I delay long? Leaving on the left the tomb (mausoleum) of Helena, the Queen of the Adiabeni,8 who in time of famine helped the people with a gift of corn, she entered Jerusalem, the city of three names—Jebus, Salem, Jerusalem which by Ælius, afterwards Hadrianus, was raised from its ruins and ashes into Ælia. When the Proconsul of Palestine, who knew her family very well, sent apparitors before her, and ordered the prætorium to be prepared for her, she chose a lowly cell, and visited all places with such fervour and zeal, that had she not been in a hurry to see the remainder, she would not have been able to be torn away from the first. Prostrate before the cross, she adored it as though she saw the Lord hanging upon it; entering the sepulchre of the resurrection, she kissed the stone which the angel moved from the door of the tomb, and with faithful mouth kissed 'the very place of the body' on which the Lord had lain, as one who thirsts drinks long-desired

¹ Beitûr el Foka and el Tahta. ² Yalo. ³ El Jib, Gibeon.

⁴ The LXX form of Joshua, the son of Nun. ⁵ Josh. ix. 22 27.

⁶ Gibeah of Benjamin (Judges xx.); the site is not known.

⁷ In allusion to Paul's descent (Phil. iii. 5).

⁸ Probably the 'tombs of the kings' on the north side of Jerusalem.

waters. What tears, what groans, what sorrow she displayed, all Hierusalem is witness, and the Lord Himself whom she called upon.

VII. Leaving that place she ascended Sion, which signifies 'citadel,' or 'watch-tower.' David once took this city by storm, and rebuilt it. Wherefore about the captured city is written, 'Woe to thee, city of Ariel'1-that is, 'lion of God, and one most strong'-' which David took by storm;' and about that which was built, 'Her foundations are upon the holy hills. The Lord loveth the gates of Sion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.'2 Not those gates which we behold at this day, fallen into cinders and ashes, but the gates against which the infernal one prevaileth not, and through which the multitude of believers enter into Christ. There was shown a column supporting the portico of a church, stained with the blood of the Lord, to which He is said to have been bound and scourged.3 The place was shown where the Holy Spirit descended upon the souls of over one hundred and twenty believers, that the prophecy of Joel 4 might be fulfilled.

VIII. Thence, having from her small means distributed money among the poor and her fellow-servants [of Christ], she proceeded to Bethlehem, and, on the right side of the road, stood beside the tomb of Rachel, where she bore Benjamin, not as she called him, when dying, 'Benoni,' that is, 'the son of my sorrow,' but, as his father prophesied in the Spirit, 'the son of my right hand.' From thence she reached Bethlehem, and, entering the Grotto of the Saviour, when she saw the holy inn of the Virgin and the stable in

¹ Is. xxix. 1. ² Ps. lxxxvii. 1, 2.

³ Compare Ant. Mart. Itin. chap. xxii., where the column of flagellation is said to have been in the church, formerly the house of St. James. Sion here appears to be the western hill, or the modern Sion.

⁴ Joel ii. 28. ⁵ Gen. xxxv. 18.

which 'the ox knew his owner, and the ass his master's crib,'1 that it might be fulfilled which is written in the same prophet, 'Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass,'2 she declared in my hearing, that, by the eyes of faith, she could see the Infant Lord, wrapped in swaddling-clothes, wailing in the manger, the Magi adoring, the star shining above, the Virgin mother, the careful nursing, the shepherds coming by night that they might see the Word which had been made, and might even then declare the beginning of the Evangelist John, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was made flesh;' the little children massacred, Herod raging, Joseph and Mary fleeing into Egypt. With mingled joy and tears she said: 'Hail, Bethlehem, house of bread, in which was born that Bread which came down from Heaven. Hail, Ephratah, richest and most fruitful region, whose produce is God; of which Michæus prophesied: "And thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall He come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. Therefore will He give them up, until the time that she which travaileth hath brought forth: then the remnant of His brethren shall return unto the children of Israel."3 For in thee is born a Prince who was begotten before the morning star, whose birth from His Father is beyond all time. And in thee the root of the family of David remained until a Virgin bore a Son, and the remainder of the people that believed in Christ were turned to the children of Israel, and preached freely. "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to

¹ Is. i. 3. ² Is. xxxii. 20. ³ Mic. v. 2, 3.

the Gentiles."1 For God said, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel."2 And at that time the words of Jacob concerning Him were brought to pass: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto Him shall the gathering of the people be."3 Well did David swear, well did he make vows, saying, "Surely I will not come into the tabernacle of my house, nor go up into my bed; I will not give sleep to mine eyes, or slumber to mine eyelids, until I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob."4 And at once he set forth what he desired, and, with prophetic eyes, saw that He should come whom we believe to have already "Behold, we heard of Him in Ephratah, and found Him in the fields of the wood." 5 Indeed Zo, the Hebrew word, as I have learned from your teaching, does not mean Mary, the Mother of the Lord, that is, her; but Himself, that is, Him. Wherefore he speaks boldly, "We will go into His tabernacle; we will worship in the place where His feet have trod." And I, a miserable sinner, have been judged worthy to kiss the manger in which the Lord wailed as an infant, to pray in the grotto in which the Virgin Mother bore a Child, the Lord. This is my rest, because the Lord is my country; here I will dwell, because the Saviour has chosen it. "I have prepared a lamp for my Christ. My soul shall live to Him, and my seed shall serve Him."'6

IX. Not far from thence she descended to the tower Ader,7 that is, 'of the flock,' near which Jacob fed his flocks, and the shepherds watching by night were worthy to hear,

¹ Acts xiii. 46.

³ Gen. xlix. 10.

⁵ Ps. cxxxii. 6, 7.

<sup>Matt. xv. 24.
Ps. cxxxii. 3-5.</sup>

⁶ Paraphrase of Ps. cxxxii. 14, 17.

⁷ Beit Sahûr, near Bethlehem; the tower is mentioned by Arculf.

'Glory to God in the highest, and upon earth peace to men of goodwill.' While they kept sheep, they found the Lamb of God of pure and most clean fleece, which, while all the earth was dry, was filled with dew from heaven, and whose blood bore the sins of the world, and, when sprinkled upon the door-posts, drove away the destroyer of Egypt.

X. At once, with hurried steps, she began to proceed along the ancient road which leads to Gaza, the 'power,' or the 'treasure,' of God, and to reflect silently within herself how the Ethiopian eunuch, typifying the nations of the Gentiles, changed his skin, and, while he searched the Old Testament, found the fountain of the Gospel. From thence she turned to the right hand through Bethsur,² and thence came to Escol,³ which means 'cluster of grapes.' From hence, as a testimony of a very fertile land, and as a type of Him who saith, 'I have trodden the winepress alone, and of the people there was none with Me,'4 the spies carried off a bunch of grapes of wonderful size.

XI. At no long distance from hence she entered the cells of Sara, seeing the birthplace of Isaac and the traces of the oak of Abraham, under which he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced. Rising from thence she went up to Hebron. This is Cariatharbe, that is, the town of the four men, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam the Great, who, the Hebrews say, is buried there, according to the Book of Jesus, the son of Nave, although most people think that the fourth was Caleb, whose tomb, made of brick, is shown. Having seen these, she cared not to go to Cariathsepher,

¹ Luke ii. 14. The translation is from the Vulgate.

³ Beit Sûr, north of Hebron. ³ Perhaps Halhul.

⁴ Is. lxiii. 3. ⁵ Râmet el Khulîl, near Hebron (see Gen. xviii).

⁶ Kirjath-arba (Judg. i. 10).

⁷ Kirjath Sepher, or Debîr, now Edh Dhâherîyeh, south-west of Hebron (Josh. xv. 15).

that is, 'the village of letters,' because, despising the perishing letter, she had found the life-giving Spirit. Rather did she admire the upper and nether springs which Othoniel, the son of Kenez the son of Jephone,¹ took for the southern land and parched possession, and by their leading made the dry fields of the Old Testament well watered, that he might find the redemption of former sins in the waters of baptism.

XII. On the next day, when the sun was risen, she stood on the brow of Caphar Barucha,² that is, 'the town of blessing,' to which place Abraham followed the Lord. From hence looking down upon the wide desert, and what was once the country of Sodom and Gomorrha, of Adama and Seboim, she beheld the garden of balsam and the vineyards of Engaddi; and Segor, the three-year-old heifer,³ which was formerly called Bala, and is in the Syrian tongue Zoar, that is, 'little one.' She remembered the cave of Lot, and bursting into tears, warned the maidens, her companions, to avoid wine, wherein is excess; his descendants are the Moabites and the Ammonites. For a long time she stayed in the south,⁴ at the place where the bride found the bridegroom lying, and where Joseph made merry with his brethren.

XIII. Shall I return to Jerusalem by Thecua,⁵ the birthplace of Amos; shall I behold the brilliant light ⁶ of

Othniel, the son of Kenaz, the son of Jephunneh (Josh. xv. 16-19). The allusion in the next line is to the system of irrigation by small canals from the springs.

² Now Beni Naîm, east of Hebron; it is still sometimes called Kefr Bareka.

³ Is. xv. 5.

⁴ Alternative readings are Hæreo in meridie and Deinde divertit ad meridiem.

⁵ Tekoa, now Khurbet Tekûa.

⁶ Some commentators read 'crucem,' the reference being to the cross on the Church of the Ascension.

the Mount of Olives, from which the Saviour ascended to His Father, on which every year a red heifer was burned whole as an offering to the Lord, and whose ashes atoned for the sins of the people of Israel, in which, according to Ezechiel, cherubim proceeding from the temple founded the Church of the Lord? Afterwards, entering the tomb of Lazarus, she saw the house of Mary and Martha, and Bethphage, the town of the jawbones of the priests, and the place where the playful colt of the Gentiles received the reins of God, and strewn with the clothes of the Apostles, furnished a soft back for a seat.

XIV. By a straight journey she proceeded to Jericho, reflecting on that man in the Gospel who was wounded; and when the priests and Levites, in the harshness of their minds, passed by, [reflecting] on the kindness of the Samaritan, that is, of the shepherd who put the half-dead man upon his own beast, and brought him to the fold of the Church; and the place Adomim,4 which is translated 'of blood,' because much blood was shed there in the frequent inroads of robbers; and the sycamore-tree of Zacchæus, that is, the good works of penitence, by which he trod under foot his long bloody and wicked sins of rapine, and from a height of virtues beheld the exalted Lord; and beside the way the place of the blind men, who by receiving their sight, typified the sacraments of both peoples who believed in the Lord. Entering Jericho, she saw the city of which Hiel laid the foundation in Abiram, his first-born, and whose gates he set up in Segub, the youngest of his

¹ Jerome is in error in saying that the heifer was burned every year.

² Ezek. x. 18, 19.

³ From 'Bethphace,' signifying in Syriac the 'house of the jaw,' the jaw in the sacrifices being the portion of the priests. It is probably the chapel found in 1877, between the Mount of Olives and Bethany.

⁴ Adummim, now Tal'at ed Dumm, on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho.

children. She beheld the camp of Galgala,¹ and the hill of the foreskins, and the mystery of the second circumcision; and the twelve stones, which, brought thither from the bed of Jordan, confirmed the foundation of the twelve Apostles; and the old fountain of the law, bitter and barren, which Helisæus flavoured, by his wisdom, and turned into sweetness and fruitfulness.² Scarcely was the night past before she, with fervent zeal, came to the Jordan, stood on the bank of the river, and, as the sun rose, remembered the Sun of righteousness; how the priests stood on dry ground in the middle of the bed of Jordan; and how, at the bidding of Helias and Helisæus, the river, the waters standing on either side, afforded a passage; and how, by His baptism, the Lord cleansed the waters which had been defiled by the Flood and stained by His death.³

XV. It would be long, if I would speak of the valley of Achor,⁴ that is, of tumult and disturbance, in which she reproved theft and avarice; and of Bethel, the House of God, in which Jacob, naked and poor, slept upon the bare ground, and placing under his head a stone, which in Zacharias is said to have seven eyes,⁵ and in Isaiah is called the stone of the corner,⁶ saw a ladder reaching to heaven above which the Lord leaned, offering His hand to those who climbed, and casting down from above those who were negligent. She also, from the opposite side, revered the tombs on the Mount Ephraim, of Jesus the son of Nave, and of Eleazar, the son of Aron the priest, one of

¹ Theodorus (ch. xvi.) makes Galgala one mile from Jericho; Antoninus (ch. xiii.) not far from Jericho; compare also Bordeaux Pilgrim, and Willibald (ch. xvii.); it is now Birket Jiljülieh.

² 'Ain es Sultân.

³ For discussion on Jordan sites, see note to Antoninus, ch. ix.

⁴ Wâdy Kelt.

⁵ Zech. iii. 9.

⁶ Is. xxviii. 16.

whom is buried in Thamnathsare, on the north side of Mount Gaas, the other in Gabaa of his son Phinees; and she sufficiently wondered that the divider of possessions had chosen the mountainous rough parts for himself.

XVI. Why should I speak of Silo,3 in which the destroyed altar is shown even at the present day, and where the tribe of Benjamin pre-enacted the rape of the Sabine women by Romulus? She passed through Sichem, not, as most travellers spell it, Sichar, which now is named Neapolis, and entered the church built upon the side of Mount Gerizim, round about Jacob's Well; at the mouth of which the Lord sat, thirsty and hungry, and was filled by the faith of the woman of Samaria, who having had five husbands, the books of Moses, and the sixth, the error of Dositheus, which she boasted that she possessed, found the true Messiah and the true Saviour. Turning away from thence she saw the sepulchres of the twelve patriarchs, and Schaste, that is, Samaria, to which, in honour of Augustus, Herod gave the name of Augusta in its Greek form. There lie Heliseus and Abdias the prophets, and he, than whom there was not a greater among those born of women, John the Baptist.4 Here she trembled at many wonders; for she beheld demons roaring with various torments, and, before the sepulchres of the saints, men who howled like wolves, barked with the voices of dogs, roared with those of lions. hissed like serpents, bellowed like bulls, while others turned round their heads and touched the ground behind their backs with the crown of their heads, and women hung by their feet with their clothes flowing over their

¹ Timnath-serah, probably Kefr Haris; where is the tomb of Neby Lush'a (Josh. xxiv. 30).

² Gibeah-Phinehas, now 'Awertah.

³ Shiloh, now Seilûn.

[•] Compare Theodorus (xxvii.); Ant. Mart. (viii.); and Willibald (xxvii.).

faces. She pitied them all; and having shed tears for each, begged the mercy of Christ [for them]. Weak as she was, she on foot ascended the mountain, in which, in two caves, during the time of persecution and famine, Abdias¹ the prophet fed a hundred prophets with bread and water.

XVII. Thence, by a swift journey, she proceeded to Nazareth, the nurse of the Lord; Cana and Capharnaum, the witnesses of His miracles; the lake of Tiberias, consecrated by the voyage of the Lord; and the wilderness, in which many thousands of people were satisfied with a few loaves, and, from the remnants of those who had eaten, twelve baskets [typifying the tribes of Israel] were filled. She climbed Mount Tabor, upon which the Lord was transfigured. She saw at a distance the mountains, Hermon and Hermoniim, and the very wide plains of Galilee, upon which Sisara and all his army were overthrown before the conquering Barach; the brook Cison, which divided the midst of the plain; and opposite was shown the town of Naim, in which the son of the widow was raised to life.

XVIII. Time rather than matter would fail me if I wished to detail all the places to which the devout Paula wandered with incredible faith. I will pass over to Egypt; and at Sochot, and the fountain of Samson which he brought forth from the grinding tooth of the jawbone, I will rest for a while and lave my parched mouth, that

Obadiah the Prophet, who, according to a Jewish tradition, was the same as Obadiah the 'governor' of Ahab's house; the hill shown to Sa. Paula appears to have been near Samaria.

² That is, the place where Our Lord was brought up.

³ Probably Jebel Dûhy, 'Little Hermon.' Kishon.

⁵ Shuweikeh, about twenty miles from Jerusalem on the road to Gaza.

⁶ The spring appears to have been shown near Eleutheropolis, Beit Jibrin, perhaps the 'Ain Umm Judei'a. Compare Ant. Mart. (xxxii.).

refreshed I may behold Morasthim, once the sepulchre of the prophet Michæa, and now a church.1 I will leave on one side Chorræi² and Gethæi,³ Maresa,⁴ Idumæa,⁵ and Lachis,⁶ Over softest sands, which draw down the steps of those who cross them, and over the wide waste of the desert, I will come to Sior,7 the river of Egypt, which is translated 'the muddy,' and will pass through the five cities of Egypt which speak the Canaanitish tongue,8 and the land of Gessen⁹ and the plains of Tanis,¹⁰ in which God wrought wonders; and the city of No, which afterwards was called Alexandria; and Nitria,11 the town of the Lord, in which the filth of many is daily washed away by the pure nitre of virtues. When she saw this, she was met by the holy and venerable Bishop Isidorus the Confessor, and by innumerable crowds of monks, many of whom were exalted to the rank of priests and deacons; and she rejoiced to the glory of God, but confessed herself unworthy of so much honour. Why need I mention the names of Macarius, of Arsenius, of Serapion, and those of the other pillars of Christ? Whose cell did she not enter?—at whose feet did she not prostrate herself? Through each of the holy men she believed herself to see Christ; and whatever she bestowed upon them she

- ¹ Probably Tell Sandahannah, near Beit Jibrin, where there are the ruins of a church, and rock hewn caverns and tombs.
 - ² Apparently for Horraei, Eleutheropolis.
 - ³ Probably for Gath, Tell es Safi (?).
 - 4 Mareshah, now Khurbet Merâsh, near Beit Jibrin.
- ⁵ According to Jerome Idumea extended as far westward as Eleutheropolis.
- ⁶ Lachish; either Tell el Hesy or Umm Lakîs, on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza.
 - ⁷ Sior, or Sichor, apparently the Nile.
 - 8 In allusion to Isaiah xix. 18; the towns referred to are not known.
 - 9 Goshen. 10 Now San.
- ¹¹ The celebrated monasteries in the valley in which the Natron Lakes are situated, to the west of the Nile, and north-west of Cairo.

rejoiced that she bestowed upon the Lord. Her zeal was wonderful—her courage scarcely credible for a woman. Forgetful of her sex and of the weakness of her frame, she desired to dwell with her maidens among so many thousands of monks. And perhaps, as all invited her, she would have obtained her desire, had not a greater longing for the holy places drawn her back.

XIX. On account of the ardent warmth [of her faith], proceeding by sea from Pelusium¹ to Majuma,² she returned with so great swiftness that you would think her a bird. And not long afterwards, intending to dwell for ever in holy Bethlehem, she remained for three years in a narrow lodging while she was building cells and monasteries and founded inns for different kinds of pilgrims by the side of the road upon which Mary and Joseph found no restingplace.

Up to this point be her journey described, which she performed accompanied by many virgins and by her daughter.

¹ Now Tineh, to the east of Port Said.

² Probably the Majuma of Gaza mentioned by Ant. Mart. (xxxiii.).