

Extracanonica Traditions and the Holy Land

Edited by
HARALD BUCHINGER,
LAURA S. LIEBER,
ANDREAS MERKT,
and TOBIAS NICKLAS

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Texts, Rituals, and Material Culture
in Late Antique Palestine

Edited by

Harald Buchinger, Laura S. Lieber,
Andreas Merkt, and Tobias Nicklas

with the assistance of

Andrea Ackermann and
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Preface

In 1941, four years before he was killed in Buchenwald, the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs published his book on *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte. Étude de mémoire collective*. In it he exemplified ideas that he had developed in *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* in 1925. As is well known especially thanks to the works of Jan Assmann, Halbwachs opened the path to a new understanding of memory which later came to be confirmed by empirical studies. The “container” concept was to be replaced with the idea of a dynamic, perspectival, and selective process of constructing identity.

Presupposing Halbwachs’ insights, the present volume focuses on another aspect of the legendary topography of the Holy Land, namely the importance of the “legendary”, of what has been inadequately called “apocryphal” traditions. While for a long time there has been done impressive work on canonisation in general and on the genesis of the biblical canon in particular, and while at the same time the world of the apocrypha has been explored both intensively and extensively, the Regensburg “Beyond Canon_” project tries to combine both branches of research by asking: how is it that in spite of the canon, extracanonical traditions gained religious authority, and how does this authority relate to the authority of the canon proclaimed by theologians, bishops, and synods?

To catch the diverse functions that apocryphal traditions fulfill in relation to the canon, we took up Foucault’s concept of heterotopia in a creative way. We understand these traditions, generally known as “apocryphal”, as well as their forms of expression and contexts of communication, as heterotopias, i. e., as “something like counter-sites (abutments, counterforts), a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real [in our case: canonical] sites ... are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted.”¹ It is true that up to the fourth century, many of those traditions were directed against biblical texts or, at least, provided alternative ideas. However, after the canon of the Bible had basically been fixed in the decades around 400, many of the apocryphal traditions that were then upheld, continued, expanded, modified, or even invented, did not compete with biblical texts or serve as antitheses to them. Instead, they mostly complemented or even supported the traditions that had become canonical. They function, to elaborate on the Foucauldian metaphor, like abutments or flying buttresses that sustain the building from outside by pulling away from it and thus balancing it.

¹ Michel Foucault, “Des espaces autres: Conférence au Cercle d’études architecturales, 14 mars 1967”, in: *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* (1984) 46–49.

The region that is variously called the Holy Land, Land of Israel or Palestine – the terminology of our title follows the late antique designation of the historical Roman province – serves as an outstanding illustration of how collective and cultural memory works. This area also provides the prime example for the religious authority of apocryphal traditions – and thus gave the opening conference of the Centre for Advanced Studies “Beyond Canon_” in 2019 its subject; its methodology comprises the triangle of texts, rituals, and material culture that is constitutive for our research. Like the entire project, the conference and its publication have been funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG: FOR 2770 “Beyond Canon_: Heterotopias of Religious Authority in Ancient Christianity”).

The first three contributions offer *tours d’horizon* through both the subject and the methodological triangle: Harald Buchinger programmatically explores the importance of extracanonical traditions in the liturgy of late antique Jerusalem, Ora Limor examines extracanonical places and their fate even beyond late antiquity, and Andreas Merkt analyses the feast of the Transfiguration as example for the intersection of literature, liturgy, and material culture.

The next five articles focus on holy places and spaces: Nazareth (Tony Burke), Golgotha (Jan Dochhorn), and Jericho (Lorne Zelyck) as well as the entire Holy Land in Eusebius’ *Martyrs of Palestine* (Oded Irshai and Osnat Rance) and in the appendages to ancient editions of the canonical gospels (Christoph Marksches).

The last group of contributions mainly deals with biblical figures in extracanonical literature: Pilatus in the Coptic version of the *Acta Pilati* (Jean-Daniel Dubois), James in Jewish and Christian sources (Jörg Frey), Mary in Christian and Islamic traditions connected with the Kathisma church (Stephen J. Shoemaker), the “Jews” in the Armenian *Gospel of the Infancy* (Mari Mamyan), and David in rabbinic literature (Günter Stemberger).

Finally, Jan N. Bremmer provides a summary and offers an outlook on possible future research.

Our thanks go to the coordinators of the Centre for Advanced Studies “Beyond Canon_” for the organization of the conference and to Charlotte von Schelling and Andrea Ackermann for their assistance in editing this volume.

Harald Buchinger – Laura S. Lieber – Andreas Merkt – Tobias Nicklas

Table of Contents

Preface	V
---------------	---

Tours d'Horizon

Harald Buchinger

Extracanonial Traditions as Heterotopias in Stational Liturgy. Ritual, Material Culture, and Lived Religion in Late Antique Jerusalem	3
---	---

Ora Limor

Extracanonial Holy Places and Their Fate	53
--	----

Andreas Merkt

Fool on the Hill? Peter on the Holy Mountain. The Interaction of Literature, Liturgy, and Material Culture in the Transfiguration Tradition and the Paradoxes of Material Religion	69
--	----

Holy Places and Spaces

Tony Burke

Apocryphal Nazareth: The Childhood Home of Jesus in the <i>Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i>	95
---	----

Jan Dochhorn

Golgotha und die älteren Traditionen vom Adamgrab	109
---	-----

Lorne Zelyck

Jericho Traditions in Early Christian Literature	139
--	-----

Oded Irshai and Osnat Rance

Holy Cartography Engraved with Blood: A Historical Appraisal of Eusebius of Caesarea's <i>Martyrs of Palestine</i> . Preliminary Remarks	153
---	-----

Christoph Marksches

The Holy Land in the Appendages to Antique Editions of the Canonical Gospels	181
---	-----

Biblical Figures Beyond the Canon

Jean-Daniel Dubois

The Coptic Version of the <i>Acta Pilati</i>	195
--	-----

Jörg Frey

James, the Hero of Jewish-Christianity	209
--	-----

Stephen J. Shoemaker

Mary between Bible and Qur'an. Apocrypha, Archaeology, and the Memory of Mary in Late Ancient Palestine	235
--	-----

Mari Mamyán

The "Jews" in the <i>Armenian Gospel of the Infancy</i>	263
---	-----

Günter Stemberger

David in Rabbinic Tradition	275
-----------------------------------	-----

Concluding Reflections

Jan N. Bremmer

Epilogue: Extracanonical Traditions and the Holy Land	289
---	-----

Contributors	295
--------------------	-----

Index of References	297
---------------------------	-----

Index of Biblical and Apocryphal Places and Figures	317
---	-----

Index of Modern Authors	321
-------------------------------	-----

Tours d'Horizon

Extracanonial Traditions as Heterotopias in Stational Liturgy

Ritual, Material Culture, and Lived Religion in Late Antique Jerusalem

Harald Buchinger

1. Introduction: Historical and Hermeneutical Perspectives

1.1. Biblicization of Time and the Development of the Liturgical Year: The Role of Extracanonial Traditions

The invention of a liturgical year appears to have been a categorical innovation of the post-Constantinian age.¹ Although the celebration of Easter and, a little later on, the subsequent fifty-day period paradoxically labelled with the ordinal “Pentecost” go back to the second century,² and martyrs’ feasts arose only a short time later,³ festal cycles are first documented only in the later fourth century. It is generally assumed that the incentive for their invention is to be sought in the pil-

¹ Cf. Karl Hoheisel/Heinzgerd Brakmann, “Jahr (kultisches)”, *RAC* 16 (1994) 1083–1118; Harald Buchinger, “Zu Ursprung und Entwicklung des liturgischen Jahres: Tendenzen, Ergebnisse und Desiderate heortologischer Forschung”, *LJ* 61 (2011) 207–240 [English translation with significantly reduced references: id., “On the Origin and Development of the Liturgical Year: Tendencies, Results, and Desiderata of Heortological Research”, *StLi* 40 (2010) 14–45]; Wolfram Kinzig, “The Creed and the Development of the Liturgical Year in the Early Church”, in id., *Neue Texte und Studien zu den antiken und frühmittelalterlichen Glaubensbekenntnissen*, AKG 132 (Berlin 2017), 329–264 [German original: “Glaubensbekenntnis und Entwicklung des Kirchenjahres”, in id./U. Volp/J. Schmidt (eds.), *Liturgie und Ritual in der Alten Kirche: Patristische Beiträge zum Studium der gottesdienstlichen Quellen der Alten Kirche*, Studien der Patristischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft II (Leuven 2011), 3–41].

Abbreviations of journals and series follow Schwertner/TRE³ in this article, those of patristic works LACL³. My thanks go to John Nicholson (Vienna) for a sensitive revision of the English text.

² Cf. Hansjörg Auf der Maur, *Die Osterfeier in der alten Kirche*, eds. R. Meßner/W.G. Schöpf, *Liturgica Oenipontana* 2 (Münster 2003); Harald Buchinger, “Pascha”, *RAC* 26 (2015) 1033–1077; id./Clemens Leonhard, “Pentekoste”, *RAC* 27 (2016) 87–108.

³ Cf. Hansjörg Auf der Maur, “Feste und Gedenktage der Heiligen”, in id./Philipp Harnoncourt, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, vol. 2/1: *Der Kalender. Feste und Gedenktage der Heiligen*, GDK 6/1 (Regensburg 1994), 65–357, at 87–134. In Jerusalem, no martyrs’ feasts seem to be documented in the first three centuries CE; cf. Harald Buchinger, “Das Jerusalemer Sanctoriale: Zu Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung”, in M. Barnard/P. Post/E. Rose (eds.), *A Cloud of Witnesses: The Cult of Saints in Past and Present*, LiCo 18 (Leuven 2005), 97–128, esp. 106.

grims' spirituality typical of the (post-) Constantinian era:⁴ promoted by the example of the emperor's mother, Helena, and connected with the imperial endowment of important holy sites with lavish churches, the unprecedented interest in the Land of the Bible⁵ led to the identification of biblical sites, to their furnishing with church buildings served by clergy or monastics, and to their description in pilgrims' accounts and other characteristic literature.⁶ The pious desire to use the Bible not only as a guidebook but also as a calendar may be seen as a stimulus for the development of festal cycles around Easter and the celebration of Christ's Nativity,⁷ and it can safely be assumed that the particular conditions of and specific opportunities for worship in Jerusalem and its surroundings led the way in the introduction of many – although probably not all⁸ – feasts related to certain moments in the biblical narrative.⁹

⁴ Cf. Harald Buchinger, "Heilige Zeiten? Christliche Feste zwischen Mimesis und Anamnesis am Beispiel der Jerusalemer Liturgie der Spätantike", in Peter Gemeinhardt/Katharina Heyden (eds.), *Communio Sanctorum: Heilige, Heiliges und Heiligkeit in spätantiken Religionskulturen*, RVV 61 (Berlin 2012), 283–323.

⁵ It is well known that pilgrimage became a mass phenomenon only after the Constantinian turn; the few earlier examples are recapitulated by Bernhard Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche*, FVK 33–35 (Münster ²1980 [1950]), 83–89, and E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312–460* (Oxford 1982), 3 f.; pilgrim's motivation is reported for Melito of Sardes (d. before 189 CE; "the place where these things were preached and done") and Alexander from Cappadocia, later Bishop of Jerusalem (r. 222–ca. 250 CE; "for the sake of prayer and the places of history"), by Eusebius, *h. e.* 4, 26, 14; 6, 11, 2 (GCS 2/1, 286–388; 2/2, 540 Schwartz).

⁶ Classics on the creation of the Christian "Holy Land" include P. W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*, OECS (Oxford 1990), and Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven, CT ²1994 [1992]); cf. also Günter Stemberger, *Jews and Christians in the Holy Land: Palestine in the Fourth Century* (Edinburgh 2000) [German original: *Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land: Palästina unter Konstantin und Theodosius* (Munich 1987)]. A convenient overview is given by Ora Limor, "Holy Journey: Pilgrimage and Christian Sacred Landscape", in ead./Guy G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages 5 (Turnhout 2006), 321–353.

⁷ The early history of Christian feasts is discussed by Hansjörg Auf der Maur, *Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit*, vol. 1: *Herrenfeste in Woche und Jahr*, GDK 5 (Regensburg 1983), and Paul F. Bradshaw/Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Origins of Feasts, Fasts and Seasons in Early Christianity*, ACC 86 (London/Collegeville, MN 2011). Sanctoral celebrations are, of course, mostly not derived from the Bible; but since they are originally and typically tied to the tomb of the saint, they also involve an element of pilgrimage.

⁸ Cf. Harald Buchinger, "Heortology in Transition: The Development of the Easter Cycle in the Late Antique East", in Nina Glibetic/Gabriel Radle (eds.), *Explorations in Eastern Christian Liturgy: Selected Papers of the Sixth International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Etchmiadzin, Armenia, 11–16 September 2016*, Studies in Eastern Christian Liturgies 4 (Münster 2022), 71–100, esp. 85 f. Most prominently, the feast of the Ascension does not seem to have been invented in Jerusalem; it is attested in John Chrysostom's Antioch before 398 CE – and probably in other places – decades earlier than in Jerusalem, where the Ascension is commemorated on Pentecost Sunday afternoon according to Egeria (381–384 CE), *Itin.* 43, 5 (CCSL 175, 85 Franceschini/Weber), and attested as a separate feast on the fortieth day after Easter only

Although liturgy is, of course, a more complex phenomenon than a pilgrimage synchronised in an annual cycle, the development of a liturgical year can be compellingly described in terms of “Biblifying time”, to use a phrase coined by Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra.¹⁰ And indeed, the creation of lectionaries is a direct consequence of the institution of festal cycles based on a harmonised chronology of New Testament writings; in addition to biblical narratives, complementary passages from the Bible flesh out the meaning of the day through sophisticated intertextuality.¹¹

Nevertheless, the development is more intricate. Although non-canonical writings are read liturgically only in very limited niches,¹² apocrypha both lie

in *Lect. Hieros. arm.* 57 (PO 36/2 = 168, 336 [198]–338 [200] Renoux; after 417 CE); cf. Harald Buchinger, “Pentekoste, Pfingsten und Himmelfahrt: Grunddaten und Fragen zur Frühgeschichte”, in Richard W. Bishop/Johan Leemans/Hainalka Tamas (eds.), *Preaching after Easter: Mid-Pentecost, Ascension, and Pentecost in Late Antiquity*, SVigChr 136 (Leiden 2016), 15–84, esp. 35 f. (on John Chrysostom, *ascens.* [SC 562, 148–198 Rambault]) and 81 f. The celebration of Good Friday in the same place “out of town” in imitation of the biblical narrative according to John Chrysostom, *coemet.* 1 (PG 49, 393), is obviously a bookish invention, since Golgotha lay in the middle of the city in contemporary Jerusalem; this demonstrates that mimetic reasoning was operative in the formative phase of the liturgical year also beyond the Holy City.

⁹ Cf. Buchinger, “Heilige Zeiten” (see n. 4), and id., “Liturgy and Topography in Late Antique Jerusalem”, in Katharina Heyden/Maria Lissek (eds.), *Jerusalem II: Jerusalem in Roman-Byzantine Times*, Civitatum Orbis Mediterranei Studia 5 (Tübingen 2021), 117–188, building on Donatus Baldi, *Enchiridion locorum sanctorum: Documenta S. Evangelii loca respicientia* (Jerusalem 1955 [1935]), and the fundamental studies of J. T. Milik, “Notes d’épigraphie et de topographie palestiniennes. IX. Sanctuaires chrétiens de Jérusalem à l’époque arabe (VII^e–X^e s.)”, *RB* 67 (1960) 354–367, 550–591, Stéphane Verhelst, “Les lieux de station du lectionnaire de Jérusalem. I: Les villages et fondations. II: Les lieux saints”, *POC* 54 (2004) 13–70, 247–289, and John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*, OCA 228 (Rome 1987), always to be complemented with Klaus Bieberstein/Hanswulf Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem: Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*, 3 vols., BTAVO.B 100/1–3 (Wiesbaden 1994), with a synthesis *ibid.* 1, 153–175. Another neat overview is given by Ute Verstegen, “Die christliche Sakralisierung Jerusalems von Konstantin bis Heraklios”, in Heyden/Lissek (eds.), *Jerusalem II* (see n. 4), 91–115.

¹⁰ Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “Seasoning the Bible and Biblifying Time through Fixed Liturgical Reading Systems (Lectionaries)”, in Jonathan Ben-Dov/Lutz Doering (eds.), *The Construction of Time in Antiquity: Ritual, Art, and Identity* (Cambridge 2017), 227–247.

¹¹ Cf. Harald Buchinger, “Lektionarsgeschichte und die Entwicklung von Feiern im Rhythmus der Zeit”, in id./Clemens Leonhard (eds.), *Liturgische Bibelrezeption: Dimensionen und Perspektiven interdisziplinärer Forschung / Liturgical Reception of the Bible: Dimensions and Perspectives of Interdisciplinary Research*, FKDG 108 (Göttingen 2022), 85–118. Strategies of representation, reflection, and identification beyond the commemoration of the narrative are explored in Buchinger, “Heilige Zeiten” (see n. 4).

¹² The typical place for reading non-biblical writings are martyrs’ feasts on which “the acts of their martyrdom” are to be read according to *Lect. Hieros. arm.* 10 (PO 36/2 = 168, 224 [86] Renoux, Ms. J only); the preceding rubric implies that this is a general rule “at all commemorations of holy martyrs”. Furthermore, *Lect. Hieros. arm.* 54 (PO 36/2 = 168, 332 [194] Renoux) prescribes the reading of Cyril’s letter on the Apparition of the Cross. On a late hint at reading the *Protevangelium of James*, see n. 199, furthermore n. 202 (where probably the concrete context

at the historical origins of the stationary liturgy of the Holy City and continue to emerge throughout late antiquity in close relation to the liturgical development.¹³ The purpose of this essay is to investigate the impact of extracanonical traditions on the formation of the liturgical year in Jerusalem and beyond and to consider their significance for the interrelation between liturgy, material culture, and lived religion.¹⁴

1.2. The Interplay between Liturgy, Material Culture, and Lived Religion

It is evident that Jerusalem played a crucial role in the development of late antique liturgy, and it is likewise obvious that the liturgical celebrations attracted the interest of large crowds, which consisted of clergy and laypeople, educated and unsophisticated alike. At the same time, pilgrims performed practices at the holy sites which sometimes resemble liturgical rites and may be understood as substitutes for rituals bound to time in the liturgical cycles, not least as not all pilgrims were lucky enough to visit at the time of a great feast. Many of these pilgrims' rituals, however, were derived independently from biblical texts and extracanonical traditions. The quest for a "Second Church" (Ramsay MacMullen)¹⁵ may provide a tool with which to discuss the relation between the liturgical life controlled by the presiding clergy and the much wider phenomena of lived religion, although a neat dichotomy does not do justice to the complex evidence in which boundaries are fluid.¹⁶ Both, the liturgical rites and the bodily practices

remains unclear). The inclusion of apocrypha in medieval Menologia not only lies beyond the temporal horizon of late antique Jerusalem; also the precise context of their reading – in church or in the refectory? – is often unclear unless it is regulated by a Typikon.

Outside formal liturgy in the rhythm of the year, but still embedded in the context of the usual little service consisting of repeated prayer, reading, and blessing, Egeria, *Itin.* 19, 2. 16 (CCSL 175, 59.61 Franceschini/Weber), attests the reading of both, "something of St Thomas" (probably his Acts rather than the Gospel attributed to him) and king Abgar's correspondence with Christ in Edessa; at the *Martyrium of Thecla*, a reading of her Acts took place according to *Itin.* 23, 5 (CCSL 175, 66 Franceschini/Weber).

¹³ Cf. Buchinger, "Liturgy and Topography" (see n. 9). A survey of apocryphal writings and traditions in late antique Holy Land pilgrims' accounts is given by Tobias Nicklas, "Beyond 'Canon': Christian Apocrypha and Pilgrimage", in id./Candida R. Moss/Christopher Tuckett/Joseph Verheyden (eds.), *The Other Side: Apocryphal Perspectives on Ancient Christian "Orthodoxies"*, NTOA 117 (Göttingen 2017), 23–38.

¹⁴ The triangle of texts, rituals, and material culture in the investigation of extracanonical traditions constitutes the research programme of the Centre for Advanced Studies "Beyond Canon: Heterotopias of Religious Authority in Ancient Christianity" (FOR 2770). The research underlying this chapter has been made possible by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft through this grant.

¹⁵ Ramsay MacMullen, *The Second Church: Popular Christianity A.D. 200–400*, SBLWGRW. Supplement Series 1 (Atlanta, GA 2009); for a differentiated assessment of the concept in liturgical studies, cf. Harald Buchinger/Benedikt Kranemann/Alexander Zerfuß (eds.), *Liturgie – "Werk des Volkes"? Gelebte Religiosität als Thema der Liturgiewissenschaft*, QD 324 (Freiburg 2023), and below, 2.4.

¹⁶ Programmatically, cf., for example, Valentino Gasparini/Maik Patzelt/Rubina Raja/Anna-

of “the Christianity of the many” (Wendy Mayer)¹⁷ involved material elements, and it will be seen that extracanonical traditions become manifest in the form of elaborate liturgy as well as in the popular practice of pilgrims and local devotees.

1.3. Phases in the Liturgical Use of Material Symbols

Liturgy as embodied ritual necessarily has a material dimension. It may be helpful to distinguish three phases in the liturgical use of material symbols in the history of the liturgical year.¹⁸ Originally, the use of material symbols in the celebration of Easter – the only feast in this early period – is limited to the sacramental celebrations of the Eucharist¹⁹ (and, in certain cases, of Baptism²⁰);

Katharina Rieger/Jörg Rüpke/Emiliano Rubens Urciuoli (eds.), *Lived Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World: Approaching Religious Transformations from Archaeology, History and Classics* (Berlin 2020); more specifically, Wendy Mayer, “The Changing Shape of Liturgy: From Earliest Christianity to the End of Late Antiquity”, in Teresa Berger/Bryan D. Spinks (eds.), *Liturgy’s Imagined Past/s: Methodologies and Materials in the Writing of Liturgical History Today* (Collegeville, MN 2016), 275–302, reviews strands that acknowledge “the Christianity of the many”. An integrative approach is applied by Risto Uro/Juliette J. Day/Richard E. DeMaris/Rikard Roitto (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Ritual* (Oxford 2019); cf. also Buchinger/Kranemann/Zerfaß (eds.), *Liturgie* (see n. 15). Exemplary not only in its methodology but also in its thoroughness and comprehensiveness is the case study of David Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt: Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity*, Martin Classical Lectures (Princeton, NJ 2018 [paperback 2021]).

¹⁷ Mayer, “The Changing Shape” (see n. 16).

¹⁸ For a more elaborate programmatic exposition, cf. Harald Buchinger, “Materielle Repräsentation im liturgischen Vollzug und die Medialität der mittelalterlichen Osterfeier: Ein Versuch zur Typologie materialer Symbolik christlicher Liturgie”, in Manfred Kern/Thomas Kühtreiber/Isabella Nicka/Alexander Zerfaß (eds.), *Medialität und Materialität “großer Narrative”: Religiöse (Re-)Formationen, Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit II* (Heidelberg 2021), 113–145, and id., “Text – Matter – Ritual: A Historical and Comparative Perspective on Select Occasional Prayers for Holy Week and Easter”, *StPatr* 108 (2021) 17–32, building on the periodisation by Kenneth Stevenson, *Jerusalem Revisited: The Liturgical Meaning of Holy Week* (Portland, OR 1988), 9–12.

¹⁹ It may just be mentioned that some of the few pieces of evidence come from apocrypha such as the *Ep. ap.* 26 (PO 9/3 = 43, 198 [58] Guerrier/Grébaud) = 8 (TU 3/13 = 42, 6* Schmidt) and church orders with a pseudapostolic frame such as the *Didasc.* 21 (CSCO 407 = CSCO.S 179, 214–228 / CSCO 408 = CSCO.S 180, 198–202 Vööbus); cf. Auf der Maur, *Osterfeier* (see n. 2), esp. 53–58.88–97. Nevertheless, breaking the fast as central ritual element appears universally from the point when an Easter celebration becomes tangible, and in this early period the distinction between Eucharistic and non-Eucharistic meals may be anachronistic; cf. Harald Buchinger, “Breaking the Fast: The Central Moment of the Paschal Celebration in Historical Context and Diachronic Perspective”, in Paul van Geest/Marcel Poorthuis/Els Rose (eds.), *Sanctifying Texts, Transforming Rituals: Encounters in Liturgical Studies. Essays in Honour of Gerard A. M. Rouwhorst*, Brill’s Studies in Catholic Theology 5 (Leiden 2017), 191–205.

²⁰ Cf. Paul F. Bradshaw, “‘Diem baptismo sollemniorum’: Initiation and Easter in Christian Antiquity”, in E. Carr/S. Parenti/A.-A. Thiermeyer/E. Velkovska (eds.), *ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΑ: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S.J.*, *StAns* 110 = *ALit* 17 (Rome 1993), 41–51 [repr. in Maxwell E. Johnson (ed.), *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation*, A Pueblo Book (Collegeville, MN 1995), 137–147].

the characteristic verbal elements connected with this kind of matter are sacramental prayers: Eucharistic prayers over bread and wine, blessings of the baptismal water, and consecration of oils for the initiation.

Only in the course of the evolution of Holy Week, which appears to have taken place in the third quarter of the fourth century,²¹ were other objects used to re-enact the biblical narratives. Presumably the first example for this second stage occurs in the Palm Sunday cortège, one of the earliest mimetic rituals: according to Egeria's famous account (381–384 CE?), the bishop was escorted "in the same way (*in eo typo*) as Christ was conducted" after the reading of the respective pericope, on the very day derived from a harmonisation of the various New Testament accounts and on the very site of the Mount of Olives, using the Psalm quoted in the Gospel as a processional chant, featuring the children and waving the branches of palm and olive trees in representation of the biblical narrative.²²

Although a "palm tree from which the children took the branches and spread them when Christ came"²³ (cf. John 12:13; Matt 21:8, 15) is already mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 CE), it is only later, in a third phase, that these objects become the focus of liturgy beyond their actual use in the festive ritual. According to the *Georgian Lectionaries* (witnessing the liturgical development of the fifth to seventh centuries),²⁴ the palm not only lies on the altar from first

²¹ Among many others, Nicholas V. Russo, "The Distribution of Cyril's *Baptismal Catecheses* and the Shape of the Catechumenate in Mid-Fourth-Century Jerusalem", in David A. Pitt/Stefanos Alexopoulos/Christian McConnell (eds.), *A Living Tradition: On the Intersection of Liturgical History and Pastoral Practice. Essays in Honor of Maxwell E. Johnson*, A Pueblo Book (Collegeville, MN 2012), 75–100, argues on good grounds that Holy Week was developed only after Cyril of Jerusalem delivered his catecheses towards the middle of the fourth century, which provides a *terminus post*; the *terminus ante* is given by Egeria's account (381–384 CE).

²² Egeria, *Itin.* 31 (CCSL 175, 77 Franceschini/Weber); cf. Ps 117 (118):22 quoted in Matt 21:9par. Mark M. Morozowich, "Historicism and Egeria: Implications of *In eo typo*", *EO* 27 (2010) 169–182, notes the theological implications of relating liturgy to narrative with the exegetical language of *typus* attested in Egeria only in this place. The re-enactment of the biblical scene draws on different texts: while palm branches are explicitly mentioned in John 12:13, olives can only be extrapolated from the localisation of the story on the "Mount of Olives" (Matt 21:1par.); the children come from the subsequent scene in the Temple according to Matt 21:15.

²³ *Itin. Burdig.* 595, 1f. (CCSL 175, 17 Geyer/Cuntz). Again, the conflation of elements from different texts is characteristic for the reception of biblical traditions in late antiquity: Matt 21:8 speaks about "spreading" branches from undefined "trees", John 12:13 about "palm branches"; "children" appear only in Matt 21:15. Cyril, *catech.* 10, 19 (284–286 Reischl) enumerates "the palm in the valley that provided the branches to the children" among the testimonies for Christ. It is by no means certain that when the same palm is mentioned by Petrus Diaconus, *loc. sanct.* I (CCSL 175, 96 Weber; ½ 12th c.) this detail comes from Egeria's account.

²⁴ Since the contents of the Paris manuscript and the other witnesses differ substantially, "Georgian Lectionaries" are referred to in the plural unless a specific witness is meant. Since the whole Christmas cycle is supposed, much of the order must postdate 560 CE (cf. n. 72); the latest datable commemoration is dedicated to bishop Sophronius (d. 638 CE?): *Lect. Hieros. iber.* 253 (CSCO 188 = CSCO.I 9, 42/CSCO 189 = CSCO.I 10, 39 Tarnchischvili, 11 March).

vespers of Palm Sunday on, but also receives a blessing,²⁵ texts for which are transmitted only in medieval manuscripts.²⁶ Consequently, the blessed matter acquires such power that it becomes the object of pious use also beyond the liturgy: the medieval so-called *Typikon of the Anastasis*, a twelfth-century manuscript possibly relating to earlier practice, describes how an olive tree is carried in the Palm Sunday procession, and ultimately plundered by the people at the end of the service.²⁷

1.4. Holy Places and Sacred Time: The Interplay between Texts, Local Traditions, and Rituals

It is not always possible to discern historical priorities in the complex interplay between the reception and production of canonical and extracanonical texts, the formation of local traditions, and the development of rituals. Since one has to reckon with latency periods before the earliest extant witnesses of historical phenomena emerge, the precise interpretation of the circle between literary and liturgical developments and their material substrate remains a matter of hypothesis in many cases; nevertheless, it appears that in the first place, the identification of local traditions and the creation of a sacred topography preceded the establishment of sacred time:²⁸ two of the three Constantinian foun-

²⁵ *Lect. Hieros. iber.* 577 (CSCO 188 = CSCO.I 9, 100f. / CSCO 189 = CSCO.I 10, 81f. Tarnischvili); the rubric is text-critically instable and merely added as interlinear gloss in Ms. P. The static importance of the object apart from its use in the cortège is manifest in the fact that “the palm should lie on the altar from vespers onwards” according to the preceding rubric *Lect. Hieros. iber.* 576.

²⁶ Cf. Daniel Galadza, “Prayers and Blessings for Holy Week in the ‘Occasional Prayers’ of the Byzantine *Euchologion*”, *StPatr* 108 (2021) 33–54, esp. 35–41. The Palm Sunday part of the Georgian *Euchologion* of Hagiopolite provenance is inedited; cf. Tinatin Chronz, “Das Jerusalemer *Euchologion* Sinait. iber. 66/O”, *OrChr* 100 (2017) 137–152, at 147, with reference to fol. 51v–52r. First physically extant witnesses of such blessings appear earlier in the West, more precisely in 7th-century Merovingian Gaul; cf. Buchinger, “Text” (see n. 18), esp. 26 f., with reference to E. A. Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal* (Ms. Paris. lat. 13246), HBS 58 (London 1920), 170, N° 558.

²⁷ Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus (ed.), *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυολογίας*, vol. 2 (Petroupoli 1894), 21. The manuscript Jerusalem, Hagios Stauros 43 is currently the object of a major study by Daniel Galadza.

²⁸ Cf. Buchinger, “Heilige Zeiten” (see n. 4), and id., “Liturgy and Topography” (see n. 9). Gerard Rouwhorst, “The Origins and Transformations of Early Christian Feasts”, in Nienke M. Vos/Albert C. Geljon (eds.), *Rituals in Early Christianity: New Perspectives on Tradition and Transformation*, *SVigChr* 164 (Leiden 2021), 27–51, at 31–39, recently pleaded for investigating the function of this new type of liturgy in the light of the idea of “collective memory” developed by Maurice Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre sainte: Étude de mémoire collective* (Paris 2008 [1941]) and taken up by the “cultural memory” as expounded by Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge 2011) [German original: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich 2018 [1992])]. It goes without saying that the sacred topography of late antique Jerusalem is the system of “mnemotopes/lieux

dations – the cave of the instruction on the Mount of Olives and the cave of the Nativity in Bethlehem – relate to traditions attested well before Constantine,²⁹ although a ritual use in earlier centuries is not documented. The events connected with the cave of the instruction on the Mount of Olives cannot be aligned with a liturgical calendar before Holy Week unfolded,³⁰ which was probably not the case before the second half of the fourth century;³¹ and more generally, the development of the liturgical year appears to have taken place in the generations after Constantine when pilgrims had long swamped the Holy Land and found a host of local traditions of all kinds, only some of which were suitable for producing liturgical commemorations.

Along with pilgrims' interests, catechetical concerns may have contributed to the development of a liturgical year:³² annual repetition of festal rituals proved to be a successful tool for inculcating basic contents of Christian faith into the collective consciousness of the masses, who to a certain extent were only superficially converted in the era of the imperial church; it may be no mere coincidence that the "festal contents" of the major feasts correspond with the central moments addressed in the anamnestic parts that were allegedly inserted into Eucharistic prayers in the same historical period.³³

de mémoire" par excellence, a concept that was popularised by Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 vols. in 7 parts (Paris 1984–1992) [English cf. *Realms of Memory*, 3 vols. (New York 1996–1998)] and has become extremely productive in cultural studies; cf., for example, Stefan Berger/Joana Seiffert (eds.), *Erinnerungsorte: Chancen, Grenzen und Perspektiven eines Erfolgskonzeptes in den Kulturwissenschaften* (Essen 2014). The reflections about the relation between space and time by Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, IL 1987 [paperback 1992]), esp. 74–95, are likewise inspired by the classics of sociology; cf. also, among others, Klaus Bieberstein, "'Zum Raum wird hier die Zeit': Drei Erinnerungslandschaften Jerusalems", *JBTh* 22 (2007) 3–39; id., "Jerusalem", in Christoph Marksches/Hubert Wolf (eds.), *Erinnerungsorte des Christentums* (Munich 2010), 64–88 + 730 (endnotes) + 758 (bibliography); id., "Die Verzauberung der Steine: Das Mnemotop Jerusalem", in Thomas Laubach/Christina Potschka (eds.), *Verzauberung der Welt? Religiöse Symbolsysteme in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, BaThS 40 (Bamberg 2021), 119–156.

²⁹ Cf. the critical assessment by Joan E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (Oxford 1993), esp. 96–112 (Bethlehem) and 143–156 (Eleona); on the former, cf. also below, n. 176, on the latter, cf. also Bieberstein/Bloedhorn, *Jerusalem* (see n. 9) 3, 286–292, Max Küchler, *Jerusalem: Ein Handbuch und Studienreiseführer zur Heiligen Stadt*, OLB 4/2 (Göttingen 2007 [cf. 2014]), 852–873, esp. 857 f., and below, 2.1. The third site, the tomb of Christ, "appeared against every hope" only under Constantine (Eusebius, v. C. 3, 28 [GCS 1/1, 96 Winkelmann]), which precludes any liturgical celebration before 325 CE.

³⁰ Egeria situates both the eschatological speech of Matt 24 f., dated on Tuesday according to Matt 26:1 f., and the reading of the Johannine farewell discourse on Thursday after Supper, as do the later liturgical sources; cf. below, 2.1 with n. 47 f.

³¹ Cf. n. 21.

³² Cf. Kinzig, "Creed" (see n. 1).

³³ Cf., for example, Achim Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora: Text – Kommentar – Geschichte*, JThF 7 (Münster 2004), esp. 273–319.383–388.423–427.

Index of References*

Old Testament / Hebrew Bible

<i>Genesis</i>		6:3	221
2:2	199	7:6	282
2:8	117 f., 120	7:9	282 f.
3:1	122	9:4–5	204
3:18	119, 122	10:35–36	139
3:19	119, 122, 131 f.	25	201
3:24	117 f.		
5:3–4	131	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
11	118	14:26	221
35:16–20	252	27:27	204
37:17	208	29:5	221
		34:3	139
<i>Exodus</i>		34:6	58
6:20	257	35:5	139
7:1	199		
11:4	284	<i>Joshua</i>	
12–14	139	2:1	139
12:14	139	3:6	139
12:18	140	3:14–17	139, 150
12:26	139	4:7–8	139
12:48–49	139	4:19–24	139
14:21–22	139	4:23	144
15:20	257	5:1–9	139
16	140	5:2	144
17:16	282	5:10–11	140
25:8	259	5:12	140
		5:13	141
<i>Leviticus</i>		6:17	143
2:13	77	6:26	142
10:6	221	14:15	111 n. 5
12	285		
23:5	204	<i>Judges</i>	
24:5–9	277	11:30	201
		13:4	221
<i>Numbers</i>		13:5	221
5:11–31	271		

* All indices list only passages, places and names which are discussed in the text, not mere references.

<i>1 Samuel</i>		15:11–28	282
1:11	221	21:17	276
21	277–279		
22:9–22	278	<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
22:17	277	24:20–22	32
22:17–19	279	30:18–19	112
22:20	279		
25:20	285	<i>Nehemiah</i>	
27:30	280	3:15–16	55
<i>2 Samuel</i>			
1:13–16	282	<i>Isaiah</i>	
5:7	17	1:8	12, 15
5:9	17	6:1	198
6:1	283	7:10–16	245, 255
6:3–19	282	10:28–32	279
6:3	282	11:12	174
6:8	282	19:18–20	170
11:2–17	275	22:16	207
11:3	283	28:3	207
13:1–4	275	42:1	222
15:12	283		
16:23	282 f.	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
17:23	283	31:15	252
21:16	279	33(26):18	13
23:15–16	285	38	53
23:34	283		
<i>1 Kings</i>		<i>Ezekiel</i>	
2:10	55	7:2	174
15:5	276	24:7–8	123
16:34	142		
<i>2 Kings</i>		<i>Obadiah</i>	
2:8	140	1	222
2:14	140		
2:19–22	140, 145	<i>Micah</i>	
3:15	284	3:12	13
6:13	208		
6:18–20	141	<i>Haggai</i>	
11:1	279	2:14	112
18:17	207		
19:35	280	<i>Zechariah</i>	
22:19	198	1:1	32
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		9:9	198
9:24	280	12:10	37
11:5	17	14:4	12, 81
		14:16–21	79
		<i>Job</i>	
		1:1	55

2:1–3:26	15 n. 59	119 (118):46	285
2:11–13	15 n. 59	119 (118):62	284 f.
		119 (118):68	280
<i>Psalms</i>		119 (118):72	280
12 (11):1	281	119 (118):164	281
39 (38):5	286	132 (131):7	22
55 (54):14	283	132 (131):8	41, 45, 259
55 (54):15	283		
55 (54):18	281	<i>Ecclesiastes</i>	
56 (55):10	283	1:7	174
57 (56):9	284		
72 (71):6	255	<i>Sirach</i>	
84 (83):11	286	50:1	37
86 (85):1–2	285		
106 (105):6	281	<i>Judith</i>	
118 (117):22	8, 22	3:9	208

Qumran

4Q161 8–10 III 17	
	275
11Q 5 27:11	275

Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia

<i>1 Enoch</i>	132	29:6	122
24–25	120	37:5	122
32–33	120	40:3–5	123, 132
91:1–17	224	40:6	122, 132
93:1–10	224	40:7	122 f.
<i>2 Baruch</i>	133	<i>Apocalypse of Sedrach</i>	
15:7	228		133
		5:2–3	133
<i>4 Ezra</i>	133	6:2	133
6:55–59	228		
13:3	70	<i>Ascension of Isaiah</i>	
13:6	70	9:17–18	73
<i>Apocalypse of Moses</i>		<i>Ethiopic Book of Adam</i>	
	112, 115, 121–125, 131 f., 134, 137		109
1:1b–2	121	<i>Life of Jeremiah</i>	120, 259–261
16–19	122		
21:2	122		

Parlipomena of Jeremiah

53, 110

Psalms of Solomon

17:21 275

Sermon of Jeremiah the Prophet

9–10 45

Testament of Moses

1:12–13 228

*Life of Adam and Eve*112, 115, 123–125,
131–134, 137

6 132

11–14 133

14 133

45 123 f.

70 131

New Testament

Matthew

1:18–24 268

1:18 199

1:20–23 269

2:1–12 17

2:14 43

2:18 252

2:23 95

4:5 222

5:17 198

12:1–8 277

12:5 198

13:43 74

16:18 228

16:23 72

17:1–9 69

17:4 72

17:6 72

20:29–34 140

21:1–11 198

21:1 8

21:8 8

21:9 8

21:15 8

23:35 32

24–25 10, 13

24:3 140

25:14–30 140

26:1 10

26:2 10, 13

27:26 20

Mark

2:23–26 277

3:17 214

3:18 214

3:20–21 215

3:22–30 198

3:31–34 215

7:31 107

8:33 72

9:2–13 69

9:6 87

10:46–52 140

12:35–37 275

13:3 12

13:4 12

13:7 12

14:15 14

14:25 226

14:26 19

14:62 222

15:15 20

15:40 214, 232

Luke

1:5 37, 221

1:15 221

1:26 95

2 103

2:1–7 43, 245

2:4 95

2:25–32 267

2:26 37

2:28 37

2:33	105	4:1–22	200
2:39	95	4:6	218
2:41–42	104, 215	6:1	110
2:48	215	9:29	110
2:51	95	12:12	187
3:2	218	12:17	216
4:9	222	13:1	188
5:19	107	15:1–29	32
6:16	214	15:13–29	216
9:28–36	69	21:7–14	155
9:33	87	21:18–26	216
10:25–37	140	25:1–23	155
11:27–32	255		
18:35–43	140	<i>Romans</i>	
19:1–10	140	2:28–29	144
19:11–27	140	6:12	128
22:12	14	8:12–13	128
34:36–40	15	13:14	128
<i>John</i>		<i>1 Corinthians</i>	
1:28	141	9:5	216
2:25–34	37	15:7	216, 226
3:23	141	15:22	126 f.
5:15	198		
6:42	215	<i>Galatians</i>	
7:5	215	1:19	214, 216
8:23	190	2:9	216
10:40	141	3:29–4:7	245
12:13	8		
13–17	13	<i>Ephesians</i>	
18:13	218	4:7–16	33
18:24	218		
18:31	219	<i>Hebrews</i>	
19:36	37	1:2	133
20:19–25	15, 16	8:7–9:10	255
20:26–31	16	11:37	33
21:25	271	13:12	130
<i>Acts</i>		<i>James</i>	
1:9–12	60	1:1	222
1:12	14		
1:13	13, 14, 15, 214	<i>2 Peter</i>	
1:14	216	1:17	72
1:23	77	1:18	72
2:1–21	13		
2:1	13	<i>Revelation</i>	
2:29	57	3:12	174
2:30	275	6:9–11	112

11:8–9	130, 190
21:3	174
21:14	142

New Testament Apocrypha

<i>Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew</i>		30.18–31.12	230 with n. 107
1	186 f.	32.10–22	230 with n. 109
		42.21–22	230 with n. 108
<i>Acts and miracles of Mark</i>		<i>Second Revelation of James</i>	
2	188		213, 220, 223 f.
3	188	48.22	230
8	188	49.8–9	230
<i>Acts of John</i>		55.15–18	230
90	70	55.24	230
93	89 f.	<i>Apocalypse of John</i>	
94–96	19		81, 241
97–102	12	<i>Apocalypse of Peter</i>	
98	90		71–74, 81
<i>Acts of Paul</i>		15.1	71
<i>Acts of Peter</i>		16.1	72
20	71	16.7	72
		16.8	72 f.
<i>Acts of Pilate</i>		17.3–4	72
1.1	195–208, 268	17.6	72
2.3	204, 207	<i>Arabic Infancy Gospel</i>	
2.4	204	2–3	43
7.1	207	<i>Birth of Mary</i>	
13.4	204		236
14.2	200–202	<i>Book of Mary's Repose</i>	
14.3	204		249–251
15–16	206	<i>Egerton Gospel</i>	
15.5	202	P. Eg. 2 Fragment 2	
15.6	204	verso	102
16.1.2	201, 206, 207	2v.1–5	149
16.3.2	207	2v.6–16	145 f., 149
16.4	206	<i>Epistle of the Apostles</i>	
<i>Acts of Thomas</i>		4	98
143	70	26	7
<i>First Revelation of James</i>			
	230		
24.10–30.11	230 with n. 106		

<i>Secret Book of James</i>	9	149 n. 37
229	9:1	105
5 229	9:3	98
6 229	11:1	105
15:38 229	11:2	103
16:10–11 230	12	100
	12:1–2	105, 148 f.
<i>Gospel of the Ebionites</i>	12:2	103
frag. 3 221	13:1	103, 105
frag. 7 221	13:2	103
	13:3	105
<i>Gospel of the Hebrews</i>	14	100
225 f.	14:3	104 f.
frag. 1a 226	15:1	103, 105
frag. 5 213 n. 20, 221, 226	15:2	103, 105
frag. 6 226	15:3	104 f.
	16:1	105
<i>Gospel of Nicodemus</i>	19:2	103
195, 202, 206	19:3	104
<i>Gospel of Peter</i> 267	<i>Kerygma of Peter</i>	
	2	210
<i>Gospel of Thomas</i> 227–229	<i>Martyrium of Thecla</i>	
1 226	6	
11 227		
12 213, 227 f.	<i>Passion</i>	186
13 227		
<i>History of Joseph the Carpenter</i>	<i>Protevangelium of James</i>	
7 43 n. 175	5, 64, 199, 236, 243 f.,	
	247, 253, 254–256, 260 f.	
<i>Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i>	1:4	48
95–107, 263–274	4:2	48
1:1 105	9:2	214
2:1 105	11:1	100 f.
2:2 105	13:1	268
2:3 103, 105	13:2	268
2:4 104	15:2–16:3	269
2:5 105	17–19	42
3 102 n. 31	17	45 n. 184
3:1 106	18:3	43 n. 179
4:1 103, 105	24:4	37 n. 154
4:2 105	25:1	214 f.
5:1–3 104		
6:1 103	<i>Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew</i>	
6:2 103 f., 106	248–250	
6:4 103	2:22	102
7:3 105	13:1–2	43

20	43	<i>Secret Book of John</i>
25–42	102	70
32	149	
33–39	149	<i>Testimony of Truth</i>
34	101 f., 148	39.18–23 150 f.
35	101 f., 151	
36	151	<i>Transitus Mariae</i> 64, 81
40	149	

Early Jewish Literature

<i>Asatir</i>		2.16	199
3.1–7	111 n. 5	3.1–9	118, 132
		3.25	119
Josephus		3.27	116 f.
		3.28	121
<i>Jewish Antiquities</i>		3.29	118
5.20	144	3.32	116–118, 120
10.179	219	3.34	117 f.
16.206–249	215	4.26	117, 119
18–20	218	4.29	116, 119 f., 122 f., 131 f.
18.2	218	4.30	131
18.32–35	203	4.31	131
18.63–64	218	8.16	119
20.199–203	213, 218–220	8.19	117, 119
<i>Jewish War</i>		Philo	
2.160	215	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>	
4.219–321	218	1.2	199
4.459–475	139	Ps.-Philo	
4.459–464	145 f.	<i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>	
4.464	149	42.3	221
4.469–470	139		
<i>Jubilees</i>	112, 115–121, 131–134,		
	137		
2.2	132 f.		

Early Christian and Patristic Texts

Abraham of Ephesus		Ambrose of Milan	
<i>Sermo de annuntiatione</i>		<i>Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam</i>	
1	47	ad Lc 23:33	111
		<i>Domino dilectissimo fratri Siricio</i>	
		(<i>Epistulae extra collectionem</i> 15)	
		7	258

<i>Exhortatio Virginitatis</i>		Basil of Seleucia	
5	258	<i>Homily 41</i>	18
<i>De obitu Theodosii</i>			
41–48	20 n. 80, 39 n. 167	Ps.-Basil of Seleucia	
<i>De virginitate</i>		<i>Oratio</i>	
2,2,17	258	38.5	126
Anastasius of Sinai		Bordeaux Pilgrim	56, 81, 144, 153
<i>Homilia in Transfigurationem</i>		590.3–4	22
	85	592.4–5	20
7	90 f.	592.6	15
		592.7	12 f., 15
Aphrahat		595.1–2	8
<i>Demonstratio</i>		595.3	33
21.23	36	595.5–6	12
Athanasius		<i>Breviarius de Hierosolyma</i>	
			64
<i>Apologia Contra Arianos</i>		1	21
8.3	158	4	21, 22, 23
		7	24, 44
Ps.-Athanasius		Chromatius of Aquileia	
<i>De Passione et Cruce Christi</i>		<i>Tractatus in Matthaeum</i>	
12	126, 136	3.1	258
Augustine of Hippo		<i>Chronicon Paschale</i>	
<i>De civitate Dei</i>			77
22.8	28	Chrysippus of Jerusalem	
<i>Cons.</i>		<i>Encomium in sanctam Mariam deiparam</i>	
3.65	140		41, 245 f.
3.125	140	<i>Encomium in Johannem Baptistam</i>	
<i>Epistula 55</i>	141		31
<i>Sermo 120: De Nativitate IV</i>		Ps-Clement	
<i>(de Tempore 21)</i>		<i>Recognitiones</i>	
5	258	1.17	143 f.
<i>Sermo 194: De Annuntiatione II</i>		1.33.1–2	224
<i>(de Sanctis 18)</i>		1.43.3	224, 231
2	258	1.66–70	220, 223 f.
Ps-Basil		1.68.1–2	224
<i>Transitus</i>		1.68.2	231
89	46	1.70.1–8	224
		1.73.3	231

- 1 Clem*
 12.7 141
- Clement of Alexandria
Hypotyposeis. 221, 231
 6 213
 7 231
- Stromata*
 3.26.3 128
 3.63.1 225
 6.4.41 210
- Codex Iustinianus X*
 50.1 171
- Constitutiones apostolicae*
 5.22 141
- Cosmas Indicopleustes
Topographia Christiana
 186
- Cyril of Jerusalem
Catecheses
 2.16 81, 85
 3.1–5 150
 4.10 20
 10.11 150
 10.19 8, 20
 12.15 150
 13.4 20
 13.38 20
 14.6 29
 16.4 12, 14
 16.18 12
- Cyril of Scythopolis
Vita Euthymii
 16 15
 35 35
Vita Sabae
 37 30
 56 30
Vita Theodosii 41
- Dialogue with a Jew*
 5 258
- Didascalia apostolorum*
 21 7
- Ad Diognetum
 1.1 210
- Ps-Dioscurus of Alexandria
Homilia in Macarium
 7 44
- Doctrina apostolorum / Doctrina Addai*
 14
- Ps.-Dorotheus of Tyre
Synopsis de vita et morte porphetarum, apostolorum et discipulorum domini
 185
- Egeria
Itinerarium
 3.6 25, 27
 4.3 25
 4.8 25.
 10.7 25, 55
 11.1 27
 11.3 25
 11.4–12.1–2 58
 12.3 25
 13–16 55
 14.1 25
 15.4 25
 15.6 27
 16 59
 16.8 25
 19.2 6, 25
 19.16 6, 25
 20.3 25
 21.1 25
 21.3 27
 23.5 6
 25.6–12 17, 43
 27.5 29
 27.6–7 15
 30.3 82
 31 8, 60

33	10, 13	<i>Commentarius in Psalmos</i>	
35	60	68.8–9	231
35.2	13	<i>Demonstratio Evangelica</i>	
35.3	10, 13		170
37.1	10, 26, 27	6.18.23	12, 22
37.2	20, 26, 41		
37.3	20, 26, 21	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	
37.6	25		154
39	60	1.2	156
39.2	15	1.7.14	213
39.3	82	1.9.3	203
39.5	14, 15	1.11.9	203
40	60	2.1.2	217
40.2	16	2.1.3	213, 220, 221, 223, 231
43	60	2.1.4	231, 231
43.3	13, 14	2.6.1	213
43.4	13	2.23.1–3	220
43.5	4	2.23.2	217
48.1	40	2.23.4	213, 221
		2.23.4–9	221 f.
Epiphanius Monk of Jerusalem		2.23.4–18	220–223
<i>Itinerarium</i>		2.23.10–18	213 n. 19, 222
4	252	2.23.28	32 f.
		3.5.2	217
Epiphanius of Salamis		3.5.3	213
<i>De mensuris et ponderibus</i>		3.11	23, 30, 217
14	15	3.29.10	77
<i>Panarion</i>		3.32.1	30
29.3.8–9	231	3.32.6	30
29.7–8	213	4.4	77
30.2.7–8	213	4.5.3	78, 213
30.12.6	104	4.15	162
30.13.4–5	221	4.22.4	30, 223
30.13.7–8	104	4.26.14	4
30.14.3	104	5.1–4	162
30.22.4	221	6.11.2	4
50.1.3–8	204	6.39.3	30
68.2	215	6.46.4	30
68.8.3–5	158	7.2.4	157
78.7	213, 217	7.12.1	155
78.13.5	223	7.13	156
78.14	220	7.15	155
		7.19	23, 217, 231
		7.32.29	23, 231
Eusebius of Caesarea		8	158, 164
<i>Commentarius in Isaiam</i>		8.6.3	176
17.6	231	8.17	158
		9.5.1	203

- | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| 9.7.1 | 203 | fol. 4 | 175 |
| 9.8 | 163 | fol. 7 | 165 |
| <i>Laus Constantini</i> | | fol. 7–9 | 162 |
| 9.16 | 29 | fol. 9 | 165 |
| 9.17 | 12 | fol. 10 | 174 |
| 11.2 | 29 | fol. 13–14 | 171 |
| 11.6 | 29 | fol. 13–19 | 171 |
| <i>Vita Constantini</i> | | fol. 18–19 | 163, 176 |
| 3.28 | 10, 11, 29 | fol. 19–20 | 167 |
| 3.26.3 | 11 | fol. 20 | 176 |
| 3.33 | 174 | fol. 21–23 | 162 |
| 3.33.1 | 29 | fol. 28–29 | 167 |
| 3.40 | 29 | fol. 29 | 168 |
| 3.41–43 | 43 | fol. 33 | 167 |
| 3.42.2 | 22 | fol. 34 | 166 f. |
| 3.43.3 | 12, 24 | fol. 36 | 163, 177 |
| 4.40 | 29 | fol. 38 | 174 |
| <i>De Martyribus Palaestinae</i> | | fol. 43 | 169 f., 174 f. |
| 1.1 | 29 | fol. 49 | 166, 167 |
| 3.1 | 33 | fol. 49–51 | 167 |
| 4.15 | 34 | <i>Onomasticon</i> | 54, 213 |
| 5.1–2 | 33 | s. v. Bethlehem | 56 |
| 7.1 | 33 | s. v. Bounos, Galgala | 144 |
| 7.4 | 33 | s. v. Zoara | 168 |
| 8.8–9 | 33 | <i>In Theophaniam</i> | |
| 10.2 | 29 | 46 | 178 |
| 11.1 | 30 | Fortunatianus of Aquileia | |
| 11.28 | 34 | <i>Commentarius in Evangelia</i> | |
| Greek recension | | M. long. II.M.LXL | 258 |
| 2.1–5 | 162 | | |
| 2.5 | 164 | Gerontius | |
| 4.1–15 | 171 | <i>Vita Melaniae</i> | |
| 4.13–15 | 176 | 48 | 31, 39 |
| 4.15 | 163 | 49 | 23 |
| 6.1–7 | 162 | 63 | 18 |
| 8.1 | 167, 168, 169 | 64 | 36 |
| 8.13 | 167 | Georgius Cedrenus | |
| 9.10–12 | 177 | 130 f. | |
| 9.12 | 163 | | |
| 11.5–13 | 175 | Georgius Monachus, Chronicon | |
| 11.8–12 | 170 | 130 | |
| 13.1–10 | 166 | | |
| Syriac recension | | | |
| fol. 2–3 | 170 | | |
| fol. 3 | 164 f. | | |

Gregory of Nyssa		<i>Commentari in Isaiam</i>	
<i>In laudem Basilii</i>	36	4	226
<i>De peregrination</i>	178	<i>Commentarii in Matthaeum</i>	
<i>De virginitate</i>		4	111
19	258	5,24,3	82 f.
<i>In Stephanum</i>		<i>Epistulae</i>	
1–2	36	46	81, 85
<i>In Theodorum</i>	27	51	81, 85
		53.8.7	13
		58.3	11
		58.12	60
Gregory of Tours		108	81, 85
<i>De gloria martyrum</i>		108.9	14, 20, 22
1.6	21	108.11.3	111
		108.12.4–5	142–146, 150
Hesychius		<i>In Helvidium</i>	215
<i>Commentarius in Hiob</i>		<i>Homilia</i> 89	150
5	15 f.	<i>Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum</i>	
<i>Homiliae festales</i>			54
5	41, 245	<i>Liber locorum</i>	54, 56
6	245	<i>Preface to Chronicles</i>	
9	31, 36		54
9.3	35, 36	<i>Tractatus de nativitate</i>	
10.1	17		18
10.2	32	<i>Tractatus 6 in Marcum</i>	
14	29		87 f.
Ps.-Hippolytus		<i>De viris illustribus</i>	
<i>Haer.</i>			213
5.2	150	2	32, 220, 225
		2.12–13	213, 221, 226
Irenaeus		John of Bolnisi	
<i>Adversus Haereses</i>		<i>Homilia</i>	
1.20.1	98	3.2	14
3.23	127	John Chrysostom	
Iulius Polydeukes (Julius Pollux)		<i>De coemeterio et cruce</i>	
<i>Historia physica</i>	130–132, 135 f.	1	5
Jerome		<i>Homilia 56 in Matthaeum</i>	
<i>Commentarii in epistolam ad Ephesios</i>			88
3	111 n. 5		

- John Climacus
Past.
 224 89 f. with n. 76
- John of Damascus
Homiliae in Dormitionem
 2.16 258 f.
Homilia in Transfigurationem
 2 88 f.
- John Moschus
Pratum Spirituale
 1.100 89
- John Rufus 58 f.
Vita Petri Iberi
 46 18
 49 35
 134 12
- Julius Africanus
Chronographiae 135–137
- Justin
Apologia prima
 31.6 213
 35.9 202 f.
 48.3 203
Dialogus cum Tryphone
 62 141
 78 43, 244
 88 150
 111 141
- Justus (Yostos)
Epistula in Transfigurationem 76–78
- Lactantius
De mortibus persecutorum
 12.2 157
 34–35 158
- Leo I the Great
Sermones
 51 82
- Leo Grammaticus
Chronographia 130–132, 135 f.
Martyrdom of Eustathius o Mtskheta
 86
- Melito
De pascha
 44 190
 93–94 11
 94 130
- Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos
Historia ecclesiastica
 17.28 18, 44
- Nonnus
Commentarii in Evangelium Johannis
 272
- Origen
Commentarii in Iohannem
 2.12.87 84
 2.17 141
Commentarii in Matthaeum
 10.17 214
 11.9 128
 12.31–43 87
Commentariorum Series in Matthaeum 27,33 125
Commentariorum in Matthaeum Fragmenta
 551 II 125–127
 551 III 126
 552 III 126
Commentarii in Psalmos
 88.13 80
Contra Celsum
 1.28 199

1.51	43	Procopius of Caesarea
2.13	201	<i>De aedificiis</i>
<i>Homiliae in Ieremiam</i>		5.6 64
15.4	84	5.9.4–5 143
<i>De Principiis</i>		<i>Historia Melchisedek</i>
4.3.6–8	175	85, 109
Palladius		Rufinus
<i>Historia Lausiaca</i>		<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
44	30	10.7–8 40
		11.28 30
Paulinus of Nola		Severus of Antioch
<i>Epistulae</i>		<i>Homilia</i> 72 34
31.3	11, 40	Sophronius of Jerusalem
31.4	22, 60	186
31.5	40	<i>Carmina</i>
49	251	κ.6 44
49.14	21, 22	15 44
Peter Chrysologus		20 κ.5 48
<i>Sermo</i> 146: <i>De conceptione Christi</i>		Sozomenus
258		<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
Petrus Diaconus		5.19.12–19 34
<i>De locis sanctis</i>		7.19.9 73 f.
E	23, 32	7.21 31
I	8	9.17 38 f.
Piacenza Pilgrim	250–252, 255	Sulpicius Severus
4.5	64	<i>Chronica.</i>
5	100 f.	2.33 60
6	80	2.33.6–8 22
9	150	Syncellus
11	150	<i>Chronographia</i> 131
13	100, 143 f., 146–148	Tertullian
14	146–148	<i>Adversus Iudaeos</i>
17	24, 44	4 141
20	64	14.9 130
22	20 f., 23	<i>Adversus Marcionem</i>
23	64	2.21 141
25	36	4.39.19 12
27	48	
28	43, 248	
29	56	
30	32	

Theodore of Petra	8	36, 48, 63
<i>Vita Theodosii</i> 41, 236 f.	9	32, 37 f.
	10	24, 63
	17	12, 24, 53, 85 f.
Theodoret of Cyrus	18	53, 101, 146–148
<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>	20	145, 150
4.22 168	28	43, 63, 247 f.
Theodore of Melite	Theophylact	
<i>Chronographia</i> 129–132, 135 f.	<i>Commntarii in Matthaeum</i>	126 f.
Theodosius	Victorinus of Pettau	
<i>De situ terrae sanctae</i>	<i>Commentarii in Apocalypsin Iohannis</i>	190
1 53, 101, 142 f., 144,		
146–148		
6 53		
7 20, 22		

Qur'an

3.33–36 257	19.16–28 254–256, 260
3.49 102	19.24–36 43
5.110 102	66.12 257

Mediaeval Sources

Adamnanus/Adomnán	Beda Venerabilis
<i>De locis sanctis</i>	<i>De locis sanctis</i>
1.4 64	3 56
1.8 21	
1.10 64	Belard of Ascoli 62
1.12 64 f.	
1.15.2 24	Bernard the Monk
1.23 61	<i>Itinerairum</i>
2.4 56	13 24
2.7 252	
2.26 101	Burchard of Mount Sion
15 145	<i>Descriptio Terrae Sanctae</i>
<i>Anonymus Graecus V</i>	6 101
62	

Ps.-Elishe Vardapet	Nersēs Lambronac'i
<i>Revelatio Domini ad Petrum</i>	<i>Commentary on the Proverbs</i>
82 f.	273
Felix Fabri	Niccolo da Poggibonsi
<i>Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae</i>	<i>Libro d'Oltromare</i>
28, 66, 261	261
<i>Guide</i> (perhaps by a German author)	<i>Pilgrimage of Grethinos the Archimandrite</i>
61	15 261
Hamam Arewelc'i	Samuel Anec'i
<i>Commentary on the Book of Proverbs</i>	<i>Extracts from the Works of Historians for Identifying Chronology from Ancient to Present Times</i>
272	264
Hugeburc	
<i>Life of St Willibald (Vita Willibaldi Episcopi Eichstetensis)</i>	Sargis Šnorhali
4 45	<i>Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles</i>
17 144 f.	264 n. 9
<i>Icelandic Guide</i> 61 f.	<i>Vitae Willibaldi et Wynnebaldi auctore sanctimoniali Heidenheimensis</i>
Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i	64
264	
Movsēs Dasxurançi	
<i>The History of the Caucasian Albanians</i>	
2.51 45	

Greco-Roman Literature

Ammianus Marcellinus	Pliny the Elder
<i>Res gestae</i>	<i>Naturalis historia</i>
26.10.15–19 163 n. 29	5.70 139 n. 2
	8.49 151 n. 47
Callistratus	8.52 151 n. 47
<i>Digesta</i>	Strabo
48.19.28 166	<i>Geography</i>
Justinian	16.41 139 n. 2
<i>Epistula</i>	<i>Vita Homeri Herodotea</i>
3.7 47 n. 195	191

Rabbinic Literature

Mishnah		<i>Sota</i>	
<i>Abot</i> 1:1	231	5:2	112
<i>Megillah</i> 4:10	275	13a	111
		Babylonian Talmud	
Tosephta		<i>Avodah Zarah</i>	
<i>Abodah Zara</i>		3:1	163
4:3	112	<i>Baba Bathra</i>	
<i>Baba Batra</i>		58a	111, 114
1:11	112	<i>Berakhot</i>	
<i>Berakhot</i>		3b	284 f.
3:6	281	4a	285
3:20	102	33a	102
3:25	276	<i>Erubin</i>	
6:25	281	53a	111
<i>Joma</i>		<i>Ketubot</i>	
3:6	134	111b	112
<i>Kippurim</i>		<i>Megillah</i>	
2:1	281	14a	285
<i>Megillah</i>		<i>Menahot</i>	
3:38	275	95b–96a	278
<i>Ta'anit</i>		<i>Sanhedrin</i>	
3:2	280	16a	285
		95a	279
Palestinian Talmud		95b	279
<i>Avodah Zarah</i>		98b	228
3:1	163	104a	279
<i>Berakhot</i>		106b–107a	283
1:1 2d	284	<i>Shabbath</i>	
<i>Nedarim</i>		116a	201
6:8	112	30a–b	286
<i>Pe'ah</i>		<i>Sukkah</i>	
1:1 16a	278	26a	284
<i>Pesachim</i>		<i>Ta'anit</i>	
8:1	112	25a	102
<i>Sanhedrin</i>		<i>Zevahim</i>	
1:1 18a	219	118b	280
2:4 20c	285 f.	<i>Abot de Rabbi Natan</i>	
10:2 29a	277 f., 283	26	112

Bereshit Rabba

58:4 111 n. 5

58:8 111 n. 5

Lamentations Rababbah

2:22 284

26:2 278

Megillat Ta'anit 6 219*Mekilta de-Rabbi Shimon*

12:16 276

17:16 282

Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael

Pisha 1 276

Wayassa 6 276

Amalek 3 276

*Pesiqta de-Rab Kahana*Wayehi ba-hatsi halayla 4
284*Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*

111, 113

20 113

36 114

Seder Olam Rabbah 13–14

280

Sifre Bemidbar

46 282 f.

119 280

Sifre Devarim

26 281 f.

36 281

47 228

51 281

Liturgical Sources

(Jerusalem) Armenian Lectionary

57, 236 f., 245, 259

1bis 17

8 43

10 5, 29

14 29

16 14

36 13

39bis 14

39ter 13

42 36

45 15

48 15

52bis 16

54 5

57 5

58 13

59 32

62 33

64 41

66 30

71 17, 32

72 31

74 38

Armenian Synaxarium

75, 78 f.

Georgian Homiliary from Klarjeti

46

(Jerusalem) Georgian Hymnal

18, 45, 246

(Jerusalem) Georgian Lectionary

8, 79, 246, 255

2–31 18

83–116 18

153 48

210 30, 33

253 8

256 33

267 47

336 15

339	15	1261	31
565	14	1326	30
576	9	1327	34
577	9	1373	47
626–631	16	1393	38
640–641	15 f.	1394–1395	41 f.
908	33	1412	30
930	30		
982	38	<i>Georgian Synaxarium</i>	
989	38		35
1018	33		
1031	36	<i>Ordo Romanus 23</i>	
1055	30	11	26 n. 109
1079	33		
1093	33	<i>Synaxarium of Constantinople</i>	
1082	29		30, 40
1126	82		
1140	47	<i>Syriac Martyrologium</i>	
1143	47		30, 32
1148	44		
1186	30	<i>Typikon of the Anastasis</i>	
1221	48		9

Papyri

P.Duke inv.438	157	Turin, Egyptological Museum
P.Oxy 33.2673	157	Papryus n°2 195–197

Manuscripts

Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. syr. 160	155	Copte 129	195–197
		Siani georg. 34	30, 34, 36, 47
Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 326	202	Siani georg. 68	46
		Sinai iber. 66/O	16
London, British Library, Add. 12150 fol. 235v–251r	155	Yerevan, Matenadaran, Maštoc'	
Jerusalem, Hagios Stauros 43	9	Institute of Ancient Manuscripts	
Oxford, Bodleian Library		M2234	269
Arm. f. 11	266	M5599	265 f., 268–274
Laud. misc. 79	202	M6980	265–274
Ms. Copt. C. 27 (p)	196	M7574	265 f., 268 f., 272, 274
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France			
gr. 209	135		
gr. 239	106	M9364	266, 270 f.
gr. 929	201		

Index of Biblical and Apocryphal Places and Figures

- Aaron 199, 257–259, 277
 Aarons sister 256 f., 259 f.,
 see also Miriam
 Abel 123, 132
 Abiathar 277, 279
 Abigail 285
 Abner 278
 Abraham 114
 Absalom 282 f.
 Adam 109–137
 Addas the teacher 200 f.
 Ager Domini (the Lord's Field) 53, 101 f.,
 146–149, 152
 Ahimelech 279 n. 5
 Alexandria 172 f., 188
 Aleppo *see* Beroa
 (an) Amalekite 282
 Amnon 275
 Amrams daughter 257 f.
 Ananos (Hannas) the Elder 218
 Ananus (Hannas) II 218 f., 222
 Anna (Mother of Mary) 47, 48
 Antioch 4 n. 8, 164 f.
 Aram-Naharaim 281
 Aram-Zobah 281
 Asaph (tomb of) 56
 Ashkelon 174
 Assyrians 280
 Assur 279
 Athaliah 279

 Baale-Judah 282
 Baruch 133 f.
 Bashan 55
 Batsheba 275 f., 282 f., 286
 Beit-Shean (Skythopolis) 175
 Beroa 213
 Berytus 171
 Bethabara 149
 Bethany 149
 Bethesda 63

 Bethlehem 10, 17, 18, 37, 41–43, 46,
 55–57, 102, 187, 244, 252 f., 285
 – road to 63, *see also* Jerusalem-
 Bethlehem-Road
 – third mile from 236, 245,
 see also Jerusalem-Bethlehem-Road
 Bethsaida 140, 188

 Caesarea Maritima 155–179
 Caiaphas 20, 26, 224
 Cain 123, 129–131
 Capernaum 102, 107, 149
 Cherubim 117
 Christ (Nativity of) 241–248, 253–261,
 see also Jesus (birth)

 Damascus 224
 David 32, 228, 231 f., 275–286
 – Tomb of 55–57
 Decapolis 107
 Diospolis *see* Lydda
 Doëg 277 f., 279
 Dothaeim 208

 Ebed-Melech 53
 Eden 115–120, 132,
 see also: Paradise
 Egypt 157, 169 f., 213, 225, 271
 – Filght into 207, 248–253, 256
 Egyptians 167–170, 174 f.
 Elijah 69–73, 87 f., 208
 Elisha 139 f., 142, 145–147, 152
 Eldâ 116 f., 120, 137
 Eleona *see* Mount of Olives
 Esra *see* Ezra
 Eve (Eva) 114, 116–118, 121, 132
 Ezekiel (Tomb of) 56
 Ezra 102, 133 f.

 Faynan *see* Phaeno

- Galilee 64, 99, 185 f.
 Galileans 202
 Gamaliel 40
 Gamaliel (Teacher of Jesus) 271
 Gaugela 230
 Gaza 174
 Gethsemane 24, 44, 47, 82
 Gilgal 142, 144, 146 f.
 Golgotha 5, 11, 20, 27, 82, 109–137
- Hannas the Elder *see* Ananos the Elder
 Hannas II *see* Ananus II
 Hebron 32 n. 134, 111, 125, 280
 Hellenists 110, 134
 Hermippos 53
 Holy Family 252 f. *see also* Jesus' Family
 Holy Land 142, 153, 181–191, 214–217,
see also Israel
 Holy Sepulchre 64, 248, *see also* (the)
 Lord's Tomb
- Isaiah 32 f.
 Ishbi be-Nob 279
 Israel 144, 213, 222, *see also* Holy Land
 Israel the dyer 271
- James (Brother of the Lord) 19, 23, 32,
 37–39, 76 f., 103, 185 (Jacob), 209–233
 James (Son of Alphaeus) 214
 James (Son of Zebedee) 36, 38, 214, 221,
 231, 232
 James the Minor 232
 James the Small One 214
 Jehoshaphat (Valley of) 63
 Jeremiah 120
 Jericho 101 f., 139–152
 Jerusalem 3–52, 109–137, 147, 153, 174 f.,
 178, 179, 185–191, 198, 200, 213, 216 f.,
 221, 224, 230–233, 244–247, 252, 253,
 279, 282
 – Heavenly 144, 170, 190
 Jerusalem-Bethlehem road 235 f., 244,
 248, 253, 255, 259, *see also* Bethlehem
 (third mile from), Bethlehem (road to)
 Jesse (Tomb of) 56
 Jesus
 – Ascension 60–63
 – Baptism 141, 149–151
 – Birth 56 *see also* Christ (Nativity of)
 – Family 214–217, 231, *see also* Holy
 Family
 – Footprints 89–92
 – at School 96 f., 105 f., 267, 274
 (the) Jews 45, 46, 168–170, 198–201, 204,
 207, 263–274
 Joachim 48, 267
 Joash 279
 Job (Tomb of) 54, 56, 59
 John (Apostle) 70, 188, 200
 John the Baptist 30, 37, 203, 221, 223
 John the Evangelist 53
 John (son of Zebedee) 36, 38, 231
 Jordan 37, 89, 139 f., 141 f., 144–146, 151 f.
 Josaphat (valley) 23, 24, 44
 Joseph (OT patriarch) 208
 Joseph (father of Jesus), 103–105,
 149, 198 f., 204, 267–271
 Joseph of Arimathea 199 f., 202, 207 f.
 Joshua 143 f.
 Judas Thomas 70
 Judaea (Judea) 186 f., 219
 Justus Barsabbas 77
- Kathisma 41–43, 47, 63, 235–261
 Kidron (Valley) 33 n. 137, 38, 113
 Kochava 213
- Levites 280, 282
 (the) Lord's Field *see* Ager Domini
 (the) Lord's Tomb 248, *see also* Holy
 Sepulchre
 Lycia 171
 Lydda (Diospolis) 168
- Machpela 111, 113 f., 125
 Mambre 32 n. 134
 Mark (John Mark) 187–189
 Mary 41–49, 51, 63–67, 101, 103, 149,
 198 f., 204, 214 f., 235–261, 263 f.,
 267–271
 Mary (Mother of John Mark) 187
 Matthew 185 f.
 Matzi 53
 Melchisedek 84 f.
 Michael (archangel) 61
 Miriam 257–259, *see also* Aaron's sister

- Morija 113 f.
 Moses 69–73, 87 f., 121, 131, 139, 199,
 228, 281–283
 – Tomb of 58–60
 Mount of Olives (Eleona) 8, 10–28, 32,
 60–62, 66, 70 f., 81–83, 86 f., 89 f., 140

 Nazareth 95–107, 213
 Nazirite 220–223
 Nebo 55, 58–60, 67
 Nicodemus 40
 Nob 277–280

 Obed-edom 282
 Ogias the Levite 200 f.
 Ornan 112

 (Roman) Palestine 98–107, 153–179, 213,
 225
 Paradise (Paradies) 116–122, 132, 137,
see also Eden
 Paul 36, 133 f., 178, 209 f., 216 f., 224
 Pella 220
 Peter 69–92, 178, 200, 221, 227–229, 231,
see also Simon Cepha
 Phaeno (Faynan) 165–168, 173
 (the) Pharisees 198, 219, 222 f., 277
 Phinees the priest 199–201, 208
 Pilate 26 n. 108, 40, 198

 Qirjat Arba 111

 Rachel 42, 248, 252
 Rahab 141 f.
 Ramah 248, 252
 Ramat Rahel 235
 Rome 178

 Sadducean Party 219
 Salome 267
 Samson 221, 223
 Samuel 280
 Sanhedrin 200–202, 207 f., 218 f.
 Sanherib's General 279 f.

 Sarah 114
 (the) Scribes 222 f.
 Sedrach 133
 Shebna *see* Somnas
 Simeon 32, 37–39, 207, 267
 Simeon Niger 188
 Simon Cepha 36 *see also* Peter
 Simon of Cyrene 134
 Sinai 81, 83 f., 87, 89, 119
 Sion *see* Zion
 Skythopolis *see* Beit-Shean
 Sohonnen 102
 Solomon (Tomb of) 56
 Somnas 207
 Stephen 20, 21, 23, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39 f., 49,
 51, 223
 Syria 98 f., 106, 213

 Tabor 69, 73 f., 78, 80–87, 89–91
 Tamar 275
 Temple Mount 57, 110–116, 120, 123 f.,
 232
 (the) Temple 222, 224
 Thomas 46, 227
 Transjordan 213, 220
 Tree of Life 120, 132

 Uriah 275 f.
 Uz (Ausitis) 55
 Uzzah (Uzziah) 282 f.

 Yavneh 99

 Zacchaeus (Teacher) 96, 99, 105 f.
 Zachariah (Prophet) 31, 32 f., 39
 Zachariah, Son of Jojadah (Arazriah) 32
 Zacharias (Father of John the Baptist) 32,
 37 f., 48
 Zechariah (High Priest) 269 f.
 Zeno 105 f.
 Ziklag 280
 Zion 11–28, 35, 36 f., 39, 44, 46, 57, 64,
 66 f., 117, 119 f., 123, 132, 137, 187, 217
 Zoara 165, 168

Index of Modern Authors

- Aasgaard Reidar 105, 107
 Adler, William 135
 Amar, Zohar 146f.
 Amsler, Frédéric 104
 Andreopoulos, Andreas 74, 80
 Assman, Jan 9
 Aubineau, Michel 79
 Avner, Rina 42, 237f., 239, 240
- Bagatti, Bellarmino 99, 101
 Barnes, Timothy 156f., 159
 Barns, John W. B. 196
 Bauckham, Richard 216
 Baudoin, Anne-Catherine 197
 Baumstark, Anton 80, 86
 Baur, Ferdinand Christian 210
 Beck, Eric 73
 Belayche, Nicole 11
 Bieberstein, Klaus 44
 Bitton-Ashkelony, Brouria 59, 178
 Bloedhorn, Hanswulf 44
 Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice 183
 Bowersock, Glen 179
 Bucur, Bogdan 84
 Burke, Tony 97
- Caquot, André 199
 Carotenuto, Erica 165 n. 33, 175
 Chardin, Jean 273f.
 Chase, Nathan 28
 Coulie, Bernard 265
 Corke-Webster, James 159, 179
 Crone, Patricia 256, 257, 258
- Dark, Ken 101
 De Bruyne, Donatien 184
 Deines, Roland 216
 Delatte, Armand 96
 Della Torre, Robson 173
 Desreumaux, Alain 197
 d'Este, Raffaella 74, 84
- De Ste. Croix, Geoffrey E. M. 159
 Diaz Araujo, Magdalena 199
 Di Segni, Leah 166, 238–240
 Dochhorn, Jan 115
 Donner, Herbert 142, 147
 Dorfmann-Lazarev, Igor 78
 Dubois, Jean-Daniel 196f., 205–207
 Dye, Guillaume 259
- Fabriucius, Johann Albert 187
 Frey, Albert 197
 Frilingos, Christopher 269
 Fuchs, Carl 124
 Furrer, Christiane 197
- Garfinkel, Yosef 280
 Gathercole, Simon 228
 Gelzer, Heinrich 135
 Golb, Norman 272f.
 Gounelle, Rémi 197, 204–206
- Halbwachs, Maurice 9, 256
 Halkin, François 188
 Harvey, Anthony E. 130
 Hawk, Brandon 148f.
 Haynes, Justin 197
 Hebrew, Yizhar 280
 Heid, Stefan 39
 Hengel, Martin 185, 217, 220, 231
 Horn, Cornelia 274
- Izydorczyk, Zbigniew 197, 202
- Jeremias, Joachim 110–116, 124
- Kekelidze, C. 86
 Kelly, John Norman Davidson 54
 Kim, H. C. 202
 Klauck, Hans-Josef 243
 Koester, Helmut 140
 Kretschmar, Georg 128

- Krueger, Derek 242
 K  chler, Max 11
- Lacan, Jaques 91
 Lacau, Pierre 195
 Lavas, George 240 f.
 Lawlor, Hugh Jackson 159
 Lieberman, Saul 113, 163
 Limberis, Vasiliki 65
 Limor, Ora 22, 49, 81
 Lipsius, Richard Adelbert 187
 Lombardi, Guido 252
 L  hrmann, Dieter 181
 Luker, Lamontte M. 252
- Mach, Rudolf 228
 MacMullen, Ramsay 6
 Marksches, Christoph 184, 189
 Mayer, Wendy 6 f.
 Mendel, Doron 161
 M  ndez, Hugo 14, 237
 Mgaloblishvili, Tamila 86
 Milik, Jozef Tadeusz 38
 Mitchell, William 90
 Monaci Castagno, Adele 154
 Morozowich, Mark M. 8
 Moss, Candida 159 f., 177
 Mueller, James 263
 Mourad, Suleiman Ali 257
- Nelson, Robert S. 242
 Neusner, Jacob 99, 106
 Newman, Hillel 186
 Nicklas, Tobias 102
 Nora, Pierre 10
 Norelli, Enrico 72 f.
- O'Loughlin, Thomas 183 f.
 Orlandi, Tito 196
 Outtier, Bernard 197, 202, 207, 247
- Pelikan, Jaroslav 257 f.
 Penland, Elisabeth 172 f.
 Peyron, Amedeus 195
 Pogossian, Zarouni 272 f.
 Popkes, Enno E. 227
 Pratscher, Wilhelm 220
 Pritsak, Omeljan 272 f.
- Ray, Walter Dean 42, 244, 252 f.
 Rebillard,   ric 162
 Renoux, Athanase (Charles) 14, 85, 86
 Revillout, Eug  ne 195 f.
 Riesenfeld, Harald 79
 Roquet, G  rard 197, 200–202, 205–207
 Rossi, Francesco 195
 Routh, Martin Joseph 135
 Rouwhorst, Gerard 9, 26
 Rubin, Zeev 155
 Russo, Nicholas V. 8
- Schr  ter, Jens 184
 Schwartz, Joshua 146 f.
 Schwemer, Anna Maria 2205, 222
 Shalev-Hurvitz, Vered 237, 239 f.
 Shanidze, Akaki 274
 Shapira, Dan D. Y. 272 f.
 Shoemaker, Stephen J. 46, 48, 51, 243, 257
 Siquans, Agnethe 258
 Sivan, Hagith 42
 Smith, Jonathan Z. 10, 63
 Smith Lewis, Agnes 187
 St  kl Ben Ezra, Daniel 5
 Stone, Michael E. 272 f.
 Stroumsa, Guy 189
- Tak  cs, Sarolta A. 62
 Taylor, Joan E. 10, 176
 Terian, Abraham 265
 Tischendorf, Constantin (von) 96, 195 f.
 Thei  sen, Gerd 188
 Topchyan, Aram 272 f.
 Torres Prieto, Susana 197
 Trout, Dennis 178
 Tsafir, Yoram 147
- Uro, Risto 227
- Van Aarde, Andries 103 f.
 Van den Kerchove, Anna 208
 Vandoni, Mariangela 196
 Van Esbroeck, Michel 15, 39 f., 77–79, 244, 247, 260
 Van Liere, Frans 242
 Van Rompay, Lucas 97
 Verhelst, St  phane 42

Verheyden, Joseph 154, 160
Voicu, Sever 97, 98, 102 f., 104 f.
Von Soden, Hermann 183, 185 f.

Wallraff, Martin 135, 181 f.
Walker Bynum, Caroline 92

Walker, P. W. L. 155
Weber, Dorothea 37

Zahn, Theodor 232
Zellmann-Rohrer, Michael 196
Zelyck, Lorne 102, 145 f.