

Jerusalem II: Jerusalem in Roman- Byzantine Times

Edited by
KATHARINA HEYDEN
and MARIA LISSEK

Civitatum Orbis MEditerranei Studia

Mohr Siebeck

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Edited by

Reinhard Feldmeier (Göttingen), Friedrich V. Reiterer (Salzburg),
Karin Schöpflin (Göttingen), Ilinca Tanaseanu-Döbler (Göttingen)
and Kristin De Troyer (Salzburg)

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Times

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Katharina Heyden and Maria Lissek
with the assistance of Astrid Kaufmann

Mohr Siebeck

Katharina Heyden, born 1977, received her academic education in Berlin, Jerusalem, Rom, Jena and Göttingen. Since 2014, she holds the chair for Ancient History of Christianity and Interreligious Encounters at the University of Bern. She presides the “Team Interreligious Studies” and is the Director of the Interfaculty Research Cooperation “Religious Conflicts and Coping Strategies”.

orcid.org/0000-0001-5478-1613

Maria Lissek, born 1986, studied theology in Bamberg, Marburg, Jerusalem and Tübingen, was academic assistant in Jerusalem and research fellow in Oxford. Since 2020, she is postdoc at the Institute of Historical Theology at the University of Bern.

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Preface

The volume is about Jerusalem in Roman-Byzantine Times and part of the series *Civitatium Orbis MEditerranei Studia* (COMES). This series publishes volumes on important ancient places in the Mediterranean. The authors of this volume discussed their articles in a workshop in Castle Munchenwiler (CH) in September 2017 to establish connections and avoid overlaps, thus ensuring the consistency of the compendium. Overall, the volume offers a multi-perspective approach to a city, which in the period under consideration had three names – *Aelia Capitolina*, Jerusalem/*Hierosolyma* and *al-Quds* – and which is considered sacred in Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In contrast to other COMES-volumes, it does not offer an intellectual history of the city, a representation of theologies and worldviews that arose in Jerusalem. A book on this subject would undoubtedly be an attractive project. But since hardly any sources by pagan, Jewish or Islamic scholars of Jerusalem have survived from the 2nd to the 7th century AD, it would have to be limited to Christianity.

This volume presents a three-part panorama of the city's history: first, the urban development (part one: Shape of the City); second, living together in the city and in the surrounding area (part two: Life in and around the City); and third, the claims different groups of people made on Jerusalem or linked to the city (part three: Claims on the City). It was important to us to present a multi-perspective approach in each of these parts, which integrates different academic disciplines and cultures. The introduction discusses the shared insights as well as differences between the contributions and highlights open questions.

We thank all authors for their cooperation, which made this volume an interdisciplinary and international joint effort. Considering the continued relevance that Jerusalem has – as a real city as well as a symbol of conflict in the Middle East until today –, it is not a given that they accepted our invitation to participate in this volume and to discuss the texts together. The academic world is not unaffected by this conflict either. We are very grateful to everyone for the constructive working days at Castle Munchenwiler (CH). This workshop was supported financially by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), the doctoral program of the Theological faculties of Bern, Basel, Zurich, the Johanna Dürmüller-Bol Foundation and the Fontes Foundation's Fonds for Ecumenical and Historical Theology. Unfortunately, two authors were unable to complete their articles, which were originally planned and discussed at the workshop. For the social structure of the population of *Aelia*/Jerusalem, Jon Selig-

man's contribution was more than just a substitute. Unfortunately, one could not be found for Eastern monasticism, which had a decisive influence on late antique Jerusalem. To our regret, it is not addressed in this volume in a way that is appropriate to its significance.

The formal editing and standardization of the manuscript was carried out by Astrid Kaufmann, Severin Küenzi, Carmen Stark and Stefan Wagner. It was important to us to keep a good balance between preserving the respective conventions of the subjects and scientific cultures involved on the one hand and the demands of the users of the volume for uniformity and simplicity on the other hand. With regard to the use of original source citations and translations as well as place names and personal names, the conventions of the respective academic cultures and the individual subjects were adopted. The bibliographical information on sources and secondary literature has been standardized.

The findings of all contributors come together at two points: the maps, originally designed for the study guide "Jerusalem" (Göttingen 2007) written by Max Küchler, were adapted for this volume by Siegfried Ostermann with entries by the authors. The bibliography at the end of the volume certainly does not offer a complete bibliography on Jerusalem from the 2nd to 7th century AD, but it does provide a representative overview. It also contains titles which unfortunately could not be integrated in the individual contributions due to the long period of editing and printing of the volume. Any book and any bibliography on Jerusalem in the Roman-Byzantine period can only ever be a snapshot because of the vivid archaeological research. May this volume be a further part of the ongoing reflection and research on Jerusalem in Late Antiquity.

Bern, October 2020

Katharina Heyden and Maria Lissek

Table of Contents

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

Introduction

<i>Katharina Heyden/Maria Lissek</i> Jerusalem: Shape, Life and Claims	1
---	---

Part One

Shape of the City: Topography and Buildings

<i>Max Küchler/Markus Lau</i> Topographie und Baugeschichte Jerusalems in römischer und byzantinischer Zeit	27
---	----

<i>Christoph Marksches</i> Die Christianisierung Jerusalems und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Urbanisierung	57
---	----

<i>Ute Verstegen</i> Die christliche Sakralisierung Jerusalems von Konstantin bis Heraklios ..	91
---	----

<i>Harald Buchinger</i> Liturgy and Topography in Late Antique Jerusalem	117
---	-----

<i>Jürgen Krüger</i> Die Grabeskirche: Entstehung und Entwicklung bis in frühislamische Zeit	189
--	-----

Part Two

Life in and around the City: Economics and Religions

Jon Seligman

The Economy of Jerusalem from the second to seventh Centuries 225

Ronny Reich

The Cultic and Secular Use of Water in Roman and Byzantine Jerusalem 243

*Nicole Belayche*The Religious Life at Aelia Capitolina (ex-Jerusalem) in Roman Times
(Hadrian to Constantine) 265*Hagith Sivan*The Making of Memory: Jerusalem and Palestinian Jewry
in Late Antiquity 291*Ora Limor*

Jewish and Christian Pilgrims to Jerusalem in Late Antiquity 311

Andreas Müller

Jerusalem als Zentrum von Wohltätigkeit in der Spätantike 325

Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony

Monastic Networks in Byzantine Jerusalem 345

Part Three

Claims on the City: Emperors, Bishops and Monks

*Jan Willem Drijvers*Jerusalem – Aelia Capitolina: Imperial Intervention, Patronage
and Munificence 365*Lorenzo Perrone*

Jerusalem als kirchliches Zentrum der frühbyzantinischen Reichskirche . . 389

*Christoph Brunhorn*Die Bedeutung Jerusalems für das Mönchtum der Judäischen Wüste:
Monastische Topographie im hagiographischen Corpus Kyrills von
Skythopolis 407

Epilogue
The City in Early Islamic Period

<i>Angelika Neuwirth</i>	
<i>Al-masjid al-aqṣā</i> – The Qur’anic New Jerusalem	435
<i>Boaz Shoshan</i>	
The Islamic Conquest: Continuity and Change	459
Antique Sources	475
Bibliography	493
Image Rights	551
List of Contributors	555
Index of Passages	557
Index of Names	571
Index of Places	577
Index of Subjects	583
Maps	591

Introduction

Jerusalem: Shape, Life and Claims

Katharina Heyden/Maria Lissek

Translation: Yael Antolovich

1. The City and the Book

1.1. A City Like no Other

Hardly any other city is so strongly influenced by religious history as Jerusalem. To this day, Jews, Christians and Muslims associate this place with memories of events that lead to the origins of their religious communities and have shaped their identity over the centuries. They derive from it claims which until today make a peaceful coexistence in the “City of Peace” – this is perhaps the most popular of many possible (and problematic) interpretations of the city name Jerusalem – difficult. The traces of these competing claims are deeply engraved in the cityscape. Many of these traces date back to the first centuries of our era, when first the pagan Romans, then the Christian Byzantines and finally, in the 7th century, after a brief interlude of Sassanidic rule, the Islamic Arabs ruled over the former Jewish capital.

Jerusalem’s outstanding religious significance entails at least two peculiarities which differentiate from the cities portrayed in the series *Civitatium Orbis Mediterranei Studia* (COMES) heretofore. These two aspects have had, and still have until this day an impact on the architectural shape of the city, life in the city and claims made on it: On the one hand, Jerusalem was and still is primarily a city of pilgrimage. Many people have come to spend a limited, religiously particularly intensive time there and not with the intention of settling and living permanently. For the cityscape, this means that the individual places of religious veneration are more important and formative than classical urban structures (which of course even a pilgrimage city cannot completely do without). This had consequences for the life in the city: the identity as a pilgrimage center meant that it was not the structure and normal everyday life of a Roman *civitas* that was decisive, but rather the religiously intensified life of immigrants and visitors. Jerusalem was and is less a *civitas* of its inhabitants than a backdrop for visitors.

What would be a state of emergency for other cities is considered normal in a pilgrimage city like Jerusalem.

The second peculiarity, linked to the identity as a pilgrimage city, is the fact that Jerusalem is both a real and a symbolic city. What does one mean when one says 'Jerusalem'? The actual hills and valleys, places and paths, walls and buildings? Or a place of memory and longing that consists less of concretely visible things and more of meanings, stories and hopes than of stones? What do the pilgrims see once they finally arrive in Jerusalem after a long journey: A church built by emperor Constantine or Jesus dying on Golgotha? The Temple Mount destroyed and lying fallow by the Romans, the confirmation of Jesus' announcement concerning the destruction of the Temple (Mark 13:1–4), or proof of God's rejection of the Jews? The Dome of the Rock or the night journey of the Prophet Muhammad? The late antique sources prove that these two views are by no means mutually exclusive. Rather, adherents of all religions have usually looked at Jerusalem with one external and one internal eye, charging the sites and stones with traditions and interpretations.

1.2. A Multi-Perspective Book: The Genesis and Conception of the Volume

Concerning this specific character of Jerusalem one may ask: Is it even possible to write a book about this city? Or better said: How can one write *a single* book about this city? Simon Sebag Montefiore and Max Küchler have undertaken the venture of writing a monograph in very different ways: one with a "Biography of the City" from its beginnings to the present day (MONTEFIORE 2011), the other with an archaeological "Handbook and Study Tour Guide" (KÜCHLER 2014). Compared to these two impressive works, the present book is both more modest in its ambition and more complex in its layout. It aims to present a multi-perspective view of Jerusalem, its architectural *shape* of the city, *life* in the city and the ideological-symbolic *claims* on the city in Roman-Byzantine times. To this end, the book combines contributions by experts from various academic disciplines and countries. Archaeologists, historians, Judaists, Islamic scholars, art historians, and Christian theologians from Switzerland, Israel, France, Germany, the USA and the Netherlands present the current state of research and their own or foreign new findings.

The contributions were intensively discussed and coordinated at a joint workshop of the authors in autumn 2017 in Münchenwiler Castle (Fribourg, Switzerland). Three topics emerged from the discussions, providing guidelines and cross-connections between the individual contributions. These are:

- (1) the relationship between continuity and discontinuity in urban development,
- (2) the relationship between the urban area and the surrounding countryside, and
- (3) the interdependencies between the real and the imagined city.

In the following, these three aspects are related to the three areas of Shape, Life and Claims mentioned above. In addition, because of the unique religious significance of Jerusalem the question of (inter)religious aspects plays an important role.

We hope to present an introduction to this volume that offers, on the one hand, a systematical synthesis of the contributions, and, on the other hand, opens space for reflection and discussion among the users of this book. In order to achieve this goal, differences and contradictions between individual contributions as well as open questions are not smoothed out, but rather marked and highlighted as such.

The Temporal Limitation and the Source Problem

Beforehand however, two fundamental problems have to be pointed out, which were discussed by the authors and solved differently in each contribution.

The first concerns the definition of the period covered by this volume: How can “the Roman-Byzantine period” be dated for the urban history of Jerusalem? This question can be answered in different ways with regard to the political history, the architectural history and the life in the city. Thus, although Roman rule began with the conquest and founding of the Roman province by Pompey in 63 BC, the city’s population remained mostly Jewish until the 2nd century. Only the destruction of the Jewish city after the suppression of the two uprisings in 70 AD and 135 AD, the change of name to *Aelia Capitolina* and Hadrian’s interventions in the city complex marked a significant turning point. Therefore, many articles in this volume start their analysis in the 2nd century. Nevertheless, the structures of the former city were of course still in use. For this reason, for example, the contribution on the water supply already begins in Hellenistic times. Besides, pragmatic considerations are also included: In research on Jerusalem, which is strongly influenced by biblical studies, the idea of “Jerusalem in biblical times” has established itself, which connects the City of David with the City of Jesus. This period will be covered by the COMES volume “Jerusalem I”.

More challenging than the definition of the beginning is that of the end – the period covered by “Jerusalem II”. Although the conquests by the Sassanids (614 CE) and the Umayyads (638 CE) make it possible to determine the end of the political Byzantine rule accurately, these changes of rule initially had little effect on the architectural design of the city and the life of its inhabitants. The new Islamic rule in *al-Quds* only became visible half a century later with the redesign of the Temple Mount, now called Haram: with the construction of the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque, the Haram Gates and the Caliphal Palaces at the end of the 7th century.

A second issue concerns the sources available for the reconstruction of the building history, life and occupation of the city of Jerusalem and their interpre-

tation. Most of the sources handed down for the Roman-Byzantine period are from Christian sources – and are therefore influenced by the Christian “image” of the city. They tend to interpret everything that exists in Christian terms and to suppress non-Christian elements. Sometimes they are also strongly polemically grounded as they represent only one of many varieties within Christianity and try to enforce it against others. A similar problem occurs with regard to Jewish sources: While it is typical for the Talmud to preserve opposing opinions, the Talmud itself represents only one particular form of Judaism, namely rabbinical. All other forms of Jewish life, as undoubtedly existed above all in Palestine, can hardly be found in the sources due to the rabbinically steered tradition.

Finally, as far as the Pagan and Islamic sides are concerned, we are mainly dealing with a silence of the sources. How is this to be interpreted? Most probably by the simple fact that Jerusalem was simply not relevant enough for the Romans after their victory by Hadrian, nor for the Muslim conquerors until the 8th century.

Moreover, all literary sources of antiquity provide a very one-sided picture in terms of social and gender issues. This reflects their common cultural background. If one wants to reconstruct the history of the city from the literary sources, one often has to read these sources against the grain or ask for statements between the lines. It is also important to remember that the mere fact of which sources have been handed down and which have not, reflects the historical power relations of later generations. Oftentimes, the insight into the steered tradition and tendentious character of literary sources is combined with the hope and the claim that archaeological research can provide ‘objective’ findings. And indeed, oftentimes, archaeological research and findings can shed an additional light on the steered tradition and tendentious character of literary sources. The synagogues in Galilee are a typical example for this case: These synagogues represent a Hellenistic Judaism of 5th and 6th century Palestine that is completely undocumented in literary sources. However, caution is necessary too, as archaeology faces similar methodological challenges as historical studies based on literary evidence. Archaeologists have also to avoid the tendency of finding and seeing what they were looking for. Archaeological findings do not simply speak for themselves and have to be contextualized, compared and interpreted – oftentimes using literary sources. Since almost every stone in Jerusalem evokes symbolical content, archaeological research is as vague as any other academic discipline. In addition, archaeological research in and around Jerusalem has flourished, constantly uncovering new finds in the last decades until today. Therefore, the present volume can only document an interim status. The topics and questions, however, which are outlined in the following, will also remain important for the evaluation of new finds.

2. Shape of the City

2.1. Continuity and Discontinuity

The period considered in this book begins with a great work of destruction for Jerusalem: Emperor Hadrian has the Jewish Temple torn down to its foundations, exiles the Jewish population and programmatically renames the Jewish capital Jerusalem to *Aelia Capitolina* after his victory over the insurgents in the Bar Kochba revolt (132–135 CE). In the collective memory of Judaism, this will be the final demise of the Jewish capital; in Christian polemics, it is seen as proof that God has cast away his people of Israel. Christian theologians like Eusebius and Cyril saw a new Jerusalem emerging by the church buildings of Constantine since 324. They interpreted the *Anastasis* Church as proof of Christian triumph over Judaism and as a replacement of the old people of God by the new. In this sense, Jerusalem was a Christian city that ended with the conquest by the Sassanids and then by the Muslim Umayyads in the 7th century. Thenceforth the city was called *al-Quds*.

Can one therefore speak of a threefold transformation of the city in Roman-Byzantine times: first from the Jewish city to a Roman-pagan city under Hadrian, then from the Roman city to a Christian one under Constantine, and finally from the Christian city to an Islamic one? In any case, this is an established narrative of Jerusalem's urban history. *Max Küchler* and *Markus Lau* give an insight into these transformations, which were, however, accompanied by slowly progressing transitions of the city. Archaeological evidence in terms of church buildings as well as literary sources give the impression of a Christian dominance. But were the Christians really as dominant for the cityscape and everyday city life as the sources suggest?

The three major upheavals in the city's history are often associated with the different names of the city: the renaming of Jerusalem to *Aelia Capitolina* by Hadrian marks the break between the Jewish and Roman city in the 2nd century. The retreat to the name Jerusalem stands for the "re-sacralization" of the city from the 4th to the 6th century and is associated with the Christian claim of continuity with the religious center of the Jews. Finally, the renaming to *al-Quds* manifests the break between the Christian and Muslim city in the 7th century. *Max Küchler* and *Markus Lau* tend towards this classification in this volume, naturally with the necessary differentiations. On closer inspection, however, the matter of the names is not quite as simple since its official name was *Aelia* from the 2nd to the 7th century. According to the logic of "new name, new city", there must not have been a Christian Jerusalem in Byzantine times – which again contradicts the archaeological and literary evidence.

The intertwining of continuity and change can be observed particularly well in the history of the Temple Mount. After Titus and Hadrian had destroyed the Herodian Temple, the religious center with the sacred structures for Jupiter and Venus/Aphrodite/Tyche transferred to the interior of the city, which until then had been a no-man's-land in cultic and urbanistic terms (see *Nicole Belayche*). The transformation did not take place by the replacement of a sanctuary, but by the development and urbanization of unused building land. Nevertheless, why did the Temple Mount remain unused for several centuries? Does it show a timidity towards the former sanctuary? Or should the destruction remain widely visible – as a symbol of the triumph of the Romans (and Christians) over the Jews? Indeed, recent archaeological findings testify that the area was not completely unused in Roman-Byzantine times. However, the Islamic rulers rebuilt the holy district (Haram) into a monumental cultic and administrative center, into a “mountain of sanctuaries” (see *Angelika Neuwirth*). Was the round construction of the Dome of the Rock deliberately alluded to Christian church buildings, such as the rotunda above the grave of Jesus or the *Nea Maria* Church, in order to mark the connection to and outbidding of Christianity by Islam as *Jan W. Drijvers* supposes?

The fate of the Temple Mount had an impact on the city area. In the centuries in which the Temple Mount lay fallow, the religious center shifted to the city center, which had gradually been urbanized and sacralized – first with the temple buildings for Jupiter and Aphrodite/Venus/Tyche and then, since the 4th century, with Christian church buildings. Apparently, the exact opposite had happened, just as on the Temple Mount: While the Jewish Temple had probably not been replaced by another sanctuary, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and *Anastasis*, donated by Constantine, was built over the temple of Jupiter after the site had been ritually cleansed (see *Jürgen Krüger*).

In the 360s, Emperor Julian attempted to turn back the wheel of history in Jerusalem that Constantine had set in motion. The young emperor called on the Jews to rebuild the Temple and repopulate the city. Julian's promise and appeal to the Jews is to be interpreted as an attempt to re-urbanize the city in a Hellenistic way. However, the undertaking failed, due to the early death of the young emperor or due to an earthquake. This failure to make Jerusalem a Jewish city once again emerged to be a catalyst for Christian claims on the city. Hundreds of churches were founded, and pilgrim paths were established, gradually transforming Jerusalem and its surroundings into a sacred landscape, a biblical theme park.

The thesis that the church buildings represented and manifested the dogmatic decisions of the Early Church Councils has become popular. Klaus Bieberstein (1996, 2007) spoke of a “theology in stone” and tried to demonstrate that the great church buildings of Jerusalem with their *patrocinia* were a result of important decisions of the Early Church Councils. Some of the contributions in

this volume refer to this thesis and its discussion in research: *Max Küchler* and *Markus Lau* as well as *Ute Versteegen* assess it more positively than *Christoph Marksches* does. He warns against making too quick conclusions from the later to the contemporary reception of the Church councils and draws attention to the fact that building activities should not be associated too hastily with the early dogmas. In other words: Since no clear contemporary evidence is handed down, the Church buildings are not necessarily a reception of the Council's decisions.

Regardless of this thesis, however, considering the sacred buildings one can certainly agree that since the 2nd century, paganization has taken place and since the 4th century, Christianization has begun in the architectural design of the city. However, taking a look at the city as a whole, Hadrian's intervention presents a classic and comparatively "cautious" case of Roman urbanization – and less an act of "desacralization" – as *Nicole Belayche* expresses in particular.

Aelia provided everything required for a Roman city. Yet, opposite the capital of the province *Palaestina secunda*, Caesarea, Jerusalem remained a provincial town for veterans and soldiers. Therefore, it had had hardly any representative buildings. In addition, as for the "Christianization" in the 4th century, the two church buildings of Constantine on the rock of Golgotha and the Mount of Olives fit into the existing urban structures without dominating them. Only the *Nea Maria* Church at the *Cardo*, built under Justinian in the 6th century, seems to have changed the cityscape enormously because of its big size of building complex. However, not for long, as this monumental church had already been decimated during the Persian conquest in 618.

The famous Madaba mosaic of Jerusalem from the 6th century (fig. 1) conveys Jerusalem concerning its buildings as a Christian dominated city. But Jerusalem was possibly more "secular" than the Christian view, practiced over centuries, would suggest – even though research has identified almost every detail depicted as a Christian building. For *Christoph Marksches*, who regards the mosaic as an '*imaginaire du lieu de memoire*' rather than a reflection of reality, this observation is an occasion to re-explore the relationship between the urbanization and Christianization of Jerusalem. How exactly should one imagine the foundation, planning and construction of the sacred buildings? Are they private building projects of the emperors, as literary sources suggest, or does the temple of Jupiter and the *Anastasis* Church not at least also document expressions of loyalty of the Jerusalem population to the respective emperors? But even if one were to consider the Madaba map as a reflection of reality, the established Christian interpretation can be quite questionable, as almost every depicted building is identified as a church. Primarily, the map shows a typical Roman city complex with the two main streets of *Cardo* and *Decumanus*, as well as two forums in the north and west, and numerous buildings, of which only a few are clearly marked as churches. In any case, the most striking symbol on the whole mosaic

is not a church or a cross but the column at the Damascus Gate, which had been particularly monumentally decorated in Hadrian's time.

No matter how the Madaba map is to be interpreted: the visible change in *Aelia* will have taken place over several generations while striking urban structures, such as the water installations, have been continuously preserved – although sometimes used for new purposes. For example, the Romans converted the Bethesda pools into a Serapis sanctuary, which in turn later incorporated a Christian basilica to commemorate Jesus's healing of a paralyzed person in the bathhouse (John 5:1–18). And the mikvahs built for the Jewish ritual baths were further used as water reservoirs by Romans and Christians, as *Ronny Reich* states.

Overall, the assumption of a Christianization of the city in the 4th and 5th centuries is most likely justified with regard to the sacral architecture – even if we do not know how long the pagan sanctuaries were still intact. But today we can hardly imagine how strongly the – ultimately few – church buildings have shaped the appearance of the city. In this respect, the pilgrim reports convey an impression of the city's appearance that is strongly influenced by Christian interests and largely ignore others – such as Jewish places of remembrance or profane buildings.

With regard to the architectural design of the sacred buildings, both disruptions and continuities are evident. If Rome can be described as a 'city of self-quotation', Jerusalem is rather a 'city of foreign quotation'. Foreign builders have imported the forms familiar to them to Jerusalem since antiquity and up to the church buildings of the German emperor Wilhelm II in the 19th and 20th centuries, which today dominate the silhouette of the city. For example, Hadrian had the temples for Jupiter and Venus built entirely in the Roman style, and the *Anastasis* Church of Constantine, with its combination of nave and rotunda, was a copy of Roman memorial buildings (*Jürgen Krüger*). *Ute Versteegen* speaks of a 'sacralization' of the city in view of the presentation of the *loca sancta* in Byzantine times: barriers and lattices were used to remove the places from the pilgrims' view and access, thus creating a continuity with the pagan and Jewish sacred architecture.

In summary, the following can be stated: While the destruction of the Temple by Hadrian's troops and the prohibition of access for Jews marked a real and most likely also sudden disruption in the city's history, 'paganization' and 'Christianization' are to be seen as long-lasting and interwoven processes. Therefore, *Max Küchler* and *Markus Lau* propose the term "transition" as opposed to "transformation" for these phenomena. Besides that, one is unlikely to be able to speak of an 'Islamization' of the city as a whole. In the 7th century, the Temple Mount had been converted into an Islamic 'mountain of sanctuaries' in a relatively short time, however the city has not completely lost its Christian character to this day.

2.2. The City and its Surroundings

Jerusalem is situated in the Judean mountainous region, which offered the city advantageous protection on the one hand, while offering less favorable conditions for agricultural supply on the other hand. Since the foundation of the city the water supply has been mainly ensured by springs in the two valleys and by reservoirs outside the walls. For this reason, a close connection between the city area and the so called hinterland was vital (see *Ronny Reich*).

Walls architecturally mark the boundaries between a city and its surroundings. Jerusalem's walls were subjected to constant change in Roman-Byzantine times – from the 2nd to the 7th century. In this regard, at least four different wall courses can be reconstructed (see *Küchler 2014, 96*). The smallest inner-city settlement area was the Roman military colony *Aelia Capitolina*. After the end of the First Jewish War in 70 CE, emperor Titus left only a part of the Herodian western wall and its towers – today's citadel. The *Legio Decima Fretensis* merely erected a perimeter wall for its camp; the civilian city remained without walls until the end of the 3rd century. Since Hadrian's time, Bethlehem, Emmaus and parts of the Judean Desert were administratively part of the territory of Jerusalem – another measure to relativize the importance of *Aelia* as a city. Although the Kidron Valley cuts off the Mount of Olives from the city, it has formed a close unit with the city area at the latest since the construction of the Constantine *Eleona* Church and the Melanian Monastery Foundation.

The city area of 120 ha was only under Empress Eudocia (443–460 CE) once again enclosed by a wall. This wall served rather as a representative than a protective one: Christian pilgrims could enter the destination of their journey through the gates of Jerusalem, which were familiar to them from the Psalms. The City of David and Mount Zion, two places of symbolic importance, were also reintegrated into the city through Eudocia's walls. The successive building of monasteries and churches on the Mount of Olives had strengthened the integration of the immediate surroundings already since the end of the 4th century. From the 5th century onwards, more and more churches, hospices and monasteries were built along the arterial roads outside the city, which had also been used by pilgrims. Justinian was the first who integrated these diaconal institutions with his new buildings around the *Nea Maria* Church into the city centre. *Andreas Müller* interprets this as an indication that the foundations outside the walls of the city had not been previously integrated into the activities of the local clergy.

The clearly outlined and walled city, as presented by the Madaba Mosaic from the 6th century, is likely to have a more symbolic interpretation. In reality, the boundaries between the city and the surrounding area may have been fluid, both in terms of architectural design and in terms of everyday life. The great importance of pilgrimage brought a closer connection between the city and its surroundings than might have been the case in other cities.

2.3. *The Physical and the Imagined City*

For no builder, inhabitant or pilgrim has “Jerusalem” ever been merely the actual city of stone in the Judean desert. Due to its central importance for Judaism, Romans, Christians and Muslims all alike took Jerusalem as a symbol. But what impact did the symbolic value have on the concrete topographical and architectural design of the city? And vice versa: What influence did the real city have on people’s imaginations of the ‘heavenly’ or ‘upper’ Jerusalem?

Once again, the answer to the first question can be best illustrated by the example of the Temple Mount. For pagan Romans and Christians, the disused and abandoned Temple Mount became proof of their military or religious triumph over Judaism. This former cultic center of the city remained marginalized for almost 600 years – even if more recent findings from the Byzantine period suggest that the area had not been completely abandoned and remained undeveloped. Emperor Julian’s initiative to rebuild the temple in the 360s – this, too, is an allusion to the symbolic significance of the Jewish capital – is likely to have left no significant archaeological traces only because the undertaking had already been suffocated by fire in its early stages and could not be revived after the early death of the emperor. There seems to have never been a church building on the Temple Mount until the time of the Crusaders. The demonstrative neglect by Christian benefactors had theological reasons – the abandoned Temple Mount was intended to demonstrate the failure of Judaism. In taking up the phrase “theology of stone”, in reference to the church buildings in the city, one could speak of the Temple Mount as a “theology of ruins”. The Christian pilgrimage reports impressively describe how Christians, when looking at the Temple Mount, envisioned the triumph of Christianity over Judaism. They also demonstrate how strongly the design of the journey and the experience of the entire city were influenced by its symbolic significance. *Ora Limor* thereby shows a development from the land of the Bible in the 4th century to the land of Jesus in the 5th and 6th century.

The implications of the actual cityscape on the imagined Jerusalem can be traced using iconographic sources. Especially in the mosaic art of Rome, the cityscape of the Byzantine Jerusalem has been an established motif since the early 5th century. A development of various degrees of realistic and idealized representation of the city can be observed. The roof forms in the oldest surviving Christian apse mosaic in the church of Santa Pudenziana (410s), which shows Christ encircled by his apostles in an architectural setting, indicate that the intention here is to represent the Constantinian buildings in Jerusalem and Bethlehem as realistic as possible. The monumental intaglio cross on the mountain above Christ enthroned probably shows the cross on the Mount of Olives donated by Theodosius II. At the same time, the scenery clearly goes

Index of Passages

1. Biblical Books

Genesis (Gen)		Isaiah (Isa/Jes)	
18:1–33	376 f, 454, 455	1:8	52, 74, 75, 121, 123, 287
22	435	6:1–3	441
Exodus (Exod)		28:16	129
3:7–8	412	35:1	412
7:16	412	40:3	411
29:37	100	41:18–20	412
30:29	100	51:3	412
Leviticus (Lev)		66:10	296
10:12	100	Jeremiah (Jer)	
Deuteronomy (Deut)		26:18	435
28:51	238	Ezekiel (Ezek)	
1 Kings (1 Kgs)		3:12–15	441
8:33–34	449	3:12	441
2 Chronicles (2 Chr)		8:1–3	447
32:30	243	11:23	92
Nehemiah (Neh)		Daniel (Dan)	
3:15	244	4:27	333
Psalms (Ps)		9:26 f	380
25[26]:8	133	Joel	
90[91]	290	2:28 f	123
116:5	449	Mica (Mic/Mi)	
117[118]:22	128	3:12	52, 121, 287, 435
121[122]	289	Zechariah (Zech)	
132:7	377	3:7–4:9	133
137:5	296	9:9	131
Proverbs (Prov)		14:4	75, 92
25:16	449	Matthew (Matt/Mt)	
Ecclesiastes (Eccl)		21:5	131
5:5	449	21:42	128
Song of Songs (Cant)		24 ff	145, 151
1:4	449	24:2	380
		26:3	145
		26:68–75	123

27:33	275	1:13	123, 124
28:7–10	125	2:1–38	451
Mark (Mk)		2:1	122
1:3	411	2:17–36	123
10:45	326	6:1–6	325–328, 343
11:11	131	6:1	327, 328
11:15–17	38	6:2	327
12:41–44	344	6:4	327
14:15	53, 123	7:58–60	106
15:22	275	8:57–58	383
16:7	125	11:28–30	245
		15:1–29	134
Luke (Lk)		Romans (Rom)	
1:1–20	140	6:1–11	207
1:26–38	127	15:31	325
2:21	127	1 Corinthians (1 Cor)	
2:25–35	106	3:16 ff	92
2:36	140	2 Corinthians (2 Cor)	
19:29	131	6:16	92
22:12	124	8:4	325
23:33	275	9:1	325
John (Joh)		Galatians (Gal)	
1	410	2:10	325
2:6	256	4:26	289
5:1–15	8, 41, 53, 104, 138, 260, 284	Ephesians (Eph)	
9	53, 260, 262	2:20–22	92
9:1–7	104	Philippians (Phil)	
11:1–35	155	2:6–11	410
11:16	131	1 Timothy (1 Tim)	
12:21	131	3:15	92
13–17	152	Revelation (Rev / Apc)	
13:23	125	21:18–21	102, 413
14:3	134	21:22 f	437
17	152		
19:5	37		
19:13	270		
19:17	275		
Acts (Apg)			
1:11	125, 129		

2. Rabbinica

<i>Babylonian Talmud (BT)</i>		<i>Sukkah (bSuk)</i>	
Avoda Zara (BT AZ)		51a	47
41a	286		
43a	282	<i>Tamid (BT Tamid)</i>	
55a	285	27b	294
<i>Baba Bathra (BT BB)</i>		<i>Ta'anit (BT Taan)</i>	
2,6	296	5a	288
60b	298	19a	245
		22a	299
<i>Berakhot (BT Ber)</i>		<i>Jerusalem Talmud (JT)</i>	
9b	294	<i>Joma (JT Jom)</i>	
		3,9	248
<i>Betza (BT Betza)</i>		41a	248
14b	294		
15a	299	<i>Megilat (JT Meg)</i>	
27a	294	1,1	288
<i>Baba Metzia (BT BM)</i>		<i>Ta'anit (JT Taan)</i>	
2,6	295	3,10–12,15d	245
2,17	295		
28b	295	<i>Palestinian Talmud (PT)</i>	
85a	299	<i>Berakhot (PT Ber)</i>	
		9,2	296
<i>Bikkurim (BT BK)</i>			
59b	298	<i>Maaser Sheni (PT MS)</i>	
		3,3	299
<i>Eruvim (BT Eruv)</i>			
66a	298	<i>Mishna (M)</i>	
		<i>Avoda Zara (M AZ)</i>	
<i>Joma (BT Jom)</i>		3,4	257
69a	294		
		<i>Baba Metzia (M BM)</i>	
<i>Ketuvot (BT Ket)</i>		2,6	295
110b	299		
		<i>Eruvin (M Er)</i>	
<i>Makkot (BT Makk)</i>		10,14	263
24b	297		
		<i>Joma (M Jom)</i>	
<i>Moed Katan (BT MK)</i>		3,10	263
26a	297, 313		
		<i>M Kelim (Kel)</i>	
<i>Rosh HaShanah (BT RH)</i>		1,6–9	417
19b	294		
		<i>Ketuboth (M Ket)</i>	
<i>Shabbat (BT Shab)</i>		5,8	240
41a	299		

Makhshirin (Makh)		Ta'anit (M Taan)	
2,5	257	3,8	245
Megilat (M Meg)		<i>Megilla (Meg)</i>	
3,3	257	Meg Taanit (Meg Taan)	
		123–128	245
Middot (M Mid)		<i>Tosefta (T)</i>	
3,2	263	Arakhin (T Ar)	
5,4	263	2,6	245
Nidda (M Nid)		Baba Bathra (T BB)	
9,3	257	2,6	298
Para (M Par)		Baba Metzia (T BM)	
3	417	2,17	295
3,2–3	256	Hagiga (bT Hagiga)	
Peah (M Pea)		2,3 f	449
8,5	240	Niddah (T Nid)	
Schevi'it (M Schevi)		6,15	257
4,9	240	Sotah (Sot)	
5,7	240	15,11	298
Sukka (M Suk)			
4,9	260		

3. Qur'an

2:48	464	18:94	445
2:128	456	20:12	442
2:142–145	454, 463	20:14	448
2:198	448	20:77	440
4:159	445	21:71	444, 449
5:2	448	21:96	445
5:21	444	26:52	440
5:97	448	28:30	444
10:87	448	30	444
15:87	448	37	454
17	439, 440, 442, 444–447, 450, 451–453, 464	37:1–4	441
17:1	435, 439, 440, 441, 449, 450, 451, 469	37:1	441
17:4–8	445	37:43 f	441
17:7	464	37:100–107	455
17:22–39	452	38:21	461
17:80	449	43:85	445
17:82–111	450–452	44:23	440
17:90–93	450	52:1–6	443
17:90	445	79:16–17	442
		95	443
		106:3	442

4. Other Primary Sources

Abd al-Razzaq, Tafsir II,283	469	23 26 28	128, 129, 315, 340 315 119
Abramius Ephesius (Abr. Ephes.), Homilia de annuntiatione		29 30 32	139 319 132
1	127		
Acta Ioannis			Anonymus, Vita sancti Gerasimi
97	74	5 6	239 239
Adamnanus (Adamn.), De Locis Sanctis (De loc. sanct.)			Antiochus Strategos, The Capture of Jerusalem
I 2,14	465	24	386
Aristides Rhetor (Aristid.), Oratio (Or.)			Antonius Chozebita, Vita sancti Georgii Chozebitae
2,12–14	286		7,102 12,107–108 19,118 43,336 ff
Agapetus Diaconus (Agap. Const.), Capita admonitoria			239 239 239 239
6	342		
44	342		
53	342		
62	342		
Alexander Monachus (Al. Mon.), Sancti Barnabae laudatio			Appianus (App. Syr.), Fragmenta historiae Romanae
1,13	125 f	50	367, 371
Ambrosius Mediolanensis (Ambr.), Comentarii in Psalmos			Armenian Jerusalem Lectionary (ed. Renoux)
47 f	278	10 11 14 39 39 42 53 55 57 59 61 62 64 65 71 73	131 131 131, 133 122 124 f 123 131, 139 131 126 132 f 139 132 120, 131, 137, 139 131, 139 131, 134 135
Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm. Marc.), Rerum gestarum libri			
23,1	288, 303 f		
Anastas Vardapet, Avedis			
	141, 353		
Anastasius the Persian (Anast.)			
	345		
Anonymus Placentinus, Itinerarium (Itin.)			
4	323		
6	140		
17	125, 126		
19	129		
20	125, 128, 323		
22	125, 126, 128, 129, 323		
			Athanasius Alexandrinus (Athan.), Vita Antonii (V. Ant.)
		8	411

Aurelius Augustinus (Aug.), De civitate Dei (CD) 17,3 289	Cicero (Cic.), De Divinatione II, 59 258
Aulus Gellius (Gell.), Noctes Atticae III 13 266	Claudius Ptolemaios, Geographica 15,5 266
Barsabée de Jérusalem, Sur le Christ et les Églises 42,3 129	Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae (CIIP) I/2 35, 37 f, 42, 70 f, 74 f, 110, 205, 226 f, 242, 265, 267–272, 274, 276, 280 f, 283, 285, 287 f, 369, 372, 384 f, 390
Barsanuphius et Joannes (Bars. Io.), Epistulae (Ep.) (ed. Neyt / Angelis-Noah) 813 403 814 403 815 403 816 404 817 404 818 404 819 404 820–822 404 823 405 825 405 826 406 828 f 405 830 405 813–830 402 823 405 824 403	Cyprianus (Cyp.), Epistulae (Ep.) 75,6,1 394
Pseudo-Basiliius (Ps.-Bas.), Transitus Mariae 73 138 89 138	Cyrillus Alexandrinus (Cyr. Al.), Epistulae (Ep.) 56 397
Breviarius de Hierosolyma 1 58 4 319	Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus (Cyr. Hier.) <i>Catecheses ad illuminandos</i> (<i>Catech. / Ad illum.</i>) 4,10 378 10,19 378 13 418 13,4 378 13,22 100, 105, 119, 123, 128, 140 14 268 14,9 61 16 287 16,4 52 16,18 48
Cassius Dio (Cass. Dio), Historia Romana 68 366 69 367–371	<i>Epistula ad Constantium (Ad Const. imp.)</i> 3 378
Cato, De Agricultura 10 240 57 239	Cyrillus Scythopolitanus (Cyr. Scyth.) <i>Vita Abramii (V. Abr.)</i> 2,4–7 426 3 421
Chronicon Paschale (Chron. Pasch.) (ed. Dindorf) 119 272, 275 444 332	<i>Vita Cyriaci (V. Cyr.)</i> 2–4 421 3 357 7 424 8 236 19 239
	<i>Vita Euthymii (V. Euthym.)</i> 1 410 f, 414, 420

5	421	71–73	402
6	422	71–74	425
8	418, 427	72	341, 358, 424
10	427 f	72–73	360
12	427	73	341 f, 358
15	401, 427–429	74	236
16	129, 356	76	422
17	348	77	417
20	429	81	429
22	357	83–90	425
27	408 f, 425, 429	86	401
30	132, 334, 349, 358, 384, 417	87	401
35	133, 332, 383 f	90	412, 419
37	355	<i>Vita Theognii (V. Theogn.)</i>	
40	417		132, 421
45	354	<i>Vita Theodosii (V. Theod.)</i>	
46	428		119, 347, 359 f
49	139, 420	1	421
<i>Vita Joannis Hesychastae (V. Io. Hes.)</i>		2	417
4	421	4	425
20	360	5	421
71	139	6	349
<i>Vita Sabae (V. Sab.)</i>		<i>Didascalia Apostolorum</i>	
6	357, 412, 421–423		122, 125
7	424	<i>Ps.-Dioscorus of Alexandria, Panegyric on Macarius</i>	
13	236, 427, 429	7,5	126
14	427	<i>Epiphanius Salamitanus (Epiphan.)</i>	
16	359	<i>De mensis et ponderibus (De mens.)</i>	
18	130, 426	14	52, 74, 123, 272, 275, 288, 370
20	130	<i>Panarion omnium haeresium (Panar.)</i>	
25	231, 424	68,3,7f	84
27	417	78,11,2	138
28	235, 425	<i>Epiphanius monachus</i>	
30	425, 356	1	129
31	357, 424 f	2,24–3,15	124
32	130, 350	<i>Eusebius Caesariensis (Eus. Caes.)</i>	
36	356, 425	<i>Chronicon</i>	
36 f	425	ad ann. Abr. 2201	70
37	357	<i>De martyribus Palaestinae (Mart. Pal.)</i>	
50–56	425	11,4	373
51–55	358	11,10–12	265
52	417		
54	235, 358, 402		
56	415, 417, 421		
57	345, 400, 414–419, 421, 429 f		
58	239, 424		
65	425		
67	402		
70–73	358		

- Demonstratio Evangelica (DE)*
 III 5,108 75
 VI 18,23 75, 120, 125
 VIII 2,122–123 270, 272, 287
 VIII 3 48
 VIII 3,11 271
 VIII 3,12 272, 287
- Historia Ecclesiastica (HE)*
 I 6,4 268
 II 1 326
 II 23,18 134
 III 5,3 392
 IV 2,1–5 366
 IV 5,1 69
 IV 5,3 392
 IV 6,1 f 225
 IV 6,1–4 367
 IV 6,3 227, 271, 371
 IV 6,4 266, 271, 369 f
 IV 9,2 f 267
 IV 26,14 289
 V 9,17 372
 V 12 288, 372
 V 12,1 69
 V 12,2 271
 V 23 393
 VI 11,3–6 394
 VI 20,1 400
 VI 43,11 328
 VII 19 128, 392
 VII 32,29 392
 IX 7–11 233
- Laus Constantini / Oratio de sepulchro Christi*
 11–18 83
 13 83
- Onomasticon*
 93, 232, 284, 314
- Vita Constantini (V. Const.)*
 III 5–17 201
 III 15–20 200
 III 25–40 198
 III 25–28 119
 III 25 268
 III 26 196, 278
 III 26,2 277
 III 26,3 269
 III 27 280
 III 27,1 277
 III 28 199, 321
- III 29,2 373
 III 30–32 97, 374
 III 30 321
 III 30,1 62
 III 30,4 374
 III 31,1–32,2 82
 III 31,3 199
 III 32 231
 III 33 321
 III 33,1 f 375
 III 36 216
 III 40–43 139
 III 41,1 51
 III 41,2–46 377
 III 41–43,3 376
 III 42,2 377
 III 43 377
 III 43,3 74, 120, 125
 III 44 334
 IV 46 83
 IV 47 200
 III 51–53 377
 III 52,1 377
 III 54–58 380
 III 54,7 200
 IV 64,1 122
- Historia Iosephi fabri lignarii*
 74
 7 120
- Eutychius Alexandrinus, Annales*
 2,5–6 387
- Evagrius Ponticus (Evagr. Pont.)*
Epistula ad Melaniam 354
Sententiae ad monachos 354
Sententiae ad virginem 354
- Evagrius Scholasticus (Evagr. Schol.), Historia ecclesiastica (h.e.)*
 I 21 425
 7 120
- Georgian Lectionary (ed. Tarnischvili)*
 118, 130, 131, 132, 134,
 135, 136, 140
 1 137
 2–116 126
 32 134
 42 133

47	135	1134	136
53–58	135	1143	138
65	127	1148	126, 137
77	130	1156 f	123
153	139	1164–1171	140
161	130	1176	132, 133
163	133, 136	1184	140
178	136	1202–1217	140
193	140	1217	131
215	130	1221	139
219	141	1240	140
248	133	1256a	123
266	141	1257	140
267	127, 137	1261	133, 141
279	140	1280–1289	140
282	137	1299	132
306	136	1339	135
427	136	1340	130
462	136	1368	77
515	136	1373	139
565	124	1376	130
576 f	127	1396	136
641	127	1399	130
654	123	1404	130
657	123	1408	136
789	136		
856	134	Georgius Cedrenus, <i>Historiarum</i>	
909–915	140	Compendium	
914	135	371,2	132
920	136		
921	136	Georgius Cyprius, <i>Descriptio orbis Romani</i>	
922	136	227	
923	136		
964	135	Georgius Pisides, <i>In Restitutionem S. Crucis</i>	
968	135	386	
972	130		
976	135	Gerontius (Geront.), <i>Vita Melaniae (V. Mel.)</i>	
979	141	9	329
989	134	15	231, 329
992	131	17	329
1017	138	19	329
1018	132	21	354
1023	135, 136	30	231
1031	133	35	231, 332, 354
1032	132	41	332
1055	141	46–49	130
1064	135	48 f	107
1066	135	49	114
1079	132	53–56	355, 382
1117	135	58	332
1122	141	58 f	382
1126	127, 140	67	355

- | | | | |
|---|---------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Gregorius Magnus (Greg. Mag.),
Epistulae (Ep.) | | Hugeburc, Vita S. Willibaldi episcopi
Eichstetensis | |
| XI 2 | 332 | 4 | 129, 138 |
| XIII 26 | 343 | | |
| Gregorius Nazianzenus, Oratio V | | Iadgari = Georgian Hymnal | |
| 4 | 289 | | 138 |
| Hesychius Hierosolymitanus (Hesych. Ier.) | | Ibn al-Murajjā, Fada'il bayt al-maqdis
wa-al-khalil wa-fada'il al-sham | |
| <i>Homélie sur Job (armen.)</i> | | | 466, 472 |
| 5 | 124 | Ibn Hisham-al-Sira al-nabawiya | |
| <i>Les homélie festales</i> | | | 460, 469 |
| 10,1 | 124, 134 | Ibn Ishab, Kitab al-siyar wa'l-maghazi | |
| 14 | 131 | | 460, 469 |
| Hieronymus, Sophronius Eusebius (Hier.) | | Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas
pertinentes (IGR) | |
| <i>Chronicon</i> | 280, 371 | III | 266 |
| <i>Comentarii in Isaiam (Comm. Is.)</i> | | Irenaeus Lyonensis (Iren.), Adversus
Haereses | |
| I/2, 9 | 287, 368 | I | 326 |
| <i>Commentaria in evangelium Matthaei
(Comm. in Matth.)</i> | | Itinerarium Burdigalense (Itin. Burd.) | |
| IV 24,15 | 288 | 589,4–596,2 | 375 |
| <i>Commentaria in Sophoniam</i> | | 589,4 | 376 |
| I 15 | 271, 287 | 589,8–10 | 284 |
| <i>Commentaria in Zachariam</i> | | 589,11–591,2 | 87 |
| VIII 19 | 286 | 590,3 | 128 |
| <i>Contra Iohannem</i> | | 591 | 48, 74, 275, 287, 306,
312, 371 |
| 37 | 396 | 591,4 | 368 |
| <i>De viris inlustribus (Vir. Ill.)</i> | | 592 | 266, 287 f |
| 2 | 134 | 592,4 | 123 |
| <i>Epistulae (Ep.)</i> | | 592,5 | 128 |
| 46,11 | 86 | 592,6 | 123, 370 |
| 53,8,7 | 123 | 593,3 | 123 |
| 58,3 | 196, 278, 317 | 595,3 | 132 |
| 66,14 | 231 | 595,5–7 | 140 |
| 82,10 | 396 | | |
| 108,9 | 284 | Itinerarium Egeriae (Itin. Eger.) | |
| 108,9,4 | 128, 129 | 3 | 323 |
| 108,15,30 | 231 | 11 | 323 |
| Historia Augusta (SHA) | | 15 | 323 |
| – Antonius Pius 5,4 | 287 | 21 | 323 |
| – Hadrianus 22,10 | 267 | 23,1 | 352 |
| – Septimius Severus 17,1 | 272 | 24 | 345 |
| | | 24–49 | 323 |
| | | 24,1–49,3 | 376 |
| | | 24,4 | 120 |

24,7	120	Johannes Moschos (Io. Mosch.),
24,8–11	120	Pratum spirituale et Fragmenta
27,5	123, 131	37
28	345	68
29	139	127
31	292	
31,1	127	Johannes of Nikiu, Chronicon
31,2	127	87
35,2	122	
35,3	125	Johannes Rufus
35,4	127	<i>Plerophoriae</i>
36,3	123	18
36,5	104	44
37	316, 318	80
37,1–3	128	<i>Vita Petri Iberii (ed. Rabe)</i>
37,1	103, 128	20
37,2–3	104	24–25
37,2	128	27
37,1–37,3	378	33
38	121	34
39,5	123 f	38
40,2	123	39 f
43	52	40 f
43,2 f	122 f	43
43,4 f	122	44
43,5	127	45
47	118	45–48
47,5	118	44–46
48	321	46
48–49	315	47
48,1–49,3	375	48
Jamblichus, De Mysteriis		49
II 3	285	52
Johannes Bolnisi, Homélie des dimanches		61
de carême		64
13	124	71
Johannes Chrysostomus (Io. Chr.)		75
<i>Adversus Iudaeos Orationes (Adv. Iud.)</i>		126
645	265	134
<i>In Ascensionem (In Ascens.)</i>		123, 138
1	120 f	Josephus Flavius (Ios.)
Johannes Malalas (Io. Mal.), Chronographia		<i>Antiquitates Judaicae (AJ)</i>
XI	266	III
XIV 8	383	XIV
XVII 19	342	XV
		XVII
		XVIII
		XIX
		XX

- De bello Judaico* (BJ)
 I 270
 II 248
 V 33, 42, 245, 248, 257,
 264
 VI 42, 47 f, 270
 VII 33, 225 f, 267, 270
- Julianus Imperator (Iulian.)
Contra Galileos (C. Gal.)
 115d 265
Epistulae (Ep.)
 I 2 288
- Julius Africanus (Iul. Afr.), Cesti
 V 1 269
 F10 72
- Justinianus Imperator (Iustin.)
Codex Iustinianus
 I 2,22 342
Novellae (Nov.)
 7,1 237
 43 342
 123 343
 131,11 342
- Justinus Martyr (Iust.), Dialogus
 cum Tryphone (Dial.)
 78,5 119
 108,3 371
- Leo Magnus (Leo M.), Epistulae (Ep.)
 119 398
- Leontius Neapolitanus (Leont. Neap.),
 Vita sancti Symeonis Sali confessoris
 158,23 f 239
- Lex Coloniae Genetivae
 25, LXX, 8 274
- Liturgy of Saint James
 121
- Livius (Liv.), Ab urbe condita libri
 I, 55, 5 275
- Macarius Hierosolymitanus (Macar.),
 Letter to the Armenians
 82 119
- Martyrologium Syriacum
 131
- Ps.-Matthaeus, Liber de ortu beatae
 Mariae et infantia Salvatoris
 13,1 120
- Melito Sardensis (Mel. Sard.), De Pascha
 (Pass.)
 94 276
- Ps.-Melito, Transitus sive Dormitio Mariae
 1 126
 15 138
- Movsēs Dasxuranci, The History
 of the Caucasian Albanians
 II 51 124, 138
- Muqatil b. Sulayman, Tafsir
 I 51 464
 II 469
- Narratio de obitu Theodosii
 Hierosolymorum et Romani monachi
 III 337
 IV 337
- Nicephorus Callistus, Historia Ecclesiastica
 (HE)
 14,50 383
 XVII 28 117, 137
- Notitia Dignitatum accedunt Notitia
 Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi
 Provinciarum
 34,21 372
- Origenes (Orig.)
Commentarius in Matthaeum (Comm. Mt.)
 89 93
 126 129
- Contra Celsum I* (C. Cels.)
 I 51 119
- Ovid (Ov.), Fasti
 2,581 284

- | | |
|--|---|
| Palladius Helenopolitanus (Pallad. Helenop.), <i>Historia Lausiaca</i> | Romanus Melodus, <i>Cantica</i> |
| 10 331 | 36 f 127 |
| 35,14 355 | Rufinus Aquileiensis (Rufin), |
| 46 330, 352 | <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> (HE) |
| 46,3 352 | IX 6 278 |
| 46,5–6 353 | XI 28 133 |
| 54 330 f | XI 29 269 |
| 67 330 | |
| | Saewulf, <i>Peregrinatio</i> |
| Paulinus Nolensis (Paulin. Nol.), | 64 219 |
| <i>Epistulae</i> (Ep.) | |
| 29,11 329 | Sinaiticus georgianus (Sin. georg.) |
| 31,3 278 | = Palestine-Georgian Calendar |
| 31,4 127, 129 | 32 f 139 |
| | 34 117, 126, 132, 136, 138 f, |
| Paulus Helladicus (Paul. Hellad.), | 141 |
| <i>Vita Theognii</i> (V. Theogn.) | 37 117 |
| 1 349 | |
| | Socrates Scholasticus (Socr. Const.), |
| Pausanias, <i>Graeciae Descriptio</i> | <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> (HE) |
| I 5,5 267 | I 17 278 |
| | II 24,1–3 395 |
| Plinius Secundus (Plin.), <i>Naturalis Historia</i> | V 8 381 |
| V 70 227, 269 | VII 47,2 382 |
| XV 4,14–16 240 | VII 47,3 332 |
| XV 15,6.23 240 | |
| | Sophronius Hierosolymitanus (Sophron.), |
| Plutarchus (Plu.), <i>Moralia</i> | <i>Carmina Anacreontica</i> |
| 94 285 | 18 386 |
| | 20,14 125 |
| Procopius Caesariensis (Proc. Caes.), | 20,15 125 |
| <i>De Aedificiis</i> (De aed.) | 20,5–20 139 |
| I 2,14–16 342 | 20,6 125 |
| V 108 | |
| V 4,1–13 230 | Sozomenus, Salaminus Hermias (Soz.), |
| V 6 319 | <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> (HE) |
| V 6,1–14 78 | II 1 275 |
| V 6,16 340 | II 1,3 267, 277, 278 |
| V 6,25 f 340 | IV 20,2 339 |
| V 6,22 385 | IV 25,2 396 |
| V 9,1–13 236, 385 | VII 7 381 |
| VI 108 | IX 1,10 334 |
| XXII 108 | IX 17 132 |
| | |
| Proteuangelium Iacobi (Protev. Iac.) | Sulpicius Severus (Sulp. Sev.), |
| 3 138 f | <i>Chronicon</i> (Chron.) |
| | II 33,6–8 129 |
| Reuelatio Sancti Stephani | |
| 8 133, 135 | |

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (SEG)		Theodorus Petrensis (Theod. Petr.), Vita Theodosii (V. Theod.)	
32	383	13 f	119
55	265	13,34	359
		19,25 f	239
Tabari, Jami al-bayan fi tawil al-Quran		74,3	239
II,4–8	464		
VIII,6	464		
Tabari, Tarikh		Theodosius (Theodos.), De situ terrae sanctae (Sit.)	
IV 431	460	3	132
IV 438	460	7	123, 126, 128 f
		8	138
		9	134
Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea – Palaestina (TIR)		10	125 f
200	401	17	125
		28	119
Tacitus (Tac.), Historiae (Hist.)		Theophilus Edessenus, Chronicon	
III 24,6	274		464
IV 81	285		
Tertullianus (Tert.)		Varro (Varr.), De Re Rustica	
<i>Adversus Iudaeos (Adv. Iud.)</i>		I 24,3	240
13	271		
<i>Apologeticum (Apol.)</i>		Vita Barsaumae (VB)	
21	271	91,4	306
		91,5	306
		91,8	306
Testamentum Job (Test. Hiob)		Vita Constantini anonyma	
10	327	647	127 f
11,1	328		
Theodoretus (Theodoret.), Historia Ecclesiastica (HE)		Vita Sancti Gerasimi anonyma	
I 16,5	275	5,6	239
II 27,1–3	396		
V 9,17	372, 396	Vitruvius (Vitr.), De architectura	
		I 4,9	249
		I 7,1	276
		II	216
		IV	209
		IX 13	209

Index of Names

- Aaron 140
Abd al-Malik, caliph 462, 466–469, 472
Abraamius, monk 426
Abraham 46, 140, 321, 338, 376, 444, 448,
453–457
Acacius, martyr 130
Acacius of Caesarea 396
Adam 129
Adamnan, pilgrim 220, 464
Adramalek, caliph 462
Agrippa I, king 33, 40, 248
Al-Hakim, caliph 218
Al-Walid, caliph 466, 470
Albina 336
Alexander of Alexandria, bishop 393 f
Akiva = Akiba, rabbi 297, 449
Alexander of Jerusalem, bishop 70, 288
Alypius of Antioch 304
Alypius of Thagaste 354
Anastasia, nun 423
Anastasius, emperor 20, 230, 235, 347,
358, 385, 400, 402, 406, 414–417, 428
Anatolios 353 f
Andrew, apostle 131, 140
Andronicus, martyr 135
Anna, mother of Mary 139
Anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux 48,
52, 123, 202, 287, 306, 312, 318,
329, 375
Anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza 58, 60,
128, 238, 315, 318, 322, 329, 335, 340
Antoninus, bishop (?) 69
Antoninus Pius, emperor 274, 287
Antonius, hermit 131, 411
Arculf / Arculph, pilgrim 128, 219, 464 f
Arius of Alexandria 201
Aristobulus 245
Aspebetus 427
Asclepius 73
Athanasius of Alexandria 62 f, 133, 317,
395
Augustinus of Hippo 289, 329
Augustus, emperor 200, 209
Aulus Gellius 266
Bar Kochba 30 f, 225, 370–372, 392
Barsanuphius, monk 391, 402–406
Barsauma, monk 13, 292, 294, 305–307,
312 f, 324, 333, 383
Basil of Caesarea 350 f
Basil of Ialimbana 401
Bassa 334
Benjamin, bishop (?) 69
Besa 349
Bethar 371
Capito, bishop (?) 69
Caracalla, emperor 265, 372
Casianus, monk 359
Cassian, bishop (?) 69
Cassius Dio 225, 272, 275, 367 f
Charlemagne, king 216
Chosroes II = Khusro 308, 385 f
Clemens of Alexandria 393
Coelestin, pope 397
Commodus, emperor 265, 274
Constantina, princess 221
Constantine I, emperor = Konstantin I 2,
7 f, 19 f, 31, 44, 62, 67, 77 f, 82, 94, 96,
119, 131, 199–201, 203, 209, 226, 230 f,
236, 268, 314, 373, 381, 389 f, 394
Constantine II, emperor = Konstantin II 19
Constantine, priest 360
Constantius II, emperor 378
Cyprian of Carthago 338
Cyriacus, monk 357, 359
Cyril of Alexandria 382, 397 f
Cyril of Jerusalem, bishop = 5, 19, 52, 61,
87, 95, 100, 105, 119, 123, 131, 219, 267,
287 f, 305, 323, 341, 378 f, 381, 396
Cyril of Scythopolis 13 f, 332 f, 348 f, 355,
357 f, 360, 390, 401 f, 405, 407–432
Damasus I, pope 100
David, king 131, 134, 300, 334, 472
Demetrius of Alexandria 393
Diocletian, emperor 12, 200, 372
Dioscoros of Alexandria 398
Dolichianus, bishop (?) 69, 271

- Dometianus 359
 Dorotheos, priest 332
- Egeria, pilgrim 52, 103, 112, 117 f, 120,
 123 f, 133, 139, 141, 219, 292, 314–323,
 329, 345, 351, 375 f, 378
 Elagabalus, emperor 272 f, 280, 282
 Eleazar Zeira, rabbi 298 f
 Eliazar, priest 140
 Elijah, prophet 141, 411, 449
 Elias, bishop 341, 357 f, 360, 399, 402,
 406, 425
 Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist 140
 Elpidius, archimandrite 357, 423
 Ephrem Syrus 379
 Ephres, bishop (?) 69
 Euphemia 355
 Euphemios of Constantinople 333
 Euthymius, monk 355, 358, 401, 408,
 410 f
 Eudocia = Eudokia, empress 9, 12, 19,
 77, 79, 103, 105, 133, 135, 230, 236,
 262, 305, 312 f, 319–322, 332–334, 343,
 347–349, 357 f, 365, 382–384, 400
 Eudoxia, empress 333, 382
 Eulogius of Caesarea 397
 Eusebius of Caesarea 5, 14, 21, 45, 82 f, 94,
 196, 198, 201 f, 208, 216, 232, 268, 280,
 284, 287 f, 314, 321, 367, 373 f, 381, 390,
 392–394, 446
 Eustochius of Jerusalem, bishop 406
 Euthymius, monk 130, 356, 358, 408,
 419–424, 428 f
 Eutropia 377
 Eutychius, patriarch of Alexandria 216
 Evagrius Ponticus 317, 348, 353
 Ezechiel 441, 447
- Flacilla, empress 334
 Flavia, nun 349, 424
 Flavianus of Antioch 398
 Flavius Aeneas, silentiarius 249
 Flavius Josephus 248, 264
- Gabriel, monk 355
 Gaius I, bishop (?) 69 f, 271
 Gaius II, bishop (?) 69 f
 Gallus 378
 Gelasius of Caesarea 396
 Gerontios of Jerusalem 348, 354 f
 Geta 372
 Gregory of Nazianzus 379
- Gregory of Nyssa 14, 16, 94, 317
 Gregory the Great, pope 343
- Hadrian, emperor 3, 5–8, 16, 18, 27,
 38, 43, 52 f, 69, 88, 194 f, 227, 233,
 265–267, 271, 273, 275 f, 278, 287, 291,
 365 f, 370 f
 Hanina, rabbi 299
 Helena, empress 13, 19, 44, 236, 334 f, 365,
 377 f, 382
 Heraclius, emperor 110, 308, 365, 386 f,
 389, 396, 444
 Herennia Etruscilla 280
 Herod = Herodes, king 27, 33, 40, 245,
 248, 256 f
 Hermon, bishop (?) 70
 Hesychius of Jerusalem 131, 335, 359,
 391
 Heterieus Graptus 271
 Hicelia, nun 423
 Hiklia 349
 Hiob 328
 Hisham 471
 Hiyya bar Ba, rabbi 297
 Honorius, emperor 341
 Hymenäus, bishop (?) 70, 394
- Iennys / Ioannes 283
 Ikelia 104
 Innocentius, donator 107
 Innocentius, monk 352
 Innocentius, presbyter 133
 Innocentius I, pope 102
 Irenaeus of Lyon 326
 Isaiah = Jesaja 46, 132, 135, 320
 Isaac 456, 472
 Isaac, bishop and commander 140
 Ishmael 456, 472
 Isidor, monk 331
 Iunius Maximus 265
- Jacob 140
 James = Jakobus, apostle and bishop 53,
 63, 69, 126, 131, 134, 140, 372, 392
 Jehuda haNasi, rabbi 288
 Jeremiah, prophet 46, 131, 319
 Jerome = Hieronymus 14, 16, 86, 100, 124,
 196, 271, 278, 280, 286 f, 312–323, 329,
 344, 352, 354, 396
 Jesus Christ 2, 46, 50, 128, 306, 318 f, 323,
 411, 414 f, 436, 445
 Joachim 139

- John, apostle 338
 John I, bishop (?) 69
 John II, bishop 102, 124, 131, 396 f
 John III, bishop 400
 John IV, bishop 399
 John Baptist 63, 107, 131 f, 140 f, 411
 John of Beth Rufina 390
 John Chrysostom 87
 John of Damascus 16
 John the Evangelist 135, 140
 John of Gaza 333, 391, 402–406, 423, 425
 John Moschus 343, 360
 John Rufus 316–318, 336, 357
 John Xiphilin 275, 367
 Jonathan, rabbi 299
 Joseph, bishop (?) 69
 Joseph of Arimathea 195
 Joshua 140
 Joshua ben Hananiah, rabbi 297 f
 Joshua ben Levi, rabbi 299
 Judas, apostle 136, 318
 Judas, bishop (?) 69
 Julia Donna 372
 Julian, emperor 6, 10, 12, 17, 19, 21, 87, 95, 133, 265, 288, 291 f, 294, 303–305, 321, 340, 342, 379–381
 Julian I, bishop (?) 69
 Julian II, bishop (?) 69
 Julius Africanus 269
 Justin, emperor 398
 Justinian, emperor 7, 9, 15, 19, 53, 77, 79, 96, 108, 126, 139, 230, 236 f, 340–343, 347, 352, 358, 360, 384 f, 389, 398 f, 402, 406, 424, 426
 Justus, bishop (?) 69
 Juvenal, bishop 19 f, 126, 356, 382, 397, 400 f, 428

 Kab al-ahbar 472
 Khusro *see* Chosroes
 Kyrilla 283 f

 Lausus of Constantinople 331
 Leontios, abbas 343
 Levi, bishop (?) 69
 Licinia Chreste 271
 Licinia Priscilla, priestess 266
 Licinius, emperor 44, 200 f
 Longinus, monk 423
 Lot 444
 Lucilia 285 f
 Lusius Quietus, general 366

 Macarius I, bishop 19, 62, 96, 198 f, 374, 378, 381, 394–396
 Macarius II, bishop 406
 Makedonios of Constantinople, bishop 339
 Marathonios, diacon 339
 Marcianus 357
 Marcus Aurelius, emperor 265, 274
 Markus, bishop (?) 69 f, 271
 Matthias, bishop (?) 69
 Martyrius, monk and patriarch 347 f, 358 f, 399 f, 425
 Mary, mother of Jesus 127, 138, 318, 392, 448
 Maurikios, emperor (582–602) 105, 137
 Maxentius, emperor 200
 Maximus I, bishop (?) 52, 69
 Maximus II, bishop (?) 69
 Maximus III, bishop 395
 Mazabanes, bishop (?) 70
 Melania the Elder 12, 14, 107, 112, 328–332, 347 f, 352, 353
 Melania the Younger 12, 114, 130, 132, 135, 329, 331 f, 336, 348, 352, 354 f, 357, 382
 Melchisedec 129, 321
 Melito, martyr 130
 Melito of Sardis 276, 289
 Minucius Fondanus 267
 Modestus, bishop 386, 402
 Mose 140, 438–453, 464
 Moses of Oxyrynchos 338
 Muawiya I, caliph 21, 465 f
 Muhammad 435–457, 460, 463, 468, 471 f

 Narcissus, bishop 69, 271, 288, 393
 Nestabus, monk 359
 Nestorius 397
 Nero, emperor 278
 Nerva, emperor 281
 Nikolaos 326
 Noah 448

 Orbiaka 355
 Origenes, theologian 84, 93, 269, 289, 393, 446
 Origenes, economist 331

 Palladius of Helenopolis 329, 330, 344, 352
 Pambo, monk 331

- Passarion, monk 129 f, 337, 339, 348, 356, 401
 Paul = Paulus, apostle 92, 131, 135, 140, 207, 316
 Paul of Samosata 394
 Paula the Elder, nun 113, 317, 329, 352
 Paulinus of Nola 329
 Peter = Petrus, apostle 46, 131, 135, 140, 338, 451
 Peter, bishop 400–406
 Peter the Iberian / Petrus 226, 307, 317, 324, 336–340, 355, 357, 382
 Philemon 130
 Philip, apostle 131, 134, 140
 Philip, bishop (?) 69
 Philip, monk 133
 Pinhas 140
 Pinianus 336, 352, 355
 Poemenia / Poimenia 103, 355
 Pontianus, pope 394
 Pontius Pilatus 46, 248
 Probus, abbas 343
 Probus, martyr 135
 Procopius of Caesarea 131, 236, 340, 360, 385
 Publius, bishop (?) 69 f, 271
 Pulcheria 334, 382 f

 Rabbi ben Azza 449
 Rabbi ben Zoma 449
 Romulus 278
 Rufinus of Aquileia 329, 348, 353–355

 Sabas, monk 20, 130, 235 f, 341, 347, 357 f, 360, 400, 402, 407–432
 Sallustius, bishop 399, 425
 Seawulf, pilgrim 218
 Said Ibn Batrik *see* Eutychius
 Senecas, bishop (?) 69
 Septimius Severus, emperor 233, 265, 270, 272, 281, 365, 371 f
 Severina 290
 Severus of Antioch 400, 415–417, 425
 Severus Alexander, emperor 280 f
 Sextus Pompeius, general 280
 Shaharbaraz, general 385
 Simeon, priest 134
 Simeon Qamatraya 297
 Simeon the Stylite 134
 Simon Zelotes, apostle 136
 Solomon, king 132

 Sophronius of Jerusalem, bishop 118, 391, 399, 402, 450
 Statius Aquila 272
 Stephen, protomartyr 19, 53, 106, 131–133, 313, 326, 358, 381, 383
 Sulayman 466
 Sulpicius Severus 129
 Symeon, bishop (?) 69
 Symmachus, bishop (?) 69, 271

 Tarachus, martyr 135
 Tarquitia Silvanilla 271
 Terebon 427
 Theodore, architect 108, 342
 Theodoros, martyr 130
 Theodosius I, emperor 19, 67, 78, 103, 131, 233, 236, 381 f
 Theodosius II, emperor 10, 19, 105, 124, 357, 381 f, 397, 400
 Theodosius, monk 20, 347, 408, 414–418, 425
 Theodosius, pilgrim 113
 Theodota, martyr 319
 Theognius, monk 400, 424
 Theophanes 462 f, 466
 Theophilus of Alexandria 269, 396
 Theophilus of Caesarea 393
 Theophilus of Edessa 464, 466
 Thomas, apostle 131, 134, 140
 Thomas, bishop 216
 Tiberius Julius Alexander, general 245
 Tineius Rufus, governor 225
 Titus, emperor 6, 18, 270, 281
 Titus Annius Rufus 286
 Tobias, bishop (?) 69
 Trajan, emperor 67, 274, 365

 Umar I, caliph 110, 292, 309, 460–462, 464
 Urbicius 382

 Valens, bishop (?) 69
 Valens, emperor 329
 Valeria Emiliana 274
 Vespasian, emperor 226, 265, 281, 285
 Victor, pope 271
 Vitruvius 209, 276

 Wilhelm II, german emperor 8
 Willibald, bishop 462

 Yannai, poet 301
 Yehudah, rabbi 299

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| Zabdas, bishop (?) 70 | Zachäus, bishop (?) 69 |
| Zachariah, priest 134 | Zacharias Rhetor 336 |
| Zachariah, prophet 126, 131 f, 140, 448 | Zeno, monk 338 |
| Zacharias, patriarch 110, 386 | Zenon, emperor 230, 399 |

Index of Places

- Agarthana 168, 185
Aialon 234
Aila = Eilat 34, 42, 80, 265, 372
Akeldama = Onuphrius- /Hakeldama-
Kloster 79, 315, 319, 560 (map 2)
al-Aqsa Mosque = al-Aqsa, al-masjid
al-aqṣā 3, 32, 435, 439 f, 442, 449,
453 f, 461, 464 f, 469, 470, 472 f,
561 (map 3)
Alexandria = Alexandrien 201, 269,
282, 285, 331, 352, 354, 373, 389 f,
392
Amphitheatre = Amphitheater 41, 272
Anastasis = Holy Sepulchre, Church of
the Holy Sepulchre, Auferstehungs-
kirche, Grabeskirche, Auferstehungs-
rotunde, Martyriumsbasilika 5–8,
14, 21, 24, 34, 40, 48 f, 51, 54, 57 f,
60–63, 81–84, 88, 94, 96 f, 102 f,
107, 111–113, 120, 127, 135–137,
143 f, 151–154, 158, 171–173, 175 f,
178–183, 185–187, 189–200, 202–210,
213–222, 230, 232, 269, 276 f, 280,
286, 289, 314, 316–318, 321, 345,
356 f, 373–378, 380, 383–386, 394,
401 f, 415 f, 422 f, 425, 430, 461 f, 465,
468, 551 f, 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
– Aedicula = Martyrion / μαρτύριον,
Heiliges Grab, Rotunde, Grabesrotunde,
Auferstehungsrotunde 54, 57, 96 f,
112, 121, 189–192, 195, 197, 203–211,
213–216, 218–222, 551 f
– *see also* Golgotha
Anatot 131, 139, 157
Antioch = Antiochien 120 f, 127, 342, 373,
378, 390, 392–394
Antonia 13, 34, 36, 38, 40, 44, 270
Aphaerama 234
Apostoleion *see also* Eleona 107, 152,
161 f, 173 f, 178, 180–182, 185–187

Basilica of Trier = Palastaula Trier 140
Betano 168, 181
Betar 170, 185

Beth Alphah 302 f, 553
Bethany = Betanien, Bethanien 46, 50, 58,
74, 85, 91, 102, 104, 112, 155, 180, 183,
234
Bethel 234
Bethesda = Betesda *see also* Pool of
Bethesda 104, 112, 252, 285, 289, 319,
559 (map 1)
Bethlehem 9 f, 15 f, 91, 96–99, 103 f, 112 f,
119 f, 131, 137–139, 156, 231 f, 241, 247,
290, 329, 347, 352, 369, 377, 417, 462,
551, 560 (map 2)
– Church / Grotto of the Nativity
= Geburtskirche / -grotte 108, 155, 203,
232, 376 f, 560 (map 2)
– Poimenion 96 f, 108, 120, 139, 155, 191,
155, 230, 232, 376 f
Betholetepha 233
Bethphage 131, 134, 139, 157, 166, 183,
560 (map 2)
Bethroni / Bethoron 169
Beth Shean 236, 293
Beth Zur 233
Binyanei Ha'uma = Binyane ha-Umma,
Binyane Ha-Umah 230, 256, 258
Building
– of Aphron near Gethsemane 163, 186
– of Aphthonius 163
– of Bassa 132, 159, 178, 181, 186 f, 334
– of Ephraem / Ephraemia 165, 183 f
– of Eudocia 166, 168
– of S. Euphemia / Building of John 158,
164, 187, 355
– of Euplius 167
– of Flavia 132, 164 f, 180
– of Flavian 165
– of Hesychius 163
– of Innocent 133, 164, 184
– of John / S. Theodore 158
– of Juvenal 132, 160
– of Maurice / Gethsemane (Tomb of Mary)
160
– of Melania 130, 132, 135, 164, 181, 560
(map 2)

- of S. Menas 132, 159
- of Passarion = Armenhaus des Passarion
see also Monastery of Passarion 163,
178, 337, 560 (map 2)
- of Paul 134, 163
- of Peter *see also* Monastery of Peter 163,
179, 185, 560 (map 2)
- of Presbyters 158
- of Romanus 165, 178
- of Sabinus 162, 167, 173, 178

- Caesarea Maritima = Caesarea, Cäsarea
7, 14, 19, 39, 45, 82, 94 f, 227, 265, 269,
271, 278, 289 f, 337, 369, 374, 393–396
- Cardo = Cardo maximus, Cardo secundus,
cardines maximi 7, 24, 35–40, 46,
48 f, 53 f, 60, 79, 83, 86, 96, 108, 189,
196–198, 255, 264, 269, 276, 368, 374,
461, 559 (map 1)
- Caparcotna 282, 367
- Caphar-Gamala 381 f
- Christian Quarter Road 196, 198
- Churches (in Jerusalem and surroundings)
 - Ascension Church = Imbonon,
Himmelfahrtsrotunde, Himmelfahrts-
kirche 102 f, 107, 111, 114, 151 f, 162,
182, 317, 376, 560 (map 2)
 - *see* Anastasis
 - S. Anna 24, 41, 104, 252, 262, 284
 - St. Costanza 207, 213 f
 - Eleona = Apostoleion, Eleona-Kirche,
Vater-Unser-Kirche 9, 48, 51, 74, 85,
96, 99, 107, 112, 114, 121, 135, 139,
143, 145 f, 151–154, 161 f, 173 f, 176,
178, 180–182, 185–187, 230, 376 f, 560
(map 2)
 - *see* Gethsemane
 - S. George 22, 95, 167
 - S. John 164
 - St. John in Laterano = S. Salvator 201
 - Kathisma = Cathisma, Kethisma Church,
Kathisma-Kirche 14 f, 104, 111, 119,
138, 157, 161, 187, 347, 349, 359, 423,
462, 468, 560 (map 2)
 - Church of St. Lawrence 165, 383
 - Mamre 230
 - S. Maria Latina 194
 - S. Maria Maggiore 11, 101 f, 551
 - Mary’s empty tomb 318, 560 (map 2)
 - St. Mena *see also* Building of S. Mena
349
 - S. Michael 158
 - Nea = Nea Ecclesia Church, Nea Church,
Nea Maria, Marienkirche, Nea-Maria-
Basilika, Nea-Kirche 6 f, 9, 24, 49, 53 f,
60, 77, 85 f, 88, 96, 107 f, 139, 159, 184,
255, 315, 319, 340 f, 343 f, 347, 360, 385,
552, 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
 - Nea Sophia 77, 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
 - S. Peter in Gallicantu, St. Petrus Galicanti
Church, St. Peter in Gallicantu, St. Pe-
trus in Gallicantu 24, 39, 53, 63, 85, 105,
112, 156, 165, 259
 - St. Peter = Peterskirche, Petersdom, Pe-
trusgrab, Grab Petri 189, 201–204, 206,
213, 220–222, 552
 - S. Procopius 167, 184
 - S. Pudenziana 10, 102
 - Church of the Redeemer = Erlöserkirche
40, 81, 194–196, 201, 276
 - Siloam Church = Church of Siloam,
Siloë-Kirche 54, 254, 262, 383
 - *see* Sion
 - S. Stephen = St. Stephen’s Church,
Stephanuskirche 106, 135, 143 f, 154,
156, 166, 168, 173, 176, 184, 319, 384,
560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
 - Church of Theotokos 158
 - S. Zechariah 166 f, 176, 180
- City of David = Davidsstadt 3, 9, 36, 39,
41, 49, 244, 436, 463
- City of the Temple 460
- Constantinople = Konstantinopel 19, 60,
76–78, 102, 108, 127, 132, 139, 188, 236,
334 f, 339, 341 f, 349, 355, 357–359, 378,
381–383, 386, 389 f, 398 f, 401 f, 405,
436
- Dead Sea 233, 263, 295, 381
- Decumanus = David and Chain Streets 7,
24, 35–37, 43, 46, 48 f, 54, 190, 196, 368,
551, 559 (map 1)
- Deir Dosi *see also* Monastery of Theodosius
15, 359
- Dome of the Rock = Felsendom 2 f, 6, 98,
207, 210, 213, 215, 217 f, 221 f, 312, 467,
470
- qubbat al-šakhra 435, 467, 470, 561 (map 3)
- Dominus-Flevit = Dominus flevit 73, 112

- Ein Yael 271
- Eleutheropolis 132, 134, 229, 233, 237, 272
- Emek Refa’im 272
- Emmaus 9, 15, 225, 227, 267, 417

- Enbicumacube 168, 181
 Enbigon 169, 186
 Enbiteba 169, 185
 En Kerem = Ein Kerem, Ain Karim 112,
 140, 168, 283
 Entidabara 169, 180
 Ephesus = Ephesos 84
- Field of the Pastors 376
 Forum 7, 35–41, 43, 46, 48 f, 51, 97,
 194–197, 200, 206, 270, 276, 279, 368,
 370, 374, 551 f, 559 (map 1), 560 (map 2)
- Galilee = Galiläa 4, 11, 17 f, 30, 124 f, 236,
 238, 265, 282, 295, 305, 314, 378, 383
 Gaza 77, 173, 236, 269, 333, 349, 357, 402
 Ge(l)bani = Village of Gelbanus 168
 Gerasa 279, 282, 335, 367
 Getheno 169
 Gethsemane = Getsemani, Getsemane 53,
 63, 85, 93, 102, 111, 123, 126, 137, 151,
 153, 160, 163, 180, 186, 318, 462, 466,
 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
 Gihon 243–247, 252, 256
 Givati Parking lot 283
 Golgotha = Golgota 2, 7, 50 f, 53, 57 f, 94,
 100, 112, 119–121, 123–125, 128 f, 140,
 143, 146, 150, 154, 156, 176, 183, 185,
 188–190, 193, 195, 197, 203, 205, 220,
 267, 275, 278, 314, 318, 320, 374, 379,
 381, 466, 551 f
 Gophaniticam 233
 Grotto of Agony = Verratsgrotte 74, 112,
 560 (map 2)
- Haram *see also* Temple Mount 3, 6, 24, 34,
 36, 287, 435, 469–471
 Har ha-bayit 435
 Hebron
 – Mountains 245, 247, 250
 – Village 230, 319, 376
 Herodium = Herodischer Palast,
 Herodianischer Königspalast 33, 36, 38 f,
 233, 257
 Hezekiah Pool *see also* Pool 259
 Hinnom Valley = Hinnomtal 47, 247, 559
 (map 1), 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
 Hippodrom 41
 Hospice = Hospiz 9, 36–38, 45, 53 f, 80,
 129 f, 163, 316, 330, 332 f, 337, 340, 342,
 344, 357–359, 375, 378
- House
 – of Cajaphas / Court of High Priest, House
 of Caiaphas, Häuser des Kaiphas und des
 Pilatus 105, 121, 123, 128, 156, 383
 – of Joachim and Anna 138 f, 160
 – of Menorot = House of candelabra, House
 of the candelabras, Beit Ha-Menorot
 307–309
- Idaquata 169, 185
 Idumaea 227
 Imbomon *see* Ascension Church
- Jad Abschalom 46
 Jammia 338
 Jason 169, 181
 Jericho 80, 232 f, 257, 346, 424, 464
 Jordan
 – Country 22, 95, 551
 – River 108, 114, 416
 Josaphat, valley *see also* Tombs of the
 Valley of Jehoshaphat 125, 132 f, 142
 Judean Desert = Judäische Wüste 9 f, 15 f,
 114, 231, 316, 345–350, 356–359, 411,
 413, 417 f, 421
 Judaeen highlands 235
 Judaeen Hills = Berge Judäas 49, 236,
 238
 Judaeen Mountains 9, 15, 258
 Judaeen Shephelah 236
- Kaaba 440, 443, 448, 456 f
 Kana 256
 Keon 169
 Khirbet Almit 234
 Khirbet Beit Arza 228
 Khirbet Deir el-Asfur 229
 Khirbet Ed-Deir 349
 Khirbet el-Suyyagh 237
 Khirbet Haiyan 234
 Kidron Valley = Kidrontal, Kidron-Tal 9,
 46 f, 87, 105 f, 243–246, 256, 263, 559
 (map 1), 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
 Koinobion *see also* Monastery 417,
 424–426
 Kreuzauffindungskapelle 194
 Kypros 257
- Laura 15, 235, 315, 350, 356 f, 359, 408,
 411, 421–425, 429
 – Laura of Firminus 359
 – Laura of Sabas 357, 359

- Lazarium = Lazarion, Tomb of Lazarus,
Lazarus-Grab, Lazarusgrab 58, 85, 91,
102, 104, 122, 155, 318, 376, 427
- Lydda 227, 378
- Ma'ale Adummim 346, 358 f
- Machaeros 257
- Machmas 234
- Mamillah pool *see also* Pool 251
- Mamillah street 250
- Mamre *see also* Mamre Church 376 f
- Mar Elias 229
- Masada 257
- Masephta 168, 183
- Maxentius-Basilica = Maxentius-Basilika
203
- Maxentius Mausoleum 207
- Mecca 18, 21 f, 252, 436, 438 f, 442–448,
453–457, 462–464, 468–470, 473
- Medina 18, 436, 438, 445, 453–457, 463 f,
473
- Metoba 133, 166, 168
- Monastery *see also* Laura
- Abrahamskloster 190, 203, 551
 - Choziba-Monastery 139, 170
 - Deir Dosi 15, 359
 - of Eustorgius 357
 - of Flavia = Kloster der Flavia 424
 - of the Iberians 356, 560 (map 2)
 - and Church for Julian Martyr 349
 - Koinobion Kastellion 424
 - Martyrius' monastery 359
 - Notre Dame Monastery 259
 - of Orbiaka 355
 - of Passarion = Coenobia of Passarion,
Passarion Kloster 357, 346, 356, 423
 - of Rufinus 353 f
 - of Stephanus' Church 355
 - Spoudaeon-Monastery 153
 - Koinobion of Theoctistus = Koinobium
des Theoctistus 424
 - of Theodorus und Cyriacus 80
 - of Theodosius 356, 359
- Moscow 436
- Mosque Al-Khanqah 280
- Mount Moriah = Moriyah 286, 435,
454–456
- Mount of Olives = Ölberg 7, 9 f, 12, 14 f,
19 f, 50–53, 58, 63, 73 f, 80, 92 f, 96 f,
102 f, 106–108, 111, 113 f, 120, 122,
125–127, 132–134, 138–140, 142, 153,
166, 202 f, 205, 230 f, 318 f, 328–330,
- 332, 336 f, 346, 349, 351–357, 361,
375–377, 379, 382, 384, 417, 423 f, 461
- Mount Scopus = Skopus-Berg 80, 296 f,
323, 350
- Mount Sinai 137, 170, 332, 345, 442–444,
452, 464
- Mount Sion = Mount Zion, Zionsberg,
Sionsberg 9, 74 f, 78, 80, 103, 123, 231,
259, 276, 318–320, 346, 351, 356 f, 361
383
- Muristan 24, 54, 107, 192, 194, 196
- Nahal Refa'im 229
- Neapolis 53, 77, 368
- Necropoleis 271
- Negev 236
- Odeion 42
- Ophel 80, 283, 307, 309
- Orine 233, 417
- Palace of David = Davidspalast 52
- Pantheon 42, 206, 214, 274, 281, 352
- Petrebagoni 170, 185
- Pool
- Bethesda pool / sheep pool = Bethesda-
Teich, Betesda-Teich, Schafteich, Pro-
batica 24, 53, 63, 85, 104, 138, 159, 174,
183, 260, 319, 559 (map 1), 560 (map 2),
561 (map 3) *see also* Bethesda
 - Hezekiah pool 259
 - Mamillah pool 254, 258 f
 - Pool of Salomon 4
 - Siloam = Shiloah, Siloa, Pool of Siloam,
Siloam Pool, Siloë-Becken 53, 63, 132,
160, 244, 246 f, 252–254, 256, 260, 262,
319, 383, 552, 559 (map 1), 560 (map 2)
 - Struthion pool 270
- Prodi 168, 181
- Ptocheia 339
- Qasr er-Rawabi = monastery of Stephanus'
Church 355
- Qirjat Jearim 157
- Ramallah 241
- Ramat Rahel = Ramat Rachel 228 f, 234,
271
- Red Sea 12, 265, 372
- Rehavia 108
- Rock tombs = Felsengräber 106, 559
(map 1), 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)

- Rome = Rom 8, 10, 12, 17, 19, 30, 33, 38, 42, 60, 76, 100–102, 189, 199–204, 206 f, 213 f, 220–222, 266, 270, 274 f, 278 f, 328, 330, 335, 341, 343, 352, 359, 366 f, 373, 385, 389 f, 436, 551 f
- Samarian highland 236
- Sebento 169
- Shephela 233, 236
- Shuafat 228
- Sikeon 169
- Sion = Zion, Hagia Sion, Zions-Basilika, Zionsbasilika, Sionskirche, Zionskirche 24, 52, 54, 60, 75, 79, 85, 96, 102 f, 107, 112 f, 123, 288, 337, 356, 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
- Tariq al-Wad 24, 60
- Temple
- Temple of Ilya 460, 469
 - Temple Mount = Haram, Tempelberg, Tempelplatz, Jerusalemer Tempel, Tempel Herodes des Großen, Jewish Temple 2 f, 5 f, 8, 10, 17 f, 20 f, 24, 34, 36, 38, 43 f, 48, 55, 57, 80 f, 85–88, 92, 95, 105, 107, 129, 243, 245, 247 f, 249, 251, 253, 257–262, 263 f, 267, 275 f, 283, 286 f, 292, 294, 297, 304–309, 312 f, 318–321, 367 f, 371, 375, 377, 380, 384 f, 435, 437, 440, 442, 445, 455 f, 463–471, 552, 560 (map 2)
 - Temple of Zeus / Jupiter = Jupitertempel 41–43, 82 f, 267, 275–279, 287–290, 559 (map 1)
- Teqo'a 234
- Thamna 227
- Thamnachar 169
- Third Milestone 119 f, 131, 137, 139
- Tiberias 292, 302, 309, 463, 553
- Tomb
- of David = Davidsgrab, Grab Davids 46, 53, 75, 561 (map 3)
 - in the Valley of Jehoshaphat 318
 - of Josef of Arimathaea = Grab des Josef von Arimathaea 195
 - of S. Hesychios = Grab des Heiligen Hesychios 335, 560 (map 2)
 - of Lazarus *see* Lazarium
 - of Mary = Grab Mariens 105, 125, 129, 157, 160, 560 (map 2), 561 (map 3)
 - of Rachel = Rachel's Tomb 120, 167, 181, 247
 - of S. Pelagia 318
- Tower of David 219, 318, 356 f
- Tyropoion Valley 253 f, 259, 263 f
- Venice, S. Marco 218
- Via Dolorosa 37, 50, 53, 63, 270
- Wadi Arub 247 f, 250
- Wadi Biyar 247, 250
- Wadi Deir Ballut 233
- Western Wall Tunnel 41

Index of Subjects

- Access to the City for Jews *see also* Edict of Hadrian 8, 12 f, 18, 266, 270 f, 291, 305 f, 307 f, 312, 371 f, 462
- Administration
– Civil 9, 14 f, 228, 232 f, 444
– Ecclesiastical 72 f, 232 f
- Agriculture = Landwirtschaft 9, 14, 228 f, 236–238, 240 f, 245, 258
- Amulet 13, 109, 290
- Apocalyptic literature / traditions 124–127, 131, 137–139, 291 f, 295, 307–309, 444–446, 472
- Apotolic claim 19, 326, 373, 376, 379, 414 f
- Archeology, archeological excavations, archeological research 4, 73–75, 85–88, 95, 196, 205, 225 f, 228, 234, 236, 240, 245, 248, 250, 254, 264 f, 267, 276 f, 283, 285, 307–309, 346–351, 369 f, 461
- Architecture, Roman = Römische Baukunst 206–214, 222, 233, 235, 318
- Ascesis / Asceticism = Askese 235, 330–340, 345–361, 425
- Authorities 18 f, 234 f, 245, 369, 395
– Ecclesiastical (clergy) 9, 15, 18 f, 100–114, 137, 237, 292, 307, 322, 328, 351–361, 377–381, 414
– Imperial / Roman 225–229, 288, 365 f, 369 f, 381
– Rabbinic 257, 297–299
- Barriers = Schranken 8, 111–113, 219–221
- Baptism 118, 121, 126, 262 f, 428 f
- Bible 10, 118, 120, 130, 304, 309, 320, 437 f, 443, 451, 453, 462
- Bishop list = Bischofsliste 19, 31, 68–71, 288, 373, 392 f
- Building policy = Bauprogramm / Baupolitik 32, 61, 84
– of Constantine 59, 97, 99, 119, 226 f
– of Hadrian 365
– of Justinian 340–343
- Burial culture *see also* Ossuaries 11, 132–134, 141, 226 f, 295, 369
- Change *see* Continuity / Discontinuity
- Christenverfolgung *see* Persecution
- Christianization = Christianisierung *see also* Christian City 7 f, 11–14, 46 f, 54, 57–89, 231, 269, 290 f, 305, 365, 372, 377–383, 401, 404
- City
– City area = Stadtgebiet 6, 9, 16, 36, 49, 86 f, 417 f
– City center = Stadtzentrum 40, 48 f, 341
– Cityscape = Stadtbild 1, 5, 7, 10, 53–64, 86, 97, 103, 343, 383
– City wall = Stadtmauer 12, 33–35, 42, 49, 61, 79, 96, 103, 192–194, 384
– Christian City = Christliche Stadt 5, 12, 44 f, 53, 231, 243, 245, 372 f, 385–387
– Jewish City = Jüdische Stadt 3, 5 f, 30, 44, 48, 243, 262, 285, 322, 365, 369, 375
– Pagan / Roman City = Pagane Stadt *see also* Colonia 5, 7, 14, 60, 243, 256, 262, 265 f, 289, 365–368
– “City of Prayer” = “Stadt des Gebets” 86–89
- Coexistence of religious cults / communities 1, 13–15, 111, 290
- Coins, Coinage = Münzen 44, 228, 248, 265, 277–284, 309, 366 f, 371, 460
- Colonia / Roman colony Aelia 27, 43–45, 78, 88, 194 f, 243, 249, 265–268, 280–284, 291, 367–372, 417
- Commemoration = Erinnerung, Vergegenwärtigung *see also* Memory 93, 99, 102, 104, 117–141, 232, 375 f
- Conquest of Jerusalem = Eroberung
– Arab / Muslim / Islamic conquest (635–638 AD) 3, 16, 18 f, 22, 94, 110 f, 216, 218, 292, 309, 313, 316, 350, 356, 365, 389, 398, 402, 459–474
– of Barsauma (5th century) 305–307
– of Heraclius (622 AD) 308, 386 f
– Persian / Sassanid conquest (614 AD) 3, 5, 7, 13, 110, 125, 141, 218, 292, 308, 386 f, 389, 444

- Roman conquest (70 AD) 3, 30, 32 f, 42, 245, 253, 257, 270, 312
- Continuity and change / discontinuity
 - = Kontinuität und Wandel / Bruch 2, 5–8, 13, 17 f, 27–55, 60, 66, 91, 294, 373, 392 459–474
- Council = Konzil *see also* Synod 6 f, 51, 59–64, 94, 392, 415, 429, 461
 - of Nicaea (325 AD) 19, 21, 51, 61–63, 73, 94 f, 200–202, 374
 - of Constantinople (381 AD) 52, 63, 94, 103, 381
 - of Ephesus (431 AD) 53, 63, 102, 104, 233
 - of Chalcedon (451 AD) 19, 63, 84, 94 f, 130, 233, 339, 359, 376, 416, 425
 - of Constantinople (536 AD) 359
- Cross of Christ *see also* Relics 112 f, 123, 205, 278, 308, 316–322, 378 f, 381 f, 386 f, 414, 418, 422, 444
 - Capture and restoration of the Cross 308, 386 f, 444
 - Inventio crucis 220, 322, 378, 387
- Crusader Time = Kreuzfahrerzeit 10, 21, 53, 111, 126, 191, 195, 210, 435, 473
- Cult = Kult, Verehrung *see also* Festivals and Rites
 - Marian Cult / devotion / piety = Marienverehrung 53 f, 63, 104, 108, 119, 125–131, 137–139, 155–160, 318 f, 359 f, 385
 - Pagan Cults 13, 41 f, 286, 365 f, 377–379, 269–284
 - Veneration of Saints = Heiligenverehrung 118, 130–141, 335–340, 407–413
- Demography *see also* Population 67, 70, 76–80, 226 f, 230–232, 240, 270–272, 365, 369 f
 - Demography and pilgrimage 230–232
 - Demographic turn / change 271 f, 285
- Destruction = Zerstörung
 - of the *Anastasis* 125, 128, 192, 216–221
 - of churches 386, 460
 - of Jerusalem 2 f, 30–33, 88, 225, 228, 234, 253 f, 308
 - of the Jewish Temple 5–8, 12, 17, 30–32, 41, 243, 266, 289, 291, 296–301, 306, 309 f, 313, 319, 323, 365, 437, 445 f, 464, 467
 - of temples 305, 390
- Diakonia *see also* Welfare 325–344
- Diversity / plurality
 - within Christianity 14, 72–75, 84, 192 f, 336–340
 - within Judaism 17, 291–310
- Donation = Stiftung *see also* Patronage 102, 230, 235–238, 344, 349
 - Imperial donations = kaiserliche Stiftungen 62, 77, 85, 96, 99, 105, 139, 200, 205, 230, 332–337, 340–343, 349, 376 f
 - Private / personal donations = private Stiftungen 104, 129 f, 227, 230
- Earthquake = Erdbeben 6, 29, 141, 190, 216, 379, 381
 - of 363 AD 6, 265, 283, 379
 - of 659 AD 465
 - of 746 AD 216, 385, 470
 - of 1016 AD 215 f
 - of 1927 AD 190 f
- Economy = Ökonomie 12–15, 79 f, 225–242, 341, 358 f, 372–376
- Eucharist = Eucharistie 111, 120–124, 130, 141, 143–154
- Ecumenism, Christian Ecumenism = Ökumene 14, 18–22, 190
- Eroberung *see* Conquest
- Eschatology = Eschatologie 16, 18, 22, 100, 115, 121, 312, 322, 379, 419, 446, 460, 470–472
- Euergetism = Euergetismus 77, 102, 325–344
- Eulogia = Eulogien *see also* Pilgrim souvenirs 108–111, 115, 129, 316, 323
- Exegesis
 - Christian 93, 287, 314, 327
 - Islamic 435–457, 463 f, 471
 - Jewish 294, 304, 453–456
- Exile = Exil 5, 227, 244, 447 f
- Fasting = Fasten 52, 297–299, 336
- Festivals = Feste 118–122, 143–189
 - Annunciation 117, 127, 138 f, 159, 174
 - Ascension 120, 122, 126, 131, 134, 152, 166
 - Baptism of Christ 118, 121, 126
 - Christmas 117, 119, 126 f, 138, 151, 155
 - Circumcision 127, 170
 - Dormition of Mary 125–127, 137 f
 - Easter 103, 118, 121–123, 144, 146, 151, 154–156, 176, 201, 205, 232, 345

- Encaenia 21, 232, 314, 323, 375
- Epiphany 117–119, 122, 126, 136, 143, 145, 151–153, 155 f, 159, 166, 232, 345
- Exaltation of the Cross 140, 184
- Good Friday = Karfreitag 103, 120, 122 f, 126, 128, 145, 150, 154, 156, 205, 316
- Holy / Maundy Thursday = Gründonnerstag 122–127, 141–154
- Holy Week 117–119, 122, 128, 140, 143, 145, 151, 154, 175, 232
- Hypapante 117, 140, 171
- Lazarus Saturday / Sunday 139, 155
- Lent 131, 136 f, 140, 145, 153 f, 160, 170, 175, 376
- Palm Sunday = Palmsonntag 87, 103, 127 f, 131, 141, 143, 151–153, 160, 292
- Passah / Pessah 201, 263, 451
- Pentecost = Pfingsten 52 f, 102 f, 121–127, 144, 146, 151–155, 164, 166, 170, 176, 298, 451
- Roman Festival Calendar 280 f
- Shavuot 451
- Sukkoth 12, 260–262, 292, 306, 312 f
- Transfiguration 121, 127, 140 f, 152, 182
- Fire, fire raising = Brand, Feuer 10, 191, 216, 381, 447
- Food = Nahrung 228 f, 238–242, 327, 335, 338, 375 f, 429
- Frömmigkeit *see* Piety
- Graffiti 53, 75, 132, 134, 289
- Hagiography *see also* Source problems
 - Hagiographical entanglement / Hagiographische Verschränkung 431
 - Hagiographical plausibility / Hagiographische Plausibilität 409, 426
- Heavenly / imagined / symbolic Jerusalem = himmlisches / symbolisches Jerusalem 2, 10 f, 16–18, 21 f, 87, 288, 291, 305, 309 f, 319, 322, 374, 435–457, 460
- Hinterland, countryside, landscape, surroundings = Umland 9, 14 f, 70, 225 f, 231–242, 272 f, 282 f, 358 f, 369, 413, 417 f, 424–427
- History of Salvation = Heilsgeschichte 21, 45, 93, 410, 414, 418
- Holiness 17 f, 38, 92, 243, 294
 - “axis of holiness / sanctity” 18, 442–444
 - Holy of Holies 287 f, 321
 - of Jerusalem 17–19, 20–22, 47, 94, 100–107, 258, 311, 413–423, 430, 466
 - of the Land 28, 345 f, 351, 376 f, 394, 407, 440–448
 - of persons 20, 91, 100, 113
 - of places / holy places = Ortsheiligkeit *see also* Sanctuaries 8, 13, 18, 20, 31, 43 f, 49, 91–94, 100, 113–115, 119, 122, 220, 232, 236, 314, 375 f, 462
 - of space = Raumheiligkeit 92, 107–111, 311, 375
 - of things = Dingheiligkeit 91
- Holy Scriptures *see also* Bible 18, 320
- Holy Tomb = Heiliges Grab 192, 197, 207, 209, 374 f, 468
- Imperium Romanum / Roman Empire = Römisches Reich 64–68, 75–77, 82–88, 94, 199–203, 290, 315, 327, 330, 340 f, 345, 351, 358, 361, 365, 372 f, 386, 399
- Incarnation of the Logos = Inkarnation, Menschwerdung 96, 410, 414–417
- Inscription = Inschrift *see also* CIIP in the Index of Passages 11, 15, 29, 35, 37, 42, 70–75, 108, 226 f, 230, 235, 242, 249, 269–271, 281, 289 f, 346, 350, 385, 390
 - of Anastasius I 385
 - of the Anastasis 215
 - on the Arch to Hadrian 37 f, 272, 276
 - on the Arch to Septimius Severus 270, 372
 - at the Dome of the Rock 467 f, 472
 - of the Ecce-homo-Church 37
 - of Euphemia 355
 - at Jaffa Gate 342
 - to M. Iunius Maximus 265
 - of the Nea Church 360 f
 - for the Goddess Neotera 282
- Institutions = Einrichtungen
 - Diaconical institutions / Diakonische Einrichtungen 9, 54, 65, 325–344
 - Political institutions 266, 402
 - Monastic institutions 94, 231–236, 345–347, 352, 358, 409, 419, 430 f
- isrā 439–447, 469
- Languages
 - Arabic = Arabisch 386, 429, 460–467, 472
 - Armenian = Armenisch *see also* Armenian Lectionary in the Index of Passages 107, 113, 315, 324, 349 f, 390, 461

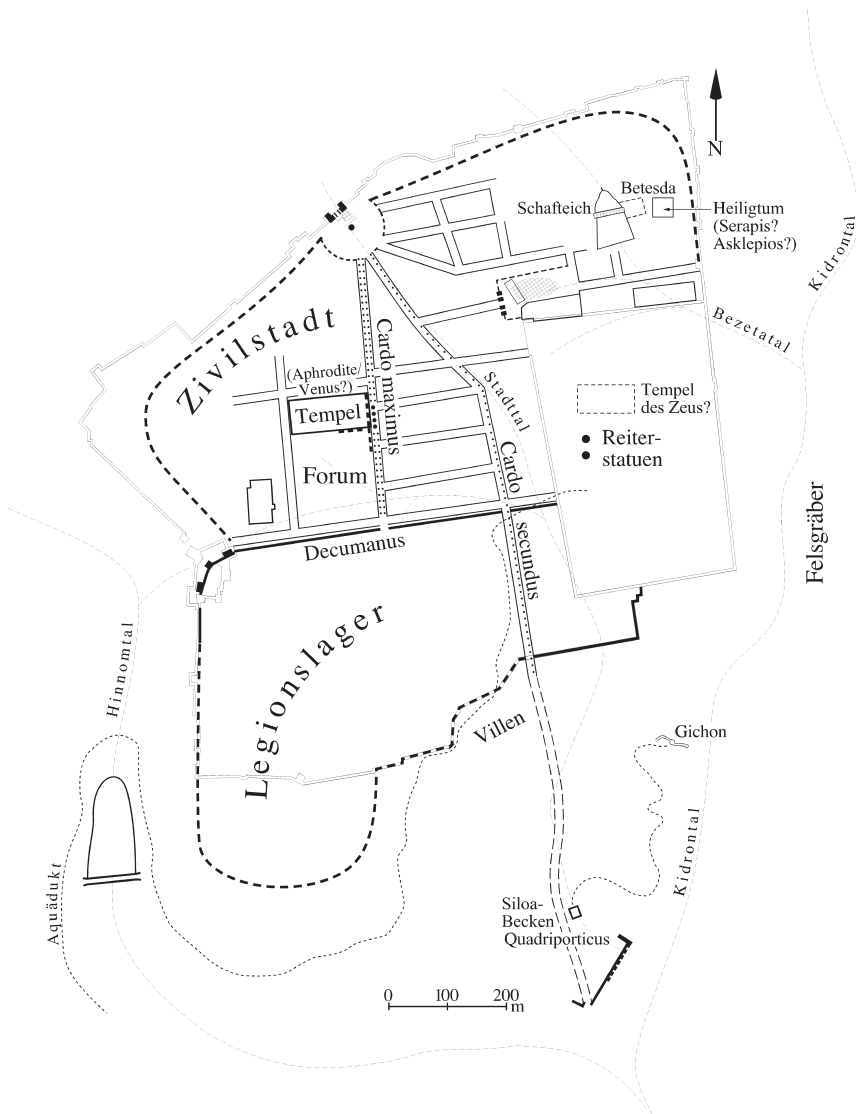
- Georgian = Georgisch *see also* Georgian Lectionary in the Index of Passages 117, 276, 336, 390
- Greek = Griechisch 30, 42, 67, 70, 76, 227, 231, 271, 326 f, 354 f, 460 f
- Latin = Latein 12, 15, 129, 227, 231, 249, 271, 289, 324, 329, 353–356, 424, 460 f
- Syriac = Syrisch 70, 139 f, 231, 333, 336, 381, 386, 465, 472
- Last Supper = Abendmahl 53, 74 f, 103, 107 f, 124–128
- Legio X Fretensis = 10th Legion 9, 30, 34, 77, 80, 226–229, 249, 258, 266, 367–372
- Life, Passion and Resurrection of Jesus = Leben Jesu 2 f, 6–8, 10, 18, 31 f, 44, 46, 50, 61, 63, 85, 91, 93, 99, 103, 105, 122, 125, 128 f, 192, 260, 267, 284–289, 313, 318–323, 374–376, 437 f, 472
- Liturgy *see also* Festivals 11, 18, 52 f, 113–115, 117–188, 199, 231, 292, 294, 322 f, 345, 357, 376 f, 409
- Loca sancta *see* Holy places
- Local traditions = Lokaltraditionen 31, 44, 49 f, 52, 99, 103, 111, 118, 120, 122 f, 131, 140
- Loyalty = Loyalität 7, 11, 17, 19, 36, 81–85, 274
- Macht *see* Power Issues
- Madaba mosaic = Madaba-Mosaik, Madaba-Mosaikkarte, Madaba-Karte, Madabakarte 7–9, 22–24 (fig. 1), 49, 54, 57, 59–61, 95, 132, 265, 377
- Mauern *see* City walls
- Memory = Erinnerung *see also* Commemoration 2, 4, 21, 31, 44–48, 51, 53, 105, 109, 115, 291, 296, 374, 445–447
- Lieu de mémoire = Erinnerungsorte / Gedächtnisort / Memorialort 53, 58 f, 61, 78, 83, 88, 91–104, 111–115
- Menorah 11, 302, 307–309
- Migration 13, 231, 377
- Mikvah / Mikveh 8, 73, 225, 251, 254, 259–262, 470
- Monasteries
 - Agricultural / rural monasteries 15, 234–238, 346, 350
 - Desert monasteries 15, 236, 359
 - Double / pair monasteries 15, 351
 - Coenobitic monasteries 346 f, 423
 - Laura-type monasteries 130, 411 f, 421, 423–425
 - Pilgrimage monasteries 351
 - Urban / city monasteries 231, 346, 351
- Monasticism 13, 15, 20, 49, 113, 235 f, 315 f, 345–361, 407–432
 - Armenian 107, 113, 350, 461
 - Byzantine monasticism 407–432
 - Egyptian monasticism 113, 345–355
 - Female monasticism 317, 349, 353
 - Latin Monasticism 355 f
 - Monastic networks 345–361
- Mosaics 229, 467, 470
 - Church mosaics 10 f, 15, 101–103, 107, 193, 215, 235, 350, 359
 - *see also* Madaba Mosaic in the Index of Places
 - Roman mosaics 229, 473
 - Synagogue mosaics 17 f, 291, 294 f, 301–303
- Mourning customs *see* Temple
- Names of the city *see also* Toponymy 5, 27, 32, 45–47, 59, 435 f, 460
 - Aelia Capitolina 5, 27, 32, 265, 365, 460
 - Al-Quds 3, 5, 17, 460, 551, 561
 - City of David 3, 436
 - City of Peace 1
 - Hierosolyma 43–47, 59, 94, 460
 - Holy City = Heilige Stadt 16 f, 47, 57, 96, 100–107, 321, 395–398, 408 f, 413, 415
 - New Jerusalem 5, 265, 268, 321, 374, 435–457
- New Testament = Neues Testament 46, 91, 121 f, 131, 133, 320, 326, 372, 374, 391
- Night / Nocturnal Journey of Muhammad 16, 439–445, 457, 464, 473
- Orthodoxy = Orthodoxie 141, 191–193, 384, 396, 408, 412–419, 429–432, 461
- Ossuaries = Ossuarien 73, 79, 225, 271, 288
- Pagan Sanctuaries and Ceremonies 8, 73, 265, 269
- Paganization = Paganisierung *see also* Pagan City 7 f, 11, 288, 387
- Passion of Christ *see* Life of Christ
- Patriarchate 20, 394–405, 423–427, 461

- Patronage *see also* Donations and Welfare 105–107, 230, 235, 330 f, 333 f, 348, 365–387
- Persecution of Christians = Christenverfolgung 200, 265, 373, 427
- Pilgrimage = Pilgern, Pilgerwesen, Wallfahrt 1, 9, 16, 31, 73, 80, 92 f, 230–232, 243 f, 288, 307, 311–324, 375, 377, 382
- Christian Pilgrimage 10, 12, 14, 21, 80, 92 f, 292, 311–317, 323 f, 328 f, 341, 389–392
 - Criticism of Pilgrimage 316 f
 - Jewish Pilgrimage 12, 306, 311–314, 319, 323 f, 451
 - Muslim Pilgrimage (*hajj*) 252, 448
 - Pilgrimage and demography 230–232
 - Pilgrim Reports = Pilgerberichte / Pilger-texte 8, 10, 58 f, 87, 112, 194, 232, 329, 420
 - Pilgrimage Souvenirs *see also* Eulogia 14, 109–111, 115, 232, 316, 323
- Piyyut *see also* Mourning the Temple 17 f, 292, 294, 300–303
- Population structure *see also* Demography 3, 11–15, 67–76, 225–234, 240–245, 269–272, 285, 292–294, 369 f, 384 f
- Christian 44 f, 49, 67 f, 422, 466
 - Jewish 5, 12, 30–33, 227, 266, 293
 - Pagan 269–272, 285, 289, 369–372
- Power issues = Machtaspekte 16, 39, 48, 216 f, 236, 280–290, 307, 340, 347, 358–361, 378, 391–394, 400–408, 426–428
- Poverty = Armut 235, 327 f, 425
- Prayer towards Jerusalem *see also* qibla 17, 447–449, 451 f, 456, 463 f, 470 f
- Procession = Prozession 53, 84, 87, 113–115, 120, 127, 151–153, 191, 345, 376
- Prophecy = Prophezeiung 51, 287–289, 306 f, 411 f, 446, 468
- Purity / impurity = Reinheit / Unreinheit 38, 243, 251, 256–260, 262 f
- qibla *see* Prayer towards Jerusalem
- Quran / Koran 18, 111, 437–457
- Raumkonzept = spatial concept 66, 221 f
- Relics = Reliquien 92, 103–108, 110, 128–136, 215 f, 318 f, 334, 375 f, 378
- of the Cross 103, 110, 128, 198, 205, 382, 386 f
 - of Isaiah 131
 - of John the Baptist 107, 133
 - of the Manger 103
 - of Martyrs 106
 - of Sacharja 107
 - of Stephen the protomartyr 19, 107, 133, 381–384
 - of Zachariah 131
 - of the 40 martyrs of Sebaste 107
 - Horn Davids 104
 - Ring Salomos 104
- Revolt = Aufstand *see also* War 227, 230, 234, 366
- Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135 AD) 5, 47, 72, 225, 227 f, 230, 295, 367–372
 - Jewish revolt 366, 378, 392
 - Revolt of Christian monks 13, 292–294, 305–307, 313, 398
 - Samaritan revolt (529/531 AD) 358, 402, 430
- Rites / Rituals = Rituale, Riten *see also* Cults, Liturgy and Festivals 74, 99, 127, 239, 256, 295 f, 322, 463–466
- Christian 99, 127 f, 322, 345, 376, 379
 - Jewish 8, 74, 225, 239, 251, 256, 259 f, 291 f, 295 f, 299 f, 306, 309, 313
 - Muslim 454 f, 463–471
 - Pagan 104, 272, 279, 284 f, 304, 370
- Rule = Herrschaft
- Byzantine 3, 22, 94, 110, 216, 230, 233, 247, 309, 386 f, 390, 424, 461, 472
 - Crusader 191, 195, 210
 - Roman *see also* Imperium Romanum 3, 31, 94, 199 f, 225, 230, 237, 327 f, 335, 340, 366, 370, 386
 - Sassanidic 1, 294, 385 f
 - Muslim / Islamic 3, 22, 32, 111, 191, 247, 300, 402, 462 f, 466
- Sacred Landscape = Sakrallandschaft 6, 92, 319 f
- Sacred sites *see* Holy places
- Sacred space = Sakralraum, Heiliger Raum 53, 118–122, 141, 202, 207, 311, 319–322, 375, 442, 448 f, 469
- Sacralization = Sakralisierung 5–7, 91–115, 375, 409 f, 431
- Sacred geography = Sakralgeographie 91, 347, 351
- Sacred topography = Sakraltopographie 50, 94–97, 114–118, 122–131, 140 f, 441–444

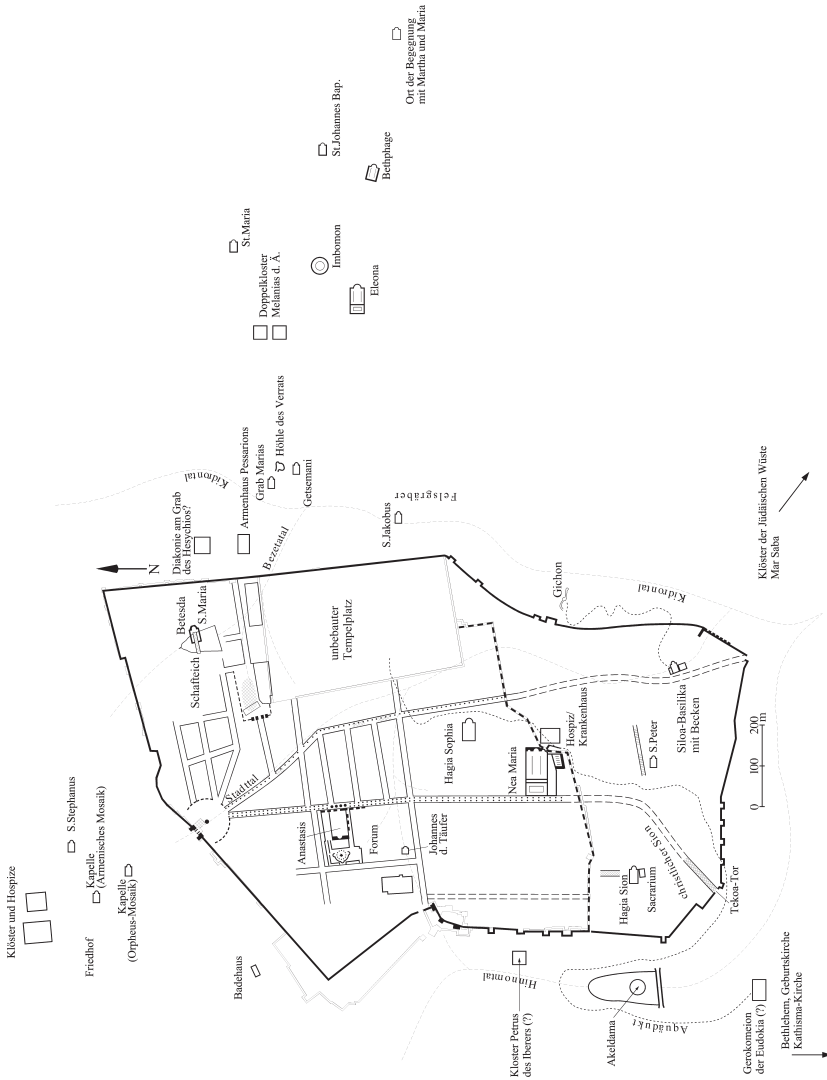
- Christian 48, 52–54, 63, 85–88, 104, 111, 142, 202, 218
- Islamic 21, 435, 437, 440–443, 455–457
- Pagan 8, 17, 40 f, 82, 196, 269, 272, 282–289, 367–383
- Schranken *see* Barriers
- Source problems = Quellenprobleme *see also* Archeology and Inscriptions
- Ambivalence of sources 4, 275, 293–299, 304 f, 346–351, 380 f, 386, 408–410, 459, 466
- Hagiographical sources 236, 238, 346 f, 408–410, 455
- Lack / Limitation of sources 18, 33, 68, 81, 108, 119, 268 f, 365, 387
- Rabbinical sources 4, 275, 291 f, 293–299, 366, 417 f
- Statue 42, 196, 274, 278, 286–288
- of Antoninus Pius 287
- of Aphrodite 278, 282
- Equestrian statue / Reiterstandbild 42, 48
- of Hadrian 35–37, 275, 287, 368
- of Jupiter 278, 287
- of Venus 40, 278
- Streets / Street system = Straßen, Straßennetz, Straßensystem 7, 9, 35–39, 49, 54, 80, 96, 195, 198, 236, 264, 301, 315, 346, 368, 376, 461
- Synagogue 4, 11, 17 f, 52, 74 f, 112, 123, 288, 292–295, 300–309, 370, 430
- Synod = Synode *see also* Councils
- of Constantinople (382 AD) 396
- of Constantinople (450 AD) 398
- of Jerusalem (518 AD) 233, 401
- of Jerusalem (536 AD) 233, 400 f
- of Tyrus (335 AD) 200
- of 195 AD 393
- Surroundings *see* Hinterland
- Talmud 4, 18, 286, 293 f, 304 f
- Taxes = Steuern 228, 233–238, 304, 338, 341 f, 358, 402, 405 f, 461
- Temple, Temple Mount = Tempel, Tempelplatz as a subject *see also* Index of Places 45–58, 86–88, 92, 276, 368, 442, 444–447, 456, 467
- Depictions of the Temple 301–303, 385
- Destruction of the Temple *see also* Destruction 10, 45–48, 51, 287, 312
- Heavenly Temple 441 f
- Mourning the devastated Temple on 9th of Av 291, 296–299, 305 f, 311–314, 371, 445–447
- Reconstruction / rebuilding the Jewish temple 49, 87, 95, 265, 288, 291, 294, 297, 303–305, 321, 366–368, 371
- Theology = Theologie
- Christological controversies 51, 61, 104, 201, 339, 346–349, 357, 384, 414–421
- Theology of Jerusalem *see also* Triumph 10, 18, 45, 48, 51, 59, 87 f, 93–100, 287, 293, 320, 394, 396
- “Theology in stone” = “Theologie bzw. Glaubensbekenntnis in Stein” 6, 10, 61–64, 82, 97, 202
- Trinity = Trinitätslehre 52, 59, 62–64, 467
- Origenism, Origenist controversies 15, 84, 348–354, 396–401, 405, 412 f
- Topography = Topographie 27–55, 59, 117 f, 194, 203, 267 f, 443
- Liturgy and Topography 117–188, 389 f
- Monastic topography 407–409
- Sacred topography = Sakraltopographie 50, 94–97, 114–118, 122–131, 140 f, 441–444
- Toponymy = *see* Names of the City
- Torah 11, 293, 296, 302, 308 f, 439, 451 f, 468
- Transformation 5–8, 27–55, 65, 73, 310, 369 f, 373, 437
- Transition 5–8, 27–55
- Triumph = Sieg
- of Romans over the Jews 6, 10, 12, 18, 32–34, 44, 47–49, 379
- of Christianity over Judaism 48, 50–55, 94, 293, 306, 312 f, 320–324, 379 f, 414, 446 f
- Urbanization = Urbanisierung / re-urbanization 1 f, 5–7, 12, 57–89, 227, 360, 368
- demographical / demographische 76–81
- endogenous and exogenous / endogene und exogene 78–81
- functional / funktionale 76–81
- physical / physische 76–81
- social / soziale 76–81
- Vergegenwärtigung *see* Commemoration

- War = Krieg *see also* Revolt
– First / Second Jewish War = Erster jü-
disch-römischer Krieg (66–70 AD) 9, 19,
29–31, 42, 45, 69, 134, 225, 227 f, 234,
266, 270, 282
- Water = Wasser 3, 8–10, 37, 50, 108,
243–264, 284–286, 297 f, 319, 323, 350
- Welfare = Wohltätigkeit *see also* Donations
15, 324–344
- Zerstörung *see* Destruction
- Zion / Sion (as a concept) 49, 52–54, 63 f,
102 f, 123 f, 300 f, 317–321, 351–361,
412–419, 443 f

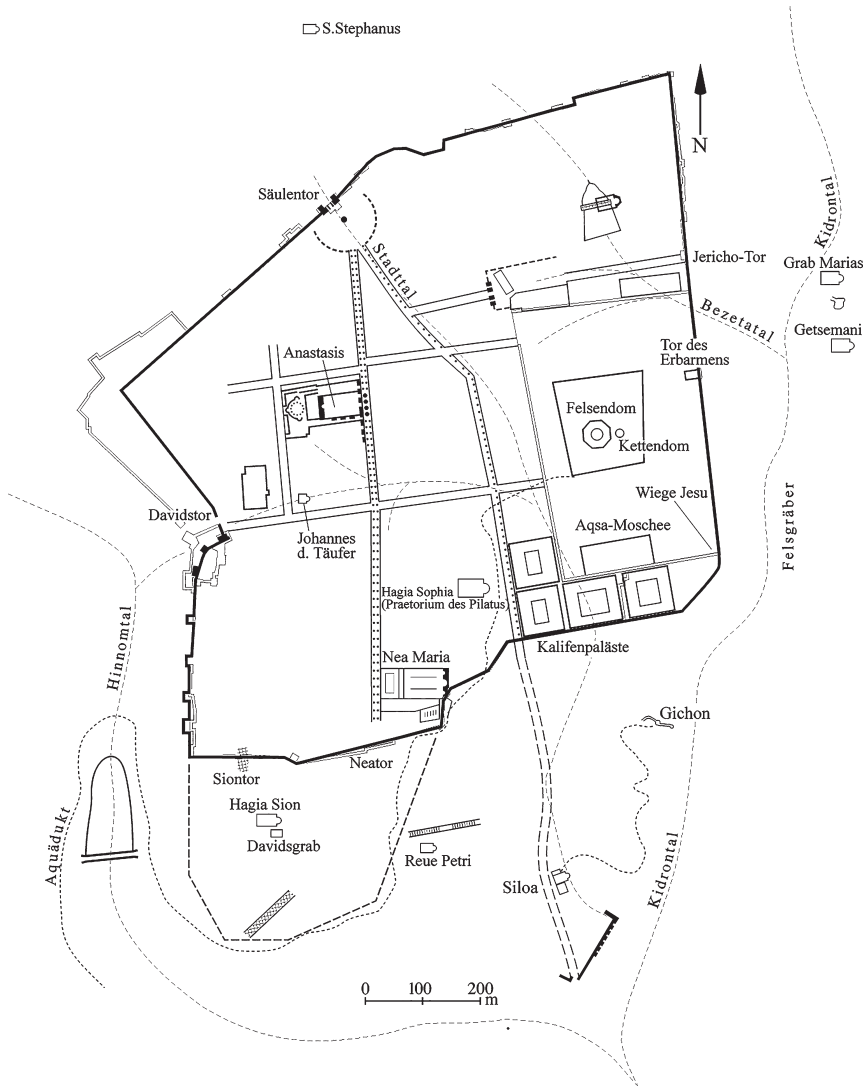
Maps



map 1: Roman Aelia Capitolina (2nd to 4th century)



map 2: Byzantine Hierosolyma (4th to 6th century)



map 3: Umayyad al-Quds (7th to 8th century)

