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# THE *ITINERARIUM BURDIGALENSE*: POLITICS AND SALVATION IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF CONSTANTINE'S EMPIRE\*

By JAŚ ELSNER

The shift from a traditional polytheistic dispensation for empire to a Christian-oriented 'commonwealth' is unarguably one of the most significant historical processes that took place in the Roman world.<sup>1</sup> Its ramifications were manifold, and not least in the arena of how empire and its territory would come to be conceived within Late Roman and Byzantine culture. In this paper I want to explore the ways one text, written in the lifetime of Constantine, takes a series of traditional forms within the established genres of Graeco-Roman travel-writing and transforms them into a new Christian paradigm not only of travel (in the form of Christian pilgrimage) but also of empire as a territorial concept defined by particular privileged places and their privileged mythologies.<sup>2</sup> The surprise lies, in part, in how swiftly a Christian author was willing implicitly to re-arrange and redefine deeply entrenched institutional norms, while none the less writing on an entirely traditional model. The text I shall be exploring, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (henceforth IB), is an account of a journey to the Holy Land made by an anonymous pilgrim from Bordeaux in A.D. 333.

This journey took place only twenty-one years after Constantine legalized Christianity within the Roman Empire and began to foster its pre-eminence through a concerted programme of official support. The Holy Land to which the pilgrim went had to be entirely re-invented in those years, since its main site — ancient Jerusalem — had been sacked under the emperor Hadrian and refounded as Aelia Capitolina.<sup>3</sup> There is an active debate about whether there were Christian pilgrims before Constantine,<sup>4</sup> about the extent to which early Christian pilgrims may have drawn on a pre-existing Jewish pilgrimage tradition, and about whether the earliest sites identified as Christian by pilgrims like the Bordeaux traveller were in fact Jewish holy places.<sup>5</sup> My interest here, however, is not in these issues but rather in how a reading of the Bordeaux pilgrim may indicate something of the transformation of Roman culture on the specific level of the text's literary composition. The process of travel-writing entails a subtle transposition of terrain and the experience of moving through terrain onto a written text, which 'moves' in its own way as the reader traverses it from beginning to end (unrolling a papyrus scroll or turning a book's pages in the process). Moreover, pilgrimage-writing (as well as the reading of pilgrimage accounts) is a form of off-site ritual which is part of the process of establishing the sanctity of a holy place. My interest, then, is less in the text as evidence for travel than in its textuality as an argument for a new — and specifically Christian — form of sacred journey.

\* It was Fergus Millar who suggested I look at the Bordeaux Pilgrim when he chaired a paper I gave on Pausanias in one of the first 'Loxbridge' conferences for graduate students in ancient history in the 1980s. It has taken me this long to follow his advice! But at least the lengthy time-lag enables me to dedicate the resulting paper to Fergus before his retirement from the Camden Chair. Earlier versions were delivered at the Institute of Humanities in the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, at the Travel and Nation Conference in the British Academy, and to the 'Travellers and Texts' Seminar in Oxford. My warm thanks to Tom Trautman, Steve Clark, and Carl Thompson for their respective invitations, and to all those who commented. I am especially grateful to the immensely speedy referees for this Journal for their specific advice, to Simon Price for nudging me in the direction of *JRS* on a train journey to London, and to the Editor for his forbearance.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth* (1993), 4–11, 80–99.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting account of the traditional nature of travel and travel-writing in pre-Christian antiquity is F. Hartog, *Mémoire d'Ulysse: Récits sur la frontière en Grèce ancienne* (1996).

<sup>3</sup> On Holy Land pilgrimage in the early Christian period generally, see E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Late Roman Empire AD 312–460* (1982) and P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (1985).

<sup>4</sup> The most recent contribution is E. D. Hunt, 'Were there Christian pilgrims before Constantine?', in J. Stopford (ed.), *Pilgrimage Explored* (1999), 25–40, with bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> See for example J. Wilkinson, 'Jewish holy places and the origins of Christian pilgrimage', in R. Ousterhout (ed.), *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (1990), 41–53; J. E. Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places: The Myth of Jewish-Christian Origins* (1993), 321–30.

In general, the IB has been studied largely in positivistic terms for the information it can offer on issues such as travel within the Roman Empire,<sup>6</sup> the lay-out and arrangements of roads,<sup>7</sup> the disposition of Jerusalem in the time of Constantine,<sup>8</sup> the earliest forms of Christian pilgrimage and pilgrimage guides,<sup>9</sup> the earliest forms of Christian liturgy in Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup> It is a text which has always been taken to stand at the beginning of a great tradition of Christian sacred travel, inferior to be sure to the wonderfully informative pilgrimage diary of Egeria written in the 380s,<sup>11</sup> but significant because it is the first pilgrimage narrative. The result is that the IB has rarely been examined within the generic context of earlier travel narratives from the pre-Christian period of the Roman Empire,<sup>12</sup> or within the ambience of literary culture in fourth-century Bordeaux,<sup>13</sup> which was one of the late Roman Empire's major provincial cultural centres — certainly on a par with North Africa.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, it might be argued that the IB is one of the early products of a Christian Latin culture at Bordeaux which reached its apogee in the fourth century with the figure of Ausonius (c. 310–395), who was already working as a young grammarian in the famous rhetorical schools of Bordeaux in the 330s.<sup>15</sup> While there is no doubt that the IB is a relatively simple text by the high rhetorical standards of Ausonius, I shall none the less argue that it is a carefully composed piece with a strong and deliberate ideological message running through the choice of structure, genre and descriptive tropes. The IB has, in effect, hardly been read as a literary effort in its own right with a specific programme encapsulated in its writing.<sup>16</sup> The most recent set of discussions concerns the quasi-positivistic question of whether the pilgrim was a woman — 'positivistic' because it seeks a clear 'yes or no'

<sup>6</sup> e.g. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio Religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in den alten Kirche* (1950), 343–54; Hunt, op. cit. (n. 3), 55–8; Maraval, op. cit. (n. 3), 164.

<sup>7</sup> A. Lorenzoni, *Da Tellegatae a Beneventum dall' Itinerario Burdigalense* (1962); R. Gelsomino, 'L' Itinerarium Burdigalense e la Puglia', *Vetera Christianorum* 3 (1966), 161–208.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. R. Eckhardt, 'Das Jerusalem des Pilgers von Bordeaux (333)', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palätina-Vereins* 29 (1906), 72–92; C. Mommert, 'Das Jerusalem des Pilgers von Bordeaux (333)', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palätina-Vereins* 29 (1906), 177–93; R. Hartmann, 'Die Palätina-Route des Itinerarium Burdigalense', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palätina-Vereins* 33 (1910), 169–88; R. W. Hamilton, 'Jerusalem in the fourth century', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 84 (1952), 83–90, esp. 84–7; Hunt, op. cit. (n. 3), 12, 21, 38; Maraval, op. cit. (n. 3), 254, 258–9, 261–3, 265; J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (1987), 49, 51, 53, 55; P. W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places?* (1990), 285–6, 290–1; Y. Tsafir, 'Byzantine Jerusalem: the configuration of a holy city', in L. I. Levine (ed.), *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, (1999), 133–50, esp. 135.

<sup>9</sup> Kötting, op. cit. (n. 6), 89–111 (esp. 103–7); L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (1974), 307–10; Hunt, op. cit. (n. 3), 55.

<sup>10</sup> L. Douglass, 'A new look at the Itinerarium Burdigalense', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996), 313–33, esp. 315, 327–8.

<sup>11</sup> On Egeria, see J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (1987), 88–94; M. B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World* (1988), 20–33; H. Sivan, 'Holy Land pilgrimage and western audiences: some reflections on Egeria and her circle', *Classical Quarterly* 38 (1988), 528–35; H. Sivan, 'Who was Egeria? Piety and pilgrimage in the age of Gratian', *Harvard Theological Review* 81 (1988), 59–72; R. L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (1992), 111–14; J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (1999); A. Palmer, 'Egeria the voyager', in

Z. von Martels (ed.), *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction* (1994), 39–53.

<sup>12</sup> An exception, though confined to third- and fourth-century 'travellers' navigational tools' is Douglass, op. cit. (n. 10), 317–20.

<sup>13</sup> For a somewhat over-inclusive repertoire of literary sources on and from Gaul between 284 and 395, see P.-M. Duval, *La Gaule jusqu'au milieu du Ve siècle* (1971), 513–662 (with discussion of IB at 558–60).

<sup>14</sup> On Bordeaux in the fourth and fifth centuries, see R. Etienne, *Bordeaux antique* (1962); D. Barrard and M.-A. Gaidon, *Villes et agglomérations urbaines antiques du sud-ouest de la Gaule* (1992), 43–8, 355–64; H. Sivan, 'Town and country in late antique Gaul: the example of Bordeaux', in J. F. Drinkwater and H. Elton (eds), *Fifth-Century Gaul: A Crisis of Identity?* (1992), 132–44; H. Sivan, *Ausonius of Bordeaux* (1993), 31–48; D. Trout, *Paulinus of Nola* (1999), 24–33. On the development of Christian cult in Gaul in the fourth century, see A. Rouselle, *Croire et guérir: la foi en Gaule dans l'Antiquité tardive* (1990).

<sup>15</sup> On Ausonius in the 330s, see A. D. Booth, 'The academic career of Ausonius', *Phoenix* 36 (1982), 329–43, esp. 331–2 and Sivan, op. cit. (n. 14, 1993), 84. On the schools of Bordeaux (in relation to social mobility and to the vexed argument as to how many professors were there at any one time), see K. Hopkins, 'Social mobility in the Later Roman Empire: the evidence of Ausonius', *CQ* 11 (1961), 239–49; A. D. Booth, 'Notes on Ausonius' Professores', *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 235–42; Booth, op. cit. (1982); P. Green, 'Still waters run deep: a new study of the Professores of Ausonius', *CQ* 35 (1985), 491–506; R. Kaster, *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* (1988), 455–62; Sivan, op. cit. (n. 14, 1993), 74–93.

<sup>16</sup> An exception to this general trend is the important recent discussion by Glenn Bowman, "'Mapping history's redemption": eschatology and topography in the Itinerarium Burdigalense', in Levine, op. cit. (n. 8), 163–87.

answer and 'quasi' because it is unanswerable from the evidence we have (that is, from the text itself).<sup>17</sup>

## GENRE

The IB is an itinerary in twenty-six printed pages in the most recent modern edition, of which the substance — that is, roughly the opening twelve pages (549.1–585.6) and the last six (600.6–617.9) — consists of a list of places (and the distances between them) where the author stopped to change horses or to stay overnight en route.<sup>18</sup> The first words give a full picture of the journey's scope (549.1–5):

Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem and from Heraclea through Aulona, and through the city of Rome to Milan.

The central section (585.7–599.9), describing the Holy Land, breaks into a different mode of discourse, much more descriptive and keen to map territory onto scriptural events.<sup>19</sup> Since the first nine sections represent the stages of the journey from Bordeaux to Milan (549–557), it might be argued that the text — although it ends at Milan on the return journey — inscribes within itself the means to take its user back to Bordeaux. At the same time the text omits (deliberately so, since this is announced by the title) the portion of the return journey going from Caesarea, where the trip to Palestine ends (600.5), to Heraclea (on the northern coast of the Sea of Marmora, about 50 miles west of Constantinople), from which the return trip begins (600.6).<sup>20</sup> We are to assume, I take it, that the route to Heraclea from Palestine is simply the reverse of the out-journey (which stopped at Heraclea at 570.2). On arrival at Heraclea, the return-trip diverges from the path of the out-journey so as to go to Rome. These omissions of what would otherwise be repetitions give a sense of economy and taut organization to the text.

While the opening lines present the voyage from Bordeaux to Toulouse in leagues, the rest of the text presents distances in miles.<sup>21</sup> The mss tradition certainly incorporates some lacunae and errors (especially in the numbers which are so frequently given),<sup>22</sup> but by and large the text is complete and substantially accurate. With remarkable foresight as to the IB's future usefulness to scholarship, its author managed to date it precisely to

<sup>17</sup> Taylor, op. cit. (n. 4), 313; Douglass, op. cit. (n. 10), 315, 329–31; M. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* (1998), 42 and n. 83; S. Weingarten, 'Was the pilgrim from Bordeaux a woman? A reply to Laurie Douglass', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999), 291–7. On female pilgrims to Palestine in late antiquity, see L. Brubaker, 'Memories of Helena: patterns of imperial female matronage in the fourth and fifth centuries', in L. James (ed.), *Women, Men and Eunuchs* (1997), 52–75; J. B. Holloway, *Jerusalem: Essays in Pilgrimage and Literature* (1998), 31–9; J. A. Smith, 'Sacred journeyings: women's correspondence and pilgrimage in the fourth and eighth centuries', in Stopford, op. cit. (n. 4), 41–56.

<sup>18</sup> The most recent text is that of P. Geyer and O. Cuntz in *Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 175 (1965), 1–26. This is effectively a reprint of the text in O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana* (1929), vol. 1, 86–102. There are complete translations with commentaries into English by A. Stewart and C. Wilson, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society: Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* (1887), into German by H. Donner, *Pilgerfahrt in Heilige Land* (1979), 44–68, and into French by P. Maraval, *Récits des premiers pèlerins chrétiens au Proche-orient* (1996), 11–41. There is a useful partial translation of the Palestine portion into English in Wilkinson, op. cit. (n. 11), 22–34.

<sup>19</sup> To divide the Palestinian section as an 'itinerarium ad loca sancta' from the opening and closing portions of the text as an 'itinerario "laico"' and labelling these two respectively as IB<sup>2</sup> and IB<sup>1</sup>, as does C. Milani, 'Strutture formulari nell' "Itinerarium Burdigalense"' (a 333), *Aevum* 17 (1983), 99–108, while it shows awareness of the complexity of IB as a text, is none the less an excessive and overly structural response to the challenge of its form.

<sup>20</sup> By Heraclea, the pilgrim means Perinthus, which changed its name in the third century but was often known as 'Heraclea Perinthus'. The town appears as 'Perinthus' in the Peutinger Table (a medieval map based on a fourth-century model), but is confusingly close to another town also called 'Heraclea' (see the details in K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (1916), 497–8 and 515–16). It appears twice in the third-century Antonine Itinerary — as 'Heraclea' at 176.2 and as 'Perintho Erac' at 323.5 — but figures as Heraclea (a 'civitas splendida' on a par with Constantinople) in the mid-fourth-century *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* 50.

<sup>21</sup> See Milani, op. cit. (n. 19), 99–100.

<sup>22</sup> For instance, see Stewart and Wilson, op. cit. (n. 18), 67–8.

A.D. 333, since he — or she — tells us (on setting off for the Holy Land from Constantinople after arriving there from Bordeaux, 571.6–8) that

We travelled in the Consulate of Dalmatius and Zenophilus, leaving Chalcedonia on 30 May and returned to Constantinople on 26 December in the same Consulate.

By restarting the recorded itinerary of the return journey at Heraclea, the author avoids mentioning the return to Constantinople which is announced in this passage.

Before exploring some of the IB's particular features, it is worth situating it in its literary context. The Bordeaux Pilgrim's account is a characteristic example of the *itinerarium* genre of Greek and Latin writing, unusual only in its Christian emphasis. The genre comprises lists of towns along Roman roads with distances (usually given in miles or stades) but may go beyond this in adding further (more colourful, touristic, propagandist, pilgrim-centred, or merchant-orientated) material, as does the IB — especially in its Holy Land section.<sup>23</sup> As a form of topographical enumeration, the genre goes back to the twin early imperial projects of mapping newly conquered or administered territory and providing this territory with roads.<sup>24</sup> These roads not only constituted an immense improvement in local infrastructures but also created a key mechanism for control, since they enabled the swift movement of armies. But, more deeply, mapping and building roads were both dependent on relatively advanced technologies of mensuration which were available to exploitation by the centralized political power in Rome.<sup>25</sup> At their most basic, *itineraria* involve the transposition of the information given on milestones, which were an integral feature of the major Roman roads,<sup>26</sup> to a written script — whether carved on a monument grander than the average milestone, inscribed on a work of art, or written down on a papyrus roll.

Such information (apparently just place names and distances) was always more than simply useful and was rapidly subject to subtle kinds of propagandist use. Under Augustus, Agrippa's famous World Map was created and set up in Rome, purporting to be a pragmatic representation of terrain but always also a propagandist portrayal of imperial dominion.<sup>27</sup> The map contained measurements of Roman provinces in miles, and served as a significant source of information for Pliny's encyclopaedia, the *Natural History* (where its measurements are sometimes accepted and sometimes contested).<sup>28</sup> The kinds of text which transmitted the core empirical information underpinning Agrippa's map (and hence Pliny's text) have recently been shown to have informed not just the data but also the structure of the early imperial *Geography* of Strabo.<sup>29</sup> Other key monumental adaptations of the basic *itinerarium* in the early imperial period include the Golden Milestone (Miliarium Aureum) set up by Augustus in Rome in 20 B.C. and the recently discovered pillar from Patara in Lycia. The Miliarium Aureum was a column with a gilt bronze inscription giving the names of the principal cities of the Empire and their distances from Rome measured from the Severan Wall.<sup>30</sup> The *Stadiasmos Provinciae Lyciae*, discovered in 1993 in Patara, was also a monumental pillar (probably the base for an imperial statue) on which was inscribed in Greek a

<sup>23</sup> On *itineraria* in general, see A. Elter, *Itinerarstudien* (1908); W. Kubitschek, 'Itinerarien', *RE* 9.2 (1916), 2308–63; H. Leclercq, 'Itinéraires', *DACL* 7.2 (1927), 1841–1922 (esp. 1853–8 on IB); J. Fugmann, 'Itinerarium', *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* 146 (1998), 1–31; O. A. W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (1985), 112–29 with the bibliography in R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads* (1976), 231–4; K. Brodersen, *Terra Cognita*, *Spudasmata* 59 (1995) 165–94.

<sup>24</sup> These were aspects of a still broader 'civilizing ethos' which combined conquest with empirical inquiry; see (for Gaul) G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman* (1998), 48–54.

<sup>25</sup> On land-measurement in the Roman tradition, see O. A. W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors* (1971).

<sup>26</sup> On milestones, see Chevallier, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 39–47; and on other road signs, *ibid.*, 52–3.

<sup>27</sup> On Agrippa's map, see Dilke, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 41–53; C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (1991), 95–122 (with bibliography); Brodersen, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 268–87.

<sup>28</sup> See the discussion in Dilke, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 42–52.

<sup>29</sup> See K. Clarke, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Conceptions of the Roman World* (1999), 197–210. The same might be said of Pomponius Mela's mid-first-century A.D. *De Chorographia*.

<sup>30</sup> See S. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Rome* (1929), 342; Brodersen, *op. cit.* (n. 23), 254–61; Z. Mari, *LTUR* 3 (1996), 250–1 with bibliography.

dedication to Claudius and an official announcement of the building of roads in the province by the governor, Quintus Veranius, giving place names and distances.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to such eloquent statements of monumental propaganda, the genre of *itineraria* included all kinds of material objects from votive dedications to pictorial maps. The Vicarello goblets, for instance, are a group of four silver cups probably from the first century A.D., shaped like pillars and dedicated to Apollo at the Aquae Apollinares (now Vicarello, near Lake Bracciano), where they were found. Each cup is inscribed with a table recording the overland itinerary from Gades (Cadiz) in southern Spain to Rome, complete with staging-posts and distances in miles. The shape of the goblets appears to resemble milestones and their inscriptions may replicate the information on a monumental column, such as the Golden Milestone, perhaps in Cadiz itself.<sup>32</sup> The Peutinger Table, named after Konrad Peutinger, who owned the manuscript in the sixteenth century, is a medieval copy of a fourth-century illustrated map which was itself probably based on a map dating to before the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (since Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Oplontis appear on it). It represents the Roman Empire in cartographic form as a kind of road-map in a long and narrow parchment roll which shows main roads, staging-posts, and distances between them. Towns are figured by schematic pictorial symbols (a few fortified) while the major cities (Rome, Antioch, and Constantinople) appear as personifications.<sup>33</sup> The Dura Europos Shield, a fragment of parchment painted with a map of the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) which served to cover an infantryman's shield in the military border-town of Dura Europos on the Euphrates, was made in c. A.D. 250 and discovered in 1923. It represents part of the Black Sea coast, and is marked with cities and distances.<sup>34</sup> Effectively these maps are a rare surviving window into what must have been a rich cartographic tradition of rendering *itineraria* in pictorial rather than purely written or inscribed form.

Specifically textual itineraries constitute the bulk of surviving material and include both terrestrial *itineraria* (like the IB itself) and the sea-based *periploi*, which describe coastal voyages both within the Empire and outside the confines of the familiar world. These go back deep into pre-Classical tradition.<sup>35</sup> A famous early *periplus*, translated from Punic to Greek in about 480 B.C., is that of Hanno the Carthaginian, which describes a journey around the western coast of Africa, probably part of a circumnavigation of the continent.<sup>36</sup> A number of ancient Greek and Hellenistic *periploi* are attested, among which that of Pseudo-Scylax from the fourth century B.C. has survived.<sup>37</sup> From the period of the Roman Empire, we have several *periploi* including that of the Erythraean Sea of the mid-first century A.D., which was effectively a merchant's record of trading stops and goods along the east African coast and out into the Indian Ocean.<sup>38</sup> Several written *periploi* of the Euxine Sea also remain (in addition to the Dura Shield), including the description written for Hadrian in the second century by his provincial

<sup>31</sup> See S. Sahin, 'Ein Vorbericht über den Stadiasmos Provinciae Lyciae in Patara', *Lykia* 1 (1994), 130–7; *SEG* 44 (1994), 425. My thanks to George Williamson for this reference.

<sup>32</sup> See J. Heurgon, 'La date des goblets de Vicarello', *Revue des études anciennes* 54 (1952), 39–50; Chevallier, op. cit. (n. 23), 47–50; Dilke, op. cit. (n. 23), 122–4.

<sup>33</sup> See K. Miller, *Die Peutingersche Tafel* (1916); A. and M. Levi, *Itineraria Picta* (1967); L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana* (1983); Dilke, op. cit. (n. 23), 113–20. For the visual development of *itineraria* in the tradition of the IB and the Peutinger Table in the medieval itinerary maps of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, see D. K. Connolly, 'Imagined pilgrimage in the itinerary maps of Matthew Paris', *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999), 598–622.

<sup>34</sup> See F. Cumont, 'Fragment de bouclier portant

une liste d'étapes', *Syria* 6 (1925), 1–15; idem, *Fouilles de Doura Europos 1922–3* (1926), 323–37; Dilke, op. cit. (n. 23), 121–3.

<sup>35</sup> Generally on *periploi*, see F. Gisinger, 'Periplus', *RE* 19 (1938), 841–50 and Dilke, op. cit. (n. 23), 130–44.

<sup>36</sup> The literature on Hanno is large. For Greek text and English version, see A. Oikonomides and M. Miller, *Hanno the Carthaginian: Periplus or Circumnavigation [of Africa]* (1995), with bibliography at 140–4; also J. Demerlac and J. Meirat, *Hanno et l'empire punique* (1983) and C. Jacob, *Géographie et ethnographie en Grèce ancienne* (1991), 73–84.

<sup>37</sup> Text in C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* (1882, 3 vols), 1, 15–96.

<sup>38</sup> Text, translation, and commentary in L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (1989).

governor of Cappadocia, the historian Arrian.<sup>39</sup> Like the *itineraria*, this variation of the genre extends from the bare notification of stops and distances to extensive information of all kinds.

Outstandingly closest to the IB is the so-called Antonine Itinerary, which has both land and sea sections. The terrestrial portion is effectively a literary road map in list form, giving a series of routes along Roman roads throughout the Roman Empire with stops and distances. Although perhaps originally created in the Antonine period (A.D. 138–222, most likely under Caracalla in 212–217), the version that survives was revised, possibly updated and perhaps compiled from a number of earlier documents in c. A.D. 290.<sup>40</sup> Like the bulk of the IB, the land section (*itinerarium provinciarum*, sections 1–486) is very dry — almost entirely a set of lists with places and miles. The sea section (*itinerarium maritimum*, 487–529), however, occasionally breaks into the kind of mythological referencing which we find in Christian form in the Bordeaux Pilgrim.<sup>41</sup> For instance, when the Antonine Itinerary comes to Delos (527.1) we are told that this is where Apollo and Diana were born of Latona. At Naxos (528.2), the Itinerary informs us that here Ariadne was loved by Liber Pater when she had been abandoned by Theseus, and so forth.<sup>42</sup> This kind of brief contextualizing of geography into a mythological frame is typical of more descriptive topographical texts like the *periegesis* of Greece by Pausanias,<sup>43</sup> or the description of the temple at Hierapolis in Syria by Lucian.<sup>44</sup> By contrast with the apparently simple listing of places characteristic of *itineraria*, the genre of *periegesis* bolsters bare nomenclature and distances through the combination of information (related to the ‘cultural encyclopaedia’ of antiquity) and affect, since such mythology had deep resonances with all aspects of life from religion to funerary iconography to interior decoration. The brief *periegetic* contextualizations of the Antonine Itinerary are very close, on the pagan side, to the reflex that moves from ‘a mile from there is the place called Sychar’ (a distance and a place) to ‘where the Samaritan Woman went down to draw water, at the very place where Jacob dug the well, and our Lord Jesus Christ spoke with her’ (IB 588.2–5). The ‘where’ gives us a whole range of references not just to Christian mythology and its emotional significance for a believer, but also — and this is where the Christian itinerary most clearly breaks with its Roman antecedents — to a specific set of canonical texts.

#### ENVISIONING THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE: THE IB’S PRESENTATION OF IMPERIAL SPACE

Before exploring the Holy Land section of the IB, I want to look first at the way the text transposes the experience of travel, and of the terrain through which the pilgrim journeyed, onto the level of writing. To give a flavour of the way the non-Palestinian

<sup>39</sup> Arrian’s ‘Epistle to Hadrian containing a Periplus of the Euxine Sea’ (from the 130s A.D.) is edited and translated into French by A. Silberman, *Arrien: Périple du Pont-Euxin* (1995). See the discussion in P. Stadter, *Arrian of Nicomedia* (1980), 32–41. Other examples, including fragments of Menippus of Pergamon’s Augustan *periplus* and an anonymous sixth-century *periplus ponti Euxini* are in A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (1952), 118–38, 151–6.

<sup>40</sup> The text is in O. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana* (1929), vol. 1, 1–85. See Chevallier, op. cit. (n. 23), 34–7; Dilke, op. cit. (n. 23), 125–8; esp. M. Calzolari, ‘Introduzione allo studio delle rete stradale dell’ Italia Romana: L’ *Itinerarium Antonini*’, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei: Memorie* ser. 9, vol. 7 (1996), 369–520, with bibliography.

<sup>41</sup> See Calzolari, op. cit. (n. 40), 420–2 for a brief discussion of what he calls these ‘annotazioni etnografiche e storico-mitologiche’.

<sup>42</sup> Parallel to the *Itinerarium maritimum*, and indeed

more prolix in its mythological and geographical referencing, is the *Stadiasmus maris magni*, a Greek *periplus* of the Mediterranean from the latter part of the third century A.D. Typical entries give places and distances in the form: ‘From Chimo to Glaucon, 80 stades’ (section 6), but numerous examples describe some landscape features and mention significant sites of cult or myth (e.g. the temples at 4, 14, 38, and so forth). For the text, see Müller, op. cit. (n. 37), 1, 427–514.

<sup>43</sup> Most recently on Pausanias see S. Alcock, J. Cherry and J. Elsner (eds), *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece* (forthcoming, 2001), with extensive bibliography.

<sup>44</sup> On Lucian’s *De Dea Syria*, a brilliant *periegesis* of a sacred site just north of Palestine, see J. Elsner, ‘Describing self in the language of other: Pseudo(?)—Lucian at the Temple of Hire’, in S. Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome: Culture and Identity in the Second Sophistic* (forthcoming, 2001).

portions of the text work, here is a section presenting the journey from Milan to Aquileia (558.3–559.13):

Change ( <i>mutatio</i> ) at Argentea (Gorgonzola):	10 miles
Change at Pons Aureolus:	10 miles
City ( <i>civitas</i> ) of Bergamum (Bergamo):	13 miles
Change at Tellegate:	13 miles
Change at Tetellus:	10 miles
City of Brixa (Brescia):	10 miles
Halt ( <i>mansio</i> ) at Flexus:	11 miles
Change at Beneventum:	10 miles
City of Verona:	10 miles
Change at Cadianum:	10 miles
Change at Aurei:	10 miles
City of Vincentia (Vincenza):	11 miles
Change at the frontier:	11 miles
City of Patavium (Padua):	10 miles
Change at the twelfth milestone:	12 miles
Change at the ninth milestone:	11 miles
City of Altinus:	9 miles
Change at Sanus:	10 miles
City of Concordia:	9 miles
Change at Apicilia:	9 miles
Change at the eleventh milestone:	11 miles
City of Aquileia:	11 miles
Total from Milan to Aquileia: 251 miles, 24 changes, 9 halting-places.	

In one sense, this is extremely bald — no more than a road map in words. In another, however, it transposes experience — in particular, the movement along roads and the changing of horses in the *cursus publicus*,<sup>45</sup> onto the level of writing. What comes across, much more than in the Antonine Itinerary, is a tremendous precision and care in distinguishing cities (*civitates*) from changes of horses (*mutationes*) and from halting-places en route (*mansiones*).<sup>46</sup> By distinguishing *mutationes*, where horses were changed, and *mansiones*, where official travellers could spend the night, the author builds into the text the daily ritual of the journey with its pauses and overnight stops. By contrast, the Antonine Itinerary usually just gives place names and distances. Further categories of stops listed within the text (though not in the section quoted above) include the village (*vicus*, e.g. 551.7), the fortress (*castellum*, e.g. 551.9), and the palace (*palatium*, e.g. 581.7).<sup>47</sup> This taxonomy of stopping, through which the text maps the flow of its own movement both as a consecutive enumeration of items to be read and as a representation of the actuality of travel, is also — on the level of writing — a hierarchy of space. By contrast with the Palestine section, none of these stopping points — insofar as they figure as the IB's principal landmarks — raises the theme of nature or of landscape. It is true that occasionally the author looks away from his route, as it were, to note a feature of landscape,<sup>48</sup> but such instances are not just rare, they are also always brief informative interruptions to the effective flow of the text. Instead the focus of the IB, as an itinerary, is on movement along roads between urban spaces within the civilized Empire.

Beside the sense of movement generated by the relentless lists of places and mileages, the IB builds into its portrait of the journey an acute awareness of provincial boundaries. We are told when Italy begins (and therefore implicitly when Gaul ends,

<sup>45</sup> On the *cursus publicus*, the official messenger system through the Roman Empire, see O. Seeck, 'Cursus Publicus', *RE* 4 (1901), 1846–63, esp. 1855–6 on the evidence of the IB.

<sup>46</sup> See Milani, op. cit. (n. 19), 100–3.

<sup>47</sup> See Seeck, op. cit. (n. 45), 1855.

<sup>48</sup> Outside the Palestine section, these are the enunciations of landscape: 549.7–9: 'The city of Bordeaux where is the river Garonne in which the ocean ebbs

and flows for over 100 leagues, more or less'; 551.1: 'Here begins the Gaura Mountain'; 555.9: 'Here begin the Cottian Alps'; 556.1: 'Here you ascend Matrona (Mont Genève)'; 560.3: 'Here rise the Julian Alps'; 561.5: 'You cross the bridge and enter Lower Pannonia'; 571.9–10: 'From Constantinople you cross the straight, come to Chalcedon and travel through the province of Bithynia'; 582.11: 'Here is a city in the sea (Aradus), two miles from the shore'.



556.5), of the boundary of Italy and Noricum (560.10), of the passage from Noricum to Pannonia Inferior (561.5–6) and thence to Pannonia Superior (562.8).<sup>49</sup> Likewise, the author gives the provincial boundaries of Pannonia and Moesia (564.1), Moesia and Dacia (565.7),<sup>50</sup> Dacia and Thrace (567.9), the entrance (from Thrace) to Bithynia (571.10), the frontiers of Bithynia and Galatia (574.3), Galatia and Cappadocia (576.3), Cappadocia and Cilicia (579.1), Cilicia and Syria (581.2), Coele Syria and Phoenicia (582.8), and the triple boundary of Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine (585.3). On the return journey, the text again marks provincial frontiers. After listing the boundaries of Europe and Rhodope (602.2), Rhodope and Macedonia (603.7), Macedonia and Epirus (607.3), the IB crosses the sea at Aulona over a distance of 'a thousand stades which makes a hundred miles' (609.4–5) to Hydruntum in Italy. Within Italy, the IB mentions only the boundary of Apulia and Campania (610.8).

This care both to notice and to delineate boundaries is more than a taxonomic fetish. It shows implicit awareness of administrative, ethnic, even cultural differences across the terrain which the linear thrust of the text so relentlessly traverses. While the itinerary-form of the IB's strategy of listing inevitably emphasizes the narrow line of movement propelling the traveller through space towards a destination, the constant textual regard for the provincial integrity of the particular geographies, which the pilgrim's roads dissect, hints at a broader areal conception of space — much more like the sense of country we find in the Palestinian section. The IB is by no means unique in finding textual ways to emphasize the difference between regions which are perceived (or perceived themselves) as special. Pausanias specifically structured his *Periegesis* of Greece so that different ethnic and cultural units should be the subjects of different books. The anonymous fourth-century *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, written like the IB in Latin but by a pagan author, describes the Empire's provinces in discrete paragraphs.<sup>51</sup> It emphasizes Hellenism (by reference to the ancient authors and deities) and it studiously ignores Christianity, even to the extent of omitting all mention of Jerusalem.<sup>52</sup>

This sense of a political and spatial geography beside the linear thrust of the IB's presentation of its route is coupled with a careful demarcation of segments of the route arranged around a hierarchy of key cities. Between major urban centres there is a regular itemizing of the total number of miles travelled in that section of the journey, the number of changes made, and the number of halting-places.<sup>53</sup> For instance, between Bordeaux and Constantinople these mini-summaries are as follows:

- 553.1–2: Total from Bordeaux to Arles: 372 miles, 30 changes, 11 halts
- 558.1–2: Total from Arles to Milan: 475 miles, 63 changes, 22 halts
- 559.12–13: Total from Milan to Aquileia: 251 miles, 23 changes, 9 halts
- 563.8–9: Total from Aquileia to Sirmium: 412 miles, 17 halts, 39 changes<sup>54</sup>
- 567.2–3: Total from Sirmium to Serdica: 314 miles, 24 changes, 13 halts
- 571.1–2: Total from Serdica to Constantinople: 413 miles, 12 changes, 20 halts

Clearly some of these figures are corrupt (which is typical of mss traditions, especially in the reporting of numbers), but the exact figures matter less for my purposes here than that they are given as totals. What matters narratologically is that the author sits back and assesses the journey in segments which happen to coincide with major cities. This patterning of the text by summaries which serve as overviews and which focus on the

<sup>49</sup> Interestingly in the case of the two Pannoniae, the transmitted text reverses their correct positions, since the traveller would have come to Pannonia Superior before going on to Pannonia Inferior. This is possibly a scribal error in the mss.

<sup>50</sup> The transmitted text, which reads 'Asiae' for 'Daciae' is surely corrupt, as suggested by Cuntz in Geyer and Cuntz, op. cit. (n. 18) *ad. loc.*

<sup>51</sup> The text is edited by J. Rougé, *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, Sources Chrétiennes 124 (1966), with discussion of date 9–26.

<sup>52</sup> On the omission of Jerusalem, see Rougé, op. cit. (n. 51), 32, and on religion in general, 48–55.

<sup>53</sup> This summarizing topos is paralleled in the anonymous Greek *Stadiasmos maris magni*, dating to c. A.D. 250–300, which regularly gives the total distances of segments of its sea-journey. For instance: 'Altogether from Alexandria to Petranten is 2,890 stades' (section 33, cf. 52, 57, 84, and so forth).

<sup>54</sup> *Sic.* i.e. here the halts are given before the changes.

most significant cities implies an administrative hierarchy where some stopping points matter more than others in the general vision of Empire propagated by the text.

This hierarchy is immediately reinforced by a further series of still grander overviews when the pilgrim sums up the key tranches of his voyage between what the text effectively constructs as the Empire's most important metropoleis. These grand summaries take place in Constantinople, Jerusalem, Rome, and Milan. Thus in Constantinople, the pilgrim writes (571.3–5): 'The grand total (*omnis summa*) from Bordeaux to Constantinople is 2,221 miles, 230 changes, 112 halts'. At Jerusalem, likewise, (601.1–3) 'the grand total from Constantinople to Jerusalem is 1,159 miles, 69 changes, 58 halts'; at Rome (612.7–9) 'the total from Heraclea through Aulona to the city of Rome is 1,113 miles, 117 changes, 46 halts'; at Milan (617.6–8) 'the grand total from the city of Rome to Milan is 416 miles, 42 changes, 24 halts'. What is striking about this choice of principal cities is how radically the imaginative conception of Empire has been transformed by the year 333, still within Constantine's reign. Despite the age-old Roman roads and the traditional marking of provincial boundaries — in all of which the text rests on foundations reaching back to the dawn of the Empire under Augustus — when it comes to its capital cities, the IB announces fundamental change. The text sees as the two principal centres of the East not old established cities like Antioch — through which it passes after all (at 581.4) and which is graced with a civic personification as one of the Empire's three chief cities in the fourth-century Peutinger Table — but the new city of Constantinople (only dedicated in 330)<sup>55</sup> and the non-city of Jerusalem, which until Constantine's accession was nothing but a provincial backwater, its Jewish and Christian sites utterly destroyed in its Hadrianic refounding as Aelia Capitolina. What the structure of the IB's discourse presents is nothing less than a new vision of Empire with its principal urban metropoleis (at least as imagined by the text, whatever the actualities on the ground in 333) now Constantine's new capital — the new Rome — and the city of Jesus' Passion, in addition to the established Western capitals of Rome and Milan. It is this message, easily missed in the bald enumeration of place names, but absolutely central to the text's discursive classification of the geography of its journey, which most potently characterizes the Christian transformation of the Empire as represented by the IB.

Before turning to the Palestinian segment of the text, it is worth noting that, both in the outward and in the return journey, the traveller does offer a few observations of a more descriptive or touristic sort, in addition to his references to nature.<sup>56</sup> On the way eastwards, when the text arrives at Viminacium in Moesia we are told that 'this is where Diocletian killed Carinus' (564.9). At Libissa, not far from Nicomedia, we learn that 'here lies Hannibal who was king of the Africans' (572.4–5). At Andavilis in Asia Minor we learn that 'here is the villa of Pammatus, from which come the curule horses' (577.6). Nearby in Tyana we are told that 'Apollonius the magician was born here' (578.1); at Tarsus in Cilicia that 'the Apostle Paul was born here' (579.4); at Sarepta near Sidon that 'here Elijah went up to the widow and begged food for himself' (583.12); at Sicaminos that 'here is Mount Carmel, here is where Elijah made sacrifice' (585.1). Scattered through the text as it ventures towards Palestine, these references build a rising curve of mythologization — not all of it Christian, but more so the closer we get to the Holy Land — which prepares the reader for the shift in discourse that is to come. Again after leaving Palestine, there is a gradual diminution of mythologizing asides — beginning at Philippi 'where Paul and Silas were imprisoned' (604.1), via Peripidis 'where the poet Euripides is buried' (604.7), to Pella 'whence came Alexander the Great' (606.1). Not only is the directional thrust of the journey tempered by a touch of the affective colour which so marks the Palestine section, but this is so designed as to present an incremental mythologization. Furthest away from the Holy Land are historical figures — Diocletian and Hannibal en route, Alexander on the return trip. Next —

<sup>55</sup> The city was laid out in 324 and consecrated in May 330, see R. Krauthimer, *Three Christian Capitals* (1983), 41–67; C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople. 4e–7e siècles* (1990), 23–36.

<sup>56</sup> See briefly Douglass, *op. cit.* (n. 10), 321–2 and Bowman, *op. cit.* (n. 16), 172–3.

closer to Palestine on both journeys — are a non-Christian holy man (Apollonius) and the heroic figure of a famous poet (Euripides). Finally, closest to the Holy Land are biblical figures (Elijah, Paul, and Silas) who have just ventured beyond its confines as represented in the text. In the centre of this rising pattern of description, which will shift the cartographic discourse of movement, naming, and enumeration into a topographical language of affective and scriptural association, is the Holy Land, to which we shall now turn.<sup>57</sup>

#### PALESTINE

By far the largest proportion of scholarly attention devoted to the IB has been directed at the Holy Land section. This must also have been the case in the Middle Ages, since of the four manuscripts in which the IB survives (all written between the eighth and tenth centuries), two give only the Judaeian portion, while one omits much of the return trip.<sup>58</sup> Here the text shifts its discourse quite notably, entering what is — by comparison with the itineraries of the journeys to and from Palestine — an extraordinarily heightened level of description.<sup>59</sup> It is worth stressing that the Holy Land section never uses the key terms *mansio* or *mutatio* which constitute the repetitive anaphora of the rest of the text. The term *civitas*, the other regular mainstay of the non-Palestinian travel-account occurs four times between 585.7 and 587.2 (in the section quoted below, at the beginning of the discussion of the Holy Land) and then again only at 600.2, after the Palestine description has ended. Effectively, once it enters the Holy Land, the text not only escapes its main literary organizing principle, but it appears as if the pilgrim has abandoned — or perhaps supplemented — the *cursus publicus* for an altogether slower and (dare one say it) touristic mode of travelling.<sup>60</sup> The pilgrim maintains the itinerary pattern of naming places and giving distances, but begins to gloss the sites mentioned with a much richer layer of descriptive information drawing on a variety of sources. This 'additional' descriptive glossing comes to its peak with the discussion of Jerusalem, roughly at the centre of the Palestine section, which (though only a single stop twelve miles on from Bethar, 589.4) is accorded nearly four pages of discussion in the most recent edition (589.7–596.1). In exploring the ways this exegetic material is used within the text, let us take, for example, the opening of the Holy Land section (585.7–588.2):

Here (Caesarea) is the bath of Cornelius the Centurion who gave much alms.<sup>61</sup> At the third milestone from there is Mount Syna: there is a spring here and women who wash in it become pregnant.  
 City of Maximianopolis: 18 miles  
 City of Isdradela (Jezreel): 10 miles  
 It was here that King Ahab held his throne (*sedit*) and Elijah prophesied; here also is the plain where David killed Goliath.  
 City of Scythopolis: 12 miles  
 Aser, where was the estate of Job: 16 miles  
 City of Neapolis (Nablus): 15 miles  
 Mt Gerizim is here. According to the Samaritans, here Abraham offered his sacrifice. There are 1,300 steps leading to the top of the mountain. Near by, at the foot of the mountain, is the place called Shechem. Here is the monument in which Joseph is buried in the estate given him by his father Jacob. That too was where Dinah, Jacob's daughter, was seized by the sons of the Ammorites.

<sup>57</sup> On the explicit terminology of 'affect' (*affectio*) in Egeria's (later) account of the Holy Land, see Carruthers, op. cit. (n. 17), 43.

<sup>58</sup> See Geyer and Cuntz, op. cit. (n. 18), 'Monitum', facing p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> cf. Bowman, op. cit. (n. 16), 173.

<sup>60</sup> On some ways the practical constraints of the

*cursus publicus* may have influenced what the pilgrim saw and failed to see in Palestine, see Weingarten, op. cit. (n. 17), 291–2.

<sup>61</sup> The term for 'bath' (*balneus*) is regularly used in the text to mean 'baptistery', and very likely refers to the site of Cornelius' baptism. See C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels* (1963), 164, n. 40.

The range and thematic resonance of this information is broad. There is a cluster of oblique references to scripture.<sup>62</sup> Elsewhere in the Palestine section, the Bible is explicitly quoted in addition to this kind of scriptural allusion.<sup>63</sup> Further, the pilgrim reports a range of information culled from guides or other local informants — alternatives for sites or supplementary narratives not given in scripture — very much on the model of periegetic texts like that of Pausanias.<sup>64</sup> The author notes that Mount Gerizim is near Nablus in the local, Samaritan, tradition and that only in this tradition was Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac located there.<sup>65</sup> The Jews at this period appear to have venerated Joshua's covenant at Mount Gerizim on a mountain near Jericho,<sup>66</sup> and to have identified the Biblical Mount Moriah of Abraham's sacrifice with the Temple Mount.<sup>67</sup> Likewise, the association of Aser, at the sixteenth milestone from Scythopolis, with Job, appears to be a case of oral history. In this topographic evocation of mythology, places are linked to narratives — some oral and local, others specifically scriptural (though not necessarily located by scripture and hence still in need of contemporary exegesis in order to site them on the lay of the land).<sup>68</sup>

One potential model for the IB's Palestine is the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius (Bishop of Caesarea), a gazetteer of places mentioned in Holy Scripture and arranged in an alphabetical list, which was compiled about A.D. 300.<sup>69</sup> The *Onomasticon* combines an enumerative discourse similar to the *itineraria* (in that it lists place names, though not distances) with the kinds of Biblical referencing found in the IB's Holy Land section as well as occasional references to the present, such as the mention of wholly Christian villages or Roman garrisons.<sup>70</sup> However, its alphabetical character and its genesis in a reading of scripture rather than an actual journey marks it as a very different kind of text and a radically different sort of geography from the IB. Since it would not have been available in Latin as early as the 330s, the Bordeaux pilgrim need not have used it; but the *Onomasticon* is certainly evidence for a parallel (and much more scholarly) appropriation of actual space in terms of scriptural events that was conducted by the local Church hierarchy of Palestine in the generation before the Bordeaux pilgrim made his or her trip.<sup>71</sup>

The text in Palestine is much more open to the natural landscape of the terrain than in the journey sections. The pilgrim notes, in the passage quoted above, the site of Mount Syna with its miraculous spring where women can become fertile. The IB here not only observes the place of Mount Gerizim near Nablus, but digresses from the relentlessly linear pattern of its earlier travelling to count every one of the mountain's 1,300 steps. Recently, it has been suggested that mention of the spring at Mount Syna is part of a special interest in female sexuality and fertility,<sup>72</sup> (alternatively) of a focus on wells and water-sources,<sup>73</sup> and of an interest in life-giving water as a theological metaphor.<sup>74</sup> Any (or all) of these positions may be defensible, but — from the viewpoint of textual discourse — what surely matters is the inclusion of a range of local landmarks of a type judged irrelevant earlier in the text, and on the return journey. The

<sup>62</sup> The bath of Cornelius, probably meaning Cornelius' place of baptism by Peter: Acts 10.1–48; Ahab, Elijah, and Jezreel: I Kings 18.45; David and Goliath: I Samuel 17.41–54; Mt Gerizim (Agazaren in the transmitted text) — the site of the Israelites' blessing when they arrived into the Promised Land: Deuteronomy 11.29 and Joshua 8.33; Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac: Genesis 22.1–18; the tomb of Joseph: Joshua 24.32; the rape of Dinah: Genesis 34.1–2.

<sup>63</sup> For example, Matt. 4.7, 10 and Luc. 4.8, 12 at 590.2; Ps. 118.22 and Matt. 21.42 at 590.3–4; Isaiah 1.8 at 592.7; 2 Kings 2.21 at 596.9.

<sup>64</sup> On guides in Pausanias, see C. P. Jones, 'Pausanias and his guides', in Alcock, Cherry and Elsner, op. cit. (n. 43).

<sup>65</sup> On the site and its monuments, see Kopp, op. cit. (n. 61), 155–66.

<sup>66</sup> See Wilkinson, op. cit. (n. 5), 46 and Wilkinson, op. cit. (n. 11), 5–6.

<sup>67</sup> See Wilkinson, op. cit. (n. 5), 27, n. 4.

<sup>68</sup> For the importance of memory as both the referent

to which these sites direct the pilgrim and as what authenticates them, see Carruthers, op. cit. (n. 17), 42–3.

<sup>69</sup> For the text, with Jerome's late fourth-century Latin version on facing pages, see E. Klostermann, *Eusebius: Das Onomasticon der Biblischen Ortsnamen* (1904, reprinted 1966). For date, see T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (1981), 106–11 with bibliography.

<sup>70</sup> For Christian villages, see T. D. Barnes, 'The Composition of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*', *JTS* 26 (1975), 412–15, esp. 413; for Roman garrisons, see P. Thomsen, 'Palästina nach den Onomasticon des Eusebius', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 26 (1903), 97–141, 145–88, esp. 162–3.

<sup>71</sup> See D. Groh, 'The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and the rise of Christian Palestine', *Studia Patristica* 18 (1985), 23–31.

<sup>72</sup> Douglass, op. cit. (n. 10), 325–8.

<sup>73</sup> Weingarten, op. cit. (n. 17), 292, with nn. 3–4.

<sup>74</sup> Bowman, op. cit. (n. 16), 175–7.

author and the narrative linger in Palestine, observe the landscape and tie it back into the familiar world of the reader by a series of contextualizations. These belong not only to the myths which matter to writer and readers (namely, Christian scripture and local traditions related to Christianity or its antecedents) but also to the way people the author knows or has watched actually behave.

The Christian mythology of place is combined with an anthropology of local custom. This includes discussions of the cures 'for people who had been sick for many years' at Solomon's pools by the Temple in Jerusalem (589.9–10), the contemporary Jewish ritual of lamentation once a year at the 'pierced stone' (probably that now in the Dome of the Rock, 591.4–6),<sup>75</sup> the baptistery at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre 'where children are baptized' (594.4), and Elisha's spring from which 'if a woman drink, she will have children' (596.10). These rudimentary gestures towards a contemporary local ethnography are combined with a traditional focus on wonders typical of ancient ethnographic writing going back to Herodotus. The pregnancy-causing waters at Mount Syna fit into this discourse as do Solomon's pools (whose water is described as 'turbid and its colour scarlet', 589.10–11). In addition there is the 'great labour' which went into building the cisterns around the Temple (590.6–7) and the altar stained with the blood of Zacharias ('you would think it had only been shed today. All around you can see the marks of the hobnails of the soldiers who killed him, as plainly as if they had been pressed into wax', 591.1–3). The pool of Siloam on Mount Sion 'flows for six days and six nights, but the seventh day is Sabbath and then it does not flow at all, either by night or by day' (592.2–3). The Dead Sea 'is extremely bitter, fish are nowhere alive in it. If anyone goes to swim in it, the water turns him upside down' (597.7–10). This is an evocation of Palestine as a land full of marvels – implicitly of the sort one no longer finds elsewhere in the Roman Empire, since they are excluded by the itinerary structure of the rest of the text. Their special quality is their contemporaneity and there is a general emphasis on the present landscape — through which the pilgrim has trudged — as a world enchanted and infused by its living scriptural past.

What matters about the IB's landmarks here — a copse of plane trees (588.5), a standing column (592.4–5), a rock amidst the vineyards (594.7), for instance — is that Jacob planted the trees, Jesus was scourged at the column, Judas betrayed the Lord by the rock. The very terrain has become holy by its scriptural associations in a manner which is more topographical than theological,<sup>76</sup> and yet in which a complex theology is implicit.<sup>77</sup> That holiness is marked by the reference to contemporary places of worship constructed amidst the ruins.<sup>78</sup> Beside the sites of modern Christian cult, the text traverses a series of tombs of the Prophets, which bring the bones and bodies of the Old Testament's spiritual heroes into the hallowed soil of the pilgrim's Palestine and into the purview of the journey.<sup>79</sup> Interestingly the two New Testament tombs enumerated by the IB are empty, since both Jesus (594.1–2) and Lazarus (596.2–3) were resurrected.

Some have characterized the IB's treatment of the Holy Land as taking an eccentric and even puzzling route — full of omissions (such as Nazareth and Galilee) — with little discrimination or hierarchy of place.<sup>80</sup> This may, however, be rather to overstate the mapping of text onto territory in the literary representation of Palestine. What matters here is an evocation of a living 'Other World' by contrast with that administrative

<sup>75</sup> Barnes, *op. cit.* (n. 69), 252, takes this to mean that Jews could only enter Jerusalem on one day in the year, to perform this ritual. This is not an impossible reading of the text, but it seems more natural to take the 'once a year' as referring simply to the ritual of lamentation at the pierced stone.

<sup>76</sup> A point made by Wilken, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 109–10.

<sup>77</sup> As argued against Wilken especially by Bowman, *op. cit.* (n. 16), 168 and *passim*.

<sup>78</sup> These include the baptistery at Sychar (588.5–6), unless *balneus* here means 'bath'; Constantine's basilica at the Holy Sepulchre (594.2–3) and its baptistery (also *balneum*, 594.4); Constantine's basilica on the Mount of Olives (595.5–6); and Constantine's 'exceptionally beautiful' basilica at Mamre (599.5–6).

<sup>79</sup> These are the tombs of Joseph at Shechem (587.5–588.1), of Rachel (598.5), of Ezekiel, Asaph, Job, Jesse, David, and Solomon ('their names are written in Hebrew characters low down on the wall as you go down into the vault', 598.7–9) and the 'remarkably beautiful tomb, square and made of stone, in which are buried Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah' (599.8–9). One might add also the buried foreskins of the Israelites (597.5–6). On Jewish tombs in general, see Wilkinson, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

<sup>80</sup> See Stewart and Wilson, *op. cit.* (n. 18), viii–ix; Wilken, *op. cit.* (n. 11), 110.

structure of Roman roads, provinces, and capitals displayed elsewhere in the IB. While these items of infrastructure were clearly present in fourth-century Palestine, as elsewhere, they are specifically not what the text chooses to evoke. Precise actuality is less important than the siting of holiness. It is significant that at the opening and close of the Palestine section, the pilgrim refers to two episodes of conversion (that of Cornelius the centurion, 585.7, and of the eunuch by Philip, 599.2). These are respectively the second and first conversions of Gentiles recorded in Acts (10.44–8 and 8.26–39),<sup>81</sup> where they sandwich the conversion of Paul (Acts 9.17–18) who was to become the prime apostle to the Gentiles. Not only is the Holy Land bounded spatially by key reminiscences of the universal salvation offered by Christianity to all people, but the specific focus on Gentiles was clearly meaningful to a Gentile Christian from the West and his or her prospective readership in Gaul. Despite the strong presence of Old Testament themes within the IB, its theological emphasis is none the less triumphantly Christian in its replacement of the Old Worlds with a new dispensation. The ultimate conflation of pre-Christian realities (Roman and Jewish) is well caught in the description of the temple when the traveller says:

Two statues of Hadrian stand there, and not far from them a pierced stone which the Jews come and anoint each year. They mourn and rend their garments, and then depart. There too is the house of Hezekiah, King of Judah. (591.4–7)

In this passage the pagan Roman Empire (as figured by the imperial images of Hadrian), the tradition of Jewish kingship (represented by Hezekiah's palace), and the current rituals of a Judaism that has failed to recognize the Messiah and continues to lament its fallen temple are potently and polemically combined to create an antitype to the Christian redemption offered by the pilgrimage described in the text. The fact that all these monuments are remains of former glories — and that Jerusalem is figured as a city of ruins — itself implies a pre-Incarnational decrepitude.<sup>82</sup> This represents a rather innovative turn to the trope of contemporary ruins which is a feature of periegetic texts like that of Pausanias.<sup>83</sup>

At the same time, the IB embarks on an innovative attempt to express new Christian realities in terms of a language inherited from the old world order. This is particularly apparent in matters of liturgy, where the pilgrim (writing less than ten years after Constantine's conquest of the East in 324 and the first Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 325) appears to be attempting to forge a new terminology in the absence of an established Latin jargon. The IB uses the newly redefined Greek word *basilica* for church (594.2, 595.6, 599.5) which the pilgrim feels the need to explain as *dominicum* ('house for the Lord') for an audience apparently unfamiliar as yet with this nomenclature (594.3). While the text knows the Biblical language for baptism (using the Latinized Greek *baptizatus* and *baptizavit* for both Christ and the eunuch baptized by Philip, 598.1–2, 599.2),<sup>84</sup> it uses the Latin *lavantur* ('washed', 594.4) when describing the baptism of *infantes*, which literally means 'children' but is intended here to signify neophytes approaching baptism,<sup>85</sup> and also of the drawing of water from a well for what may well be a baptistery at 588.5–6. By the time of Egeria in the 380s, this term had given way to

<sup>81</sup> See Bowman, *op. cit.* (n. 16), 176–7.

<sup>82</sup> Ruins in Jerusalem (generally signalled by the formula *ubi* with the past tense: 'where X (e.g. the Temple) used to be'): 590.5: Solomon's palace; 591.1: the Temple; 592.4: the house of Caiaphas; 592.5: the column where Christ was scourged; 592.6: David's palace; 592.6–593.1: the seven synagogues of which only one is left, the rest being "ploughed and sown" as was said by the Prophet Isaiah; 593.2–3: Pilate's house.

<sup>83</sup> On Pausanias' ruins, see J. Elsner, 'From the Pyramids to Pausanias and Piglet: monuments, travel and writing', in S. Goldhill and R. Osborne (eds), *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (1994), 224–54, esp. 244–52 and J. Porter, 'Ideals and ruins: Pausanias, Longinus and the Second Sophistic', in Alcock, Cherry and Elsner, *op. cit.* (n. 43).

<sup>84</sup> Here the IB follows the regular usage of old Latin translations of the Bible prior to (and including) Jerome's Vulgate of the 380s. However, before the third century this term appears to have been translated into Latin (using the verb *tingere*) rather than transliterated: see H. Roensch, *Das Neue Testament Tertullian's* (1871), 302, 306, 307.

<sup>85</sup> *Infantes* appears to be the usual term for baptizands at this period, see *Itinerarium Egeriae* 38.1, 39.3 and Augustine, *Serm.* 228.1. See also A. Wharton, 'The Baptistery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and the politics of sacred landscape', *DOP* 46 (1992), 313–25, esp. 315.

words of the *baptizare* root in describing contemporary liturgy.<sup>86</sup> The term *balneus* (meaning 'bath') is certainly appropriated to signify 'baptistery' at 594.4,<sup>87</sup> and probably also at 585.7, while it may mean either 'baptistery' or 'bath' in context at 588.5 (though anyone actually seeing whatever the pilgrim alludes to at this point would hardly have been in any doubt). Not only in the redefinition of space through textual description and in the reuse of traditional periegetic tropes for new purposes, but also in the appropriation of pre-Christian terminology for a new religious dispensation, the IB appears to be pushing at the boundaries of its own form as an itinerary to express the significance of Christian pilgrimage.

#### RETHINKING THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Despite its apparently dry form and pragmatic function as a textual map-cum-guidebook to be used by Western pilgrims to the Holy Land, the IB is a work of remarkable ideological innovation. It constructs an image of the Roman Empire as a series of roads, cities and other stopping points, provinces and capitals, which expresses — through its structure — the new Constantinian dispensation. In particular, the text's method of organizing its lists precisely locates and underlines the very new capital in the East and highlights the remarkable elevation of an obscure provincial village in the middle of nowhere into the ideological centre of the Christian Empire. In terms of reading the text, if not necessarily of stopping en route, Jerusalem is by far the most significant halting place of the Bordeaux pilgrim's narrative. Within this newly Christianized structure for the presentation of Empire, the IB constructs its Palestine with fundamentally different means from the way it envisages the rest of the Roman world. The Holy Land may be within the Empire but it is also its scriptural and oriental Other. It is not a Latin place (as made clear by the Latin gloss *dominicum* for *basilica*, 594.2–3).<sup>88</sup> Nor is Palestine evocative of the ancient (now surpassed) mythologies of Pausanias' Greece or Lucian's Syria,<sup>89</sup> or even the brief mythological asides of the Antonine Itinerary. Instead, its mythologies — breaking with the pre-Christian myth-histories which occasionally merit a mention in the non-Palestinian segments of the text — are resolutely Judaeo-Christian, with the numerous Jewish references effectively functioning as a typological background to the events of the life and passion of Christ and the acts of his disciples or followers (of whom Peter, John, Philip, Paul, and Silas figure within the text explicitly).

The otherness of Palestine, so effectively and economically rendered by the shift in discourse from bare itinerary to periegesis, is present and contemporaneous. It is there to be experienced by the pilgrim in the marvels cited by the IB and the various relics and remains (still visible in 333) upon which the author pins scriptural quotations and allusions. This is the significance of the marks of the hobnails on the Temple Mount (591.2–3), of the column of the flagellation from Caiaphas' house on the slopes of Sion (592.4–5), of the palm tree whose branches strewed Christ's path on Palm Sunday (594.7–595.1), of the 'vault in which Lazarus was laid' (596.2), of the sycamore tree which Zacchaeus climbed (596.5–6). Marvels and monuments which evoke famous heroes of the past are narrative features typical of travel-writing as early as Herodotus,<sup>90</sup> but — for the first time in antique travel literature — they are employed here in a Christian dispensation. That, however, is less significant than the cleverness of the strategy by which their employment makes of Palestine a different kind of space cast in a different order of writing from anywhere else traversed by the IB.

<sup>86</sup> See *Itinerarium Egeriae* 38.1, 39.3, 45.1–47.1.

<sup>87</sup> This is the baptistery of the Holy Sepulchre, on which see Wharton, *op. cit.* (n. 85) with bibliography.

<sup>88</sup> See above. Egeria is even more explicit about Jerusalem as a multi-lingual melting-pot, see *Itinerarium Egeriae* 47.3–5.

<sup>89</sup> On Pausanias and myth, see P. Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths?* (1984), 3, 13–14, 95–102.

<sup>90</sup> On Herodotus, see J. Redfield, 'Herodotus the tourist', *CP* 80 (1985), 97–118; J. Gould, *Herodotus* (1989), 86–109; Elsner, *op. cit.* (n. 83), 230–44.

One way in which the IB differs distinctly from other *itineraria*, is the persistent use of the second person singular. As early as the Alps on its journey from Gaul, we are told that 'here you ascend (*ascendis*) Matriona' (556.1). At the entry to Pannonia, the reader is informed that 'you cross (*transis*) the bridge, you enter (*intras*) Pannonia Inferior' (561.5–6), 'you enter (*intras*) Pannonia Superior' (562.8), and 'you cross (*transis*) the Pontus from Constantinople, you come (*venis*) to Chalcedonia, you go through (*ambulas*) the province of Bithynia' (571.9–10). In the itinerary sections, these second persons are less frequent on the return journey, though 'you come (*venis*) to Hydruntum' (609.5) after the sea journey from Aulona. With the exception of Matriona, these direct addresses to the reader, as if he or she were the pilgrim's companion, take place at significant boundaries of provinces or of land and water. In the Holy Land, the second person addresses are much more conversational. Apart from a famous second person quotation from the Gospels (590.2),<sup>91</sup> most of the author's addresses to the reader are about making the place vivid. Of Zacharias' blood, we are told 'you would say (*dicas*) that it was shed today' (591.2). Otherwise, as in 'you climb (*ascendis*)' Mt Sion (591.7) or the Mount of Olives (595.4–5) or 'you leave (*eas*) Sion' (593.1), they take the reader with the text as it traverses a land no longer simply a matter of distances and stopping points, but rather full of affective involvement. Other itinerary texts use no person but the third (for instance the Antonine Itinerary), and thus present a rhetoric of objectivity, or they may use the first person plural of the past tense (as does Arrian in his report to Hadrian on the Euxine Sea) thus guaranteeing autopsy in the Herodotean manner. But here — except for the break into the first person plural of the past tense at 571.6–8, when the author dates the trip from Constantinople and the return there (*ambulavimus, reversi sumus*) — the second persons are all in the present tense. They make the journey vivid — carrying the reader through its formal transposition into verbal narrative and into an imaginary presence in the Holy Land, a vicarious companionship with the pilgrim which is perhaps meant to be a spur to picking up the text and travelling its roads to Palestine. The second persons, which cast the entire text into a 'you and I together' mode where the reader accompanies the pilgrim on his journey through the Roman Empire and into the Holy Land, have the effect of rendering the sacred Other attainable. In the community of Christian faith, where an anonymous traveller from Bordeaux can address any Christian reader as 'you', the redefinition of imperial territory and the rearrangement of spatial hierarchies around Jerusalem become meaningful through the personal relationship (the addressee is always in the singular) underpinned by the collusion of mutual Christian belief.

In its restrained way, the IB is the first Roman Christian text to present Jerusalem as the centre of its world and yet as the spiritual and scriptural Other to the administrative and secular norms of its world. One of the remarkable features of this geographical redefinition of *imperium* and the space of salvation is the very un-rhetorical manner in which it is achieved. The text formulates its new world with all the force of time-honoured literary tropes and the formidable punch of a discourse of understatement which simply assumes that its picture of empire is uncontestable. The *expositio totius mundi et gentium* is proof that not everyone in the fourth century saw the world arranged in the same way as the IB presents it. But the text's simple exclusion of any alternative conception thematizes its Christian-centred vision and is so assured as simply to exclude any pagan or hellenizing alternatives.

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<sup>91</sup> 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only shalt thou serve' (a conflation of Matt. 4.5 and Luke 4.8).