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Notes and Documents

AN ARMENIAN VISITOR TO JERUSALEM IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

THE following account of the objects of interest in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood is taken from the Armenian 'History of the Albanians,' composed by Moses of Kalankaitukh, a native of the Caucasian Albania.¹ The complete work, which was published by Shahnazarean at Paris in 1860, and in the same year by Emin at Moscow, has been translated into Russian by K. Patkanean (St. Petersburg, 1861), and some account of the description of the holy places, with a revised translation of the chapter by the same author, is given by V. G. Vasilevskii in the *Transactions of the Orthodox Palestinian Society*, tom. iv. pt. ii. (St. Petersburg, 1886); but, as Russian works are scarcely better known than Armenian in this country, and as Vasilevskii says but little about the date of the visit to Jerusalem which is here implied, it may perhaps be worth while to devote a few pages to the matter here, thus supplementing Mr. Macpherson's articles on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in the seventh volume of this Review.

The history of Moses was written in the tenth century; but in recording the events of the seventh century he frequently copies contemporary authors, sometimes even speaking in the first person, and there can be little doubt that this description of Jerusalem is the work of a writer of the seventh century (see Vasilevskii, p. 249). If this be so, the writer is easily discovered, since it is immediately preceded by an account in the first person of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem by a hermit named Joseph, and the inference naturally follows that the description of the holy places is also Joseph's composition. It is true that it is followed by a list of the Albanian monasteries at Jerusalem, taken, as the author tells us, 'from the letter of the blessed Anastasius to Wahan² Mamikonean;' but the very fact that the name of Anastasius is here introduced as the

¹ Mos. Kal. ii. 51.

² In Shahnazarean's text 'Wahram,' a Persian name; and so in Patkanean's translation, but he states in a note that Emin's text (which I have not been able to see) has Wahan, a common name in the Mamikonean family and no doubt the right reading here.

authority seems to show that he is not the author of the previous description.

Now the date of Joseph's visit may be fixed within very narrow limits. He begins his story by telling us that

in the reign of Herakleios, in the disordered reign of Yazkert, while Ezra was catholic of the Armenians and Mushel 'sparapet,' while Gregory was lord of Siunikh, in the episcopate of Mathusala, and while Waraz Grigor, lord of Gardman, was prince of the Albanians,

he left the wilderness of B'rti Airithz, in the province of Gelam, and went and settled in the district of Ardsach. Here he was well received by the bishop Mihr, who after twelve years died and was succeeded by Andrew, who held the see for eleven years. During Andrew's episcopacy a hermit named M'chithar went to Jerusalem, where he remained for a year and obtained some of the bones of St. Stephen and St. George. On his return he went to the district of Mount Tauros, where he obtained more relics, and then returned to Ardsach, where the relics were placed in a chapel and kept for three years, at the end of which time Joseph himself went up to Jerusalem in order to get some relics of John the Baptist. Now the reign of Herakleios extended from 6 Oct. 610 to 11 Feb. 641, and that of Yazkert from 632-3 to 651-2. As to Ezra, Sebeos, who wrote his history in 661, tells us that the catholic Kometas died during the short reign of Kawat II (Feb.-Sept. 628), and was succeeded by Christopher, who was deposed in the third year of his episcopate and succeeded by Ezra,³ whose accession therefore falls in 630-1. Sebeos does not mention the length of Ezra's episcopate, but a later Armenian historian, John the Catholic (*circ.* 900), gives him ten years, thus fixing his death to 640-1. With this agrees the statement of Sebeos that he died in the same year as the Arab invasion in which D'win was taken, on Friday, 20 Tre;⁴ for the only possible year in which 20 Tre fell upon a Friday is the Armenian year 89 (19 June 640-18 June 641).⁵ The dates of Mushel, Gregory, and Mathusala⁶ cannot be determined.

³ Seb. iii. 28.

⁴ *Ibid.* iii. 30.

⁵ So Dionysius the patriarch places the capture of D'win in the Seleucid year 952 (1 Oct. 640-30 Sept. 641). Dulaurier (*Recherches sur la Chronologie Arménienne*, pp. 230, 231) abandons Sebeos' day of the week and assigns the invasion to 642, on the ground that all the authorities place it in the reign of Constantine IV (Constans), and, as the next invasion is fixed to 643 (*ibid.* p. 232), it can only have been in 642. Sebeos, however, places it in the reign of Constantine son of Herakleios (Constantine III), which could only be 641 (11 Feb.-25 May), and the 'second year of Constans' mentioned by Asolik, a writer of the tenth century, is probably a confusion with the next invasion, which was in that year. Moreover Leontius, who wrote in the eighth century, expressly states that it preceded the next invasion by three years. To assign it to 642 is to throw the chronology of the Armenian catholics into confusion. See also note 9.

⁶ According to the dates of the Siunian bishops given by Stephen Orbelean, Mathusala sat from 608 to 626; but this is at variance with his own statement that

As to Waraz Grigor, it might indeed be inferred from Moses that his reign came to an end in 637, since he equates the fifteenth year of his son Dshewanshir with the twentieth of Yazdkert (651-2).⁷ But Moses' chronology is very confused and inconsistent, and but little confidence is to be placed in it; moreover it appears from his own account that Waraz Grigor was alive later than 637,⁸ and, as the succession of his son is nowhere clearly stated, we may perhaps suspect that there was for a time a divided sovereignty. Setting this point aside, therefore, we obtain 632-41 as the limit of time for Joseph's departure from B'rti Airithz.

We may, however, fix the date with much greater precision than this; for he tells us that at the time of his departure the Saracens were ravaging the country. Now the first Saracen invasion of Armenia was that to which reference has been made above, which took place in the latter half of 640, and it is therefore at this time that Joseph's departure must be placed, since no later invasion falls within the ascertained chronological limits.⁹ The death of Mihr, which was twelve years after Joseph's arrival in Ardsach, was therefore in 653, and the episcopacy of Andrew extended from 653 to 664. As M'chithar started for Jerusalem after Andrew's accession and remained there a year, his return can hardly be placed earlier than 655; but neither can it be placed later, since Joseph tells us that he turned aside into Asia Minor 'from fear of the enemy,'¹⁰ and the Arab raids into Armenia ceased, as Sebeos tells us,¹¹ after 655, and owing to the civil war were not renewed till 661-2. His return to Ardsach will then be at the earliest in 656; and, as the expedition of Joseph was at least three years later, the earliest possible date for it is 659; while, on the other hand, as Bishop Andrew assisted him on his journey, it cannot have been later than 664, or, indeed, as Andrew is not stated to have been dead when he came back, than 663. His visit, therefore, falls between 659 and 663; and, as the narrative scarcely admits of a long stay in Asia Minor on the part of M'chithar, the most probable date is near the beginning of this period—that is, in 660. Joseph's account is, therefore, the earliest which we have of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as rebuilt by Modestus after its destruction by the Persians in 614, preceding that of Arculf probably by at least twenty years.¹²

Mathusala was contemporary with the synod held by order of Herakleios in the third year of Ezra (633). ⁷ Mos. Kal. ii. 19. ⁸ *Ibid. ad fin.*

⁹ Hence Dulaurier's date for the invasion must be wrong, for, if it were in 642, Joseph's departure would fall after the death of Herakleios. Dulaurier, indeed (pp. 225, 226), seems to suppose an earlier invasion in 637 or 639; but there is no authority worth mentioning for this, and Sebeos' silence is surely decisive against it.

¹⁰ These words are omitted in Patkanean's translation.

¹¹ Seb. iii. 38.

¹² The date of Arculf's visit is generally fixed at about 670; but all that is quite certain about it is that it was after the assumption of the caliphate by Mu'awiya in 659 and before the rebuilding of the mosque of 'Umar in 691. However, from the

When compared with other authorities, the most curious variation which it presents is that it places the lance, cup, and sponge in the Anastasis instead of in the Martyrion; from which we may probably infer that after the rebuilding they were at first placed in the Anastasis, which would naturally be restored first, and at some time between Joseph's visit and that of Arculf removed to their old position in the Martyrion. We have also here the first mention of the prison of Christ, for which the earliest authority previously known was Epiphanius (*circ.* 800).

As Patkanean's revised translation is founded upon a study of several manuscripts, I have, where a different reading seems to be implied, followed it in preference to Shahnazarean's text.

E. W. BROOKS.

Concerning the buildings in the holy church of Jerusalem with respect to their number and situation. And you will find here trustworthy information derived from an eye-witness. The sepulchre of Jesus, the Giver of Life, hewn out of the rock, is a fathom and a half from the middle of the dome of the holy life-giving tomb.¹³ And in the church, which is 100 cubits in height and 100 cubits in breadth all round, there are on each side 12 columns above and 12 below the gallery.¹⁴ And in that gallery are the lance, sponge, and cup of Christ, laid up in gold.¹⁵

In the principal¹⁶ church, which is called the Martyrs' Chapel, which is the Church of the Finding of the Cross, 20 cubits from the Resurrection, there are 65 columns¹⁷ along the length, above and below. The Holy Church of Golgotha, which is called the tomb of Adam,¹⁸ is 10 paces from the Resurrection. And above is a sacramental table at the place where Christ was crucified on the rock. The Holy Church of Sion is one stade from the Resurrection and is 100 cubits in length and 70 in breadth, and contains 80 arcaded columns. And there are no galleries, but only an attic (?),¹⁹ the floor of which is made of pieces of wood joined

mythical character of the story of Mu'awiya and the sacred cloth in i. 11 I should gather that the visit was some time after the date of the supposed event, and therefore nearer the end of this period than the beginning. Moreover, as Arculf was wrecked on the coast of Britain on his way back, where Adamnan wrote down his story and dedicated it to Aldfrith of Northumberland, who became king in 685, 670 seems much too early a date.

¹³ The distance is not elsewhere given.

¹⁴ This is the only mention of the clerestory.

¹⁵ There is much variety among the authorities as to the position of these relics. In the old church the Breviarus (sixth century) places the lance in the middle of the Basilica (Martyrion), Antoninus (*circ.* 570) in the church of Sion. In the new church Arculf places it in the porch of the Basilica and Epiphanius in a *λεπθρ* . . . *ἐνδω τῆς πύλης (τοῦ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου)*. The sponge and cup are placed by the Breviarus in a *sacrarium de basilica S. Constantini*, by Antoninus in the Basilica, by Epiphanius in the same place as the lance, and by Arculf in an *exedra* between Golgotha and the Basilica.

¹⁶ Arm. 'catholic.'

¹⁷ The number is not elsewhere given.

¹⁸ Brev. *ibi plasmatus est Adam*. Arculf mentions a cave under Golgotha, but the earliest of the other writers who mentions the tomb of Adam is Epiphanius. The legend that Adam was buried under Calvary is, however, as old as Origen (*in Matth. Comm.*, Ser. 126). Arculf, on the other hand, places the tomb of Adam at Hebron.

¹⁹ *Tharb*, a word of unknown meaning.

together; and in the attic hangs the crown of thorns which they placed on the head of the Giver of Life. And on the right of the church²⁰ is a sacramental gallery and a wooden dome, on which the sacrament of the supper of the Saviour is depicted;²¹ here there is a sacramental table, and the sacrifice is offered in the upper chamber of Sion; and there is no gallery. And to the right of the holy Sion is the residence of Pilate, which is called Kappatha; and the rock on which the Saviour stood before Pilate, where the mark of his feet is visible to this day: and close under that is the basin in which he washed the feet of his disciples. And to the left of Sion is the prison where they incarcerated Christ,²² and the sacrifice is offered.

And in the place where the Jews seized the coffin of the holy Virgin outside the city, not allowing her to be buried, there is a dome supported by four columns; and the columns are decorated with copper crosses, and they are of marble. And thence 250 stone steps lead down to the tomb of the Virgin in the valley of Gethsemane; and thence to the Mount of Olives, where Christ ascended, are 800 steps.

On the site of the Ascension there is a beautiful dome-shaped building, after the pattern of the church of the Resurrection, 100 cubits in length and 100 in breadth. Thence are visible the river Jordan, Mount Hor, and many regions.

Bethlehem is 220 parasangs²³ from the Resurrection towards the west. The measure of the size of the church is 200 cubits in length and 100 in breadth, and it has 90 marble columns and stone arches. And in it there is a double cave, which Abraham bought for a burying-ground.²⁴ And under the sanctuary is a holy cave and a manger, where there is a table and the sacrifice is offered. And to the right of the church is a martyrs' chapel, where the relics of the infants slain by Herod are preserved.

And east of this in the direction of Jordan, three stades from Bethlehem, is a terrace, where there are two churches, in which the sacrifice is offered.

Seven parasangs²⁵ from Jerusalem towards the east is the place where the Saviour was baptised, where there is a stone church, built in the shape of a cross, 80 cubits in length and 80 in breadth, with three sacramental tables; and the sacrifice is offered.

And the Mount of Olives is east of Jerusalem.

²⁰ *I.e.* outside the nave, so that there is no contradiction to the previous statement that there was no gallery.

²¹ Not elsewhere mentioned.

²² This is the earliest mention of the prison.

²³ The distance is absurd. P. somewhat softens the absurdity by writing 'stades,' though he explains 'hrasach' to be the Persian 'farsakh' or parasang; but even this is far too much. The true distance of Bethlehem from Jerusalem is 6 Roman miles, and it is nearly due south.

²⁴ It is plain that there is here a confusion between the double cave at Bethlehem, where Christ was born, and the double cave at Hebron, which Abraham bought.

²⁵ P. again writes 'stades,' thus making the distance far too small.