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An Italian Version of a Greek-Orthodox Proskynetaron

Introduction

A while ago, Dr. David Jeselsohn was kind enough to share with us an illustrated manuscript which he had recently acquired in the United States. The manuscript contained an account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land written in Italian.¹ The manuscript includes seventeen folios written on both sides, and comprises many illustrations of the holy places. The text is written within an outlined frame 21cm high and 16.5 cm wide. The lines throughout the pages are drawn accurately in soft pencil, as are the capital letters at the head of the page and the illustrations; the letters and illustrations were afterwards drawn-over again in ink. In some cases, the final ink version is not completely in line with the initial pencil marks; we did not, however, come across any meaningful differences. The manuscript contains no colophon or any other clue regarding the author's or the copyist's name, or the place and time of writing. Indirect evidence concerning the time and place of writing, will be discussed further on.

The style and the spelling of the composition are far from being meticulous. Many of the words are spelt inconsistently and in an unaccepted manner, and even the name of Jerusalem appears in several different forms throughout the manuscript. In addition, in many places there are no punctuation marks, and often there are no dots at the end of the sentence. Names of people and places are capitalized in some places while at others they are not. In the following pages we propose to present the contents of the manuscript – the verbal part as well as the graphic- and to attempt to reach some conclusions concerning its sources, and the time and circumstances of its writing.

1 We would like to thank Dr. Jeselsohn for giving us the opportunity to make use of this manuscript for research purposes. We would also like to thank Dr. Iris Fishof who referred us to Dr. Jeselsohn.

The Contents of the Manuscript

A short look at the manuscript reveals that the manuscript is an Italian version of a well-known genre of pilgrimage accounts that were prevalent throughout the Greek-Orthodox and the Slavic-Orthodox church. This genre entitled *proskynetarion* (pl. *proskynetaria*) – literally the book of pilgrimage – was common throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Manuscripts of *proskynetaria* were described already at the end of the nineteenth century by Papadopoulos-Kerameus and were translated to Russian in the periodical of the Pravoslaviv society of Palestine.² Several illustrated manuscripts have recently been published by Kadas in a book which analyzes the illustrations from the iconographic and artistic perspective.³ Such manuscripts were quite common and some were translated to other languages such as ecclesiastical Slavonic, Serbian and Russian spoken throughout the Orthodox world.⁴ A detailed survey and research concerning this genre is outside the scope of the current discussion, and will be completed hopefully in a separate research in the near future.

The treatise discussed here, like the others of the same genre, is dedicated to the holy places in the Holy Land and especially to Jerusalem and its holy sites. In the beginning of the treatise the author calls upon all the Christian believers, “men, and women, old and young”, to listen to the account of the holy places. After a few opening sentences concerning Jerusalem the treatise goes on to describe the Tower of David, and continues from there to the Holy Sepulchre. Naturally, the church is described in detail; at first the outside of the church is described, and then the different parts and sections inside – the site of the tomb (i. e. the hall of the Rotunda); the main church of the Greek Orthodox (i. e. the Katholikon); the Golgotha; the different chapels belonging to the various sects et cetera. The author enumerates in great precision the oil lamps hanging within the different locations noting how many belong to each of the different sects. It seems that the number of lamps signifies the ownership and the balance of power between the different sects within the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

2 Papadopoulos Kerameus, “Three Greek Proskynetaria” (Greek with Russian translation by G. S. Destounis), *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik (PPSb)*, vol. 46 (1896); P. Bezobrazov, “Proskynetarion of Jerusalem and the Holy Places” (Greek with Russian translation), *PPSb* vol. 54 (1901); See also *PPSb*, vol. 26 (1890); vol. 53 (1900).

3 S. N. Kadas, *Oi Hagioi Topoi – Eikonographēmena Proskynetaria*, Athens, 1998 (in Greek).

4 Y. A. Kloisner, “The Account of the Holy Places in a Christian Serbian Manuscript”, *Kiryat Sepher*, vol. 30 (1955), pp. 440-444 (in Hebrew); for a version written in ancient Slavonian see: Kh. Zhefarovich, *Orisanie na Erusalim*, Wien 1748 (reprint ed. Sophia 1986).

The ceremony of the Holy Fire which takes place in the church during Easter is described twice in the treatise: first, as part of the general description of the church and the ceremonies which take place within it (fol. 3r); and then in the account of a miraculous event which occurred when the Turks tried to prevent the Patriarch from holding the ceremony in the church (fol. 5v). When the Patriarch was compelled by the Turks to pray outside the church, the Holy Fire broke out miraculously from one of the columns at the entrance to the church. Ever since then, the Turks ceased from their attempts to disrupt the ceremony of the Holy Fire. According to the account, the event was recorded in an inscription at the entrance of the church. It seems that this incident should be identified with an event which took place in the year 1634 in which the Armenians tried, according to the Greek sources, to disrupt the ceremony conducted by the Greeks, involving in this attempt the Turkish authorities as well. The latter expelled the Greeks from the church forcefully, "employing soldiers and guards".⁵

The treatise goes on to describe the Temple Mount: the Dome of the Rock which is called "The Temple" (santuario) and the mosque of Al-Aqsa which is named "The Holy of the Holies" (santa sanctorum). From there the account goes on to describe the Via Dolorosa and describes the house of Anna and Ioachim; the Probatica pool; and the site of the Judgment of Jesus before Pilate (the Praetorium).

At the end of the survey of the holy sites of Jerusalem there follows an interesting section which is particular to the Orthodox accounts: this is a list of all the small and less-known Greek Orthodox churches and monasteries in Jerusalem. The account then continues to sites around Jerusalem, in Mount Zion, in the valley of Hinnom, in the Kidron brook, in Gethsemane and in the Mount of Olives.

After describing Jerusalem the account goes on to describe other holy sites outside it; the description follows the different pilgrimage-routes in the Holy Land. The first route goes from Bethany to Jericho, to the Mount of Quarantine (the site of Jesus' first and third temptation) and from there to the monasteries of Gerasimos and John the Baptist which are situated by the Jordan river. The journey continues to the Sea of Galilee, to Nazareth, to Mt. Tabor, and to Kafr Kanna.

The second route departs from Jerusalem and continues via the monastery of Elijah and Rachel's Tomb to Bethlehem, then to the monasteries of the

5 See PPSb, vol. 38 (1894); see also O. Peri, *The Ottoman State and the Question of the Christian Holy Places during the Latter Half of the Seventeenth Century*, PhD thesis, Jerusalem 1995, p. 163 (in Hebrew).

Judaeen desert, and to Hebron. En route, between Bethlehem and Hebron, the account mentions also the monastery of St. George (in the village of al-Khaḍir). A short additional route views Jerusalem from the west: the place where John the Baptist was born (Ein Karem), the estate where Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe, fell asleep, and the monastery of the Holy Cross. Finally the description turns west, to the inner plain and to the coastal area and describes shortly the holy sites in Emmaus, Gaza, Lydda and Jaffa. The last site mentioned is the church of "James son of Zebedee of the Armenians", which should, most probably, be identified with the church of that name in the Armenian quarter in Jerusalem.

The main body of information conveyed by the treatise concerns the churches in the holy sites, their splendor, and the rituals conducted therein. In certain places the author notes the unacceptable behaviour of the unbelievers, the Muslim lords of the country, but only in the account of the Holy Fire does he go into detail, and describes an actual event. The treatise does not relate to any matter which concerns the everyday life of the inhabitants or the pilgrims. There is no description of the road network, the foods of the land, merchandize and markets, lodgings, water supply, law and order etc., which often appear in pilgrim accounts. The text is of a distinctly religious nature, treating the pilgrimage from a religious viewpoint only, and ignoring almost completely anything that does not relate to the holy sites and their worship.

The Characteristics of the Treatise

Throughout the manuscript there are many illustrations. Some are large and take up the greater part of the page or all of it, while others are comparatively small and are incorporated into the text. Often there are two or three illustrations on one page. All of the illustrations were first drawn in pencil and only later drawn again in the same ink in which the manuscript was written. There is no use of color. The illustrations in the Italian manuscript are similar to those in the Greek manuscripts both in their contents and in their graphic style. It should be noted that the Greek manuscripts themselves have a defined set of illustrations. In some the illustrations are more embellished while others are simpler and more schematic; yet, in both cases the illustrations are based on fixed graphic representations, and they resemble each other greatly, with only minor differences between them. It is clear that our manuscript resembles the Greek genre fully regarding both the list of illustrated sites, the order of their

appearance and their style. It seems to be particularly similar to the Athens manuscript,⁶ and resembles the other *proskynetaria* in general. (for the list of illustrations see the appendix).

The Relationship between the Italian and the Greek Text

The close link between the Italian manuscript and the genre of the Orthodox *proskynetaria* is somewhat surprising as Italian is usually considered a language spoken by Catholics. As is well-known, relations between the Catholics and the Orthodox in the Holy Land in the discussed period were strained. Why then was such a typical Orthodox treatise translated to Italian? What can we surmise from the analysis of the text and its illustrations regarding the author's origin, his motives, and his attitude towards the original Greek text. Was he loyal to it, or did he introduce changes which suited his own views? For this purpose a detailed comparison was made between our manuscript and several versions of the Greek account, on the basis of several categories.⁷

1. *The geographical setting and the sites mentioned in the treatise*

As noted, the manuscript provides us in the text and in the illustrations with a series of pilgrimage sites. Among the sites appear several which were not accepted at all in the routes of Catholic pilgrims, mostly because they were exclusively owned by the Greek Orthodox and were of importance to the members of this church only. In the description of the Holy Sepulchre special emphasis is given to the church of the Forty Martyrs found at the western side of the courtyard of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. This is an Orthodox compound which the members of others sects do not visit at all. Similarly, among the sites in Jerusalem the manuscript describes in detail both verbally and graphically the small Greek monasteries within the city (fol. 8r-8v) which were also not familiar to the Catholic and Protestant pilgrims; they do not appear at all in their writings and certainly not in their illustrations.⁸ In the Mount of Olives the Tomb of Melania is noted, also an Orthodox site which is ignored by western sources almost completely.

The treatment of the monasteries of the Judaeac desert, and especially the

6 Ms. 121, The Byzantine Museum, Athens; see Kadas, pp. 37-49.

7 We used mainly the version of the account that was published by Kadas, pp. 214-223, and the version published by Papadopoulos in *PPSB*, vol. 54 (1901).

8 R. Rubin, "Greek Orthodox Monasteries in the Old City of Jerusalem", *Eretz Israel*, vol. 17 (A. J. Brawer Memorial Volume), 1984, pp. 109-116 (Hebrew).

monastery of Mar-Saba is also typically Orthodox. Sabas, the prominent anchorite of the Judaeian desert in the sixth century, is an important spiritual asset of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, and his monastery is dominant in the Greek treatises. On the other hand, it is mentioned only by a few western pilgrims before the nineteenth century. This is also the case for Gerasimos and his monastery in the vicinity of Jericho.⁹

The close connection to the Orthodox pilgrimage route is even more apparent in the case of the monasteries of Kharitun and Euthymius which are mentioned in spite of the fact that they lay in ruins at the time, and were not actual pilgrimage sites. Their mention both in text and illustration is therefore a clear indication of the Orthodox affiliation of the author.

2. The Names of the Sites

There is a distinct connection between our manuscript and the other versions of the *proskynetaria* when it comes to the names of the important sites: the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount is called "temple" (santuario), a translation of the Greek *to hieron*, while most Catholic sources of the period usually call the Dome of the Rock "The Temple of Solomon", using the anachronistic Crusader term.¹⁰ The mosque of al-Aqsa is called in our manuscript "The Holy of Holies" (Santa Santorum) just like the common Greek name *hagia tōn hagiōn*. This is in contrast to Catholic accounts, that were composed by Franciscan monks or under their inspiration and guidance, which usually connect the mosque of al-Aqsa to the place of presentation of Mary, mother of Jesus in the temple, or other traditions attached to her.¹¹ The Tower of David is called in the text the house of David (Casa di David), while in many western account of the time it is called "The Tower of the Pisans". In an Italian manuscript it could have been expected that this term would be preferred.

9 The monastery of Gerasimos is described in the map of the Franciscan monk Paulus Milonis (Paulus a Milonico 1687), but it is called there "the monastery of Jerome", i. e. it is presented in a typically Catholic dress and attributed to Jerome, one of the famous Latin church fathers, who is of great importance in the Catholic church. This map is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (BN Estampes Vd 9).

10 During the Crusader period the Dome of the Rock was called the "Temple of the Lord" (Templum Domini) while the mosque of al-Aqsa was called the "Solomon's Temple". Later on the name "The Temple of the Lord" almost disappeared and the Dome of the Rock was usually called by western travelers "The Temple of Solomon".

11 See e. g. Francisco Quaresmius, *Historica theologica et moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, (Antverpiae) 1639; E. Horn, *Ichnographiae Monumentorum Terrae Sanctae*, E. Hoade (translator and editor), Jerusalem 1962, pp. 146-147.

3. *The Description of the Greek Sites and Ceremonies*

Like in the Greek accounts, our text also dedicates ample space to the description of the ceremony of the Holy Fire and to the part played in it by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. This ceremony is a central event in the life of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and there is no place in it for Catholics. The ceremony is described twice, once in the description of the Holy Sepulchre and later in the description of the miraculous event that took place in 1634 and was preserved in the common memory of the Greek Orthodox community in Jerusalem. The Italian translation takes it one step further and describes the Patriarch as “the most respected Patriarch of the Greeks, the one who holds the holy patronage of the place of Jerusalem”, and elsewhere “the most respected Patriarch of the Greeks”¹² while the Greek version uses only the title Patriarch, without any additional titles. In the description of the Katholikon (fol. 4-6) the main hall of the Holy Sepulchre held by the Greeks, the text amplifies and describes the seats of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Constantinople and Antioch. The absence of the See of Rome here seems to be also a reflection of the Orthodox position. The Chapel of the Latins is described briefly in half a sentence, and no details are furnished. It thus follows that the author not only sides with the Greek-Orthodox, but also ignores almost totally the Italian-speaking Franciscans and their share in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. When counting the lamps in the Chapel of John the Baptist he translates the term “of the Franks” to “of the Italians” (“delli Ittaliani” – fol. 4r), making it quite obvious that although he is writing in Italian, he does not identify himself as an Italian.

In several other places, when describing the Holy Sepulchre, the author enumerates the lamps according to the different groups. In all these places his preference of the Greek-Orthodox over the others is made clear: in places where the Greek original uses the term “Orthodox” the Italian version employs most of the time the term “Christians” (Cristiani) (fol. 2v; 3r), or “Orthodox Christians” (fol. 1r). Moreover, in several places he calls the “non-Orthodox” “heretics” (“heretici” fol. 1r).¹³ In addition, the author chooses to describe in detail the church of Constantine and Helen, i. e. the church of the great Greek

12 “il Patriarca reverendissimo de Grecij quello che avevano il pijus Patronatto dell’luogo di Gierosolima”; “il reverendismo Patriarcha de Greci” (fol. 5v).

13 “et hamore addorano non solo ortodosi Christiani, ma anco heretici et armeni”. It is interesting to note that the Armenians are for some reason not included here among the “heretici”. In comparison, the Greek text reads “οὐχὶ μόνον ὀρθοδόξοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰρετικοὶ καὶ ἀσεβεῖς ἀπὸ παντός κόσμου” (not only Orthodox but also “the heretics and the impious from the whole world”). See Papadopoulos Kerameus, n. 2, p. 1.

monastery where the Patriarch and the monks of the fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre pray (fol. 6r), which is known and visited solely by the Greeks.

The fact that in some cases Greek words are interpolated in the Italian text is an additional indication of the author's Greek affiliation. A typical example of this is found in fol. 14v; here, when describing the Judean desert monasteries the author uses the Greek word "eremo" (*eremos*) and not the equivalent Italian term – "deserto". Similarly, the village of Ein Karem, west of Jerusalem, is called here "montania" – i. e. mountainous, a translation of the common adjective given to the village in Greek tradition – *oreinos*. The Greek term for Ikonostasis, "*templos*", was translated in the text simply as – "tempio"; as for the Greek word for chronicler or historian, "chronographos" – it seems that the author was not familiar with the equivalent Italian term, and therefore just transliterated the word into Italian with a slight error, as "cornographo" (fol. 2v).

It should be noted that in certain places it is obvious that the author was not familiar with basic facts regarding Jerusalem and its sites. Siloam was thus written Giloam, and the name of the Abyssinians was copied in several different forms (Gamburi; Gambesij; Canabisii; Canabarij). This seems to indicate that he had not been an inhabitant of Jerusalem at any stage.

Discussion and Summary

The sites described in the text, their names, their illustrations, the terms used, and the inter-denominational relationship reflected in them – all indicate that this manuscript – both text and illustrations – was translated into Italian, from beginning to end, from a Greek work, which was a typical exemplar of the genre of the *proskynetaria*. This genre described (and still does) the holy sites in Jerusalem and the rest of the Holy Land from a Greek-Orthodox perspective.

THE SOURCE – Texts of the Greek *proskynetaria* are not uniform, and comprise different versions, some of them discuss certain sites summarily and elaborate on others. It cannot be determined as of now, exactly which of the Greek versions of the *proskynetaria* served as the basis for the Italian translation. It seems, however, to be quite close to the manuscript published as an appendix in Kadas' book, and even more so to a manuscript published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in 1901.¹⁴

DATE OF THE TRANSLATION – There is no hint as to the date of the translation or copying of the text, which has no colophon or signature. The only event

14 See notes 2 and 3.

mentioned in the manuscript is the fight that took place during the Ceremony of the Holy Fire which occurred in 1634, and which is mentioned in the Greek manuscripts as well.

It seems that the Italian manuscript and the illustrated Greek *Proskynetaria* were both a product of the period between the second half of the Seventeenth century and the first half of the Eighteenth century. This is inferred from the following facts: on one hand, the *Proskynetaria* stopped being copied by hand and began to be printed in the middle of the eighteenth century. This change brought on with it a change in style and character.¹⁵ The printed *Proskynetaria* represented a new and different genre.

As to the Italian translation, the watermarks which appear on pages 4 and 8 of the manuscript, as well as those seen on the inner cover indicate that the paper used originated in the middle of the seventeenth century.¹⁶ It follows that the translation was made sometime around the middle of the seventeenth century, or a decade or two afterwards.

THE IDENTITY OF THE TRANSLATOR – As mentioned above, it appears that the author was not fluent in Italian. His writing is characterized by inconsistent spelling as well as by the lack of punctuation marks. Moreover, the fact that the author chose to keep the Greek terms when he could not come up with their Italian equivalent indicates that his knowledge of the Italian language was only partial. This strengthens the hypothesis that the translator was a Greek monk whose knowledge of Italian was limited.

THE PURPOSE OF THE TRANSLATION – Since there is no hint in the text regarding the purpose of the translation, three hypotheses may be offered:

It could be conjectured that the manuscript was copied in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem or in the Monastery of Mar-Saba by a monk who knew both Greek and Italian and belonged to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. The possibility that the manuscript was translated by a monk who was living in Jerusalem, whose origin was in the Ionic Islands in Western Greece which were controlled by the Italian city-states where Italian was a spoken language – is not unlikely. We know of at least one monk from the Island of Santa

15 For the printed editions of the *Proskynetaria* see Simeon, Archimandrite, *Proskynetarion of the Holy City ...*, Wien 1749 (Greek); Seraphim Pissidios, *Proskynetarion of the Holy City ...*, Leipzig 1758 (Greek); Chrysanthos of Brusa, *Proskynetarion of the Holy City Jerusalem ...*, Wien 1787, (1807) (Greek); Ioanides B., *Proskynetarion of the Holy City Jerusalem ...*, Jerusalem 1867 (Greek); see also W. Deluga, "Gravures et vues de Jérusalem dans les *Proskynetarions* grecs et leurs copies Serbes et Russes du XVIII^{ème} siècle", in B. Kühnel, (ed.) *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art*, Jerusalem 1998, pp. 370-377.

16 We would like to thank Mr. Ephraim Wust of the Manuscript Department of the National and University Library in Jerusalem who assisted us with the identification of the watermarks and their dating; see E. Heawood, *Watermarks I mainly of the 17th and 18th cent.*, *Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae*, Hilversum 1950, nos. 2596-2600, p. 121, pl. 334.

Maura (Lefkada) who was active in Jerusalem in the eighteenth century.¹⁷ Yet, as we have already indicated, it is quite obvious that the author does not show any familiarity in local matters: he jumbles the name of one of the small churches and calls it St. Domenicus, a church which does not exist in Jerusalem; he is unfamiliar with the Abyssinians, who are old members in the church of the Holy Sepulchre; he confuses the name Siloam, etc. This makes the idea that he was a Jerusalemite quite unfeasible.

Another possibility is to connect this manuscript to the translation activities of Catholic scholars from Greek into Latin and Italian. Several such scholars translated various works in the seventeenth century; predominant among these was the translation of the Greek Church fathers made by Benedictine monks in St.-Germain-des-Prés. Bernard de Mauntfaucou, a French scholar who took part in this translation and became later a leading figure translated from Greek into Latin a *Proskynetarion*.¹⁸ Yet this hypothesis is also not acceptable for several reasons: first, the translation into less-than-perfect Italian rather than the expected Latin; second, the unmistakable Orthodox character of the text which is expressed among other things in the complete omission of the See of Rome; the indifference displayed towards the Franciscans in the Holy Sepulchre, and similar details. These facts make it quite difficult to assume that this is a translation of a Western catholic scholar. Our text was written from an obvious Orthodox viewpoint, and its author was definitely not proficient in the Italian language.

The most logical possibility, it seems, is that the encounter between the tradition of the Greek *Proskynetaria* and the translator to Italian occurred somewhere in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, i. e. in Rhodes, Crete, or the Ioanian Islands. In this area cultural interaction between Italian rulers and traders and the local Greek-Orthodox population had been taking place for centuries. This was quite evident during the Venetian rule in Cyprus, Rhodes and Crete, but continued even later on in the Ionic Islands in western Greece. This hypothesis seems to be supported mainly by the fact that the author of the text is a devout Greek-Orthodox who has an interest in the translation of a typical Orthodox text into Italian, probably for the use of Italian-speakers, Orthodox believers or others, found in these areas.

17 A Greek icon which is found in the Monastery of the Cross in Jerusalem is signed by a monk from St. Maura, who had acted as *begoumenos* of this monastery at the time. See R. Rubin, "Iconography as Cartography: Two Cartographic Icons of the Holy City and its Environs", in *Eastern Mediterranean Cartography*, G. Tolia and D. Loupis (eds.), Athens 2004, pp. 347-378.

18 We would like to thank our colleague Dr. G. Tolia from Athens for sharing with us this information. See Bernard de Montfaucou, *Paleographia Graeca*, (Paris 1708), see Catholic Encyclopedia, s. v. Bernard de Montfaucou.

In conclusion, the work is an Italian translation of a Greek *Proskynetarion* made by an Orthodox monk or believer who knew well Greek, but was only somewhat proficient in Italian; he was not well acquainted with Jerusalem, its monasteries and its different Christian groups. This person was, most probably asked, or perhaps saw the need to present Italian-speakers with an Italian version of the Greek *Proskynetarion*. It seems most likely that these were Orthodox believers living in one of the islands that were ruled by the Venetians in the Mediterranean. It is also possible, although less likely, that this translation was made by an Orthodox believer for a non-Orthodox upon the latter's request.

APPENDIX: LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE MANUSCRIPT

- Fol. 1v: The House of David
- Fol. 2r: The Church of the Holy Sepulchre
- Fol. 2v: The Dome of the Holy Sepulchre
- Fol. 5r: The Place where Jesus was laid when he was taken down from the Cross (The Stone of Anointment).
- Fol. 6r: The Holy of Holies (al-Aqsa)
- Fol. 6v: Santuario (the Dome of the Rock)
- Fol. 6v: The House of Ioachim and Anna
- Fol. 7r: The Probatica Pool
- Fol. 7r: The Praetorium of Pilate
- Fol. 7v: The Church of the Archangels; Church of St. George
- Fol. 8r (includes six monasteries): St. Domenicus;¹⁹ John the Baptist; St. Thecla; St. Anne; St. Euthymius; St. Theodore.
- Fol. 8v (includes three monasteries): St. Catherine; St. George;²⁰ the church of St. Basil.
- Fol. 9r: Holy Sion

19 Here there must be a mistake in the Italian translation: there is no monastery of St. Domenicus in Jerusalem. According to all the Greek versions (see above, nn. 2-3) it is clear that the reference is to the monastery of St. Nicolas.

20 There are two monasteries in Jerusalem by this name, the first, on St. Francis' St. and the other on the edge of the Jewish Quarter. Later on in the text, the church of St. George in the village of al-Khadir south-west of Bethlehem, as well as the famous church of St. George in Lydda, which is considered his birthplace, are also mentioned.

- Fol. 9v: The Field of Blood (Aceldama); the House and the Well of Joab;²¹ Tomb.²²
- Fol. 10r: The Bath of Siloam; Cave; the Garden of Jesus (Gethsemane).
- Fol. 10v: The Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary
- Fol. 11r: The Place of the Church on the Mount of Olives; the Place of Little Galilee; Bethany.
- Fol. 11v: Jericho; the Place and the Mountain where Christ fasted for forty days.
- Fol. 12r: The Church of John the Baptist; Dead Sea.
- Fol. 12v: The Monastery of St. Gerasimos; the Sea of Gennesaret; Bethsaida.
- Fol. 13r: Nazareth; Mount Tabor; Cana of the Galilee.
- Fol. 13v: The Monastery of the Prophet Elias; Rachel's Tomb; St. George.
- Fol. 14r: The Place and Church of Bethlehem; an illustration without a caption
- Fol. 14v: The Cave in which our Lord was born.
- Fol. 15r: (the Monastrey of Mar Saba)
- Fol. 15v: The Monastery of St. Euthymius; the Monastery of St. Khariton; three edifices with crescents.
- Fol. 16r: The Birthplace of John the Baptist (no caption); the Monastery of the Holy Cross.
- Fol. 16v: The Fort of Emmaus; the House of Samson the Hero; the Church of St. George.
- Fol. 17r: The Church of St. James of the Armenians.

21 This is Ein Rogel of course. The reference to Joab is a misunderstanding of the Arabic name Dēr Ayyūb.

22 The tomb of the prophet Isaiah was shown at this site.



Abb.1 Fol. 2r – Church of the Holy Sepulchre



Abb.2 The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in ms. 121, fol. 3b Athens Byzantine museum (courtesy of the Byzantine museum).

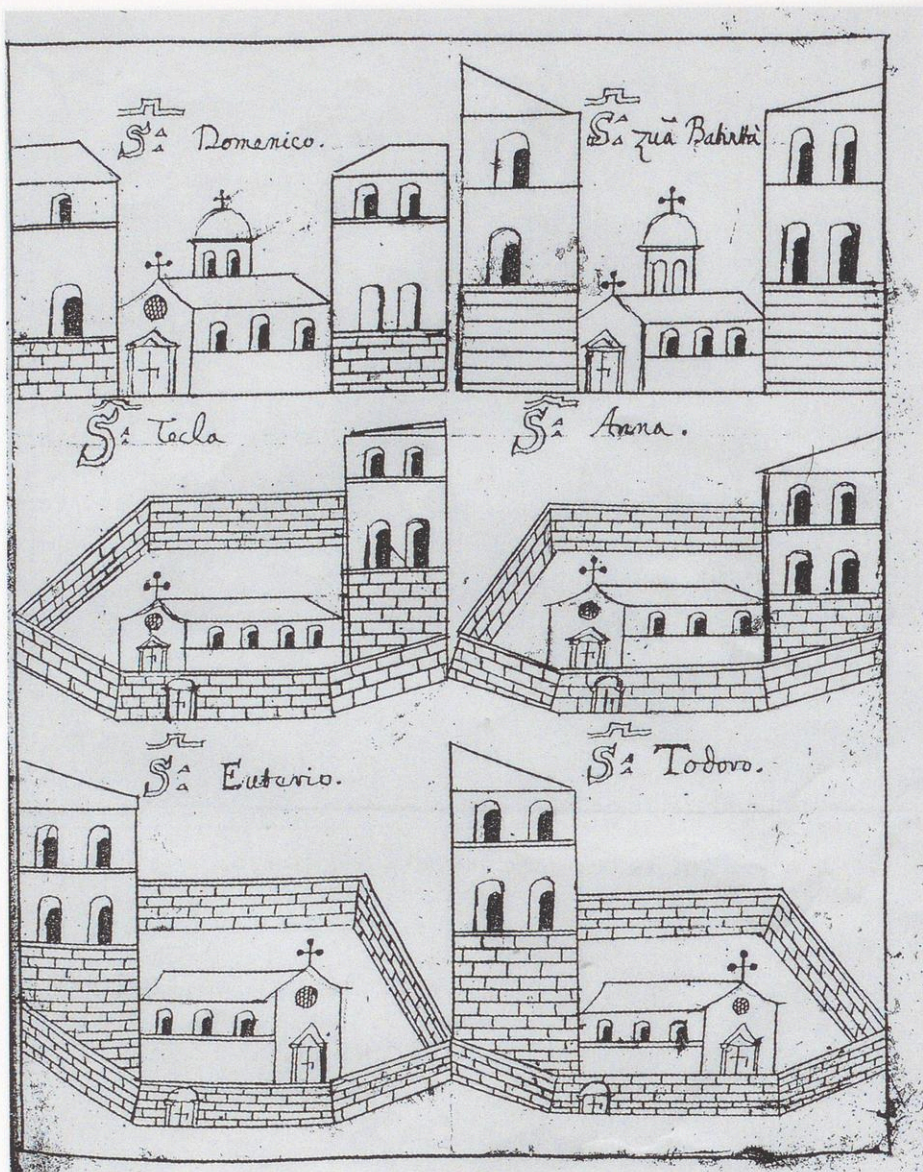


Abb.3 Fol. 8r – The Greek-Orthodox Monasteries in Jerusalem

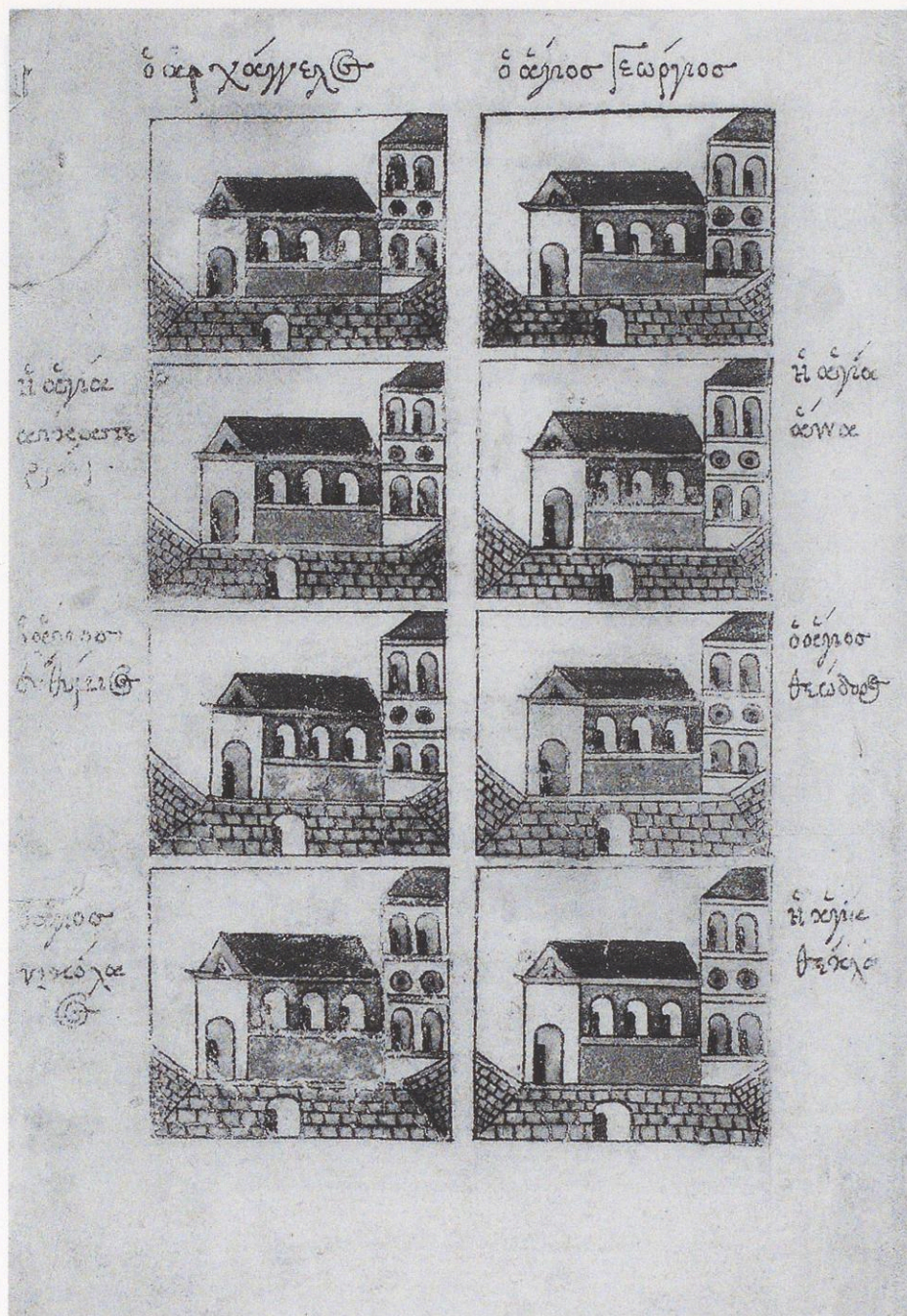


Abb. 4 The Greek-Orthodox Monasteries in Jerusalem in ms. 121, fol. 13b
Athens Byzantine museum (courtesy of the Byzantine museum)



Abb.5 Fol. 15f – The Laura of Mar-Saba



Abb.6 The Laura of Mar-Saba in ms. 121, fol. 23b
 Athens Byzantine museum (courtesy of the Byzantine museum)