

OXFORD STUDIES IN LATE ANTIQUITY

TWO ROMES

Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity



EDITED BY

LUCY GRIG AND GAVIN KELLY

The city of Constantinople was named New Rome or Second Rome very soon after its foundation in AD 324. Over the next two hundred years, it replaced the original Rome as the greatest city of the Mediterranean. In this volume, prominent international scholars examine the changing roles and perceptions of Rome and Constantinople in late antiquity. This comparative perspective allows the neglected subject of this relationship to come to the fore while avoiding the teleological distortions common in much past scholarship. The seventeen chapters cover both the comparative development and the shifting status of the two cities. An introductory section sets the cities in context. Part Two looks at topography and includes the first English translation of the *Notitia* of Constantinople. Imperial power and the role of emperors are critically examined in the third section. Part Four then views the cities through the prism of literature, in particular through the distinctively late antique genre of panegyric. The fifth set of essays considers a crucial aspect shared by the two cities: their role as Christian capitals. A provocative epilogue reflects upon the enduring Roman identity of the post-Heraclian Byzantine state. In presenting important revisionist arguments and new interpretations of significant events and texts, *Two Romes* not only illuminates the study of both cities but also enriches our understanding of the late Roman world.

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Jacket images: Furniture ornaments of seated female figures representing the Tyche of Rome (left) and the Tyche of Constantinople (right). Registration numbers 1866.1229.23 and 1866.1229.21. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

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List of Abbreviations

For abbreviations of titles of ancient works, please see the Index Locorum. Abbreviations of journal titles in the bibliography are generally as in *Année Philologique*, with the standard alterations for English usage.

AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique: Revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine</i> . Paris, 1888--.
ACO	E. Schwartz, ed. <i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> . Berlin, 1959.
AASS	J. Bolland et al., ed. <i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur</i> . Original edn, 67 vols, Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-1940; second edition, 43 vols, Venice; third edition, 60 vols, Paris.
ChLA	A. Bruckner and R. Marichal, eds. <i>Chartae Latinae Antiquiores: Facsimile-Edition of the Latin Charters prior to the Ninth Century</i> . Vols. 1-4. Olten & Lausanne 1954-1967; vols 5-49. Dietikon-Zurich 1975-1998.
CCL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> . Turnhout, 1954-.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1862-.
Frag. Vat.	T. Mommsen, ed. <i>Fragmenta Vaticana. Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani in usum scholarum</i> vol. 3. Berlin, 1890.
ILS	H. Dessau, ed. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . 3 vols, Berlin, 1892-1916.
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> . Berlin, 1924-1967.
LTUR	E.M. Steinby, ed. <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> . Rome, 1993-2000.

- MAMA *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vols I-IX. Manchester, 1928-1988; vol. X. London, 1993.
- OGIS W. Dittenberger, ed. *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae: Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum*. 2 vols. Leipzig 1903-1905.
- P.Abinn. H.I. Bell, V. Martin, E.G. Turner, D. van Berchem, eds. *The Abinnaeus Archive: Papers of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II*, nos. 1-82. Oxford, 1962.
- P.Herm. B.R. Rees, ed. *Papyri from Hermopolis and Other Documents of the Byzantine Period* (Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 42), ed. B.R. Rees, nos. 1-85. London 1964.
- P.Lond. F.G. Kenyon et al., eds. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. Seven volumes. London, 1893-.
- P.Ryl. A.S. Hunt et al. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, four volumes. Manchester, 1911-1952.
- PG *Patrologia Graeca* (J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*. Paris, 1857-1866).
- PL *Patrologia Latina* (J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*. Paris, 1844-1855).
- PCBE 2 C. Pietri and L. Pietri, *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire 2. Italie (313-604)*. Rome, 1999.
- PLRE 1 A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I A.D. 260-395*. Cambridge, UK, 1971. [NB references in the text take the form 'PLRE 1, 522 ("Lupus 5").']
- PLRE 2 J.R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II A.D. 395-527*. Cambridge, UK, 1980.
- PLRE 3a, PLRE 3b J.R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire III A.D. 527-641*. 2 vols, Cambridge, UK, 1992.
- RE A.F. Pauly and G. Wissowa (eds) *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Munich, 1894-1972.
- RIC H. Mattingly et al. (eds) *Roman Imperial Coinage*. London, 1923-1981.
- SB F. Preisigke et al., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*. Strassburg and elsewhere, 1915-.

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There but Not There

Constantinople in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*

BENET SALWAY

THE BORDEAUX ITINERARY (*ITINERARIUM BURDIGALENSE*) IS A deceptively simple, much exploited, yet still enigmatic and surprisingly complex document.¹ This Latin work preserves an eye-witness account of nearly two hundred and fifty days of travel, over nearly five thousand miles, spanning the length of the Roman Empire from the Atlantic Ocean to the Dead Sea. The narrator does not reveal his or her identity or the motivation for undertaking this journey at this time. However, the work is particularly notable for the explosion of commentary after Palestinian Caesarea on locations with scriptural, particularly Old Testament, associations, especially in Jerusalem and its environs, a section that is frequently treated as the core of the text.² This sojourn in the Holy Land can be dated, on explicit evidence internal to the text, to the latter half of A.D. 333—that is, only nine years after the region had come under the direct rule of a Christian emperor for the first time. Given this context, it should not be an automatic assumption that the anonymous narrator was a Christian; but at least one turn of phrase explicitly indicates the religious identity of the author (and that of the intended readership) as Christian.³ Therefore, the inclusion of the commentary on places of interest in the

1. The most recent critical edition is that in Glorie, ed. *Itineraria et alia geographica*, vol. I (CCL 175), 1–26, which amalgamates and updates those by Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (CSEL 39), 3–33, and Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, 86–102, all of which perpetuate numeration by the pages and lines of Wesseling, *Vetera Romanorum Itineraria*, 535–617. A complete English translation is provided by Aubrey Stewart in Stewart and Wilson, *Bordeaux Pilgrim*.

2. *Itin. Burd.* 585.4–599.9; on which see, e.g., Casson, *Travel*, 307–309; Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 84–85; Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 327–28. For detailed commentary on this section, see Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*, 22–34; Bowman, "Mapping History's Redemption," 173–84; and Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 190–94.

3. Securely attested by the reference to the well at Sychar, where "Our Lord Jesus Christ" spoke to the Samaritan woman (*Itin. Burd.* 588.4–5; *Dominus noster Iesus Christus cum ea locutus est*; see John 4:5–28). Elsewhere Jesus is more neutrally just "the Lord."

Holy Land has led to the quite reasonable assumption that the journey recorded was a pilgrimage. Indeed, the identification of this itinerary text as a religiously motivated work has been so strong that at the beginning of the last century Anton Elter went as far as attempting to prove that the great collection of itineraries to have survived from Roman antiquity, the so-called Antonine Itinerary (*Itinerarium Antonini*), was also assembled for the benefit of pilgrims.⁴ While the structure and content of the Antonine Itinerary render this implausible,⁵ in the Bordeaux Itinerary the attention given to the Holy Land, and the apparent privileging of Jerusalem as the final destination, do make it seem almost a precursor in textual form of the early medieval maps of the world that, orientated toward Paradise, feature Jerusalem as a focal point on their central axis.⁶ Understandably, then, the Bordeaux Itinerary has long been justifiably prized as the earliest surviving narrative of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁷

The discursive narrative section devoted to Palestine also looms large because of the contrast with the relatively unadorned lists of places and distances that precede and follow it.⁸ According to modern scholars, this binary division results either from the crude intrusion into a traditional "secular itinerary" ("itinerario laico") of a slightly more sophisticated "tour of the holy places" (*itinerarium ad loca sancta*),⁹ or from a calculated "shift in discourse" from a bare itinerary in the mold of the Antonine Itinerary to expansive periegesis.¹⁰ The contrast has seemed so extreme that Samuel Klein proposed that the work had been compiled by an armchair traveler in Bordeaux with access to secular itinerary material and a repertory of Jewish folk tales about the Holy Land.¹¹ In fact, as noted by numerous scholars, the dichotomy is not so clear-cut. Right from the start the text is peppered with sporadic remarks on geographical features and historical landmarks, reported in a very matter-of-fact way. For instance, as John Matthews has emphasized, attention is drawn to the exotic, non-Mediterranean character

4. Elter, *Itinerarstudien* 1 and 2. Cf. the devastating review by Laing in *Classical Philology*. The standard modern edition of the itinerary is Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, 1–75 (terrestrial), 76–85 (maritime); on the terrestrial section, see now also Löhberg, *Itinerarium provinciarum*.

5. See Salway, "Travel," 39–43; "Perception and description," 182–88, 203–205.

6. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 195. On the medieval image of the world and orientation towards Paradise, see most recently Edson, "Maps in Context" and Scafi, *Mapping Paradise*.

7. E.g., Hamilton, "Jerusalem"; Kötting, *Peregrinatio Religiosa*, 89–110 and 343–354; Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 55–58, 83–86; Maraval, *Lieux saints*, 254–65.

8. *Itin. Burd.* 549.1–585.3 and 600.1–617.9.

9. Milani, "Struttura formulari," 99; Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 190.

10. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 194–95.

11. Klein, "Sefer ha-Massa Itinerarium Burdig.," on which see Stemberger, *Jews and Christians*, 88.

of the initial point of departure with the comment "City of Bordeaux: where the river Garonne is (along which the Atlantic Ocean produces ebb and flow tides for a hundred leagues, more or less)."¹² It is certainly the case that this phenomenon would be remarkable to those more familiar with the tame tides of the Mediterranean. Elsewhere the traveler sporadically notes some matters of contemporary physical and human geography,¹³ provincial frontiers,¹⁴ places of birth and burial of famous political, cultural, and religious figures,¹⁵ and events from secular and religious history.¹⁶ There appears to be no consistent pattern to what the traveler deemed noteworthy, though Jaś Elsner has interpreted the distribution of these comments as producing "a rising curve of mythologization," leading up to the explosion of description after Caesarea.¹⁷ Moreover, although variously dismissed as "almost stenographic" and "sparse and utilitarian,"¹⁸ even the basic itinerary stands out from the majority of surviving examples in offering a greater degree of granularity in terms of the intervals between stations, and the qualification of most of these stations as either change-over (*mutatio*), stop-over (*mansio*), or city (*civitas*).¹⁹ The *mutationes* and *mansiones* operated in support of the late Roman state postal system, the *cursus publicus*.²⁰ Thus the Bordeaux Itinerary also has been much appreciated as a precious witness to its infrastructure.²¹

12. *Itin. Burd.* 549.7–9: *Civitas Burdigala, ubi est fluvius Garonna, per quem facit mare Oceanum accessa et recessa per leugas plus minus centum*; Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 181.

13. Physical and human geography: Garonne tide (*Itin. Burd.* 549.7–9), Col de Cabre (555.1), Col de Montgenèvre (556.1), Julian Alps (560.2), bridge over Drava (561.5), stud farm at Villa Palmati (577.6), city of Arad two miles offshore (582.11), Mount Carmel (585.1).

14. Frontiers: Alpes Cottiae (555.9), Italy (556.5), Italy and Noricum (560.10), Pannonia <Sup>erior (561.5–6), Pannonia <Inf>erior (562.8), Pannonia and Moesia (564.1), Moesia and <D>a<c<ia (565.7), Dacia and Thrace (567.9), Bithynia and Galatia (574.3), Galatia and Cappadocia (576.3), Cappadocia and Cilicia (579.1), Cilicia and Syria (581.2), Syria Coele and Phoenice (582.8), Syria Phoenice and Palestine (585.2), Europa and Rhodope (602.2), Rhodope and Macedonia (603.7), Macedonia and Epirus (607.2), Apulia and Campania (610.7).

15. Libyssa: Tomb of Hannibal (572.4–5), Tyana: birthplace of Apollonius (578.1), Tarsus: birthplace of Apostle Paul (579.3), Peripidis: tomb of Euripides (604.7), Pella: birthplace of Alexander the Great (606.1).

16. Viminacium: where Diocletian killed Carinus (564.9), Zarephath: where Elijah went up to the widow and asked for food (583.12; see 1 Kings 17:10–16 and Luke 4:25–26), Sycaminos: Mount Carmel, where Elijah sacrificed (585.1; see 1 Kings 18:19–21), Philippi: where Paul and Silas were incarcerated (604.1; see Acts 16:32–37).

17. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 189.

18. Wilken, *Land Called Holy*, 109; Hutton, "Religious Space," 298.

19. See Salway, "Perception and Description," 203–209.

20. See, most recently, Kolb, *Transport*, 210–13, for detailed discussion.

21. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 831–32; Chapman, *Archaeological and Other Evidence*, 68–69; Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*, 38; Calzolari, "Ricerche"; Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 64, 68–70.

1. CURRENT THINKING

In contrast to the general consensus as to the purpose of the journey, the absence of any statement of authorship or explanatory preface to the text has provided scope for a wide variety of alternative interpretations as to the character of the author (or editor) and his or her intentions in recording the journey. Indeed, in the last fifteen years or so there has been an efflorescence of scholarship offering a variety of reevaluations and sophisticated interpretations of the Bordeaux Itinerary that have supplanted the traditionally low opinion of the text and of the cultural level of its author still prevalent in the 1980s and early 1990s.²² Since then, as well as a specifically female viewpoint, various theological and ideological agenda have been read into the structure and wording of the text,²³ and most recently, Matthews has explored it in detail for clues as to its anonymous author's "cultural landscape."²⁴ Probably most influential in shaping the general perception of the text in the last decade has been Elsner's reading of it according to the principles of modal narratology, which examines the manner in which a story is related, emphasizing voice, point of view, rhythm, and frequency.²⁵ Following this method, which he had previously applied successfully to more obviously literary works,²⁶ Elsner identifies its structure and manner of telling as sophisticated expressions of the ideological geography of the newly Christianized empire. His analysis promoted Constantinople to a rank alongside Jerusalem in the structure of the itinerary, thereby embodying "the new Constantinian dispensation" for the Roman Empire.²⁷ This interpretation has recently been rejected by Matthews, who has reasserted the view that the importance of Constantinople is purely a function of its actual role in the journey undertaken by the traveler.²⁸ Common to both interpretations is the view that, although undeniably significant, Constantinople simply formed a staging post in the anonymous author's onward journey to the ultimate destination and primary objective, Jerusalem.

All of these approaches have provided genuinely useful insights, but even the most radical reinterpretations adhere to two questionable presuppositions: that the traveler intended the entire journey as a pilgrimage, and that he or she was

22. Low opinion: e.g., Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 58–59, 86; Campbell, *Witness*, 27; Wilken, *Land Called Holy*, 109–10.

23. Douglass, "A New Look" (cf. Weingarten, "Was the Pilgrim?"); Leyerle, "Landscape as Cartography," 121–26; Bowman, "Mapping History's Redemption"; Jacobs, "Most Beautiful Jewess" and *Remains of the Jews*, 109–17.

24. Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape."

25. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," esp. 181, 186–90.

26. Elsner, "Pausanias," "Hagiographical Geography."

27. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," esp. 189, 194.

28. Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 191.

the master of his or her own destiny as far as deciding the itinerary was concerned. The scholarly energy invested in sophisticated interpretation has not always been matched by a corresponding diligence in basic analysis of the text. Insufficient appreciation of its structural complexities (specifically its layered and patchwork nature) has been combined with a tendency to read the original motivations behind the recorded travel back straightforwardly from the emphases of the work as it was packaged and transmitted—that is, commentators have too often failed to preserve sufficiently the distinction between author and text.

2. CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BORDEAUX ITINERARY

In contrast to the emphasis placed on Jerusalem by the text as transmitted, superficially the work does not convey any strong association with Constantinople. In fact, Constantine's new city is even absent from the list of destinations that feature in the phrase that heads the work in the two medieval manuscripts that transmit it in its fullest recension ("Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem and from Heraclea via Aulon and via the city of Rome to Milan thus").²⁹ Admittedly, this title is a reasonably representative summary of what follows. This comprises three distinct sections. In the first, the work opens with a detailed and continuous list of the stages of a route overland from the metropolis of Aquitania (via the Danube and Bosphorus) to the Holy Land, culminating at Jerusalem. As already noted, the second section is marked by the interruption of the itinerary format by a description of the Judeo-Christian sights of the holy city and its environs. In the final section, the itinerary format is resumed for two separate segments, listing first the route from Jerusalem to Palestinian Caesarea, and then that continuously from Heraclea-Perinthus (Marmara Ereğlisi), via a crossing of the mouth of the Adriatic from Aulon (Vlōres) to Hydruntum (Otranto), to Rome and Milan. Although not contiguous, when grafted onto the route traced by the outward itinerary, these two final segments can be reassembled to complete an alternative route for return from Jerusalem to Bordeaux (see figure 13.1).

However, just because the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, as a literary text, describes a route from Bordeaux to Jerusalem and back does not mean necessarily that the Anonymus Burdigalensis, as a traveler, set out from Aquitania as a pilgrim with the Holy Land as his or her sole or primary goal. Admittedly,

29. *Itin. Burd.* 549.1–6: *Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem usque et ab Heraclea per Aulonam et per urbem Romam Mediolanum usque sic*. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LII (olim 50) = *CLA* IV, no. 505 (eighth- or ninth-century) and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 4808 (ninth-century). The two manuscripts closely agree, though the Verona copy lacks 108 lines of the text between *Itin. Burd.* 601.1 and 611.8 because of the loss of two folia, not a deliberate omission (cf. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 190).

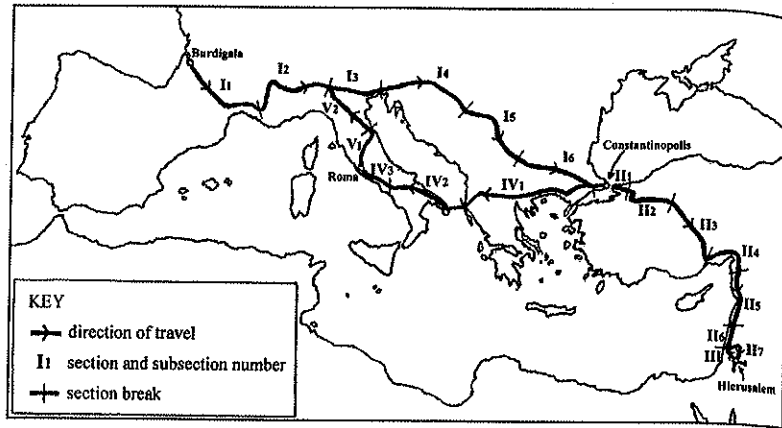


Figure 13.1 Analytical diagram of the routes described by the Bordeaux Itinerary. Drawing by R.W.B. Salway.

readers are encouraged in this belief both by the work's opening words (quoted above) and by the undeniable prominence of the discursive narrative of the Palestinian section, which occupies nearly a sixth of the entire text in its most recent critical edition.³⁰ It is, however, telling that the title neatly reflects the content of the work after it had undergone a demonstrably drastic redaction. For, with commendable economy, the Itinerary does not recount any journeying that retraced a route taken in the outward direction. Thus the entire return journey from Caesarea in Palestine to Constantinople, and even the short onward section from Constantinople to Heraclea-Perinthus, is omitted.³¹ This is a much greater degree of consolidation than that found in the Antonine Itinerary collection.³² That a return leg beyond Milan to Bordeaux has also been excised is plausible but not demonstrable. The title is, therefore, patently a retrospective editorial description generated from the content of the text after editing down. It is not a programmatic statement that relates to the original course or purpose of the journey.³³ Thus no significance should be accorded to the absence of any reference to Constantinople here. In fact, as I have argued briefly before elsewhere (but to little effect, as yet),³⁴ there are inherent in the

structure and wording of the text strong indications that the traveler's initial, and perhaps primary, destination was Constantinople rather than Jerusalem.

While the title may ignore Constantinople, one unique feature attaching to the city in the text suggests that it was a pivotal node rather than just a simple stage. This is the commemoration of the exact dates on which the anonymous traveler or travelers set out eastward from the Bosphorus and then arrived back again at Constantinople from Jerusalem (30 May and 26 December, 333, respectively).³⁵ This dating notice is extremely precious, not just because it certifies the work as the record of a specific journey, but also because it allows the journey to be analyzed within its proper, and very specific, historical context. As will be demonstrated, this reinforces the likelihood that Constantinople was a significant destination in its own right. Indeed it is plausible that without the trip to Constantinople first, there may never have been a pilgrimage at all. Essential support for this hypothesis will be provided by a detailed analysis of the structure of the work's itinerary element. If convincingly demonstrated, this new understanding of the text will permit further insights into the character of the anonymous traveler and the nature of the original journey. However, before subjecting the structure to detailed analysis, it is advisable to review what can be surmised generally about the context of the work and the character of its components.

3. AUTHOR AND AUDIENCE

Beyond religious identity, there is no escaping the fact that the text provides no hard facts about the author. The only element of first-person narrative in the entire text is the plural statement "we traveled" (*ambulavimus*) from Chalcedon on the Bosphorus and "we returned" (*reversi sumus*) to Constantinople (*Itin. Burd.* 571.6–7). Assuming that the text is a direct reflection of the narrator's voice, the traveler was a Latin speaker; but we are not in any position to detect a particular regional origin on the basis of grammar or vocabulary.³⁶ The style of the Latin does not suggest that the writer had received the level of literary education associated with later aristocratic pilgrims. This, combined with the conflation of biblical episodes and absence of explicit references to scripture, make it unlikely that the author was in holy orders.³⁷ An origin in

30. The discursive narrative between *Itin. Burd.* 585.4 and 599.9 (Glorie, ed. *Itineraria et alia geographica*, vol. I, 13–20) occupies about 115 lines of the total 671.

31. Between *Itin. Burd.* 600.6 and 601.6 the description jumps from Caesarea to Heraclea, a route already covered in the outward journey, 570.2–585.5.

32. See Salway, "Perception and Description," 186–88.

33. Cf. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 183.

34. Salway, "Travel," 36; "Perception and Description," 190. Cf. Hunt, "Holy Land Itineraries," 97; Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 199 n.52.

35. *Itin. Burd.* 571.6–8: *Item ambulavimus Dalmati[co] et Zenophilo cons. III kal(endas) Iun(ias) a Calcedonia et reversi sumus Constantinopolim VII kal(endas) Ian(uarias) cons(ulatu) suprascripto.*

36. The rare late Latin term *monobilis*, meaning monolith, used by the traveler at *Itin. Burd.* 595.3, certainly has a Gallic preponderance in its attestations (3 out of 5 recorded by TLL), being used also by Sidonius Apollinaris (*Ep.* 2.2.10) and the *Life of Caesarius of Arles* (1.57), but this is too small a sample to be conclusive.

37. Douglass, "A New Look," 328–29. Cf. Chapman, *Archaeological and Other Evidence*, 69, who suggested he might even be a bishop.

Gaul can only be an inference from the starting point in Bordeaux.³⁸ As Elsner points out,³⁹ the glossing of the Greek term *basilica* at its first appearance as *dominicum* (*Itin. Burd.* 594.2–3) assumes an audience to whom the usage of the word as a technical term for a church building is still unfamiliar; but there is no direct evidence for competence in Greek. The dubious accuracy of the traveler's description of the Hebrew inscription on a subterranean tomb at Bethlehem (*Itin. Burd.* 598.8–9) is no evidence for facility in that language or support for assuming a Jewish background.⁴⁰ As already noted, the text provides no clue to the traveler's gender and, given the number of high profile female pilgrims known from the fourth century (e.g., the empress Helena, Egeria, Paula, and Eustochium),⁴¹ female authorship cannot be discounted at this stage.⁴² The author's social position and civic status remain open questions. We might be tempted to assume that the writer was a freeborn Roman citizen, but Roman freedman (or woman), Junian Latin, even slave or barbarian cannot be excluded as possibilities. Whatever the traveler's standing, the journey recorded represents a major investment of time and resources. Given that the church infrastructure to support pilgrimage had yet to develop, unless he or she belonged to the leisured elite, the journey could hardly have been undertaken without some sort of public or private sponsorship.

Obviously, whatever the intentions of the anonymous traveler when he or she set out, the way in which extensive commentary is reserved for places in the Holy Land undeniably shows that this part of the journey captured the traveler's imagination in a manner for which we do not have evidence elsewhere. The traveler's silence on Rome and, especially, Constantinople has proved puzzling for scholars.⁴³ Although it is possible that the traveler was prompted to record notable features in relation to these and other locations, there is no warrant to suppose that the process of editing the source material was anything more sophisticated than simply chopping out repetition and splicing together the remainder. On balance it seems unlikely that extensive descriptive passages have been artfully omitted in the production of the fair copy or subsequently excised by the redactor (if distinct from the traveler). Mapping out the sporadic comments that do exist outside the Holy Land section might help localize the

origin of the author and/or that of the imagined readership. Laurie Douglass suggested that silences over Rome and Milan might indicate either city was home and that Bordeaux was a temporary posting.⁴⁴ It is notable that, in contrast to the Gallic section, no comments of any kind are recorded between the western and eastern frontiers of northern Italy (*Itin. Burd.* 556.5, 560.10) on the outward journey and none again after the border of Apulia with Campania (*Itin. Burd.* 610.7) on the return. This suggests that the writer imagined an audience for whom central and northern Italy was familiar territory, whose features required no comment.

It was presumably a consciousness on the part of the traveler of the relative privilege of his or her direct experience of the Holy Land in relation to such an audience that initially inspired him or her to make the extensive notes that are preserved. A wish to enable others to reproduce the experience no doubt motivated the traveler to transmit the detailed itinerary with these notes. And, although it was above all for the Holy Land section that the text was prized by its medieval monastic copyists (indeed, two of the four manuscript witnesses only preserve this section),⁴⁵ the itinerary data would have remained of practical utility for some considerable time. For, while the Danube route would have become distinctly less comfortable for unarmed travelers within half a century (after the influx of the Goths in 376), the highway from Pannonia was not definitively cut until the capture of Sirmium and occupation of a swathe of territory south of the Danube by the Huns in 441.⁴⁶ Even then, the Itinerary provided an alternative in the form of the southerly route from Rome to Heraclia via Aulon, which is that assumed by the late antique itinerary from Gades (Cadiz) to Constantinople preserved in the prelude to the *Chronicon Albeldense* of 883.⁴⁷ The phraseology employed by the anonymous traveler certainly assumes that others will follow in his or her footsteps. The occasional second-person verbs in the present tense, found throughout the text (e.g., *Itin. Burd.* 561.5–6: "you cross the bridge, you enter Pannonia Inferior"),⁴⁸ might simply be a literary device to engage an armchair reader,⁴⁹ but the dative present participles of verbs of motion, found only in the Holy Land section (e.g., "to those

38. Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 189.

39. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 193; Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 192.

40. Stemberger, *Jews and Christians*, 94–95, contra Donner, *Pilgerfahrt*, 63 n.110.

41. On whom, see especially Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 28–49, 87–90, 171–74; Stemberger, *Jews and Christians*, 95–105.

42. As proposed by Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 313, and Douglass, "A New Look," 329–30.

43. E.g., Douglass, "A New Look," 329; Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 193–94.

44. Douglass, "A New Look," 332–33.

45. Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex Sangallensis 732, pp. 104–14 (early ninth-century), which cleverly cuts the narrative in two and reverses the order of the sections to produce an account that starts from Jerusalem (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0732), and Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, ms. 1279, fols 124v and 130r (olim 70v–71r) (tenth-century, from the monastery of San Millán de Cogolla), which preserves only paraphrased excerpts.

46. On these events, see Heather, *Fall of the Roman Empire*, 158–90, 300–304.

47. *PL* 129.1127–28; Kubitschek, *Itinerar-Studien*, 4–5.

48. *Itin. Burd.* 561.5–6: *transis pontem, intras Pannoniam Inferiorem*.

49. So Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 195, who catalogues the instances.

going towards the Nablus gate")⁵⁰ definitely read like the sort of practical orientation provided by a modern tourist guidebook. Rather than simply being "souvenir literature" (*Erinnerungs-Literatur*), as it was described by Wilhelm Kubitschek,⁵¹ it is clear that the work that the traveler produced aspired to be of practical utility to future pilgrims. However, is it a necessary conclusion that the anonymous traveler had this motivation when he or she originally left Bordeaux?

4. THE COMPONENTS OF THE ITINERARY

To reduce the risk of making exaggerated claims about authorial intentions on the basis of the narrative structure of text, it is necessary to establish a basic understanding of its nature. How much of the design and content of the transmitted text can plausibly be attributed to the anonymous traveler? Analysis of the elements of description within the itinerary sections, along with comparison with the travel memoranda generated by the journey of Theophanes of Hermopolis from the Egyptian Thebaid to Syrian Antioch and back in ca. A.D. 322 or 323,⁵² suggest a particular explanation for the process by which the text was generated. Artful literary composition in the manner of Pausanias seems most unlikely. It is no accident that in those sections outside the Holy Land, the text is structured as a list of place-names with distances attached in just the same way as other Roman itineraries, both those preserved in manuscript and those found inscribed on stone. The apparently chaotic mixture of oblique forms in which the place-names are preserved derives from the subjection of the names to the grammatical structure of the list,⁵³ combined with the higher than average likelihood of corruption in transmission of many obscure and unique proper nouns. The accompanying distances are measured in the appropriate standard units—that is, Gallic leagues (*leugae*) and Roman miles (*milia passuum*) for land travel, and Greek stades for the sea crossing from Aulon to Hydruntum.⁵⁴ These two elements form the core of the text and have, no doubt, been inherited wholesale by the author

50. *Itin. Burd.* 593.1: *euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam*. The other instances are 588.7: *euntibus Hierusalem*, 591.7: *exeuntibus Hierusalem*, 596.4: *descendentibus montem*, 598.4: *euntibus Bethleem*, 598.9: *deorsum descendentibus*.

51. Kubitschek, "Itinerarien," 2354–56.

52. The entire archive comprises *ChLA* 19.687, *P.Herm.* 2–6, *P.Ryl.* 4.607, 616–51, 713, and *Moscadi*, "Lettere," no. 12. See Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, esp. xv–xvii; Rolandi, "Il viaggio di Teofane."

53. See further Salway, "Travel," 26–27.

54. Leagues: *Itin. Burd.* 549.10–551.2; stades: 609.4.

of the Bordeaux Itinerary from his or her sources, rather than painstakingly assembled stage by stage as the journey was made. The tralatician nature of this central component does not undermine the status of the Itinerary as a faithful record of the places traversed. No doubt every traveler would check and amend whatever itinerary they were working from in the light of their own experience; but it is unlikely that they would rewrite it entirely from scratch. There is no evidence for a high degree of editorial intervention here. Indeed the fidelity of this aspect of the transmitted text to the original document utilized by the anonymous traveler is suggested by the transition from leagues to miles as the unit of measurement observed in the environs of Tolosa (Toulouse), as the route crosses the contemporary frontier from the province of Novempopulana into Narbonensis:⁵⁵

mutatio	Bucconis	leug. VII
mutatio	ad Iovem	leug. VII
civitas	Tholosa	leug. VII
mutatio	ad nonum	mil. VIII
mutatio	ad vicesimum	mil. XI
mansio	Elusione	mil. VIII
mutatio	Sostomago	mil. VIII

As generally noted, in the retrospective calculation of the distance from Bordeaux all the way to Arles in the Rhône valley, the leagues used for the stages from Bordeaux as far as Toulouse are converted to miles according to the standard ratio of 1.5 miles to a league.⁵⁶ The expression of the distances in the stages up to Toulouse in leagues, in contrast to miles beyond, is not the result of the author's employing a local measure for literary effect here but simply a reflection of the reality on the ground. All new "milestones" erected after ca. 198 in the provinces of Gallia Comata ("Long-haired" Gaul), including Upper and Lower Germany, had used the league as the unit of measurement, while those in Mediterranean Narbonensis continued to use the Roman mile, as remained standard practice everywhere else throughout the empire.⁵⁷ Although by 333 the area of second-century Aquitania (now the provinces of Aquitania and

55. *Itin. Burd.* 550.11–551.6, representing the stretch from L'Isle-Jourdain west of Toulouse to Castelnaudary west of Carcassonne.

56. E.g., Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 184.

57. Rathmann, *Untersuchungen zu den Reichstraßen*, 115–20. The transition at Lugdunum (Lyon) is signaled on the Peutinger map by the comment *usq(ue) hic le<u>gas*, on which see Talbert, *Rome's World*, 115.

Novempopulana) was grouped with Narbonensis in the administrative diocese of Viennensis,⁵⁸ it had traditionally been one of the "Three Gauls" (*Tres Galliae*) of Gallia Comata. Thus, in preserving the use of leagues, the Bordeaux Itinerary no doubt reliably reflects its contemporary underlying source and the reality on the ground of a road demarcated by "league-stones." The list of place-names and distances is not the result of authorial interpretation. In contrast, the other consistent element in the Bordeaux Itinerary does transpose the subjective experience of the anonymous traveler into the written record.

As well as reporting much greater detail than the Antonine Itinerary, the Bordeaux Itinerary is, as illustrated in the extract above, also unique in its consistent labeling of every node along its route in one of a restricted number of ways, usually as either a *mutatio* (change-over), a *mansio* (stop-over), or a *civitas* (city). There are two isolated variations from this typology (*vicus* and *castellum*), both of which occur relatively early on and within two entries of each other, and there are two exceptions, where the prepositions *ad* and *in* are used to indicate landmarks.⁵⁹ It is generally accepted that the alternating use of the most common terms—*mutatio* and *mansio*—in the Bordeaux Itinerary reflects the infrastructure of the state post system (*cursus publicus*), whether or not the traveler had a permit (*evectio*) to use it free of charge.⁶⁰ By contrast, the terms *civitas*, *mansio*, and *vicus* are found, but only very sporadically, in the Antonine Itinerary, and *mutatio* does not occur there at all.⁶¹ Moreover, even where such characterizations are added to place-names in the Antonine Itinerary, they are subsumed to the structure of the list, being placed after the toponym—for example, "Beda, vicus, leug. XII; Ausava, vicus, leug. XII; Egorigo, vicus, leug. XII; Marcomago, vicus, leug. VIII" (*Itin. Ant.* 372.3–6). Thus the Bordeaux Itinerary is distinctive in placing these comments before each place-name. This suggests that these remarks were not integral to the original itinerary list but represent a secondary layer imposed on an existing underlying framework.⁶² This reinforces the impression that the traveler did not compose the itinerary

58. See the *Laterculus Veronensis* ("Verona List") of A.D. 314 (Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores*, 128), which actually lists an Aquitanica Prima and Secunda, as well as a Narbonensis Prima and Secunda. However, both had probably been recombined in this period; see Sipilä, *Reorganisation*, 280, 283 nn.7–9.

59. *Vicus Hebrumago* (*Itin. Burd.* 551.7) and *castellum Carcassone* (551.9) in Narbonensis; *ad palatium Daphne* (581.7) and *in urbe Roma* (612.4). On the vocabulary, see Milani, "Continuità," 146–47.

60. Seeck, "Cursus publicus," 1855–1856; Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 187; Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 188.

61. *Civitas* and *vicus*: *Itin. Ant.* 365.9–366.4, 372.3–373.1; *mansio*: *Itin. Ant.* 6.3, 94.2–3, 127.11, 129.1, 129.3, 305.5–6, 387.6, 439.11–14, 446.2–3. See further, Salway, "Perception and Description," 203–205.

62. Cf. Stewart in Stewart and Wilson, *Bordeaux Pilgrim*, and Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 187, who translate them as integral with the core list.

list from scratch, or even copy it already complete with labeled stations, but rather that he annotated an existing itinerary or set of itineraries that he had acquired or with which he had been provided. This also suggests a certain meticulousness, which is also witnessed in the calculation of distance totals (see below). An odd contrast with the precision of the figures for distances on land is raised by the careless treatment of the measurement of the crossing from Aulon to Hydruntum. If transmitted correctly, the author offers one hundred miles as the equivalent of one thousand stades, a ratio of 1:10. This is a very rough approximation when compared with the conventional equivalence of 1:8 found in the Greco-Roman geographers and attested in the distances recorded on the Claudian monument (the so-called *Stadiasmus*) from Patara in Lycia.⁶³ Such uncharacteristic inaccuracy may be accounted for by a landlubber's unfamiliarity with nautical matters, a westerner's ignorance of the standard conversion for the Greek unit, or nonchalance because this distance had no implications for expenses or allowances.

Recognizing the indications *mutatio* and *mansio* as the traveler's annotations on the substructure of the itinerary serves as a warning not to treat them as objective statements of fixed function within the *cursus publicus*—that is, as mutually exclusive categories. No doubt some *mutationes* were too basic to function as stopover points, but this does not mean that all were. So, just because the Anonymus Burdigalensis describes a specific station as a *mutatio* does not mean that it could not function as a *mansio* for another traveler. For example, whereas Ammianus describes the site of the supposed tomb of Euripides, near Macedonian Arethusa (modern Rendina) on the eastern Via Egnatia, in neutral terms as a "postal station," the Bordeaux Itinerary reports it specifically as a *mutatio*.⁶⁴ Modern scholars should not, therefore, be surprised when a location labeled a modest *mutatio* by the Bordeaux Itinerary is revealed by archaeology to have had elaborate facilities (e.g., Ad Quintum, modern Bradashesh in Albania) or to have been marked out as a significant place with a twin-turreted symbol on the Peutinger Map (e.g., Fanum Fugitivi, near Spoleto in Italy).⁶⁵ Such deviations from the expected hierarchy of space remind us that the notations in the Bordeaux Itinerary are subjective comments reflecting the individual traveler's experience.

63. Engels, "Eratosthenes' stade"; Potheary, "Strabo, Polybius, and the Stade." For the text of the *monumentum Patarense*, see Şahin and Adak, *Stadiasmus Patarense*; on its distance figures, see Salway, "Perception and Description," 201–202.

64. Amm. Marc. 27.4.8: *Arethusa cursualis est statio, in qua visitur Euripidis sepulcrum; Itin. Burd.* 604.6–7: *mutatio Peripidis, millia X, ibi positus est Euripidis poeta.*

65. Cf. Chapman, *Archaeological and Other Evidence*, 171–73; Walbank, "Via Egnatia," 16, on Ad Quintum (*Itin. Burd.* 608.3); and Talbert, *Rome's World*, 121, on Fanum Fugitivi (*Itin. Burd.* 613.7).

This understanding of the anatomy of the text—as a simple spine composed of place-names and distances, progressively clothed in notations of the traveler's activities at each stage—is further confirmed when the additional layer of isolated notes is examined. Among these comments, which are more transparently additions by the traveler, are many minor dislocations. These are not to be confused with the couple of instances of more drastic displacement, which clearly derive from early defects in the manuscript tradition, and have long been recognized by editors.⁶⁶ The minor dislocations are most obvious in the case of comments on provincial boundaries. For instance, the indications of the frontiers of the Alpes Cottiae, both on entering from Alpes Maritimae and on exiting into Italy (i.e., the *regio* of Liguria and Aemilia), would both accord better with other evidence if transposed one entry forward or back.⁶⁷ Such inaccuracies might derive from errors in the traveler's own observation in cases where there were perhaps no conspicuous clues to the transition from one territory to another. However, in at least two of these cases the provincial frontier coincided with that of a customs district. The post of *stationarii* waiting to collect *portoria* (customs dues) ought to have been an obvious visual signal.⁶⁸ If the Anonymus Burdigalensis really did compose the text entirely afresh in the sequence of travel, then such a pattern of dislocations is hard to imagine. Similar minor dislocation is also to be found among the occasional comments on sites of historical or cultural interest. For instance, the Bordeaux Itinerary is out of step with other fourth-century evidence in placing its notice of Diocletian's defeat of Carinus near the Danube in 285 at Viminacium rather than at nearby Margum.⁶⁹ The simplest explanation for these dislocations is that all

66. The entry for the *mansio* at the Fluvius Frigidus, which stands at *Itin. Burd.* 557.11 (after Milan), belongs properly in the foothills of the Julian Alps between 560.1 and 2; and grand total at 601.1–3 belongs between 589.6 and 7. Another common defect is the presence of a couple of small lacunae in the route from Serdica to Constantinople (568.8 in Haemimontus and 569.2 in Thrace).

67. *Inde incipiunt Alpes Cottiae* (*Itin. Burd.* 555.9), *inde incipit Italia* (556.5). The same is also true for the *finis Italiae et Nor<i>ci* (560.10), of the frontier between Noricum (Mediterraneum) and Pannonia (Savensis)—i.e., *intras Pannoniam <Sup>er iorem* (561.5–6), the *fines Pannoniae et Misiae* (*Itin. Burd.* 564.1, cf. Ptol. *Geogr.* 3.9.3), and the *fines Galatiae et Cappadociae* (576.3). See Salway, "Perception and Description," 207–208; see Wilson in Stewart and Wilson, *Bordeaux Pilgrim*, 39–40.

68. On the *statio* of the *quadagesima Galliarum* at Fines Cotti (Avigliana) = *mansio Ad Fines* (*Itin. Burd.* 556.7), see France, *Quadagesima*, 326–28; on the *statio* of the *portorium Illyrici* at Atrians (Trojane) = *mansio Hadrante* (*Itin. Burd.* 560.9), see Ørsted, *Roman Imperial Economy*, 261, 281 nn.469, 283. Admittedly, the former may have moved forward with the creation of the diocese of Italy to embrace Alpes Cottiae, in which case it ought to have prompted comment on the entry into *diocesis Italiae* between *mutatio Ramae* and Brigantio (Briançon) at *Itin. Burd.* 556.10–11.

69. *Itin. Burd.* 564.8–9: *civitas Viminacio, mil. X, ubi Diocletianus occidit Carinum*. Cf. Aur. Victor 39.11: *At Carinus ubi Moesiam contigit, illico Margum iuxta Diocletiaho congressus . . .*; and Eutropius 9.20.2: *Postea Carinum omnium odio et detestatione viventem apud Margum ingenti proelio vicit, proditum ab exercitu suo quem fortioem habebat, certe desertum, inter Viminacium atque Aureum montem*.

these notices existed as marginal scholia. Where these were insufficiently clearly keyed to the core itinerary, the scribe charged with integrating them with the main text sometimes inserted them after the wrong place-name in the fair copy.

The Bordeaux Itinerary is, then, a multilayered text over whose form and content the anonymous traveler had varying degrees of control and input. At its most basic level lies a simple list of places and distances that the traveler adopted. This was overlaid with a layer of labeling providing individual characterization of each stage on the route, according to the function it served in the journey undertaken: changeover (*mutatio*); stopover (*mansio*); or urban center (*civitas*), where one might spend more than one night in order to take advantage of its amenities.⁷⁰ Finally, there is a range of individual comments on the physical, political, or cultural attributes of selected places en route. The expansive commentary on places in the Holy Land represents an egregious cluster of such entries, but it is essentially no different in kind. Rather than being "contained within the structure of an itinerary," as Matthews puts it,⁷¹ the exegetical section has been grafted on top of it. Both inside and outside the Holy Land the choice of sights thought worthy of comment by the original narrator or the range of comments preserved by subsequent redactors might seem somewhat eclectic. It presumably reflects what one or both judged to be of potential interest to future readers.

On evidence internal to the text, it seems highly unlikely that the traveler composed the work as a seamless narrative or an integrated whole. The conclusion seems inescapable that the traveler annotated the basic itinerary list, which was no doubt written on papyrus sheets or note tablets. To this he or she was occasionally compelled to add additional extraneous commentary cramped in the margin or, in the case of the Holy Land section, perhaps on loose leaves bundled together with the other memoranda. Such was the raw material that, eventually transformed into a fair copy, lies behind the text transmitted via the western manuscript tradition. Comparison with the dossier of Greek papyri relating to the near contemporary journey of Theophanes provides an instructive parallel. Here the survival of the original documents, recovered from the sands of Hermopolis Magna (El-Ashmunein), reveal that Theophanes, or rather his secretary, jotted down the details of the route from Egypt to Antioch and back, as well as the associated expenditure, on various scrap pieces of papyrus, such as the reverse of drafts of other documents. The separate parts of

70. See Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 51, 55, 60, on the evidence for Theophanes' activities as Ascalon.

71. Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 190.

Theophanes' travel accounts were then brought together in a fair copy, which interestingly does not agree in every detail with the drafts.⁷²

5. THE STRUCTURE OF THE *ITINERARIUM BURDIGALENSE*

Having firmly established the nature of the Bordeaux Itinerary's basic components, we can explore what the analysis of its overall structure reveals. As transmitted in its redacted version, it represents a consolidated and economical account of the route from Bordeaux to Jerusalem and back. However, it is clear from the internal organizational hierarchy of the text that, like the Antonine Itinerary, it is actually a collection of distinct components, even if on a much smaller scale. As already noted, the Bordeaux Itinerary comprises five separate sections (figure 13.1). As highlighted by Elsner,⁷³ each section is opened by a statement of the points of initial departure and final destination and (in all but one case) closed by summary grand totals of mileages, given precisely to the individual mile. This is accompanied by totals for the number of intervening *mutationes* (changes) and *mansiones* (stop-overs), each introduced by the wording *fit omnis summa* ("this all makes in total"), a standard phrase from Roman accounting records.⁷⁴ For example, "This makes the entire total from Bordeaux to Constantinople two thousand two hundred and twenty-one miles, 230 changes, 112 stopovers."⁷⁵ The full list of locations privileged by this treatment is Bordeaux, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Heraclea, Rome, and Milan—a list that broadly accords with the opening title but with one significant difference: it passes over Aulon and promotes Constantinople to the premier league. In this company, as already mentioned, Constantinople is further distinguished as the only location to which any dates of arrival and departure are attached; no dates are provided for arrival or departure from Jerusalem, for example.

Within each of these major sections, shorter subsections are also defined by subtotals (more commonly introduced simply by *fit*).⁷⁶ For example, "That makes from Constantinople to Nicomedia 58 miles, 7 changes, 3 stop-overs."⁷⁷

72. *P.Ryl.* 4.627–634 (fair copy); 635 [= 617 verso], 636 [= 621 verso], 637 [= 616 verso], 638 [= 628 verso] (drafts). See the commentary of C. H. Roberts at *P.Ryl.* 4, p. 133, and Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, esp. 34–35.

73. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 189.

74. E.g., Fink, *Roman Military Records*, no. 68, pp. 243–49 = *ChLA* 1/48.7 recto, part 1 (pay record of legionaries, Jan.–Sept. A.D. 81); *fit summ.* (col. ii, 13); *fit summa omnis* (col. ii, 23; col. iii, 12, 22).

75. *Itin. Burd.* 571.3–5: *Fit omnis summa a Burdigala Constantinopolim vicies bis centena viginti unum milia, mutationes CXXX, mansiones CXII.*

76. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 188.

77. *Itin. Burd.* 572.8–9: *Fit a Constantinopoli Nicomedia<m> usque mil. LVIII, mutationes VII, mansiones III.*

With the exception of Aulon, which, as the embarkation point for the crossing of the Adriatic, forms a natural break, the terminal points of these intervening sections are all provincial and/or diocesan capitals. The political significance of these places might be explanation enough for punctuating the journey in this way. Alternatively, this pattern may be intimately connected with its very genesis, as the points at which the author acquired or was issued with the basic itinerary for the next section.

This two-tier structure is obscured by the essentially arbitrary system of reference used to cite it (the page and line numbers of Peter Wesseling's edition of 1735). It is easier to appreciate the author's (or redactor's) original articulation of the text by describing it with a system of reference matching its hierarchy. Accordingly, treating the tour of Jerusalem and trips to the Jordan and to Hebron as subsidiary to the main journey from Constantinople to Jerusalem, I propose the following classification. Each of the major sections is indicated by a Roman numeral (I–V), and each of the subsections by an Arabic numeral, in both cases coupled to an indication of the corresponding Wesseling reference:

Section I (*Itin. Burd.* 549.1–571.5)

From Bordeaux <to Constantinople> (549.2)

1. Bordeaux to Arles (549.7–553.2)
2. Arles to Milan (553.3–557.10 + 558.1–2)
3. Milan to Aquileia (558.3–559.12)
4. Aquileia to Sirmium (559.14–560.1 + 557.11 + 560.2–563.9)
5. Sirmium to Serdica (563.10–567.3)
6. Serdica to Constantinople (567.4–571.2)

Grand totals Bordeaux to Constantinople (571.3–5)

Section II (*Itin. Burd.* 571.6–589.6 + 601.1–3)

"Similarly we traveled, Dalmatius and Zenophilus being consuls, on the third day before the kalends of June from Chalcedon and we returned (sc. from Jerusalem) to Constantinople on the seventh day before the kalends of January in the abovementioned consulship" (571.6–8).⁷⁸

1. Constantinople to Nicomedia (571.9–572.9)
2. Nicomedia to Ancyra (573.1–575.7)
3. Ancyra to Tarsus (575.8–580.1)
4. Tarsus to Antioch (580.2–581.6)

78. *Item ambulavimus Dalmati[c]o et Zenophilo cons. III kal. Iun. a Calcedonia et reversi sumus Constantinopolim VII kal. Ian. cons. suprascripto.*

5. Antioch to Tyre (581.7–584.3)
6. Tyre to Caesarea (584.4–585.6)
7. Caesarea to Jerusalem (585.7–589.6)

Grand totals Constantinople to Jerusalem (601.1–3)

Sections IIa + IIb + IIc (*Itin. Burd.* 589.7–599.9)

- a. Jerusalem and environs (589.7–596.3)
- b. Jerusalem to river Jordan (596.4–598.3)
- c. Jerusalem to Hebron (598.4–599.9)

Section III (*Itin. Burd.* 600.1–600.6 + 601.4–5)

Similarly from Jerusalem <to Constantinople> (600.1)

1. Jerusalem to Caesarea (600.2–6 + 601.4–5)

Section IV (*Itin. Burd.* 601.6–612.9)

Similarly from Heraclea <to Rome> (601.6)

1. Heraclea to Aulon (601.7–609.3)
2. Aulon to Capua (609.4–611.3)
3. Capua to Roma (611.4–612.6)

Grand totals Heraclea to Rome (612.7–9)

Section V (*Itin. Burd.* 612.10–617.8)

From the city (*sc.* of Rome) to Milan (612.10)

1. Rome to Ariminum (612.11–615.5)
2. <Ariminum>⁷⁹ to Milan (615.6–617.5)

Grand totals Rome to Milan (617.6–8)

The account from Bordeaux to Jerusalem and back to Caesarea (Sections I–III) forms an unbroken sequence, while as noted above there is a lacuna between Sections III and IV. Sections IV and V (Heraclea to Milan) form a second sequence that is possibly curtailed at Milan, where it rejoins the route traced on the outward journey in Section I.1–2. Two of the joints in this edited version are neat because they coincide with subsection breaks (that at Caesarea,

79. Accepting Glorie's plausible restoration of a sub-total at this point, omitted in a lacuna: *civitas Pisauro* <milia VIII civitas Ariminum milia XXIII. Fit a Roma> usque Ariminum <milia CCXXIII, mutationes XXIII, mansiones XIII>, mutatio Conpetu milia XII (*Itin. Burd.* 615.4–8).

uniting Section III with Section II.6, and that at Milan, where the end of Section V.2 meets Section I.2). However, the joint between Sections I and IV, at Heraclea-Perinthus, is more awkward because it is only an intermediary stage in the former (I.6). It might have been more “user-friendly” to begin Section IV at Constantinople, where Section I ends, but it is testimony to the rigorousness of the editing that such convenience is sacrificed to the principle of avoiding even minor overlap. Before this editing it seems most likely that the source material comprised the following units:

1. Bordeaux to Constantinople (preserved, with minor lacunae, as Section I)
2. Constantinople to Jerusalem (preserved complete as Section II)⁸⁰
3. Jerusalem to Constantinople (a fragment surviving as Section III)
4. Constantinople to Rome (mostly preserved as Section IV)
5. Rome to Milan/Bordeaux (wholly/partly preserved as Section V)

As can be appreciated by mapping out the result cartographically (figure 13.1), after editing and reassembly, it is natural to assume—just as the composer of the transmitted title did—that the anonymous traveler's ultimate goal had always been to reach the farthest point of the account: Jerusalem and the Holy Land. However, looking at the above analysis of the internal hierarchization of the text provides grounds to think that the reality may have been otherwise.

The wording of the comment inserted at the beginning of Section II (*Itin. Burd.* 571.6–8), quoted above, is pivotal. Not only does the fact of dating these actions make Constantinople, rather than Bordeaux or Jerusalem, the chief reference point for the account, as it is transmitted, but careful consideration of its phrasing sheds light on the structure of the original, unedited account. The conjunction *item* (“similarly”), which has not been used to open route sections prior to this point in the text, strongly suggests that a new start is indicated. The journey to and from Jerusalem and other sites in the Holy Land (Sections II and III) should be considered an extension—separate from the original trip from Bordeaux to Constantinople and back (Sections I, IV, and V). Whoever set down this record clearly conceived of these travels as forming two distinct sets of journeys:

- A. Sections I, IV, and V (Bordeaux to Constantinople, [Constantinople] to Milan/[Bordeaux])
- B. Sections II and III (Constantinople to Jerusalem, Jerusalem to [Constantinople])

80. One minor omission perhaps (of Biblos between *Itin. Burd.* 583.7 and 8); see Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 69.

Moreover, "similarly we traveled from Chalcedon" is a distinctly odd way to introduce the onward journey to Jerusalem, if that city had always been the explicit goal of the journey from Bordeaux, and Constantinople just a stage on the way. That is, the most natural way to read the phrasing of the entry is as introducing the reader to a new journey, one that was not anticipated at the beginning of the account in its original form. Indeed, the whole entry at *Itin. Burd.* 571.6–8 reads rather like an *apologia* directed at those back in Bordeaux anxious to know how an unanticipated extra seven months of absence (between 30 May and 26 December) are to be accounted for. In the full original form of the account, the *item* here presumably answered to a now lost equivalent opening statement, perhaps an indication of the date on which the traveler set out from Bordeaux. Unless a subsequent redactor has carefully transposed the reference to the consular year from the opening to this medial position in order to prevent a record of the year being lost, the obvious explanation for the naming of the consuls here is that it serves to indicate a different year from that in which the account of the journey opened. Given that the traveler only made it back to Constantinople just before the close of the year, the return home will have fallen in the following consular year. The clear implication, then, is that Constantinople was the destination specified at the outset of the journey and that this journey was recorded as having begun in the previous year (A.D. 332: *Pacatianus et Hilarianus*) and that the account terminated, after the interlude of the Jerusalem trip, in Milan or Bordeaux in 334 (*Optatus et Paulinus*). Whether planned from the outset or not, the structure of the compilation shows that the traveler conceived of the round-trip from Constantinople to Jerusalem as a separate enterprise, grafted on to the journey from Bordeaux to Constantinople and back to Milan. On this analysis it seems hard to deny that Constantinople was central to the purpose of travel on departure from Bordeaux, and was thus of equal, if not greater, importance than Jerusalem.

What are the implications of acknowledging Constantinople as a primary destination for the Anonymus Burdigalensis? This is the question to be explored next. What follows might be dismissed as belonging to the realm of unprovable hypothesis, but it is intended to keep speculation within the bounds of the probable by continual reference to the contemporary context.⁸¹

6. DESTINATION: CONSTANTINOPLE

What might be inferred from establishing Constantinople as one of the traveler's main objectives? This reorientation clearly has consequences for our understanding of the motivation for traveling there from Bordeaux. The dating notice

81. Cf. Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 199 n.52.

puts the narrator in Constantinople on two occasions in 333; that may be nine years since Constantine laid the first foundations, but it is only three years after the emperor's formal inauguration of the new city on 11 May 330.⁸² At this juncture the city had little to offer the religiously motivated traveler.⁸³ The great churches were yet to be finished, or even started, and, even if the shrine of S. Euphemia over the water at Chalcedon did subsequently become internationally famous, the cult of the martyrs was yet to develop as a motive for travel.⁸⁴ However, from 330, Constantinople had become a focus for ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs, the draw being the presence of the imperial court and the emperor Constantine himself.⁸⁵ It is significant that the dates of the journey just happen to fall in one of the short periods in the fourth century when all matters requiring the authority of a senior emperor (Augustus) devolved upon one man. Before Constantine's deposition of his colleague Licinius in September 324, a Gaul would not have to venture beyond Serdica (modern Sofya) to find the imperial court.⁸⁶ And, with the accession of his three sons as Augusti in the autumn of 337, Gallic provincials once again had a source of the highest imperial authority close at hand in Trier.⁸⁷ For the period 324 to 337, supreme political authority was concentrated in the hands of Constantine. Ever since the inauguration of Constantinople in 330, when not on campaign, Constantine had remained close to his new city, either in residence or nearby at Nicomedia in Bithynia.⁸⁸ So, for a resident of Bordeaux for whom an approach to the emperor was essential, it would be reasonable to set out for the Bosphorus region to find him there in the spring of 333. In fact, a series of five surviving laws attest Constantine's presence in Constantinople between 17 October 332 and 5 May 333, and a sixth may indicate that he was still there on 15 July.⁸⁹ Given that the anonymous traveler left Constantinople for Jerusalem on 30 May, it is highly probable that his or her presence in the capital coincided with the emperor's. Since Constantinople had little yet to offer for those seeking spiritual edification, the most obvious explanation for a journey from Bordeaux to Constantinople begun in 332 or 333 is that it was inspired by mundane concerns that required imperial intervention. This opens up a variety of options for the purpose of the journey.

82. For the details, see Barnes, *New Empire*, 76–78.

83. See Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 193.

84. For Constantine's churches in Constantinople, see Eusebius, *VC* 4.58. According to Egeria, the martyrdom of Euphemia was well known to her long before she visited it in 384 (*Itin. Egeriae* 23.7).

85. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 53–7; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 224–44.

86. See Barnes, *New Empire*, 69–75.

87. *Ibid.*, 84.

88. *Ibid.*, 78–79.

89. *CJ* 6.1.6 (17 October 332), *CTh* 4.8.8 (26 October 332), *CTh* 3.20.5 (18 April 333), *CTh* 8.12.5 (4 May 333), *Const. Sirm.* 1 (5 May 333), and *CTh* 3.5.6 (15 July 333), on which see Barnes, *New Empire*, 79.

One might seek out the emperor for a ruling on a private matter, on behalf of a municipality or regional council, as a member of the provincial or diocesan administration, or as an officer in the armed forces. Private petitioners needed to convey the *libellus* containing their *preces* (request) to the bureau of the *magister libellorum* and then await the posting of the emperor's subscribed reply.⁹⁰ This practice is copiously documented for the period up to 300 by the *Codex Justinianus*, but the imperial replies of Constantine's reign were never formally collected. However, continuation of the practice is demonstrated by rescripts from the period in unofficial collections and petitions among the Egyptian papyri.⁹¹ Grander people and public corporations might be able to submit their supplications to the emperor by letter, but these still needed delivering, which might also entail presentation with a speech before the emperor.⁹² As it happens, two very nearly contemporary imperial letters responding to such public missions survive: a letter to the council of Orcistus in Galatia, issued from Constantinople in 331, granting relief from a subsidy to pagan cults;⁹³ and another, either written between 25 December 333 and 18 September 335 (and thus very probably also from Constantinople), or between 22 May and 9 September 337 (and thus from Milan), to the Umbrians, granting them permission to hold a version of the annual provincial festival at Hispellum rather than jointly with the Tuscans at Volsinii.⁹⁴ Particular categories of court case also demanded the attention of the emperor, necessitating journeys from the provinces. Prosecutions of public officials for extortion and maladministration under the *Lex Iulia repetundarum* might be brought by private individuals or public bodies,⁹⁵ and, although imperial legislation attempted to limit scope for appeal to the emperor, lesser judges might refer cases for consultation to the emperor, which required the transfer of paperwork and sometimes, it seems, the need for the presence of the litigants themselves to chivvy the process along.⁹⁶

90. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 537–49.

91. Rescripts: *Frag. Vat.* 27, 31–4, 39–40, 273–4, 287, 290–1. Petitions: *P. Abinn.* 1, *P. Ryl.* 4.617–621, and *SB* 6.9217 (re-edition of *P. Lond.* 3.8781).

92. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 375–94.

93. *MAMA* 7.305, col. 3; most recently discussed and translated by Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*, Appendix 1, 363–67.

94. *CIL* 11.5265; Van Dam, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine*, Appendix 2, 368–72 (dating to 333/335), cf. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power*, 20–23 (dating to 337). The date is inferred from the presence of Constans in, but absence of Dalmatius from, the heading.

95. On the continued functioning of the *Lex Iulia*, see *CTh* 9.27.

96. On limitation of appeal and referral of cases, see *CTh* 11.29–30. E.g., in A.D. 315, Constantine forbade litigants access to the emperor while a case was pending, except in the case of a litigant denied a copy of the judge's report (*opinio*), or when the transmission of the documents in the case has been suppressed (*CTh* 11.30.6). By a ruling of 386, litigants were permitted to travel to the imperial court to chase up a referral only when nothing had been heard back after a year (*CTh* 11.30.17).

In fact, private and public affairs might be interwoven in any one mission, as demonstrated by the example of the *scholasticus*, Theophanes.⁹⁷ He was a lawyer in public employ, traveling to the bureau of the *vicarius* of Oriens at Antioch. He made the journey at the instigation of the governor of his home province, the Thebaid, but also under the patronage of the chief finance officer of all Egypt (the *catholicus*), based at Alexandria in Aegyptus Iovia. On his way he also met with officials of the governor of another province, Aegyptus Herculia, at Babylon (near modern Cairo). However, as the *catholicus'* letters of introduction to the governors of Palaestina and Syria Phoenice make clear, Theophanes was undertaking the journey "without an official allowance" (*sine ratione*).⁹⁸ So he was perhaps traveling not as a government agent but on private business, or on behalf of his city or province. Another cache of Egyptian papyri documents the range of circumstances that might bring a serving soldier to the imperial court in the 330s and 340s.⁹⁹ Flavius Abinnaeus, a career soldier who had served in Egypt since 307, relates how he first came to Constantinople in the summer of 336, escorting a deputation from the tribe of the Blemmyes on the orders of his superior, the *dux* of the frontier of the Upper Thebaid. In 339–40, he delivered recruits to the emperor Constantius II at Hierapolis in Syria, for which he was rewarded with a letter of appointment as the commander of a unit at Dionysias back in Egypt. In the winter 341–42 he returned to the emperor, now at Antioch,¹⁰⁰ to seek to have his imperially ordained tenure ratified against the claims of others, who only possessed letters of appointment obtained through intermediaries (*per suffragium*). Finally, having been dismissed by the *comes* of Egypt in 344, Abinnaeus planned a further mission to the court to overturn the decision, before he was saved the effort by his superior's fatal riding accident. Abinnaeus' example demonstrates how direct access to the emperor could be key to gaining promotion and holding on to appointments.

Petitioners on private business did not enjoy the same access to the *cursus publicus*, but might club together to share the costs involved in travel and/or take advantage of acquaintance with a government official to have their requests conveyed to the imperial court. A remarkable cluster of petitions to the emperor among Theophanes' papers—one complete with imperial subscription—documents this co-operative exercise on earlier missions to the emperors

97. For detailed discussion of what follows, see Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 33–40.

98. *Vitalis catholicus to Delphinus praeses Palaestinae*: *P. Ryl.* 4.623 = *ChLA* 4.253; *Vitalis catholicus to Achillius praeses Phoenices*: Moscadi, "Lettere," no. 1 = *ChLA* 19.687.

99. For what follows, see principally *P. Abinn.* 1 (*ChLA* 3.202) and 2 (*ChLA* 1.8), with Barnes, "Abinnaeus."

100. Not Constantinople, *pace* Barnes, "Abinnaeus," 369.

Maximinus (A.D. 313) and then Licinius (ca. A.D. 317), probably visited at Antioch and Nicomedia respectively.¹⁰¹ A similar process is seen in the preparations for Abinnaeus' mission to the imperial court in 345; one sponsor seeks to gain through his agency a letter of appointment as *exactor civitatis*.¹⁰² In addition to secular matters, Constantine's patronage of the Christian church added ecclesiastical business to the range of matters that might regularly come to the imperial court with permission to use the *cursus publicus*, as Ammianus later complained.¹⁰³ One such matter certainly reached the emperor's cognizance in the late spring of 333, since one of the laws attesting Constantine in Constantinople at that time concerned the judicial privileges of bishops.¹⁰⁴

Objection might be raised to the hypothesis that the Bordeaux traveler had important business at Constantinople on the grounds that, if he or she did, it is passed over in complete silence. Comparison with the case of Theophanes suggests that we should not expect it. For all their detail on travel and expenditure, the memoranda reveal nothing about the business conducted in the two and a half months at Antioch—nor do the letters of introduction written to ease his passage through the intervening provinces.¹⁰⁵ And, after all, even in all the description lavished on the Holy Land, the traveler never discusses the purpose of the visit there. It might also be objected that it is hard to imagine the writer of the unadorned Latin of the Bordeaux Itinerary as the main protagonist in a private legal dispute, or as responsible for arguing a matter of public business or of church politics at the imperial court. Such observations would have force if the author of the Bordeaux Itinerary was the leader of the mission. However, there is no warrant in the text for such an assumption. He or she might equally well have served in the entourage of such a person. From the evidence of the memoranda of Theophanes' journey, Matthews has estimated that the party that accompanied him to Antioch numbered about ten, apparently all men, some of them certainly slaves. This retinue included a household manager, cooks, a messenger, and simple attendants.¹⁰⁶ Senior churchmen also traveled with a sizable entourage. In 314, Constantine granted the bishop of Syracuse a

101. *P.Ryl.* 4.617–621 (the last one with subscription). These account for 5 of the 6 imperial petitions in Greek known from late third- and fourth-century Egypt; see Kramer, "Eingabe," 155–61, to whose list add *P.Abinn.* 1 (Latin). For the locations of Maximinus and Licinius (not at Thessalonica, *pace* Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 37), see Barnes, *New Empire*, 66–67, 80.

102. *P.Abinn.* 58–9, with Barnes, "Abinnaeus," 372.

103. *Amm. Marc.* 21.16.18. An early example is that of Donatist bishops conveyed back to Africa by the *cursus clabularis* from Constantine's court at Trier in February 315 (Optatus, *De schismate Donatistarum*, App. 8).

104. *Const. Sirm.* 1 to Ablabius *praefectus praetorio* (5 May 333).

105. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 8–9, 89–121.

106. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 165.

permit to travel to the synod in Arles by the *cursus publicus*. This made allowance for him to be accompanied by two priests and three servants.¹⁰⁷ The straightforward style of the Bordeaux Itinerary fits quite comfortably into the milieu of the technically proficient servant or slave. As is also clear from Theophanes' papers, the travel accounts were not just written by clerks in his entourage but from their point of view, since Theophanes is addressed as "you."¹⁰⁸ The muted authorial voice of the Bordeaux Itinerary suits such a context well. It is easier to imagine a member of the lead traveler's secretarial staff, rather than the leader of the mission him or herself, being charged with custody of the itineraries, punctiliously annotating them, and using them as the platform on which to attach his touristic observations. Whether answerable to a master or mistress, such roles were traditionally filled by male slaves or freedmen.

There is, of course, no evidence to determine what type of business the traveler's party had at Constantinople. However, indirect inference may allow us to exclude the possibility that the author's superior was an agent of provincial or central imperial government. As already noted, the Itinerary regularly remarks on provincial boundaries. Indeed, Elsner commends the author for the "acute awareness of provincial boundaries," which displays "implicit awareness of administrative . . . differences across the terrain which . . . the text traverses."¹⁰⁹ As it happens, the fortunate survival of a list of the civil provinces, drawn up on the occasion of their grouping into dioceses in ca. 314 (the so-called Verona List), means that we are relatively well informed as to the organization and nomenclature of the Roman provinces in the early fourth century.¹¹⁰ When the testimony of the Bordeaux Itinerary is measured against this list, the impression of diligence soon evaporates. As already discussed, the minor dislocation of boundary notices is not attributable to the original author. Still, as transmitted, the text records only two-thirds (twenty out of about thirty) of the provinces the traveler actually passed through. Most of the silences concern the provinces of Gaul and the *regiones* of Italy, which may be explained by their familiarity to both writer and intended audience.¹¹¹ However, the writer also seems unfamiliar with recent developments in administrative geography. While editors have noted the misattribution of the epithets *superior* and *inferior* to the Pannonias

107. Letter of Constantine to Latronianus *corrector Siciliae*: Eusebius *HE* 10.5.22.

108. Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, 49. There are two or three different hands at work in the memoranda (*ibid.* 195–96).

109. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 187–88.

110. *Laterculus Veronensis* (ed. Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores*, 127–28); on the date, see Barnes, "Emperors, Panegyrics," 548–50, and Zuckerman, "Sur la liste de Vérone," 620–28, 636–37.

111. Certainly missing are Aquitania, Novempopulana, Narbonensis, Viennensis, Alpes Maritimae, Haemimontus, and in Italy the *regiones* Liguria et Aemilia, Flaminia et Picenum, Tuscia et Umbria.

as likely scribal error (*Itin. Burd.* 561.5–6; 562.8), that the province entered from Noricum was actually now Pannonia Savensis or Savia (a subdivision of the old Pannonia Superior) has not been remarked upon.

There is similar unfamiliarity with the diocesan groupings, instituted nearly twenty years earlier. The names of three are preserved (Italia, Dacia, and Thracia), but both instances are problematic. The entry *fines Daciae et Thraciae* (at *Itin. Burd.* 567.9) does accord with the boundary of dioceses named Dacia and Thrace, but this may be a lucky coincidence. The implication of the other entries is that this, too, is offered as a description of the provincial boundary, which was actually between Dacia (Mediterranea) and Haemimontus (a recent subdivision of Thrace), and, in any case, the diocese of Dacia may not yet have been carved out of the larger Moesiae recorded in the Verona List. The notices for the boundaries of Italy (at *Itin. Burd.* 556.5 and 560.10)—never a province in the imperial period and now a diocese comprising seven *regiones*, three islands (Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica), and two mainland provinces (Alpes Cottiae and Raetia)—might bring to mind the diocese at first sight. However, the traveler's distinction of Italy from the Alpes Cottiae demonstrates that the traveler had in mind the old unitary Italy once defined by enjoyment of the privileges of the *ius Italicum*. Overall, then, the examination of awareness of boundaries suggests that the political geography held in the traveler's head was twenty years out of date, at least as far as the more familiar European regions were concerned. The state of knowledge attested is appropriate to someone schooled before 314 (and thus born not much later than the beginning of the century) and out of touch with subsequent developments in provincial organization. Such inattentiveness to the contemporary political framework suggests that author was not likely to be traveling in the train of a government officer, whether a civil servant, like Theophanes, or a soldier, like Abinnaeus. The possibilities of a mission for private, for civic, and for ecclesiastical business still remain.

If business is the most likely explanation of the traveler's presence in Constantinople in 333, what other implications are there for our understanding of the text? Whatever its nature, business to be done at the imperial court was likely to be of a protracted nature. If not coming as a pilgrim, eager to hurry on to Jerusalem, the traveler might have spent a month, at least, in Constantinople before business there was concluded. Even if he had spent only a day in the city, the 112 days of travel recorded from Bordeaux imply a start date in early January. That the traveling party took the slightly shorter route to Milan via the Cottian Alps, rather than by the French Riviera,¹¹² does not render this

112. The alternative offered by an Augustan milestone from Narbonne (*CIL* 12.5671 = 17/2.298) for the journey to Rome: (per) [F(orum)] Iu[li] (m. p.) DCCCCXXI, (per) [Cotti] r(egnum) (m. p.) DCCCCII.

impossible because this route exploits the all-winter Montgenèvre pass (1850 m, 6068 ft.) into Italy.¹¹³ Building in an extra month or two's sojourn in Constantinople pushes back the probable departure from Bordeaux into the early winter or late autumn. This season may help to explain part of the rather zig-zag route traced across Gaul. On the way to the Alpine passes, the route first heads southeast to the Mediterranean coast, rather than heading directly for the central Rhône valley via Vesunna Petrocoriorum (Périgueux) and Augustonemetum Arvernorum (Clermont-Ferrand).¹¹⁴ A wish to avoid the Massif Central in winter is comprehensible. Beyond Arles the route is less susceptible to a simple seasonal explanation. The route followed to the Montgenèvre pass—up the Rhône to Valentia (Valence) and then eastwards along the Drôme valley—is longer and climbs higher than the more direct route up the Durance valley to Vapincum (Gap), via Cabellio (Cavaillon) and Segustero (Sisteron).¹¹⁵ Perhaps the itinerary was simply dictated by the availability of routes served by the *cursus publicus* or the need to pick up other members of the traveling party en route. Nevertheless, it is notable that the Bordeaux Itinerary's route takes in the capitals of four (of the then five) provinces of the diocese, as well as the diocesan capital itself.¹¹⁶ The traveler may have had little choice but to pass through most of these. Still, rather than follow the well-attested route from Bordeaux down the Garonne to Toulouse via Aginnum (Agen) and Lactora (Lectoure), the traveling party initially struck out southwards to Elusa (Eauze), capital of Novempopulana.¹¹⁷ This route, taking in the capitals of these Gallic provinces, may reflect the political or social obligations to be fulfilled by the lead member of the party.¹¹⁸

113. *Itin. Burd.* 556.1: *Inde ascendis Matronam.*

114. *Itin. Burd.* 549.7–552.10; cf. the route Burdigala—Vesunna—Augustoritum—Aug(usto) nemetum—Vorocium—Lugdunum—Vienna that is outlined by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (mapped out in *CIL* 17/2, p. lv).

115. *Itin. Burd.* 553.3–556.1; cf. (in reverse) *Itin. Ant.* 342.3–344.2 and 387.5–388.6 (Löbberg, *Itinerarium provinciarum*, 262–63, 289) a route that is again also outlined by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (see *CIL* 17/2, p. lv).

116. Provinces: Aquitania (Burdigala: *Itin. Burd.* 549.7; *Not. Gall.* 13.1), Novempopulana (Elusa: *Itin. Burd.* 550.6; *Not. Gall.* 14.1); Narbonensis (Narbo Martius: *Itin. Burd.* 552.2; *Not. Gall.* 15.1), Alpes Maritimae (Eburodunum: *Itin. Burd.* 555.8; *Not. Gall.* 17.1); diocese: Viennensis (Arelate: *Itin. Burd.* 552.10; Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées*, 185). For the likely roll-call of provinces in the 330s, see Sipilä, *Reorganisation*, 280, 283 nn.7–9.

117. *Itin. Burd.* 549.7–550.6; cf. the route Burdigala—Aginnum—Lactora—Tolosa that is outlined by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (mapped out in *CIL* 17/2, p. lv).

118. In this connection, note Theophanes' possession of letters of introduction to the governors of provinces on his route (*P.Ryl.* 4.623 = *ChLA* 4.253, and Moscati, "Lettere," no. 1 = *ChLA* 19.687), and the hospitality offered by the governor to the noblewoman Paula, as family friend, at Antioch in 385 (Jerome, *Ep.* 108.7.3; Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 171–72).

7. DESTINATION: JERUSALEM

Of course, establishing Constantinople as the initial objective of the journey from Bordeaux does raise questions about the traveler's intentions in relation to Jerusalem. Assuming that the account of the Holy Land is constituted of notes taken at the time, by the time the traveler passed through Samaria, he certainly counted himself as a Christian.¹¹⁹ It is entirely possible that, once he knew that he would be traveling to Constantinople, he had made plans from the outset to take the opportunity to add on the extra trip to Jerusalem, a journey that may have been too much to undertake for its own sake all the way from Bordeaux. However, it is also possible that the opportunity and/or desire to visit the Holy Land were unforeseen, only arising during the period in Constantinople. The timing of the trip is certainly easier to understand if the Holy Land was not initially the ultimate objective. Otherwise, in planning the trip, one might expect more effort to coincide with one of the major Christian festivals with specific geographic resonance. However, despite all the months spent away from home, the traveler managed to miss both Easter in Jerusalem (probably spent in Constantinople) and Christmas in Bethlehem (spent at Chalcedon). In contrast, the chronology suggests that he witnessed the Jews' annual mourning of the destruction of the temple, which he does in fact report.¹²⁰ That the trip to Jerusalem was only decided upon after reaching the Bosphorus is not so inconceivable in the contemporary context. After all, one has to appreciate that a visitor from the west, even a Christian one, would have found the cultural and political atmosphere of Constantinople in 333 a striking contrast to that still prevailing in the west.

Constantine may have been the public champion of Christianity ever since his defeat of Maxentius outside Rome in 312, but it was only in 324, with the defeat of Licinius and acquisition of the eastern provinces, that he had become undisputed master of the Roman world and, crucially, ruler of that portion of it (the Greek east) in which the Christian community was most significant. In this newly acquired territory, which comprised the dioceses of Thrace, Pontica, Asiana, and Oriens (then including Egypt), Constantine could afford to adopt a more aggressively Christian stance.¹²¹ This was communicated through a flurry of letters and public statements in the winter and spring of 324–25.¹²² A ban on

119. *Itin. Burd.* 588.4–5; on which see n.3 above.

120. *Itin. Burd.* 591.5. The destructions in both 586 B.C. and A.D. 70 are commemorated together on 9 Av of the Jewish calendar, which fell in early August in A.D. 333 (see Jacobs, *Remains of the Jews*, 114).

121. For full discussion, see Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 245–60, and Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power*, 18, 107–43.

122. Letters to the eastern provincials: Eusebius, *VC* 2.24–42, 48–60; letters to eastern bishops: *ibid.* 2.43–46; letter to Persian king Shapur: *ibid.* 4.9, and the *Oratio ad sanctos*: *ibid.* 5.

blood sacrifice was introduced, certainly in Palestine and probably throughout Oriens, if not over all his eastern territories, and a handful of egregiously offensive pagan temples demolished.¹²³ The emperor inaugurated a new era by rebranding himself to his Greek subjects as Constantine *Augoustos*, marking an end to the three-hundred-and-fifty-year sequence of emperors titled *Sebastos*, a term which carried strong overtones of the imperial cult.¹²⁴ The union of east and west enabled Constantine to sponsor the first ecumenical council of the church, at Nicaea in 325, and the building of new, monumental churches on a wide scale, including at some key sites in the Holy Land. The anonymous traveler visited these, at Golgotha and Eleona (the Mount of Olives), in Jerusalem, at Bethlehem, and at Mamre (Terebinthos), the first and last of which he honored with his stock phrase of wonderment, *mirae pulchritudinis* (of amazing beauty).¹²⁵ By the winter of 332–33 Constantine's initial glow of satisfaction had given way to frustration at ongoing theological disputes. But, as a result he was, if anything, more deeply involved in church affairs than ever, having just dispatched letters to all the parties concerned in Alexandria, restating his position and summoning Arius to Constantinople in the hope of settling matters once and for all.¹²⁶

The traveler's first direct experience of this new world will have come on crossing into Haemimontus only fifteen or sixteen days' journey before arriving at Constantinople. However, a stay of a month or so at Constantinople, in close proximity to the imperial court, would have given the new atmosphere the opportunity to cast its spell. Without an opening verb at the beginning of the text it is impossible to tell, but it may be that the "we" of *ambulavimus* and *reversi sumus* originally indicated a shift in subject—that is, that the traveler had fallen in with a new group for the new journey to Jerusalem. If, as seems likely, the narrator was a retainer or servant, then the key factor will have been how his employer or boss was affected by his (or indeed her) experience in Constantinople. If of some status, having succeeded in transacting business at court, the leader of the party may have been charged with some mission by the emperor, such as inspection of the imperially sponsored church-building works, which were still ongoing at this date.¹²⁷ Certainly, the text of the itinerary continues to

123. Barnes, "From Toleration to Repression."

124. Salway, "Constantine *Augoustos* not *Sebastos*."

125. Golgotha: *Itin. Burd.* 594.2–4; Eleona: 595.5–6; Bethlehem: 598.7; Mamre: 599.5–6. Cf. 595.3, where *mirae pulchritudinis* is used of two monolithic stone monuments; and 599.8, where it is used of the Herodian memorial at Hebron. On Constantine's churches, see Taylor, *Christians and the Holy Places*, 86–156.

126. Athanasius, *De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* 38.9, 40.43; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 233.

127. Constantine sent the notaries Marianus to oversee the dedicatory celebrations of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher at Golgotha from 13 to 20 September 335 (Sozomen, *HE* 1.26; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 238).

note the *mansiones* and *mutationes* for the journey beyond Constantinople in exactly the same way as it had done before. If the traveler's party did indeed enjoy use of the *cursus publicus* to Constantinople, the same would appear to be true for the trip to Jerusalem. This need not be in relation to government business, however. As already noted, we know that Constantine was happy to authorize use of the *cursus publicus* to allow bishops to attend councils. In 333–34, Constantine granted the request of Bishop John of Memphis for an audience, rewarding his conciliatory attitude with permission to use the *cursus publicus*.¹²⁸ And later in the mid-330s, Constantine also authorized Eusebius of Caesarea to send the fifty copies of scripture commissioned for Constantinople on two wagons of the *cursus publicus*, along with a deacon.¹²⁹ Church business may have been the pretext under which the anonymous traveler used the *cursus publicus* to Palestine, but the timing does not suit any known meetings. The traveling party was probably already closing in again on Constantinople when Constantine summoned a council of bishops to meet at Caesarea, and will probably already have been back home when the great council of Tyre-Jerusalem was called for the summer of 335.¹³⁰ Still, on occasion, even lay persons of sufficient social eminence were successful in obtaining permits to use the service for private purposes.¹³¹ Whether or not he intended it, Constantine is on record as a supporter of cultural tourism, even by prominent pagans. In 326, when Nicagoras of Athens (torch-bearer of the Eleusinian mysteries) made a trip to Egypt with imperial patronage, he managed to take in the Pharaonic tombs at Thebes (Luxor).¹³² It would not be out of character for Constantine to have been moved to grant the use of the *cursus publicus* to visit the Holy Land. He might have been particularly receptive if the request came from a Christian visitor to his court, who having come such a distance expressed sufficient interest in seeing the setting of the Bible, especially if he was refreshingly untainted by the theological disputes of the Greek church.

8. DESTINATION: ROME

In rehabilitating the significance of Constantinople to the traveler, that of Rome is not to be ignored. Although Rome did not share the indignity of being passed over by the heading of the Bordeaux Itinerary, its significance is downplayed. It

128. Athanasius, *Apol. contra Arianos* 70; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 235.

129. Eusebius, *VC* 4.36.1–4.

130. Caesarea: Sozomen, *HE* 2.25.1, Theodoret, *HE* 2.28.1; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 234–35. Tyre-Jerusalem: Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 235–39.

131. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 830.

132. *OGIS* 721 = Baillet, *Inscriptions*, no. 1889, *AE* 1936, 148; on which see *PLRE* 1, 627 ("Nicagoras 1"), and Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, 72, 322 n.103.

is placed on a par with Aulon, as somewhere simply passed through (*per Aulonam et per urbem Romam*, *Itin. Burd.* 549.3–4) on the way to Milan. Elsner has already proposed that the return route deliberately took in Rome, but Matthews dismisses Rome as insignificant in the itinerary.¹³³ In fact, observation of the hierarchy of the itinerary's structure may vindicate Elsner. That Rome is, in fact, the occasion for a grand total summary places it on a par with Constantinople and Jerusalem as a destination in its own right.¹³⁴ While the city no longer enjoyed the regular presence of an emperor, it remained a significant hub for the transaction of political, cultural, social, and, increasingly, ecclesiastical business. So, opening our minds to the possibility that the traveling party was not uniquely focused on pilgrimage, it is not hard to imagine how Rome might feature on their agenda, perhaps even as a follow-on from the business in Constantinople.

9. CONCLUSIONS

No doubt many aspects of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* will remain irretrievably mysterious. Nevertheless, stripping away the false expectations set up by its retrospectively concocted title, and setting aside the distraction of the excursus on the Holy Land, facilitates a more objective analysis of the underlying itinerary. From this it can be deduced that the Bordeaux Itinerary is not the record of a single extraordinary journey from one end of the empire to the other, focused solely on Jerusalem. Instead, it is revealed as a set of distinct but interlocking journeys, focused on Constantinople, Jerusalem, and perhaps Rome as destinations of primary significance. Among these, the dating of the entry at Constantinople shows it to be the lynchpin. How is our understanding of the document changed by this conclusion? If correct, the anonymous traveler did not privilege Jerusalem uniquely as a destination. This reevaluation does not throw doubt on the sincerity of the anonymous traveler's Christian faith, only on the assumption that he left Bordeaux with the prime intention of completing a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The interpretation proposed here no doubt reflects this commentator's particular obsessions. Nevertheless, I hope to have offered a reading of the Bordeaux Itinerary that accounts better for its particular style and content, and above all for the one first-person statement in the entire work. Limiting conjecture by close attention to the specific historical context, I propose that the

133. Elsner, "Politics and Salvation," 183–84; Matthews, "The Cultural Landscape," 193.

134. *Itin. Burd.* 612.7–9: *Fit ab Heraclea per Aulona<m> in urbe Roma<m> usque milia undecies centena XIII, mutationes CXVII, mansiones XLVI.*

author is best understood as a male lay Christian, aged no younger than thirty or thirty-five, who traveled in the train of an employer or master/mistress, who had business in Constantinople. There, contact with the imperial court opened up the possibility of extending the trip to visit Palestine, where the holy sites were currently being monumentalized with imperially sponsored buildings. Having always had a mind to record details that might be unfamiliar to his circle at home (probably in northern Italy), the traveler was provoked by the unusual nature of this perhaps unanticipated experience to comment expansively on the Judeo-Christian heritage of the Holy Land. What emerges from this analysis, in place of a disingenuously naïve vehicle for elaborately encoded theological or ideological messages, is a pragmatic composition, readily comprehensible as the product of a specific combination of circumstances in the 330s. As a result, students of religious history are not deprived of the earliest first-hand account of Holy Land pilgrimage by a Latin Christian. However, the starting point for his novel undertaking was not Bordeaux but that new bubble of Latin culture in the Greek east, Constantinople.

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