
Journal of Religious Culture

Journal für Religionskultur

Ed. by / Hrsg. von
Edmund Weber
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

in Association with / in Zusammenarbeit mit
Matthias Benad, Mustafa Cimsit, Natalia Diefenbach, Martin Mittwede, Vladislav
Serikov, Ajit S. Sikand, Ida Bagus Putu Suamba, Roger Töpelmann
in Cooperation with the Institute for Religious Peace Research /
in Kooperation mit dem Institut für Wissenschaftliche Irenik
Assistent Editor/ Redaktionsassistentin Susan Stephanie Tsomakaeva

ISSN 1434-5935 - © E. Weber – E-mail e.weber@em.uni-frankfurt.d;
<http://publikationen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/solrsearch/index/search/searchtype/series/id/1613>;

No. 286 (2022)

Byzantine presence in the Holy Land

The monasteries of Sts Martyrius and Theodosius
in the Judaeian desert¹: a historical, bibliographical
and photographic² context (part 1)

By

Maria Vaiou

¹ See for example, G. A. Turner, *Historical geography of the Holy Land* (1973), 248–58, 269–70, 345; O. Sion, ‘Ancient road in the northern Judean desert’, *ESI* 10 (1991), 125 fg. 138; Y. Hirschfeld, ‘Spirituality in the desert: Judaeian desert monasteries: devout Christians made the stark landscape around Jerusalem bloom with faith’, *Biblical Archaeologist Review* 21 5 (1995), 28–38; idem, *Judaeian desert, survey* (map 106) (1984) [ESI 3], 62–3; idem, ‘Les laures du desert Judeen’, *Le Monde de la Bible* 68 (1991), 18–29; idem, *The Judaeian desert monasteries in the Byzantine period* (New Haven, 1992); idem, ‘Monasteries and churches in the Judaeian desert in the Byzantine period’, *Ancient churches revealed* (Jerusalem, 1993), 149–54; idem, ‘Judaeian desert, Jericho Basin, Samaria: survey of monasteries-1987’?, *ESI* (1989–90) [ESI 9], 46–51; on Christian presence, see O. Limor- G. G. Stroumsa, eds., *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: from the origins to the Latin Kingdoms* (Turnhout, 2006), 156, 160 n. 73, 275, 277, 334 n. 59, 360 n. 29, 367, 406, 412, 413, 415; www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Judaea

² All photographs have been taken by the author.

The Monastery of Martyrius (Khirbet el-Murassas)³ in Ma ‘ale Adummim or Maledomnei

One of the most important centres of monastic life in the Judaeian desert in the Byzantine period. Located six kilometres east of Jerusalem in the centre of the city of Ma‘ale Adummim. Martyrius came from Egypt and spent some time with Euthymius the Great (377–473). Then he secluded himself in a cave which was situated at about 15 stadia from his *lavra* (type of monastery consisting of a cluster of cells of caves for hermits). According to Cyril of Scythopolis (d. 558), Martyrius later founded a monastery at the site of the cave, which he named after him. The monastery was founded in the years between 478–86 when Martyrius was the patriarch of Jerusalem and had the financial resources to build such a well-equipped establishment. The monastery functioned between the second half of the fifth and the mid-seventh century. The desert *coenobium* occupied 10.000 sq.m., and was enclosed by a wall. It consisted of cells for the monks, a church, several chapels, two hostelrys, a refectory, one of the best preserved in Judaea, a bathhouse, stalls and mangers for the animals, the area of the cistern with the gardens and a spacious courtyard. Four capitals were discovered in the refectory and were attributed to its period of renovation in the mid-sixth century. Among a few significant archaeological discoveries has been the garden which is located in the internal courtyard of the monastery and was intended for medicinal herbs; also the refectory, the kitchen and the great quantity of utensils shedding light on the eating habits of the monks in Byzantine Palestine and their menu. The church, which predated the monastery, was a complex of buildings and was located in the middle of the eastern side of the monastery. A hall near the church contained the tomb of Paul, a father of the monastery, mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis. There is an inscription at the east end which reads ‘In the days of our pious father Genesisius, priest and archimandrite, this work was also done for his salvation and that of his community in Christ. It was completed on the fourth day of the month of March of the first indiction’. This inscription suggests that this person

³ On the documentation of the name and a linguistic discussion, see Y. Elitzur, *Ancient place names in the Holy Land: preservation and history* (Jerusalem, 2004), 132-4, 298, 308, 315; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine, I-II* (Paris, 1933–38), 174, 179; M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land. A historical geography from the Persian to the Arab conquest 536 B.C. to A.D. 640*, with text revisions and toponymic index by A. F. Rainey (Jerusalem, 2002), 156.

was responsible for other building activities in the monastery; it is uncertain to which dates the indiction points to and it is possible that it refers to a period between 568–83. The monastery was providing shelter, food, and water to pilgrims. The existence of a cistern in the southwest corner of the complex suggests that the monks provided a controlled access to water to the guests. Archaeological evidence suggests that the cisterns and water reservoirs found in the monastery ‘could collect the tremendous amount of, approximately, 20-30 thousand cubic meters of water’. A hostel, a *xenodocheion* type, which was located outside the gate, provided shelter and charity for the sick and poor travellers and pilgrims; this was one of the main features of the early Palestinian *lavras* and *coenobia*. The existence of a chapel in the hostel reflects on the needs between the community and the guests and the limited interaction between themselves. A number of impressive mosaics dating in the second half of the sixth century have been discovered, such as those at the pavement of the long refectory. Of great importance was the natural cave which Martyrius had used for his solitude before the establishment of the monastery. The monastery was destroyed by the Persians in 614. The latest coins date from the third year of Herakleios alluding to the fact that the monastery did not survive the Persian invasion. The monastery was abandoned after the Arab conquest. Almost all archaeological remains date to the Byzantine period, but the existence of a farmhouse with an irrigated garden is dated to the early Islamic period, prior to the year 750, above the bathhouse of the monastery. Excavations which were carried out in the spring of 1983 unearthed a grave in a church floor dated by inscription to 492. It contained the remains of nine men and one woman which were thought to have been associated with leprosy, but subsequent study has shown that the preferred diagnosis was psoriatic arthritis. They were probably mistaken for suffering from leprosy and this may have been the reason for finding refuge in the monastery. The monastery remained deserted until its discovery in 1982–5.







remains of the monastery

Bibliography

Cyril of Scythopolis: The lives of the monks of Palestine, tr. R. M. Price (Kalamazoo, 1991), index, 294; Y. Magen, 'Martyrius monastery', *NEAEHL*, iii, ed. E. Stern, 4 vols (Jerusalem, 1993), 968–72; idem, 'The monastery of St. Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummim', in *Ancient churches revealed* (Jerusalem, 1993), 170-96; idem and R. Talgam, 'The monastery of Martyrius at Maale Adummim (Khirbet el-Murassas) and its mosaics in G. C. Bottini, L. Di Segni, and E. Alliata eds., *Christian Archaeology in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1990), 91–152; idem, *The monastery of Martyrius at Ma'ale Adummin: a guide* (Jerusalem, 1993); idem, *Christians and Christianity, vol. v: monastery of Martyrius* (2015); A. Coniglio, A. Ricco (eds.), *Holy land archaeology on either side. Archaeological essays in honour of Eugenio Alliata, ofn* (Milano, 2020); V. Tzaferis, 'Early monks and monasteries in the holy land', *Deltion XAE* 15 (1989–1990), 43–66, 48ff., 55ff., 64; K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman world* (Cambridge, 1999), index; J. Zias, 'Leprosy and tuberculosis in the Byzantine monasteries of the Judean desert', in D. J. Ortner, A. C.

Aufderheide eds., *Human paleopathology: current synthesis and future options* (Washington and London, 1991), 197–9; idem, ‘Was Byzantine herodium a leprosarium?’, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 49.3 (1986), 182ff.; Y. E. Meimaris, *Sacred names, saints, martyrs and church officials in the Greek inscriptions and papyri pertaining to the Christian church of Palestine* (1986), n. 1244; D. Caner, *The rich and the pure: philanthropy and the making of Christian society in early Byzantium* (Oakland, 2021), index; M. Aviam, J. Ashkenazi, ‘Late antique pilgrim monasteries in Galilean *Loca Sancta*’, *LA* 64 (2014), 559–73; D. Neary, ‘Constantinople and the Desert city: imperial patronage of the Judaeen desert monasteries, in N. S. M. Matheou et al. eds., in *From Constantinople to the frontier. The City and the cities* (Leiden, 2016), 142–58, C. Foss, ‘The Persians in the Roman Near East (602–630 AD)’, *JRAS* 13.2 (2003), 149–70; R. Schick, *The Christian communities of Palestine, from Byzantine to Islamic rule: a historical and archaeological study* (Princeton, 1995), 391–2; L. di Segni, ‘The monastery of Martyrius at Ma’ale Adummim (Khirbet el-Murassas): the inscriptions’, in *Christian archaeology*; E. Ribak, *Religious communities in Byzantine Palestine: the relationship between Judaism, Christianity and Islam, AD 400–700* (Oxford, 2007), 189–90; I. Taxel, ‘Late antique ionic column capitals in the countryside of central Palestine between provincial trends and classical traditions’, *Studies in late antiquity* 2. 1 (2018), 84–125, 101–3; M. Burdajewicz, ‘Glass finds in archaeological context. A case study of Hippos (Sussita)’, *Études et travaux* 24 (2011), 22–40, 29; Y. Tchekhanovets, *The Caucasian archaeology of the holy Land* (Leiden, 2018), 212–28; H. R. Bork et al., ‘Development of the western Judean desert during the Holocene’, *Arch. A. für Nat.–Lands.* 34 (1995), 99–110; A. Kowalewska, *Bathhouses in Iudaea/Syria-Palaestina and Provincia Arabia from Herod the Great to the Umayyads* (Oxford, 2021); J. Murphy-O’ Connor, *The Holy Land. An Oxford Archaeological guide from earliest times to 1700* (Oxford, 5th edition 2008), 397–400; J. Day, *Baptism in early Byzantine Palestine 325–451* (Piscataway, 2009), O. Limor, G. G. Stroumsa, *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land* (Turnhout, 2006), 169, 277, 332 n. 47, 388, 405, 407, 415, 428; Ch. T. Ritchlin, O. Fitzgerald, *Psoriatic and reactive arthritis* (Philadelphia, 2007), 5; E. Damati, ‘The irrigation systems in the gardens of the monastery of St. Martyrius (Ma’ale Adummim)’, in *The aqueducts of Israel*, ed. D. Amit, and J. Patrich, and Y. Hirschfeld. (Portsmouth, 2002), 438–44; J. Patrich, *The Sabaitic heritage in the Orthodox church from the fifth century to the*

present (Leuven, 2001); idem, ‘The impact of the Muslim conquest on monasticism in the desert of Jerusalem’, in A. Borrut et al., *Le Proche Orient de Justinien aux Abbassides: peuplement et dynamiques spatiales* (Turnhout, 2011), 205; C. R. Conder-H.H. Kitchener, *The survey of Western Palestine: memoirs of the topography, orography, hydrography, and archaeology. Volume III. Sheets XVII-XXVI. Judaea* (London 1883), 121–2; M. Voltaggio, ‘Xenodochia’ and ‘Hospitia’ in sixth-century Jerusalem: indicators for the Byzantine pilgrimage to the holy places’, *ZDPV* 127.2 (2011), 197–210; H.K. Mienis, ‘Nile mussels in the kitchen of the monastery of Martyrius, Judaeen desert’, *The Archaeo-Malacology group newsletter* (2005); M. Conan, ed., *Middle East garden traditions: unity and diversity. Questions, methods and resources in a multicultural perspective* (Washington DC, 2007), 23f.; M. Whiting, ‘Appendix. Monastery hostels in the Byzantine Near East’, in Z. T. Fiema, J. Frösén and M. Holappa, *Petra—The mountain of Aaron, vol. ii, The Nabataean sanctuary and the Byzantine monastery* (Helsinki, 2016), 108–13, 109; W. Bowden et al. eds., *Recent research on the late antique countryside* (Brill, 2004), 428, 462; O. Erdoğan, ‘Water cisterns of rural settlements in southern Anatolia in late antiquity and the Byzantine period’, *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 30/2 (2021), 1039–73; S. Popovic, ‘Dividing the invisible: the monastery space—secular and sacred’, *Recueil des travaux de l’Institut d’études byzantines* XLIV (2007), 47–67, 53; eadem, ‘The ‘Trapeza’ in cenobitic monasteries: architectural and spiritual contexts’, *DOP* 52 (1998), 281–303; eadem, ‘The monastery entrance: Adventus and path to salvation’, *ZRVI* LIV (2017), 7–J. Murphy-O’Connor, *The Holy Land: an Oxford archaeological guide from earliest times to 1700*, 5th ed. (Oxford, 2008), 397–400; E. Dvorjetski, ‘Public health in ancient Palestine. Historical and archaeological aspects of laboratories’, in *Viewing ancient Jewish art and archaeology* (Leiden, 2016); N. Mazzucato, ‘L’ arte del mosaico tra Roma e l’ Oriente’ www.academia.edu; SV Leatherbury, *Inscribing faith in late antiquity: between reading and seeing* (London, 2019); E. Turek Orbananos Klajner, ‘La laura y el cenobio: dos formas monasticas de habitar el desierto de Judea en period Bizantino’ www.academia.edu

Internet sites:

www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Monastety_of_Martyrius_1.jpg

www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monastery_of_Martyrius

www.orthodoxwiki.org

www.google.com

www.academia.edu

[www.cojs.org/cojswiki/Matyrius_Monastery, 5th century CE](http://www.cojs.org/cojswiki/Matyrius_Monastery,_5th_century_CE)

www.museum.imj.org.il

www.antiquities.org.il

www.biblewalks.com

www.csc.org.il

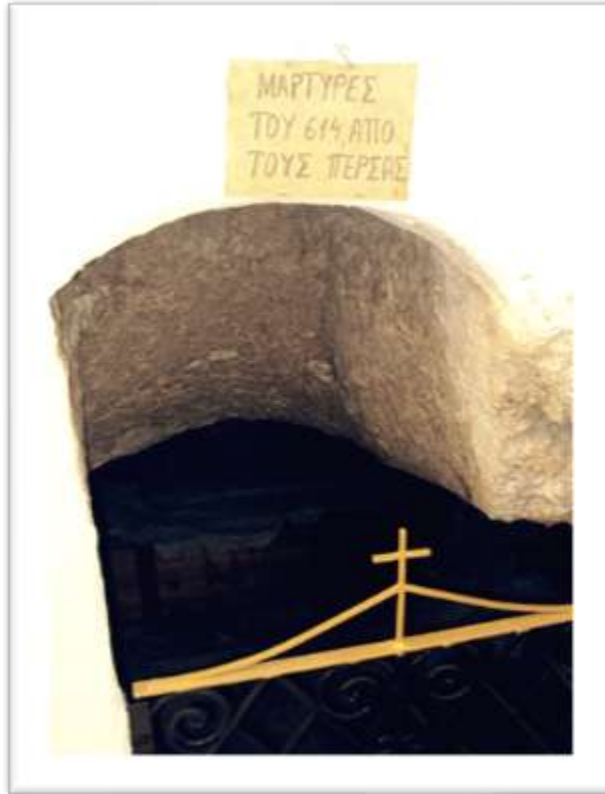
The monastery church of St. Theodosius (Deir Dossy, Deir ibn Ubeid)

The monastery is located east of Bethlehem on the main road that leads to the desert of the river Jordan and the Dead Sea. Today's monastery is built on the ruins of the monastery-*coenobium* founded by St. Theodosius (414–529) in the fifth century. The monastery was known as the monastery of Theodosius the Coenobiarch (chief of those living a life in common) due to his appointment in 492 as the achimandrite in charge of all the *coenobia* of the Judaeian desert. It was founded in the location of the cave of the Three Wise Men (Magi), who came from Persia and had found shelter on the first night after delivering the gifts to the baby Jesus. It was the largest desert community consisting of 700 monks at the time of Theodosius' death. The monastery included four churches and three hostelries (καταγωγία)—it functioned not only as *coenobium* but as 'welfare institution'. Each of the hostelries were for foreign monks, for laypeople of the middle and upper classes, and for the poor. The latter were provided with food, medical care and clothing. Three different linguistic communities were living together in the *coenobium* and Greek-speaking, Armenian and Bessi monks were praying and singing the Psalms. Sophronius (d. 542) succeeded Theodosius, enlarged the monastery, enriched it with properties and yearly income and built a new church of the Virgin Mary. One of the five *coenobia* in the Judaeian desert among those of St. Euthymius, Kastellion, St. Gerasimus and St. John the Baptist that survived after the seventh century. During the 'Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid's reign (786–809) a general decree was issued in the year 796 ordering the destruction of churches. This harsh measure was followed by Saracen rebels' violent attacks on monasteries; among others the killing of twenty monks of the monastery of Mar Saba in the year 797 is recorded and the robbing of other monasteries, such as St. Chariton, St. Theodosius and St. Euthymius; these were to suffer the same fate in 809. The monastery is mentioned in the *Commematorium de casis Dei* (ca. 808) to have seventy monks serving in the monastery. It says that it was burnt by Saracen brigands referring to the attack of the year 789; two churches were burnt, many monks were slaughtered while others fled. The Byzantine chronicler Theophanes (d. 817–818) mentions that the monastery was destroyed in the year 809. The political chaos that followed the caliph Harun al-Rashid's death in 193/809 led to violence that caused the sack of many churches in Jerusalem and the destruction of great monasteries in Palestine, such as St. Sabas, St. Euthymius, St. Theodosius and the *lavras* of St.

Chariton and St. Cyriacus. Recovered and prospered from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. This is evident in the existence of manuscripts which were produced during this period and are being kept at the library of the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Early thirteenth century papal acts attest to the fact that the monastery possessed vast properties, churches and hospitals in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Ascalon; it also held estates in Cyprus. The cave of the monastery is entered through a flight of modern steps from the north-east. Seven tombs exist in it, those of St. Theodosius, St. Sophronius, the Byzantine monk and writer John Moschus (d. 619 or 634), Eulogia, the mother of Theodosius, St. Mary, the mother of Sts Arcadius and John, wife of Xenophon, and St. Sophia, the mother of St. Sabas and Xenophon and St. Theodota, the mother of Sts Cosmas and Damian. The monastery was rebuilt during the Crusader period. Survived until the fifteenth century. Visited by the Abbot Daniel in the twelfth century, who mentions the cave of the Wise Men; in the middle of the monastery lay the tombs of St. Theodosius and others like the mother of St. Sabas and the mother of St. Theodosius. In the Life of St. Euphrosina, daughter of the prince of Polotsk, who made a pilgrimage in 1173, the convent of the Holy Virgin of Theodosius is mentioned to have been a burial place for holy women. John Phocas visited it in 1185. St. Sava of Serbia visited and endowed the monastery in the 1230s. Described by Ibn al-'Umar in the fourteenth century as a famous monastery of good construction. The Russian pilgrim Agrefeny describes in ruins (ca. 1370). In 1481 it is also described as ruined by Daniel of Smyrna. It fell to the hands of Arab Muslims in the fifteenth century, who continued to occupy the ruins until the late nineteenth century. The village of Ubeidiyya (the place of the servants), which is situated beyond the monastery, is called as such because it was inhabited by the guards who protected the monastery in the Byzantine period; another explanation is that it received its name after the nomadic tribe al-Ubeid who lived in the village and the premises of the monastery after the monks were left or killed. A Byzantine lead seal, dating to the eleventh or twelfth century, was found, among probably other nine seals originating in the monastery, in the Barag Collection, and was named after Theodosius the Coenobiarch. St. Theodosius is portrayed in it with a cross on his garb and his hands in front of him; the seal belonged to a monk called Symeon, archimandrite of the 'Jerusalemites', the head perhaps of a group of monasteries in Jerusalem. It was purchased in 1881 and reconstructed by the director of the school of Theology of the Monastery of St. Cross in Jerusalem.



This is the cave where St. Theodosius retired in 479. The cave was used in the Byzantine period as a cemetery. Below are photos of the tombs of prominent Palestinian monastic personalities such as John Moschus, St. Sophia, the mother of St. Sabas; St. Theodota, the mother of Sts Cosmas and Damian, etc



Martyrs of the Persian massacre of 614







The tomb of St. Theodosius



Tomb of St. Mary, mother of Sts Arcadius and John wife of Xenophon.







Archaeological exhibits in the courtyard of the monastery



The church of the monastery



Monastery of St. Theodosius, church of St. Mary, interior



Remains of the skulls of the monks massacred by the Persian in 614



Treasures kept in the church



Traces of earlier flooring beneath the floor of the present Church dating probably to the twelfth century



The main entrance to the monastery

Bibliography

D. Pringle, *The churches of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), ii, no 221, pp. 271–8; for the church mentioned in the papal acts of Honorius III, see D. Pringle, *The churches of the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem: a corpus*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 2007), 386; The life of Theodosius is described in two sixth-century hagiographies. 1. *Cyril of Scythopolis*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos vos Skythopolis: Leben des Theodosios* (Leipzig), 235–41; *The lives of the monks of Palestine*, tran. R. M. Price (Kalamazoo, 1991), 262-68; 2. Theodore of Petra, ‘Life of Theodosius’, ed. H. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosius* (Leipzig, 1890; repr. Hildesheim, 1975); Fr. tr. A. J. Festugière, *Théodore de Petra, Vie de saint Théodosios* (Paris, 1963) 81–162;

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palestinae, volume 1: Jerusalem. Part 2: 705–1120, ed. H. M. Cotton, L. di Segni et al. (Berlin/Boston, 2012), 462; R. Schick, *The Christian communities of Palestine, from Byzantine to Islamic rule: a historical and archaeological study* (Princeton, 1995), 283; M. McCormick, *Charlemagne's survey of the Holy Land: wealth, personnel, and buildings of a Mediterranean church between antiquity and the middle ages, with a critical edition and translation of the original text* (Washington DC, 2011), 208; A. Ovadia, *Corpus of the Byzantine churches in the holy land* (Bonn, 1970), 46–7 no 32; J. Patrich, *Sabas, leader of Palestinian monasticism. A comparative study in eastern monasticism, fourth to seventh centuries* (Washington DC, 1995), index; J. Binns, *Ascetics and ambassadors of Christ. The monasteries of Palestine 314–631* (Oxford, 1994); index, 276; E. Weigand, 'Das Theodosioskloster', *BZ* 23 (1920), 169–70; B. Bitton-Ashkelony, A. Kofsky, 'Monasticism in the Holy Land', in O. Limor, G. G. Stroumsa, *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land* (Turnhout, 2006), 257–291 at 276–7, 161, 275, 276, 288, 314, 401; C. A. Panchenko, *Arab Orthodox Christians under the Ottomans 1516–1831* (New York, 2016); Y. Hirschfeld, 'The importance of bread in the diet of monks in the Judean desert', *B* 66.1 (1996), 143–55; D. Sahas, 'Saracens and Arabs in the *Leimon* of John Moschos', *Byzantiaka* 17 (1997), 121–38; idem, 'The face to face encounter between patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem and the caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: friends or foes?', in E. Grypeou et al., *The encounter of eastern Christianity with early Islam* (Leiden, 2006), 33–44; J. Zias, 'Was Byzantine herodium a leprosarium?', *The Biblical Archaeologist* 49.3 (1986), 182ff.; J. Patrich, 'The impact of the Muslim conquest on monasticism in the desert of Jerusalem', in A. Borrut et al., *Le Proche Orient de Justinien aux Abbassides: peuplement et dynamiques spatiales* (Turnhout, 2011), 203–16, 207, 208, 210; A. Jotischky, 'History and memory as factors in Greek Orthodox pilgrimage to the holy land under crusader rule', *Studies in Church History* 36 (2000), 110–22; D. Neary, 'Constantinople and the Desert city: imperial patronage of the Judean desert monasteries, in N. S. M. Matheou et al., in *From Constantinople to the frontier. The City and the cities* (Leiden, 2016), 142–58; A. Layish, 'The sedentary Bedouin of the Judean desert', in *Legal documents from the Judean desert* (Leiden, 2011); H. Chadwick, 'John Moschus and his friend Sophronius the Sophist', *JThS* 25 (1974), 41–74; P. Pattenden, 'The text of the Pratum Spirituale', *JThS* 26 (1975), 38–54; S. Irving, *Palestine* (Bucks, 2011), 166; A. Charbel, 'St. Theodosius', *TS* 51 (1975), 225–30; K.

M. Koikilides, *He kata ten eremon tes hagian tou theou emon poleos laura Theodosiou tou koinobiarchou* (Jerusalem, 1901); L. Papadopulos, tr., *Four great fathers: saint Paisius the great, saint Pachomius the great, saint Euthymius the great, and saint Theodosius* (2007); A. Westergren, 'The monastic paradox: desert ascetics as founders, fathers, and benefactors in early Christian historiography', *Vigiliae Christianae* 72.3 (2018), 283–317; T. Belyakova, 'Saint Euphrosyne of Polack in the historical and symbolical context of female sanctity', *Працоўныя матэрыялы* 4 (2015), 221–224, 223; A. Cameron, 'The epigrams of Sophronius', *The Classical Quarterly* 33.1 (1983), 284–92; Y. Hirschfeld, *The Judaeen desert monasteries in the Byzantine period* (New Haven, London, 1992), 59–60, 159–61; L. di Segni, 'Epigraphical evidence for pilgrimage to the holy places', in F. Daim et al., *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Journeys, destinations, experiences across times and cultures* (Mainz, 2020), 23–30, 25; C.M. Watson, 'Commemoratorium De Casis Dei Vel Monasteriis', *PEQ* 45.1 (1913), 23–33; J. Wilkinson with J. Hill and W. F. Ryan, *Jerusalem pilgrimage, 1099–1185* (London, 1988); B. Hamarneh, 'Monasteries in rural context in Byzantine Arabia and Palaestina Tertia: a reassessment', *Christ is here!. Studies in biblical and Christian archaeology in memory of Michele Piccirillo, ofm* (Terra Santa, 2012), 277–98, 277; J. Zias, 'Current archaeological research in Israel: death and disease in ancient Israel', *Biblical Archaeologist* 54.3 (1991); T. Tobler and A. Molinier (eds.), *Commemoratorium de casis Dei vel monasteriis* 34, *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, vol. 1. (Geneva 1879; repr. 1966); S. Runciman, 'Charlemagne and Palestine', *EHR* 50.200 (1935), 606–19; M. Whiting, 'Appendix. Monastery hostels in the Byzantine Near East', in Z. T. Fiema, J. Frösén and M. Holappa, *Petra—The mountain of Aaron, vol. ii, The Nabataean sanctuary and the Byzantine monastery* (Helsinki, 2016), 108–13; L. di Tommaso & L. Turcescu, eds., *The reception and interpretation of the Bible in late antiquity* (Leiden, 2008), 402; M. Telea, 'Medical care in Byzantium: from mission to devotion', *European journal of Science and Theology* 8.2 (2012), 151–62, 158; A. Ecker, T. Sharvit, 'An XI–XII c. Byzantine lead seal of the monastery of Theodosius (Deir Dosi) from the collection of Dan Barag in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem', *Israel Numismatic Journal* 18 (2011–4), 209–14.

Internet sites

www.atlastours.net/holyland/st_theodosius_monastery.html

www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monastery_of_St._Theodosius

www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodosius_the_Cenobiarch

www.wikitravel.org/en/Bethlehem

www.enjoybethlehem.com

www.google.com

www.academia.edu

www.regesta-imperii.de

www.csc.org.il

www.antiquities.org.il

www.beitsahour.ps