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FROM EGYPT TO CONSTANTINOPLE: A PILGRIMAGE ROUTE
IN A FORGOTTEN LATE ANTIQUE ITINERARY (SB XXVI 16607)?¹

The University of Minnesota's department of Special Collections, Rare Books and Manuscripts, part of the Elmer Lee Anderson Library in Minneapolis, holds twenty-three items from Egypt: nineteen Greek papyrus fragments (P.Minnesota 1–2, 4–18, 20–21); one Greek fragment on leather (P.Minnesota 19); one papyrus fragment in hieroglyphics (P.Minnesota 3); and two ostraka, one in Greek, the other in Egyptian hieroglyphics (O.Minnesota 1–2). Four papyri, P.Minnesota 7, 8, 9a, and 9b were purchased from Maggs Brothers in London in 1939–1940. Twenty more pieces were bought from Erich von Scherling, namely: two ostraka and three papyri in 1933, after the publication of the second volume of *Rotulus*, the sale catalogue privately printed by the dealer; three papyri in 1937, after the publication of *Rotulus IV*; and twelve more between 1952 and 1956, the year of von Scherling's death.² A substantial part of the collection was published by M. Bakker, A. V. Bakkers, and K. A. Worp in 2007, following the publication of the only Ptolemaic papyrus in the collection, P.Minnesota 6, by Walter Nichipor and Linda Ricketts in 1981.³ A further papyrus codex, housed in the Bell Library of the University of Minnesota (SB XXVI 16607), is republished here several decades after its first inspection.

This is a papyrus sheet said to have been found, along with other manuscripts, in some Christian tombs in the region of Sohag, near Panopolis.⁴ First edited in 1938 by a student of B. A. van Groningen, Ms. C. A. Noordegraaf,⁵ it contains a list of 62 toponyms which delineate an itinerary from Heliopolis in Egypt to

¹ The article is an expanded version of my talk 'The Minnesota Papyrus Collection (O. Minnesota 1–2 and P. Minnesota 1–22)', given at the 27th International Congress of Papyrology, University of Warsaw, on 31 July 2013. I am deeply indebted to the generosity of K. A. Worp, with whom I have had a prolonged and fertile email exchange on a number of issues related to the text and its historical context. Worp also provided me with useful information on E. von Scherling's biographical details and papyrus collection. Several suggestions by him have been incorporated into the text of the present article and are marked with his initials [KAW]. I also wish to thank Margaret Borg, who kindly made available the pictures printed herewith, for granting me access to the Bell Library records and to Timothy Johnson for clarifying the number and details of the von Scherling acquisitions. Further help came from research assistants Th. Chresand (Wien), R. Cullick and R. Seaberg (Minnesota), who contributed to the drafting of the critical text of the Bell papyrus, and Philip Sellew, who kindly made available his expertise on early Christianity and Coptic sources. Later input from the *Zeitschrift's* reviewer also catalysed significant improvement. This article is dedicated to the memory of Prof. Sheila J. McNally, Professor Emerita of Art History at the University of Minnesota, who first drew my attention to this text.

² Janssen 1957. The Special Collections Papyri were first classified and suggested for publication by R. S. Bagnall, who provided a brief description of the content of the Greek documents along with details of purchase and provenance for each item. Bagnall's inventory can be consulted online at <https://www.lib.umn.edu/scrbm/papyri-ostraka>. The webpage provides links to images of the twenty-three exemplars, which can be inspected using the University interface.

³ Nichipor–Ricketts 1981. The transcription was based on a photograph sent to the authors by Mark Cooper, curator of the Wilson Library (former location of Special Collections) and shows great need of improvement. Nichipor and Ricketts (p. 131) state that "the papyrus is from Upsala (sic) and was purchased from Erich von Scherling's firm in Leyden on December 21, 1937". Indeed, around 1949, ca. 10 Greek and Coptic papyri sold by E. von Scherling were bought by a local Swedish private collector, who donated the papyri to the Uppsala University Library in 1966: see K. A. Worp, forthcoming in *BASP* 53 (2016), for further information on von Scherling's personal background, accounts of purchases and commercial activities. Preliminary results on Erich von Scherling's acquisitions and sales appeared in Worp–Dekker 2012.

⁴ Cf. von Scherling 1937, 26: "This unique document was purchased by me from an Egyptian fellah from Akhmîm, together with other papyri, which he claimed to have found in Christian tombs near Panopolis" (information reflected in the Trismegistos papyrus record, no. 64742). These circumstances are consistent with von Scherling's visit to Egypt in 1935/6, when the dealer acquired a large number of documents from *fellahin* in Hibeh and Akhmîm, and from M. Nahman in Cairo: cf. Bakker–Bakkers–Worp 2007, 41–42. MP³ 2982.1 = LDAB 9080, a bilingual commentary on Roman Law, of unknown provenance and dated to the fourth century, was also "brought back from Egypt in 1935" (von Scherling 1937, 24).

⁵ Noordegraaf 1938. Help from Prof. B. A. van Groningen is acknowledged at p. 273. Ms. Noordegraaf could not, apparently, benefit from the expertise of E. P. Wegener, who was still at Oxford editing a number of documents in the Ashmolean Museum and the Bodleian Library as part of her doctoral programme (resulting in the P.Oxford 1942 edition) [KAW]. She moved back to Holland no earlier than December 1939: see Bell 1946, 206; Pinto 2005, 87 n. 85. Cornelia A. van Veen-Noor-

Constantinople, via Jerusalem and Antioch, and possibly a return trip back to the Phoenician coast and Egypt via Phrygian Apamea and Pisidian Antioch. The papyrus is datable on paleographical grounds to the fifth century. The hand shows close similarities with that of P.Köln III 151, Deed of loan, 423 AD (= Cavallo–Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Byzantine Period* 14a; cf. also no. 21a = P.Oxy. 1059, Prayer, end of V). Notable features are: V-shaped epsilon, iota prolonged above the baseline and curving right at the bottom, and narrow beta with compressed curves. No firmer *terminus post quem* than the occurrence of Constantinople (55) can be deduced from the text.

A new edition of the text follows. Each entry is accompanied by the corresponding Trismegistos Geography identifier (<http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/index.php>) and a reference to the relevant map number and coordinates in the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.

Recto

col. i

ΧΜΥ

1 † Ἡλιοπόλις	[Heliopolis, TM/Geo 761, BA map 74 E4]
2 Ἀθρήβις	[Athribis, TM/Geo 369, BA map 74 E4]
3 <N>άθω	[Natho, TM/Geo 1422, BA map 74 E3]
4 Ταύα	[Taya/Taua, TM/Geo 3075, BA map 74 E3]
5 Ἐβλίλ	[(I)ebliil, TM/Geo 12421, not in BA]
6 Πελουσίον	[Pelousion, TM/Geo 1662, BA map 70 B3]
7 Τ[α]φνάειν	[Aphnaion, TM/Geo 225, BA map 74, p. 1122 (unlocated toponym)]
8 Πεντάσκαλος	[Pentaschoinon/-scino, TM/Geo 1673, BA map 70, p. 1082 (unlocated)]
9 Πικάσπιως	[Casius Mons, TM/Geo 1014, BA map 70 C3]
10 Ἀσδρακίνα	[Ostrakine, TM/Geo 1518, BA map 70 C3]
11 Νινοκόρυε	[Rhinokoloura, TM/Geo 2052, BA map 70 D3]
12 Ταπιδούλα	[Bitylion, TM/Geo 2690, BA map 70 E3]
13 Ῥαφία	[Raphia, TM/Geo 2044, BA map 70 E3]
14 Γάζα	[Gaza, TM/Geo 697, BA map 70 E2]
15 Ἀσκάλων	[Ashqelon/Ascalon, TM/Geo 347, BA map 70 F2]
16 Ἐλευθρόπολις	[Beth Govrin/Eletheropolis, TM/Geo 3129, BA map 70 F2]
17 Ἡλιὰ[.]. Εἰερο[καλή]μη	[Jerusalem/col. Aelia Capitolina, TM/Geo 853, BA map 70 G2]
18 Ἱεριχώ	[Hierichous, TM/Geo 660, BA map 70 G2]
19 Διόπολις	[Lydda/Diospolis, Georgioupolis, TM/Geo 12438, BA map 70 F2]
20 Ἰόππε	[Ioppe, TM/Geo 905, BA map 70 F1]
21 Καϊσάρη[α] Φιλίππου	[Paneas/Caesarea Philippi, TM/Geo 3531, BA map 69 A4]

3 suppl. Honigmann 5 corr. Honigmann : Θ ρλιλ Noordegraaf 6 ε ex η corr. 8 i.e. Πεντάσχοινος 9 πι- 'domus' + Κάσιον Noordegraaf 10 i.e. Ὀστρακίνη 11 i.e. Ρινοκούρουρα 12 i.e. Τὰ Βιτύλια 14 Noordegraaf : Γάζα Honigmann 16 i.e. Ἐλευθερόπολις 17 i.e. Αἰλία – Ἱεροκαλήμη 18 Ἱεριχώ pap. 19 Noordegraaf : Διόπολις Honigmann 20 scripsi : Ἰόππη Noordegraaf 21 Φιλίππου vel Φίλιππος

degraaf died on the 26th of January 2006, aged 93. She was a member of the local The Hague branch of the Netherlands Association for the Promotion of Classical Studies, but did not produce any further scholarly work in the field of Classics and Papyrology [KAW]. Ms. Noordegraaf received the papyrus from von Scherling soon “after his (*sic*) scientific importance had [...] been recognized” (von Scherling 1937, 26). A proto-edition with commentary based on Noordegraaf’s preliminary edition was printed in *Rotulus* IV, 26–28. It differs from the final publication in a crucial respect. In *Rotulus* IV, 28 the papyrus is dated to the fourth century on the basis of station no. 52 Ἡλιόπολις τῆς Βιθυνίας[α], where Iouliopolis is stated to belong to the province of Bithynia and not, as one would expect in a fifth-century document, to Galatia. In Noordegraaf 1938, 309–310, however, the text is assigned to the fifth century. The inconsistency is explained as being due to “the author’s little knowledge of the provinces”.

col. ii

22 Δορ[ί]νη	[Dor(a), TM/Geo 587, BA map 69 A4]
23 [Π]ορφυροῦν	[Porphyreon, TM/Geo 12471, BA map 69, p. 1071 (unlocated)]
24 Τελμαίει	[Ake/Ptolemais, TM/Geo 2020, BA map 69 B4]
25 Τύρος	[Tyrus, TM/Geo 2491, BA map 69 B3]
26 Σίδων	[Sidon, TM/Geo 2134, BA map 69 B2]
27 Βυριτοῦ	[Berytus, TM/Geo 431, BA map 69 C2]
28 Τρίπολει	[Tripolis, TM/Geo 2473, BA map 68 A5]
29 Βίβλος	[Byblos, TM/Geo 3820, BA map 68 A5]
30 Ὀρθούσιος	[Orthosia, TM/Geo 1516, BA map 68 A4]
31 Ἄργος	[Arca, TM/Geo 8645, BA map 68 B4]
32 Ἡμέττα	[(H)emesa, TM/Geo 4187, BA map 68 C4]
33 Λάρησα	[Larissa/Sizara, TM/Geo 11864, BA map 68 C3]
34 Ἐπεφάνεια	[Amathe/Epiphaneia, TM/Geo 11862, BA map 68 C3]
35 Ἐρέθησα	[Areth(o)usa, TM/Geo 8640, BA map 68 C4]
36 Ἀπάμεια	[Pella/Apamea, TM/Geo 3217, BA map 67 B3]
37 Ἀντιόχεια	[Antiochia, TM/Geo 205, BA map 67 C4]
38 Ἀλεξανδριεγαβίου	[Alexandria Scabiosa/A. ad Issum, TM/Geo 8866, BA map 67 C3]
39 Διεργό	[?, TM/Geo 12474, ?] ⁶
40 Ἐπεφάνια ⁷ Κλικία ^c	[Oeniandos/Epiphaneia, TM/Geo 12632, BA map 67 C3]

22 i.e. Δόρα 23 i.e. Πορφυρέων 24 i.e. Πτολεμαίς 27 i.e. Βηριτός 28 i.e. Τρίπολις 29 i.e. Βύβλος 30 i.e. Ὀρθωσίαια 31 i.e. Ἄρκη 32 i.e. Ἐμέσσα 33 i.e. Λάρισα 34 i.e. Ἐπιφάνια 35 i.e. Ἀρέθουσα 38 i.e. Ἀλεξάνδρια Σκαβίωσα 40 i.e. Ἐπιφάνια τῆς Κιλικίας, cf. 43

Verso

col. i

41 Κούρικκος	[Corycus, TM/Geo 12837, BA map 66 E4]
42 Μομψυεξδέα	[Mopsou(h)estia, TM/Geo 12908, BA map 67 B3]
43 Θάρκος τῆς Κελλεκία ^c	[Tarsus, TM/Geo 2269, BA map 66 F3]
44 Μομψουκριν	[Ma(m)psoukrenai, TM/Geo 12960, BA map 66 F2]
45 Παδαντών	[Podandos, TM/Geo 12961, BA map 66 F2]
46 Δορίνα	[Doara/Duvarlı?, TM/Geo 12977, BA map 63 E4] ⁸
47 Σασίμα	[Sasima, TM/Geo 13058, BA map 63 F4]
48 Τάινα	[Tyana, TM/Geo 11898, BA map 66 F1]
49 Ἄνκαρα	[Ancyra, TM/Geo 8290, BA map 63 B1]
50 Ἐπεφάνια	[?, TM/Geo 13062, ?]
51 Σακεραχ ^c	[Sakeria Chorion? TM/Geo 13132, ?]
52 Ἡλιόπολις τῆς Βιθυνία ^c	[Gordiokome/Iuliopolis, TM/Geo 13139, BA map 86 B3]
53 Νικομήτη	[Nicomedia, TM/Geo 6006, BA map 52 F3]
54 Χαλκιδόνη	[Chalcedon, TM/Geo 972, BA map 52 E3]
55 Κωνσταντινούπολις	[Constantinopolis, TM/Geo 478, BA map 52 D2–3]
56 Καλαμιά	[?, TM/Geo 13140, ?]

⁶ The TM/Geo website currently presents the obsolete reading ‘Dergs’, apparently a misspelling of Noordegraaf’s obsolete reading Διεργς. Following Honigmann, the location is unconvincingly identified as ‘Issus’, which presupposes the following corruption: {Δ}ICCOG > ΔICCOG > ΔIEΠΓC; for an alternative reconstruction, see below p. 163.

⁷ Hengstl’s reading Ἐπιφάνια in the SB text is probably a misprint [KAW].

⁸ As proposed by Noordegraaf 1938, 290–291, where we also find Dorylaeum/Eskişehir (= TM/Geo 16146, BA map 62 E2) cited as a plausible alternative. Honigmann 1939, 647–648 identifies the site as Doğala, a centre situated north of the river Halys and 14 km NNW of Malakopea; see *infra* pp. 163–164 for further details.

57 Αὐλάς	[Aulai, TM/Geo 8769, BA map 66 F3]
58 Παμπιούπολις	[Soloi/Pompeiopolis, TM/Geo 2162, BA map 66 F3]
59 Σελευκία Θησαυρία[ς]	[Seleucia ad Calycadnum, TM/Geo 16507, ⁹ BA map 66 D4]
60 Ἰκόνια	[Iconium/Claudiconium, TM/Geo 2919, BA map 66 B1]
61 Ἀπάμεα τῆς Κιβιτοῦ[ῶ]	[Apamea/Kelainai/Kibotos, TM/Geo 3432, BA map 65 D1]

col. ii

62 Ἀντιόχεια τῆς Πεζιδίας	[Antiochia/col. Caesarea, TM/Geo 204, BA map 62 F5]
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41 i.e. Κούρικος 42 i.e. Μοψουετία 44 cf. Theophanes Confessor, AM 5852 Μαμψουκρήνιας 45 l. Ποδανδός, δ ex τ corr. 46 l. Δοάρα vel Δορύλαιον, δ ex κ (χ?) corr. 47 i.e. Κασίμα 48 i.e. Τύανα 51 *Κακερ(ία) χ(ωρίον) con. Honigmann 52 i.e. Iouliopolis 53 i.e. Νικομήδεια 54 Χαλκαίδ- dub. Worp, i.e. Χαλκηδών 56 con. Honigmann 57 i.e. Αὐλαί 58 i.e. Πομπησιόπολις 59 Θῆ(ς (= τῆς) Ἰ)θαυρίας Honigmann, θ ex τ corr. 60 i.e. Ἰκόνιον : ἰκωνία pap. 61 i.e. Κιβωτοῦ 62 i.e. Πιτιδίας

In the absence of decisive evidence deriving from the text itself, the list has been variously regarded as a travel memorandum for a private business activity,¹⁰ or a religious itinerary, more specifically a pilgrimage route.¹¹ One option is that the text is a list of bishoprics. However, the inclusion of Pentaschoinon (8), mentioned exclusively by non-ecclesiastical sources,¹² and of Mampsukrenai (44) and Podandos (45), which did not attain the status of bishoprics in the fifth century, makes this unlikely.¹³ A monastic background would also be unusual, given the lack of other sources attesting a continuous pilgrimage route from Egypt to Constantinople and the historical background of the fifth century,¹⁴ when tensions between Alexandria and the imperial ecclesiastical authorities culminated in the rejection of the teachings of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (AD 451) by the Egyptian church.¹⁵ On the other hand, support for this theory lies in the alleged provenance of the papyrus, which is stated to have come from the Sohag area, a cluster of lively monastic centres since the fourth century.¹⁶ Also note the occurrence of Coptic forms interspersed

⁹ The correct TM/Geo no. should be '16507', not '13146' as in http://www.trismegistos.org/geo/georef_list.php?&tex_id=64742.

¹⁰ Kirsten 1959, 415; cf. Verreth 2006, I, 67 n. 158.

¹¹ Thomsen 1942, 122–132, providing a list of martyrs certainly associated with 17 of the cities listed in the papyrus; but cf. already Noordegraaf 1938, 309–310. Obviously, the Christian notation χμγ (col. i recto), appearing in conjunction with the staurogram in a large variety of texts since the second half of the fourth century (Mitthof *ad* CPR XXIII 34.1), does not *per se* imply a religious background. The earliest occurrence of χμγ is in the Kellis Agricultural Account Book, dated to 361–364 or 376–379 AD [KAW]: see Bagnall, on P.Kellis IV Gr. 96.1; cf. Choat 2006, 114–118.

¹² Pentaschoinum: see the synoptic tables in Verreth 2006, I, 73–74. Pentaschoinum is mentioned as a bishopric in *Notitia Episcopatum* B 1.6, in a reworking of the section on the *provincia Augustamnica* of Georgius Cyprus; this, however, cannot be taken as evidence that the city ever attained such status: see Verreth 2006, I, 521 n. 2163. Pentaschoinum does not occur in the Θρόνος Ἀλεξανδρινός, a catalogue of metropoleis and bishoprics under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Alexandria (AD 675–703). For a possible allusion to Pentaschoinon and its inhabitants in *Genesis* 10.13–14, see Verreth 2006, I, 521–522.

¹³ “Neither does Mopsucrene (44) ever occur as a bishopric, whereas only in later times Dora (22) and Podandus (45) are mentioned as such” (Noordegraaf 1938, 295). The statement on Dor(a) needs to be rectified in light of the subsequent archaeological discoveries. Recent excavations have revealed remains of an episcopal basilica dating to the middle of the fourth century, preserving a reliquary tomb of two unnamed saints and a stone relic of Golgotha: see Dauphin 1999, 404. For possible archaeological evidence of a chapel dedicated to St. Paul in Late Roman Caesarea (21) see Patrich 2011, 237–248.

¹⁴ Egeria’s travels, which gravitate around the Holy Land, constitute a very different case. For a general survey on pilgrims’ routes in the Later Roman Empire see Hunt 1982, 50–82; Olshausen 2010, 228–229. For a general introduction on pilgrimage in Late Antique Egypt see Frankfurter 1998; Rutherford 2012. Official journeys to the capital are known to have been undertaken by Shenoute in the fifth century (from Sohag at least once, in conjunction with the council of Ephesus of 431 AD, and perhaps a second time invited by Theodosius II, cf. Emmel 2004, I, 8–9; for cross references from the *Vita Senuthii* see Lubomierski 2007, 66, 71–72); and by Dioscoros (Aphrodito) in the sixth (once in 548/9 and a second time in 551 AD: see Palme 2008).

¹⁵ Davies 2004, 85–98; Wipszycka 2007, 343–344.

¹⁶ Clackson 2004, 179–182; Schaten–van der Vliet 2008; Wipszycka 2009, 160–167, 427–429. The size of the codex, measuring 22.5 cm in height and 15.9 cm in length, appears to be slightly smaller than the Panopolite standard (25 × 18) set

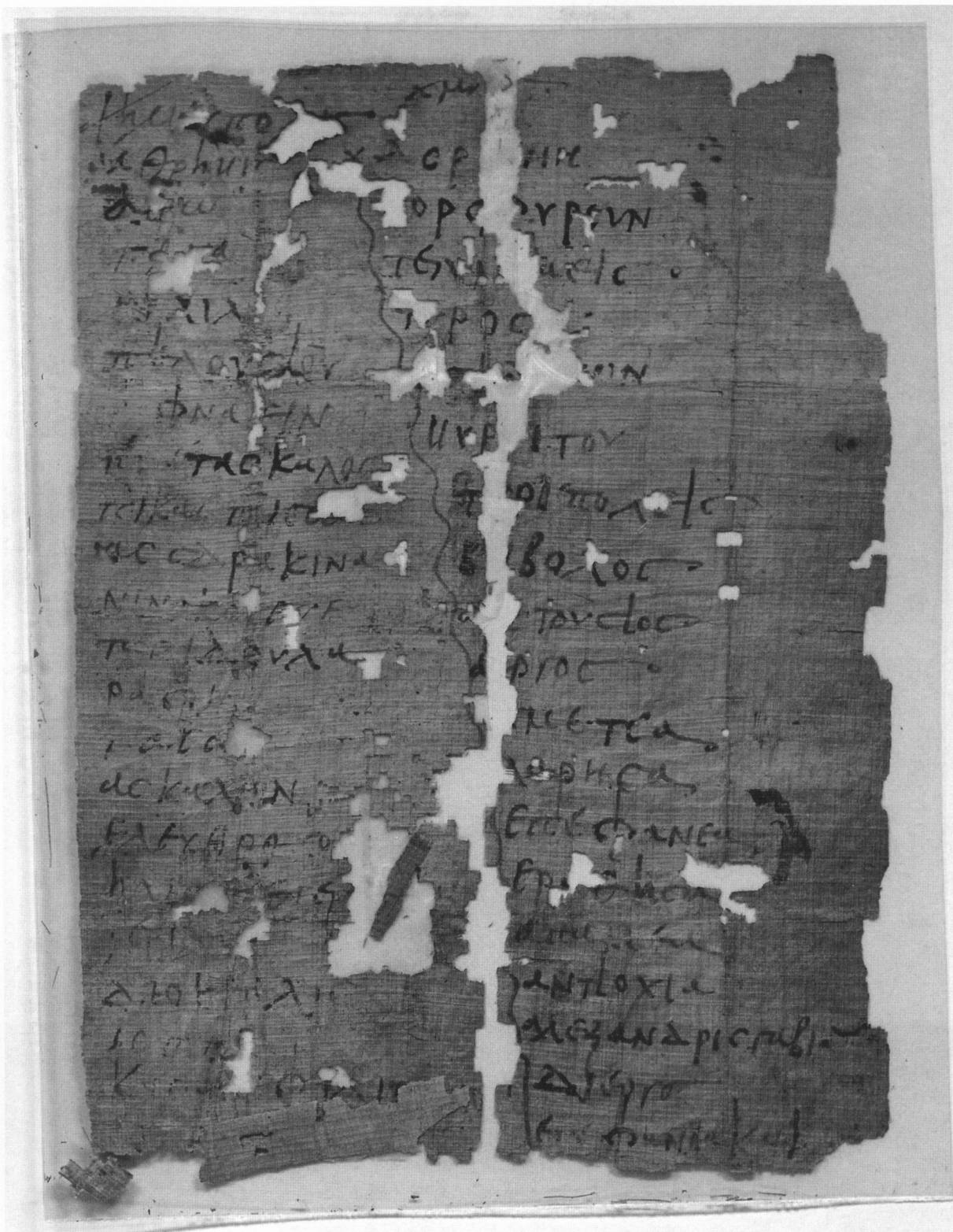


Fig. 1. From the James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota

with Greek in the topographical renderings,¹⁷ and the presence of two more Coptic liturgical papyri probably belonging to the same lot.¹⁸ The rather stylized handwriting is also not the kind one would expect in a business memorandum: cf., by contrast, the smaller and cursive hand in which Theogenes' travel accounts are written (P.Ryl. IV 627–38; Matthews, *The Journey of Theophanes*, fig. 5.1 and 6.1).

As it appears from the apparatus above, the orthography of the document is often erroneous and unconventional, affected by phonetic spellings and vowel interchanges, e.g. 10 Ἀσδρακίνα for Ὀστρακίνη; 11 Νινοκόρευε for Ῥινοκούρουρα; 12 Ταπιδούλα for Τὰ Βιτύλια; 42 Μαμπυγεδέα for Μοψουετία; 58 Παμπιούπολις for Πομπηιούπολις; cf. also 52 Ἡλιοπόλις for Ἰουλιόπολις. Noteworthy are 6 Πελουσίου, corrected from Πηλ-; 45 Παδαντών from Πατ-; and, conversely, 59 Θησαυρία[ς], corruption of τῆς Ἰησαυρίας. There are other errors, however, which are hardly explicable as mere orthographical issues and seem to be imputable, as shown below, to a defective transcription of another source: cf. below on 39 Διεργο and 46 Δορίνα (for either Δοάρα or Δορύλεον). Interestingly, several entries appear to be in the genitive case; the majority of these, i.e. 21 Φιλίππου, 43 τῆς Κελλεξία[ς], 52 τῆς Βιθυγγία[ς], 59 Θησαυρία[ς], 61 τῆς Κιβιτοῦ[ς], 62 τῆς Πεδία[ς] are chorographic genitives. No. 6 Πελουσίου may be explained as depending on an omitted noun (cf. 58 Παμπιούπολις) like κόμη;¹⁹ the final υ in 27 Βυριτοῦ perhaps signals a faulty transcription from *Βυριτος (= Βηριτός); 38 Ἀλεξανδριγαβίου may derive from *Ἀλεξανδρι(α) Γαβι(ωα), with abbreviation by suspension in the antigraphon.

These orthographical oscillations, which reflect a limited knowledge of Koine Greek, have made the identification of a number of the toponyms mentioned in the codex difficult at best. As of now, 57 out of 62 of these have been successfully recognized. After the publication of the *editio princeps*, significant progress was made, in particular, by Honigmann,²⁰ who identified αθω (3) with <N>atho/Leontopolis (= Tell el-Moqdam)²¹, Ἐβλίλ (5) with (I)ebliil and Αύλας with Aulai (57 = τὸ ἐπίνειον Κιλίκων Αύλαί²²); and Alt, who recognized in 7 Τ[α]φνάειν Aphnaion,²³ seat of a fifth-century bishopric.²⁴ In the following paragraphs, I will further investigate the geography of the document, suggest possible identifications for stations

by Gascou 1989, 81–83. A comparison with sub-sections 'aberrant' and 'aberrants I' of groups 6 and 7 in Turner 1977, 18–19 has also proven unproductive.

¹⁷ 4 Ν(ά)θω (ΝΑΘΩ, Greek: Λεοντόπολις), 5 Ἐβλίλ (ΙΕΒΛΙΛ, Gr. not attested), and probably 32 Ἡμετα (ΘΜΕΤΑ in *Patrum Nicaenorum nomina* VII 51, p. 82–83 Gelzer–Hilgenfeld–Cuntz, Gr.: Ἡμεττα / Ἡμεττα / Ἡμέτης, see Noordegraaf 1938, 287). For 9 Πικάπικως, Noordegraaf 1938, 282 suggested a form resulting from the article Π- (cf. τὸ Κάκιον), which would need to be combined with a following /y/ (ΕΙ): Layton 2000, §52; alternatively, from ΠΕ-/ΠΙ- 'house', which would be supported by parallels such as Ψενπιλειο(ς) = ΠΕΠΩΕΝΕΠΠΗ in *SPP* 10 70.3 or Φθενε[τ]ύ = ΠΕΤΕΝΕΝΤΩ in P.Flor. II 278r col. III 25. As shown by Verreth 2006, I, 525–526, there seems to be no Coptic influence in the orthography of Τ[α]φνάειν, *pace* Thomsen 1942, 132. On bilingual Coptic–Greek archives see Clackson–Papaconstantinou 2010.

¹⁸ *Rotulus* IV, no. 1895, 'Liturgia (?) coptica vetustissima', dated around 350 AD, and no. 1896, 'Opus theologium copticum (e lingua graeca translata)' of the fourth century. Their current location is unknown. No. 1895 (von Scherling inv. C 127) was published shortly after its inclusion in *Rotulus* IV (see Lefort 1939), and remained in von Scherling's possession at least until 1949, as it still appears listed as no. 2225 in *Rotulus* V. It then reappeared at Christie's, and was auctioned on June 13 2012 as formerly belonging to the American dealer Lawrence Feinberg (d. 2009). No. 1896, one of the most expensive items in *Rotulus* IV (£150), disappeared soon after it was put on sale. No. 1899 (Greek Magical Papyrus, fifth century) is also indicated as being possibly from Panopolis.

¹⁹ Cf. P.Berl. Leihg. I 16c 11 (Theadelphia, 161 AD); P.Lond. II 363.3 (Socnopaiou Nesos, 175 AD); III 1170.10 (Arsinoites, 144 AD); P.Mil. II 63.7–8 (Arsinoites, 214–215 AD).

²⁰ Honigmann 1939.

²¹ Not to be confused with nearby Leontopolis = Tell el-Yahudiya: Timm 1984–2007, VI, 1743–1748; Verreth 2013, 447.

²² Steph. Byz., s.v. Αύλαί, A 539, p. 304 Billerbeck. The site may correspond to the modern port of Karaduvar (western side of the Mersin province: see Hild–Hellenkemper 1990, I, 202; *Barrington Atlas* Map 66 F3, p. 1015). As far as I know, Aulai is never referred to as a religious centre.

²³ Alt 1943; cf. Timm 1984–2007, I, 138 (s.v. Aphnaion) and VI, 2512 (s.v. Taphnas). See however Verreth 2006, I, 523–525 on Alt's unlikely distinction between Daphnai and Taphnas. Τ[α]φνάειν was erroneously identified by Noordegraaf 1938 and Thomsen 1942 as Daphnae (mod. Tel Defenneh) in the Egyptian Delta.

²⁴ Worp 1994a, 296.

no. 39 Διεργο and 56 Καλάμια, and also discuss the problematic readings Δορίνα (46) and Ἐπεφάνια (50).²⁵ Despite prolonged investigation, no further progress has been made with no. 51 Cαχερ:αχ[.²⁶

The journey of the traveler through Egypt, Palestine and Syria finds close correspondence in a number of itineraries.²⁷ Having traversed the Delta, the traveler(s) follow(s) the *via maris* along the Palestinian and Syrian coast, heading north to Antioch. The path matches the route of Theophanes, the Hermopolitan official who traveled to Antioch in the early 320s,²⁸ with three main divergences. The first two are paralleled in another non-ecclesiastical source, the *Antonine Itinerary*, one occurring at Ascalon in Palestine, where the traveler moves inland to visit Jerusalem;²⁹ the second between Tripolis and Antioch, which is reached through the mountainous road via Larissa and Apamea.³⁰ The third occurs within the area of the Egyptian delta, between Natho (3) and Pelousion (6), and involves the stations Taua (4) and (I)ebliil (5).

Taua (4), metropolis of the Phthemphouth nome under Roman administration³¹ and seat of a (IV–)V century bishopric,³² was located about 25 km northwest of Natho (3), and thus in the opposite direction from the subsequent stations in the coastal line leading to Palestine. Its geographical placement therefore constitutes a substantial deviation from the expected (and shorter) route leading to Pelousion through Thmouis, one of the most populated centers of early Byzantine Egypt,³³ and a presumably more attractive destination for business-related activities. While the real reasons for the inclusion of Taua remain uncertain, one wonders whether its bishopric status – achieved in the fourth or fifth century – may have played a role in the traveler’s plans.³⁴

²⁵ Coins from the nearby city of Iuliopolis (52) dating to the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Commodus and Septimius Severus have Σαγά(ρις) as the legend accompanying the portrait of the river-god: see French 1981, 39.

²⁶ Honigmann took the sequence as an abbreviation for Cαχερία χωρίον, i.e. an unidentified “localité située sur le Sangarios, l’actuel Sakarya”. Coins from the nearby city of Iuliopolis (52) dating to the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Commodus and Septimius Severus have Σαγά(ρις) as the legend accompanying the portrait of the river-god: see French 1981, 39.

²⁷ Noordegraaf 1938, 296. For correspondences of journey stages within the Northern Sinai area between this and other sources, see Verreth 2006, I, 68–74. Note that Porphyreon (23) is not the same place as Ps. Scylax’s Πορφυρέων πόλις (104.3 Shipley = Nebi Yunas, map 69 B2 of the *Barrington Atlas*), but a settlement south of Ptolemais/Ake corresponding to mod. Haifa (Barrington Atlas, p. 1071, ‘unlocated toponym’): vd. Willemus Tyr., *Chr.* 13.2 *urbes autem quae infra hanc provinciam continentur sunt hae: ab austro novissima Porfyria, quae alio nomine dicitur Heffa, vulgari vero appellatione Caifas, secunda Ptolomaida, quae alio etiam nomine dicitur Accon.* Rightly so Honigmann 1939, 647: “il existait à l’époque du Bas-Empire une ville homonyme qui correspondait à l’actuelle Haifa, comme le prouve déjà l’itinéraire d’Antonin de Plaisance [3, p. 130 Geyer]. La ville est donc placée à juste titre entre Dora et Ptolemais.” The city derives its name from the purple dye extracted from sea snails collected along the shore: cf. Guérin 1874, 255–257; Šārôn 2007, 101.

²⁸ Cf. particularly P.Ryl. IV 627, stages 2–10 with SB XXVI 16607, 2–15 (Athribis to Ascalon). Although the exact reasons for his journey remain obscure, we may be reasonably confident that Theophanes was not moved by spiritual needs, his itinerary including a detailed list of goods purchased along the way, and the cost of each item: see Matthews 2006, 41–61. Theophanes may have in fact gone to Constantinople to be appointed exactor of the Hermopolite nome, cf. the case of Flavius Abinnaeus in P. Lond. II, 233 (p. 273) = W.Chrest. 44 = P. Abinn. 58, with Martin 1938 [KAW]. Theophanes acted indeed as an exactor in Hermopolis, cf. CPR XVII A 6, with KAW’s commentary *ad loc.* (pp. 25–26).

²⁹ Cf. 15–17 Ἀκκάλων / Ἐλευθρόπολις / Ἡλιὰς . . . Εἰερο[καλ]ήμ with 200,3–200,1 *Ascalon / Eleuteropoli / Elia*. The sequence Jerusalem (17) – Ioppe (20), which takes the traveler back to the Palestinian coast, is paralleled only in pilgrimage routes, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (596.4, p. 18 Geyer–Cuntz *Item ab Hierusalem in Hiericho milia XVIII*) and the account of the Holy Land given by the martyr Antoninus from Piacenza (*recensio altera* 46, p. 174.14–15 Geyer *Egressi de Hierusolima veni Ioppen*).

³⁰ 32–37 Ἡμέττα / Λάρησα / Ἐπεφάνεια / Ἐρέθησα / Ἀπάμεια / Ἀντιόχεια with 188.3 *Hemesa / 187.6 Larissa / 188.1 Epitania / 188.2 Arethusa / 187.5 Apamia / 187.2 Antiochia Hemesa*.

³¹ P.Lond. III 921, cf. P.Rain. Cent. 55.3 with Bastianini *ad loc.*; Dijkstra–Worp 2006, 186; Verreth 2013, 751.

³² Worp 1994a, 307; Verreth 2013, 791 (with updated bibliography).

³³ Alston 2002, 362. In the first half of the fourth century Theophanes accesses Pelousion via Thmouis, Tanis and Herculopolis. A trip from Taua/Leontopolis (= Tell el-Yahudiya) is mentioned in X. Eph. IV 1.4 διελθόντες μὲν δὴ Ταῦα (Hemsterhuis: ταῦτα cod.) ἐπὶ Λεοντῶ ἔρχονται πόλιν, in a winding (and geographically imaginative) itinerary of the plunderings of Hippothoos in Lower Egypt.

³⁴ The *Acts* of the council of Ephesus in 431 attest a certain Isaac as the bishop of the city: see *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* I, 1.2, p. 64.1 and 1.7, p. 116.1 Schwartz.

Interestingly enough, (I)ebli (5), a small village about 60 km south-west of Tanis, unknown to Greek sources,³⁵ seems to have been preferred to Tanis, a larger center conveniently located alongside the Roman road from Thmouis to Pelousion.³⁶ The village appears under the Coptic name ΙΕΒΛΙΛ in a passage from the *Acts of the Apa Didymus* (BHO 253), where a reader named Berschenoufi from Iebli is said to have been tortured and put in prison for refusing to sacrifice in the presence of the governor of Athribis.³⁷ The *Acts*, part of the cycle of Julius of Kbehs,³⁸ are a literary re-elaboration of the acts of the martyr's trial in the age of Diocletian, which makes it impossible to determine whether the reference to (I)ebli was contained in the original. It is tempting to infer the presence of a local cult of Berschenoufi at (I)ebli based on a detail from a martyrological source, but this of course cannot be verified.

We now move to a discussion of the stations of uncertain location and the as yet unidentified toponyms. Three of the uncertain locations seem to have been situated in modern Turkey. These are Διεργω (39), listed between Alexandria Scabiosa (38) and Epiphaneia (40) in the Roman region of *Cilicia secunda*; 46 Δορίνα, between Podandos (45) and Sasima (47) and thus somewhere in Cappadocia; and 50 Ἐπεφάνια, between Ancyra (49) and Iouliopolis (52) and thus presumably mid-way between Bithynia and Galatia. The reading Διεργω might be a corruption of Κοδρ(ε)ίγαι (Quadrigae, mod. Sariseki, 1 km northeast of the Belen pass), a place in the Amanos mountains on the line of the Roman road from Tarsus to the Cilician Gates.³⁹ Assuming a faulty transcription from another list, the scribe could have easily reversed the sequence δρει into διερ and the final ο could be explained as the loop of α in -γαι.⁴⁰ The location of Κοδρίγαι would be in accordance with a position in Cilicia Secunda between Alexandria Scabiosa (38) and Epiphania (40). The Belen pass was located along the Pilgrim's Road to Antioch and Constantinople,⁴¹ which suggests, but is not necessarily conducive to the itinerary being a pilgrimage route, if we consider that that artery was a crucial line of communication within Roman Asia Minor.⁴²

The identification of 46 Δορίνα remains uncertain. Noordegraaf⁴³ proposed the bishopric of Doara (mod. Duvarlı), some 40 km southwest of Malakopia/Derinkuyu,⁴⁴ or Dorylaeum (Sarhüyük), ca. 3 km southeast of Eskişehir.⁴⁵ Both options are problematic. The existence of a road connecting Doara (46) to

³⁵ (I)ebli is mentioned as an administrative division (*qaryah*) in the area of El-Hauf (modern Saft Al Hinnah) by the ninth-century Muslim geographer Ahmad al Ya'qubi (*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* VII 335–337, quoted in Guest 1913, 980).

³⁶ The sequence Thmouis – Tanis – Herakleopolis – Pelousion is attested in Theophanes' itinerary (P.Ryl. IV 628.1–4) and, earlier, in the account of Titus' march from Alexandria to Jerusalem transmitted by J. BJ IV 659–660.

³⁷ Hyernat 1886, 287; cf. Timm 1984–2007, III, 1158–1160.

³⁸ Probably not earlier than the end of the seventh century; see Orlandi 1991, 1996; Papaconstantinou 2001, 30–34; ead. 2011, 331–335.

³⁹ Hild–Hellenkemper 1990, I, 389–390; *Barrington Atlas*, map 67 C3, p. 1032.

⁴⁰ For the reading Κοδρείγαι, see numismatic evidence in Ziegler 1985, 23, 33–34, A10 EN ΚΟΔΡΕΙ/[Γ]ΑΙΣ, Tarsus, reign of Septimius Severus. The toponym is spelled EN ΚΟΔΡΙ/ΓΕΣ in A8 (Tarsus) and EN ΚΟΔΡΙ/[ΓΑΙΣ] in A10 (Anazarbos: B9 EN ΚΟΔΡΙ/[ΓΑΙΣ]). Malalas *Chr.* XII 38 (307) has the form Κοτρίγαι. On Severus' defeat of Pescennius in 194 AD and the foundation of Severian Olympic games at Kodrigai, see Remijsen 2010, 432–434.

⁴¹ French 1981, Map 7. The tradition on the triumphal arc of Kodrigai, built by Constantine as he was going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, is not based on archeological evidence: see Ramsay 1898, 238. The arc, perhaps surmounted by a quadriga (thence the Graecized form Κοδρίγαι), was probably built to commemorate the victory of Severus over Pescennius: Ramsay 1903, 375; Hild–Hellenkemper 1990, I, 302.

⁴² French 1981, 13. A corruption from Αἴγαι = *A(ι)πεγαι (*Aregea* in the Peutinger Map, 9B4 in Talbert 2010; *Hire Egis* in the *Cosmographia Anonymi Ravennatis* (V 8.12–13, p. 90.36 Schnetz)) seems to me less likely, as it would need to come after, not before Oeniandos/Epiphaneia (40). For the sequence Aigai – Alexandria Scabiosa (38) – Antiochia (37) vd. Theodosius' *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* 32 (CCL 175, p. 125.7–8).

⁴³ 1938, 290–291.

⁴⁴ *Barrington Atlas*, map 63 E4. The location in Honigmann 1939, 647 appears to be incorrect: see Hild 1977, 49.

⁴⁵ *Barrington Atlas*, map 62 E2.

Sasima (47) is not supported by archaeological evidence.⁴⁶ But Dorylaeum (Gr. Δορύλαιον) should have been placed after Constantinople (55), assuming a return route from Nicomedia (52) to Apamea (61).⁴⁷

For 50 Ἐπεφάνια one could posit an error for Λαγάνια (mod. Dikmen Hüyük), whose name was changed to Anastasiupolis after Anastasios I (491–518).⁴⁸ If this were the case, the first regnal year of Anastasius would constitute a *terminus ante quem* for the list. The error can be explained again with a faulty transcription from another list; if, as one assumes, the antigraphon also featured two earlier entries with the same name, 34 Ἐπεφάνεια/-ια (Amathe/Epiphaneia) and 40 Ἐπεφάνια (Oeniandos/Epiphaneia), the chances of having an error by homoioteleuton are not too slim. Scribal errors imputable to our scribe or present already in the antigraphon would account for the misplacement of 41 Κούρικκος, which must have been originally included along with Aulai (57), Pompeiupolis (58) and Seleucia (59) in the Cilician section.⁴⁹

Further complicating factors are four inconsistencies in the numeration of the stations, apparently altering the geographical linearity of the route. Alterations occur first in coincidence with Lebanon and persist in the Syrian and Cappadocian section of the journey.⁵⁰ They can be classified as follows:

- (i) inversion of 27 Βυριτοῦ and 28 Τρίπολεις.
- (ii) order alteration in the sequence 33 Λάρησα – 34 Ἐπεφάνεια – 35 Ἐρέθησα. From a geographical point of view, these would need to be re-arranged from south (Lebanon) to north (Syria) as 35–34–33. Considering, however, that there is no route attested connecting Arca (31) with (H)emesa (32), it is reasonable to think that the traveler reached the three cities along the inland mountainous route via Apamea (36). The actual order is therefore likely to have been as follows: 31–36–33–34–35–32>36.
- (iii) misplacement of 41 Κούρικκος (see above), erroneously featuring in the south-Anatolian section of the journey.⁵¹
- (iv) inversion of 47 Καχώμα and 48 Τώνια.

Unsurprisingly, these alterations do not affect the Egyptian and Palestinian sections, which reveals the scribe's unfamiliarity only with the farthest locations. Geographical issues become even more evident in conjunction with the last seven stations of the list, the sequence 55 (Constantinople) to 62 (Pisidian Antioch). It would appear that a substantial section of the journey was planned to take place in the Bosphoros area as well as southwest Anatolia (57 Aulai; 58 Pompeiupolis; and 59 Seleucia). This difficulty may be partially overcome by positing a return trip to Egypt through Phrygia and Pisidia, with the traveler(s) heading to Cilicia through the *Via Sebaste* (61 Apamea – 62 Antiochia – 60 Iconium).

As for the Cilician portion of the journey, a final question concerns the identification of entry no. 56 Καλαμια. Honigmann identified it as a “localité qui n'est connue que par les Arabes qui appellent Qalamya ou Bāb Qalamya une ville romaine détruite, située à 6 mīl (= 13,5 km.) ou à 16 mīl (= 37 km.) de Ṭarsūs sur la route de Korykos (Qurquş) et de Séleucie (Salūqiya)”. Qalamya was, in fact, the Arabic name of Zephyrion,⁵² situated ca. 47 km west of 59 Seleucia/Silifke. Bāb Qalamya (Gr. Χρυσόβυλλον) has been identified

⁴⁶ Cf. Hild 1977, 42.

⁴⁷ French 1981, unnumbered map between Map 7 and Karte 1; *Barrington Atlas*, map 63 E4.

⁴⁸ Cf. already Honigmann 1939, *ibid.*: “Dans ce cas [i.e. if we accept the reading *Κακερία χ(ωρίον)], la ville précédente, ΕΠΕΦΑΝΙΑ (Epiphania), devrait être cherchée approximativement à Lagania (Anastasiupolis)”. Lagania, where the remains of a Christian building were discovered (French 1981, 38), is mentioned in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (574, 10) under the name of ‘mansio Agannia’, following Iuliopolis (574, 8) and Hicronpotamon (574, 9), on which see French 1981, 44.

⁴⁹ Cf. §31 of the *Notitia Dignitatum* on the Orient, presenting a number of disturbances in the geographical order, which would account for the apparent misplacement of toponyms and military units in Upper Egypt [KAW]; vd. Worp 1994b, 465–466 on ll. 60 *Silili*, 62–63 *Nitnu* and *Burgus Severi*; alterations of the geographical order may also have involved stations at l. 59 *Muthis* and l. 66 *Castra Lapidariorum*.

⁵⁰ Pace Verreth 2006, I, 157 n. 68.

⁵¹ Cf. already Honigmann 1939, 647.

⁵² *Barrington Atlas*, map 66 D4; Hild–Hellenkemper 1990, I, 464–465.

with a small centre in the area of Cleopatra's Gate at Tarsus.⁵³ It is difficult to see, though, how an Arabic name could have been preferred to the Greek at this chronological stage.⁵⁴

A different explanation is suggested when we compare Καλαμία with Καλαμών, the name of a plateau situated between Seleucia (59) and Hagia Thecla, where the saint, according to some versions of the *Acts*, spent several years before her death in a cave and was visited by the devil.⁵⁵ This episode of Thecla's life triggered the foundation of an important pilgrimage site in Meryemlik, frequented from the fourth century, including a 'cave church' located in the cavern.⁵⁶ Hagia Thecla was connected to Seleucia by a late-Roman/early Byzantine road,⁵⁷ possibly part of the same path followed by Egeria from Corycus (XXIII 1).⁵⁸ It is tempting to infer that the sequence Mt. Kalamon (56) – Seleucia (59) – Corycus (41) was linked to Thekla's martyrion, and added as an 'extension' on the traveler's return trip through Phrygia (perhaps with Dorylaeum replacing Ancyra as the network knot). Following the coastal route, the traveler(s) would have moved from Corycus to Pompeiopolis/Soli (58), and from there to Aulai (57), heading east to Tarsus (43), and finally back to Antioch (37).

It is unlikely that such a long journey was made entirely by land, especially when we consider that the first four of the six initial stations are located along the Nile or one of its branches in the Delta. It seems more than probable that, if the journey started indeed at Panopolis, the first section of the trip, from Upper Egypt to Heliopolis (1), was made by ship. Theophanes used that waterway from Hermopolis to Babylon; from there, he moved further north to Nikiou by ship, and from Nikiou to Athribis by land (but that route must have involved taking a ferry to cross the Nile⁵⁹). From Athribis (2) to Natho/Leontopolis (3) the Nile branch must have offered a convenient direct connection. We cannot establish, on the other hand, whether the traveler reached Athribis by land or boat.⁶⁰

For business-related activities, ships could obviously carry more volume faster and less expensively, although transport by sea implied incurring potential hazards and risks not experienced on land.⁶¹ Boat trips from Egypt to Palestine are attested at this time. Around 420/424 AD, John Cassian reports a boat trip to Palestine made a few decades earlier by the abba Pinufius from the Pachomian monastery of Tebennisi.⁶²

⁵³ *Ibid.*, I, 435 and II, Abb. 381 (Κλεοπάτρα καπίς).

⁵⁴ The hypothesis of a corruption from Καλανθία (43 km northeast of Seleucia) is also unconvincing, as it would be difficult to explain on a palaeographical level, supposing that the itinerary was transcribed from another list (ΚΑΛΑΝΘΙΑ > ΚΑΛΑΜΙΑ). On Kalanthia see Hild–Hellenkemper 1990, I, 281; cf. *Periplus, Geographi Graeci Minores*, I, p. 481.14–482.4 = Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller. Hippolytus, IV, p. 117.1–5. The mosque of Kalanthia, still in use, was converted from a fifth/sixth-century Christian church: see Hill 1996, 165–166.

⁵⁵ *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, cod. G, p. 271 Lipsius: εἰσελθοῦσα ἐν Σελευκίαι ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ ἐνὸς σταδίου [...]. Καὶ ὁδηγὸς γέγονεν αὐτῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ λεγομένῳ Καλαμώνος ἦτοι Ῥοδεῶνος. Καὶ εὐροῦσα ἐκεῖ σπήλαιον εἰσῆλθεν αὐτῷ. Καὶ ἦν ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ ἔτη ἰκανά, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ χαλεποὺς πειρασμοὺς ὑπέστη ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου; cf. cod. Edinburg. Univ. Libr. Add. 3574, ed. Dagron, p. 418: ἀνελθοῦσα δὲ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ καλουμένῳ Καλαμεῶνι ἦτοι Ῥοδίῳ, εὐροῦσα σπήλαιον ὠκίησεν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ ἔτη ἰκανά; Simeon Metaphrastes *Martyrium S. Theclae* 14 (PG 115, p. 841): ἀνάγεται πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ὃ ἐλέγετο Καλαμών εἶπουν Ῥοδίῳ· ἔνθα σπήλαιον εὐροῦσα εἵσειεν ἔνδον, κάκει χρόνους διαμένει κυνηοῦς, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῇ καὶ χαλεποὺς πειρασμοὺς τοῦ ἐχθροῦ διεγείραντος, πάντα δὲ Χριστοῦ χάριτι νικησάσης.

⁵⁶ Hill 1996, 208–234, part. 214–217; Eichner 2011, 22–23.

⁵⁷ *Barrington Atlas*, map 66 D4.

⁵⁸ XXIII 1–2: *iam ingressa fines Hisauriae mansi in civitate, quae appellatur Corico, ac tertia die perveni ad civitatem, quae appellatur Seleucia Hisauriae [...]. Et quoniam inde ad sanctam Theclam, qui locus est ultra civitatem in colle sed plano, habebat de civitate forsitan mille quingentos passus, malui ergo perexire illuc, ut stativa, quam factura eram, ibi facerem* (CCL 175, p. 66.3–11). Corycus had numerous churches, including a fifth-century basilica and a late Roman monastic church (Churches 'A' and 'J' in Hill 1996, 115–147; cf. Eichner 2011, 23); at Seleucia, a pagan temple was converted into a church in the fourth century (Hill 1996, 240–241).

⁵⁹ Matthews 2006, 47, 130.

⁶⁰ From Heliopolis, which was in proximity of a navigable waterway, he would have needed to travel back to the village of Kerkasoros, some 10 km southwest of Heliopolis (assuming the Nile was still navigable at that point: cf. Ach. Tat. IV 11.5 with Litinas 2015, 45–48).

⁶¹ Bagnall 1993, 37–38; Adams 2007, 14.

⁶² *Inst.* IV 31 *conscendens navem in Palaestinae partes commeare curavit.*

Saint Paula returned to Palestine sailing from Pelousion, a more convenient option given the high daytime temperatures in Egypt in spring, and arrived at Maiuma, the seaport of Gaza.⁶³ In the *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini* there is a reference to Alexandrian merchants operating along the shores of the Jordan.⁶⁴ A boat trip from Antioch to Alexandria could be made in three days according to the author of the *History of the patriarchs of the Coptic church of Alexandria*.⁶⁵

The overall journey presupposed by the Minnesota itinerary must have lasted, by contrast, several months. It took Theogenes twenty-five days to travel by land from Nikiou, in the southern Nile Delta, to Antioch.⁶⁶ In Theophanes' journey, each stage (comprising up to four cities) represents an overnight stay; for each day, distances from one station to the next vary from 16 (= 23.5 km) to 64 (= ca. 95 km) Roman miles. This may be true of the Minnesota itinerary as well, although only in its first half; in some areas of Turkey, distances are clearly too great to be covered in one single day. A journey from 49 Ancyra to 46 Δορίνα (= Doara/Duvarlı?) or 47 Sasima Σασιμά⁶⁷ would have been three times longer than the longest distance covered by Theophanes in one single day. Going from 36 Ἀπάμεια to 37 Ἀντιόχεια, ca. 150 km, would be also unfeasible in one day (roughly the same distance, from Balaneia, is covered by Theogenes in two days). A series of intermediate stops should then be posited, at least in this area. These omissions can be explained, as can the spelling inaccuracies mentioned above, by the traveler's unfamiliarity with non-Egyptian localities.

I strongly suspect that the journey was not business-related; the preference accorded to a little village like Eblil (5) over major economic centres like Thmouis and Tanis is perhaps the strongest indication that the traveler's aim was not that of buying or selling goods. The detour involving Taua (4), some 30 km in a direction opposite to Pelousion, is also striking. Taua would be the natural stopping point on one's way from Alexandria to Pelousion,⁶⁸ but not for somebody coming from the lower apex of the Delta. Theophanes, for instance, travels directly from Leontopolis (8 km north-east of Natho) to Thmouis, and from there he heads east to Tanis. The impression is that the Taua detour was planned rather than dictated by geomorphologic reasons, e.g. the flow of the Nile in that area. Communication and transport within the Delta, especially during the flood season, were indeed more difficult,⁶⁹ and might, in principle, have compelled the traveler to change his plans and seek alternative ways to the (shorter) route to Pelousion. But this is a list that seems to have been drafted before departure, as the writer's unfamiliarity with the remotest regions of the empire seems to indicate, and was possibly copied from another list and/or based on *viva voce* indications.

Detours from the coastline may also bear some significance. That from the Palestinian coastal route at 15 Ἀκκόλων can easily be explained by the traveler's desire to visit Jerusalem; note that Theophanes prefers to go from Ascalon straight to the coastal plain of Iamnia/Yavne. Merchants heading to Antioch from Caesarea would have normally taken the coast road (cf. in Theophanes' journey: Tripolis – Antaradus – Balaneia – Laodicea – Antioch) or traveled by boat rather than moving east to the interior. By contrast,

⁶³ See Jerome *Epitaphium Sancta Paulae* 14.3 *propter ferventissimos aestus de Pelusio Maiumam navigatione perveniens*, with Cain 2013, 309, *ad loc.*

⁶⁴ §11, see CCL 125, p. 161.

⁶⁵ *Patrologia Orientalis* 2, 6, p. 385–386 Evans; cf. the *Coptic Acts of St. George*, § 69 (ed. Wallis Budge, p. 263), where an Alexandrian ship taking passengers at Antioch for Egypt is mentioned. For a list of trade routes connecting Byzantine Egypt with Greece and the Orient see Johnson–West 1949, 139–143.

⁶⁶ See P.Ryl. 627^v.224–249, 325–333 and the reconstruction of the journey's stages in Matthews 2006, 60–61.

⁶⁷ 48 (Tyana) erroneously follows 47 (Sasima): see above (iv).

⁶⁸ Via Tanis and Thmouis: cf. Alston 1995, 19.

⁶⁹ Bagnall 1993, 38; Adams 2007, 19–22.

the sequence 32 (H)emesa – 33 Larissa – 34 Epiphaneia – 35 Areth(o)usa – 36 Apamea in the Minnesota itinerary is reflected in the route taken by both Saint Paula⁷⁰ and the pilgrim Antoninus of Piacenza.⁷¹

This is a unique and fascinating text – the only extant example, in fact, of a continuous itinerary from Egypt to the capital of the Roman Empire, which certainly deserves more attention than it has received. The alleged provenance of the codex from fifth-century Panopolis also raises interesting possibilities for a possible monastic origin of the itinerary. In this article, I have made suggestions for locating some of the still unidentified toponyms, including 39 Διεργο (= Κοδρ(ε)ίγαι, Quadrigae?), which was placed along a pilgrimage road, and 56 Καλαμία, which – if the identification with Mount Kalamon is correct – could not be connected with Thecla's martyrdom. The inclusion in the list of a small centre like Ἐβλίλ (5), where the trial of martyr Berschenoufi took place, seems to provide further support for the itinerary's religious background.

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⁷⁰ Jerome *Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae* 8.1; see Cain 2013, 213: “After leaving Antioch Paula took the Roman road that extended in south-easterly direction to Caesarea and hugged the coastline the entire way [...]. This road was approximately 6.7 meters wide and most of it was paved with irregularly shaped blocks of stone and was enclosed by curbs of larger stones [...]. Travelers and especially merchants who were heading to Caesarea from Antioch normally went at least part of the way by sea, but Paula and her entourage took the slower land route.”

⁷¹ §46, see CCL 125, p. 153 *exinde venimus Emiza, ubi est caput sancti Ioannis baptistae, qui est missus in doleo vitreo, quem etiam infra doleum oculis nostris vidimus et adoravimus. Exinde transeuntes per civitates, hoc est Larissa Aristosa et Epifania.*

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