

VARIA I

The presence of the *Breuiarius de Hierosolyma* in Iona's library*

Adomnán in his work *De locis sanctis* mentions on several occasions that he had written sources available to him which offered descriptions of the Holy Places.¹ Two such sources, (1) Eusebius's *Onomasticon* in Latin and (2) Eucherius's *De situ Hierosolimae*, have been identified.² The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that the anonymous, probably late-fourth century guidebook, the *Breuiarius de Hierosolyma*, was also present on Iona.

The *Breuiarius* is a complex text to work with, because it survives in only three manuscripts: St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 732, which we can date securely to 811; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Laud Misc. 263, which dates from the late-eighth or early-ninth century; and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Cod. M.79 sup., dating from the twelfth century. Compared with the form of the work found in the St Gallen manuscript, Oxford and Milan offer a longer and more detailed recension, designated 'A' by Robert Weber in his, the most recent, edition.³ But since the St Gallen text (Weber's 'B') contains elements that are not present in 'A', we are faced with two possible scenarios when envisaging the lost original, and no criterion for deciding between them: either 'A' and 'B' have both added to it but in different ways (the latter more extensively), or else the original contained the material now unique to 'A' but this was then excised in a subsequent exemplar which went on to form the basis upon which 'B' was compiled. (A third, theoretical, possibility would see 'A' and 'B' as different shortenings of an original that contained all the material found in either recension.) In producing his edition, Weber wisely printed 'A' and 'B' in parallel columns without any attempt to reconstruct an original.⁴

* The author would like to thank the editors of *Ériu* and an anonymous reviewer for suggesting a number of improvements to the text.

¹ *De locis sanctis* I i 1 and I xxiii 9 are two instances where Adomnán refers to having written sources.

² On the latter, see T. O'Loughlin, 'Dating the *De situ Hierosolimae*: the Insular evidence', *Revue Bénédictine* 105 (1995) 9–19; for the reasons for treating it as a genuine work of Eucherius, see T. O'Loughlin, *Adomnán and the Holy Places* (London, 2007), 214–22.

³ Edited by R. Weber in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina* 175], (Turnhout, 1975), 105–12.

⁴ This has been attempted by John Wilkinson in his translations of pilgrim texts from before the Crusades (see *Jerusalem pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster 2002)), in which he prints his hypothetical late-fourth century text on p. 93 and explains his method on pp 3–4.

The *Breuiarius*, form 'A', begins by describing the complex of buildings around the Holy Sepulchre:

*Ipsa ciuitas in monte posita.
In medio ciuitatis est basilica Constantini.
In introitu basilicae ipsius ad sinistram partem est cubiculus,
ubi crux Domini posita est.
Et inde intrans in aecclesiam sancti Constantini.
Magna ab occidente est absida, ubi inuente sunt tres cruces.*

Corresponding information is presented by Adomnán by showing these three crosses in a separate building in his first diagram⁵ with this legend: *Constantini⁶ basilica in quo loco ubi crux dominica cum binis latronum crucibus sub terra reperta sunt.* This information, 'The basilica of Constantine in the place where the Lord's cross along with the crosses of the two thieves were found under the earth', is then stated in *De locis sanctis* I, vi, 1.

The *Breuiarius* then⁷ accounts for three relics of the passion. The first is the lance with which Jesus's side was pierced (Jn 19:34). It is not clear whether this is in the basilica already mentioned or in another building:

*Et est in media basilica lancea, unde percussus est Dominus,
et de ipsa facta est crux et lucet in nocte sicut sol in uirtute diei.*

For his part, Adomnán deals with this relic after examining all the other features of the complex of buildings in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre. He presents it as being in the porch of the basilica of Constantine and tells us that it has been inserted into a wooden cross, and that the whole city comes frequently to kiss and venerate it.⁸

Later in the *Breuiarius* these relics are described:

*Deinde ad sacrarium de basilica sancti Constantini,
ubi est cubiculum,
ubi est ille calamus et illa spongea et ille calix,*

⁵ See the plate in D. Meehan [and L. Bieler] (eds), *Adamnan's De locis sanctis* (Dublin, 1958), facing p. 47.

⁶ In Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 458, fol. 4v this is emended by a second hand to *Constantiniana*.

⁷ The two quotations here are separated, in form 'A', by an insertion from another source; there is no indication in Adomnán whether or not that insertion was present in any copy he may have had.

⁸ *De locis sanctis* I, viii.

quem benedixit Dominus et dedit discipulis suis bibere et ait: Hoc est corpus meum et sanguis meus.

This *cubiculum* becomes an *exedra* in Adomnán, and he places the relics in a distinct building near the Holy Sepulchre.⁹ He interprets the significance of the cup somewhat differently, which is probably due to his source's conflating significant texts whereas Adomnán cites the actual form of the liturgy.¹⁰ Likewise, Adomnán's reference to the sponge and what held it to Jesus's mouth follows Jn 19:29: *uas ergo positum erat aceto plenum illi autem spongiam plenam aceto hysopo circumponentes obtulerunt ori eius* (compare Adomnán: *inest spungia quam aceto plenam hisopo circumponentes Dominum crucifigentes obtulerunt ori eius*) rather than Mk 15:36 whence comes the reference to the sponge being placed on a *calamus*. The result is that the *De locis sanctis* only refers to two relics in this building, and only shows the cup in the small building in the drawing.

The third use of the *Breuiarius* concerns the number of wonders that can be linked to the basilica on Mount Sion. The *Breuiarius* knows of the column of the flagellation with the marks of Jesus's fingers still visible, another *sacrarium* containing the stone upon which Stephen was stoned, the crown of thorns, the place of the Last Supper,¹¹ and the rod given to Jesus as a sceptre during the Passion. This body of information contains an internal contradiction in that the place of Stephen's stoning is 'outside the city'—*De locis sanctis* I, xviii, 2: '*extra ciuitatem obdormiuit*' echoes Acts 7:57-9—while the Last Supper took place inside the city as in Mt 26:18: *Iesus dixit ite in ciuitatem*. Adomnán retains most of the information (he omits the crown of thorns and the rod) by stating explicitly that it is the place where Stephen was stoned, but that it is 'according to the story' (*ut fertur*) the place of the scourging, while locating in the drawing the image of the column and locating the legend '*locus hic caenae Domini*'.¹² Presumably, locating an event on a drawing is not the same as asserting it in words in a narrative.

Since we do not have an explicit quotation from the *Breuiarius* in Adomnán we cannot have complete certainty that he

⁹ *De locis sanctis* I, vii.

¹⁰ See T. O'Loughlin, 'Treating the "Private Mass" as normal: some unnoticed evidence from Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 51 (2009), 334-44.

¹¹ The text of the *Breuiarius* reads: *et est ibi illa lucerna* [found in both recensions] *ubi docebat discipulos suos Dominus quando caenauerat*. This use of *lucerna* has caused one modern editor to suggest that it should be *cauerna* (which is hardly any better) and it might indeed have been *taberna* / *tauerna*, which would fit just as well; but while we cannot emend the text with any degree of certainty, that it refers to the Last Supper is clear.

¹² See the plate from Vienna 458, fol. 9v, facing p. 63 of the 1958 edition.

had a copy. However, since the description of buildings, and their relationship to one another, is one of the problems one encounters when reading the *Breuiarius* (in either form) and the text presents other problems to anyone seeking to harmonise information—a task which Adomnán sets himself explicitly in several places such as I, ii, 9–15 or I, 25—the fact that some of these ‘discrepancies’¹³ are resolved in *De locis sanctis*, and that two of the four drawings found in Adomnán are concerned with these problems, means that we can take it as cumulatively certain that this text was one of those works on the Holy Places that informed Adomnán in his work.

Thomas O’Loughlin

*Department of Theology and Religion Studies,
University of Nottingham*

¹³ See *De locis sanctis* I, ii, 9.