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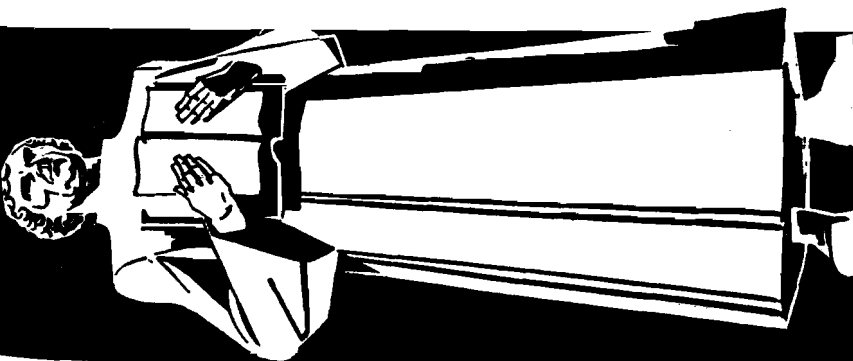
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# The Questions of the Upper Room

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ALMOST ALL CHRISTIAN VISITORS to the Holy Land expect to see holy places. Persons who expend somewhere in the neighborhood of a thousand dollars assume that they will see the tumbled down walls of Jericho or the place where Jesus prayed in Gethsemane prior to His arrest. In Nazareth, a town which otherwise lacks much as a tourist site, now stands the huge, newly consecrated Basilica of the Annunciation. Here, by popular demand, one can see Joseph's carpenter shop and somewhat lower than the Virgin's house, the grotto of the Annunciation above which stands the high altar of the new church beneath which we read, "Verbum Caro Hic Factum Est."

Even the city of Jerusalem has no more than four historically authentic Christian holy places. Archaeologically, there is no doubt about the Temple mount, the Pools of Bethesda, the Antonia Fortress with its Praetorium, and Herod's Palace. The veneration of Calvary is divided between two sites. Usually the guide will ask, if he doesn't already know, whether you are Protestant or "Catholic" and accordingly show you the "authentic" Calvary based on your beliefs. North of the city stands Gordon's Calvary and the Garden Tomb, just as one would mentally visualize the garden in which Joseph of Arimathea would have had his tomb. Unfortunately, less esthetic is the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, just west of the city, but it has much more in its favor traditionally, archaeologically and historically.

If the tourist could be more of a religious pilgrim the contradictory traditions might give way to an appreciation of not only the place where God intervened in the history of man but also where man treasures Biblical memories.

Just outside the southwestern wall of Jerusalem is the traditional House of the Last Supper. It is said that it has the longest and strongest tradition in Christianity. A flight of outside stairs leads to one of the anterooms from which one enters the Cenacle or Cenaculum (the more common nomenclature in the Roman Church). Columns support the vaulting and divide the room in half. A Moslem *mihrab*, or prayer niche, is located in the south wall since 1551, when the Sultan expelled the Franciscan custodians. Besides its occupation by Christians, Moslems and Jews, this building was a museum for various traditions and has been the site of both the Tomb of David and Saint Stephen.

Today the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper is generally considered to be the upper room of Pentecost. They began to be localized in the same place due to an anonymous author's interpretation, lack of understanding, or distortion in the Syrian *Didascalia Apostolorum* which appears to have been written in Syriac in the third century.<sup>1</sup> In it we read that after the Ascension, the Apostles went up "to the Upper Room where the Lord had eaten the Pasch [Passover] with

them".<sup>2</sup> Hence in the Syrian translation of the Gospels the word, *élità*, is not a faithful rendering of both the upper room in Acts 1, 13, which is *hyeroron* in Greek, and of the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper, which is *anagaion* in Greek, in Luke 22, 12.

In Mark 14, 14-15, one reads, "The Teacher says, 'Where is my guest room (*kataxyma*) where I am to eat the passover with my disciples?' And he will show you a large upper room furnished (*anagaion*), . . ." The word *kataxyma* denotes an inn as a rule,<sup>3</sup> a "guest room" or "dining room,"<sup>4</sup> whereas *anagaion* simply means "a room upstairs."<sup>5</sup>

In his translation of the Vulgate, in the fourth century, Saint Jerome imitated the Syrian translation of the Gospels and identified the two rooms, as one, as did the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, by rendering the two different Greek words with the same Latin word, *coenaculum*. Because these two translations used one word to translate two different words, which may have originally been used to distinguish between two different locations, it encouraged readers to place the Lord's Supper in the same room as that of Pentecost. Jerome, however, indicates "that only the descent of the Spirit occurred on Zion."<sup>6</sup>

The Biblical Gospels offer no details as to the location of the Upper Room. The cryptic message of Jesus to the two disciples was, "Go into the city, and a man carrying a jar of water will meet you; follow him, and wherever he enters, say to the householder, 'The Teacher says, Where is my guest room, where I am to eat the passover with my disciples?'" Just as one might assume that the male bearer of water was unaware that he was being used as a guide, so it also appears that the location of the Upper Room was to remain unknown even to the disciples until they had been led to the house. That "neither the house where the Passover was to be kept, nor its owner was to be named beforehand within hearing of Judas," is suggested by Edersheim.<sup>7</sup> One naturally assumes that the water had already been obtained and that the man, probably a servant, was now walking towards his master's house. Somewhere along the way, between the source of the water and the house, it was possible for the two disciples to meet the bearer of water and then to follow him to the house.

### *Christian Views Regarding the Site of Pentecost*

Pentecost, the birthday of the Church, is shrouded by the question, "Did Pentecost occur in the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper or in some other location?" To answer this question, the train of thought which formed, or sometimes remolded tradition seems to have followed the path of least resistance. For example, after Jesus ascended into heaven (Acts 1, 6-14) we are told by Luke that the disciples returned to Jerusalem and "went up to the upper room, where they were staying, Peter, John and James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus and Simon the Zealot and Judas the son of James. *All these devoted themselves to prayer . . .*" (Italics mine.)

These words in Acts, chapter one, are associated by some with

chapter twelve, where Herod, called Agrippa,<sup>8</sup> had Peter imprisoned but an angel had rescued him (v. 11).<sup>9</sup> Peter then went to the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, "where many were gathered together and were praying" (v. 12). (Italics mine.)

The assumption, which seems to be made, is that wherever the disciples gathered for prayer in Acts chapter one must be the same place, which is mentioned in chapter twelve. Two facts are totally disregarded in making this assumption; one, the former speaks of an upper room (*hyepolon*)<sup>10</sup> while the latter refers to a house (*oikian*). Two, while the former passage is dated, by the ascension of Jesus, at about 30 A.D. the latter, computed by the death of Agrippa, is acknowledged to be about 44 A.D.<sup>11</sup> Since these two events are over ten years apart, it is not logical to assume that both of these passages must refer to the same room or building.

If semantics were to be the deciding factor, it would be more logical to say that Pentecost did not occur in the upper room of Acts 1, 13; but rather in the house (*oikos*) of John Mark, because we are told that the Holy Spirit "filled all the house (*oikos*)" and not an upper room "where they were sitting" (Acts 2, 2).

In opposition to the many people who would identify the house of Pentecost with the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper or the upper room of Acts 1, 13, there are still others who would locate the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Temple mount. Many theologians locate the Pentecostal scene in one of the thirty side buildings around the Temple, which Joseph calls houses (*oikois*),<sup>12</sup> and where the disciples met both before and after the ascension (Acts 3, 11; 5, 12).

Wherever the place of this mass meeting and Peter's sermon may have taken place, the upper room of Mount Zion does have an ancient tradition attached to it for the descent of the Holy Spirit. It is this tradition which has given Mount Zion its name in the Christian era (the name Zion was transferred from Mount Ophel, called the City of David, which was referred to in the Old Testament along with the Temple mount as Zion).<sup>13</sup>

### A Lack of Evidence

One must remember that about 385 A.D., Egeria describing the liturgical feasts on Zion, tells us that the liturgy "of Holy Thursday [commemorating the Lord's Supper] was celebrated in the morning 'behind the cross' [in the Anastasis, now called the Holy Sepulchre] . . . The holy Mass is celebrated behind Golgotha 'only on that day' . . . The place of institution [of the Lord's Supper] was still unknown, for the congregation spent the evening and night, not in the Zion Church, but on the Mount of Olives."<sup>14</sup>

Another tradition which indicates that there was no established site for the Upper Room is that pertaining to the Eleona Church on the Mount of Olives. It was believed to be the grotto where Jesus "taught the disciples about the last things (Matthew 24) and where by the fourth and fifth centuries some even believed that the Lord's Supper was held."<sup>15</sup>

Available evidence does prove that in the oldest church on Mount Zion there is no mention of the commemoration of, nor the

institution and celebration of the Lord's Supper, but rather first and foremost they commemorated here Pentecost, followed by the traditions of the appearances of the resurrected Christ, the episcopal seat of James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and the home and place of the falling asleep of the Virgin Mary.

It appears that only from the fourth century the continuity of a traditional identification of this site is unbroken. However, it is over the first three centuries that a cloud which may never be lifted hangs over the Upper Room. Many feel that the disciples could not have forgotten the house of the Lord's Supper and it is difficult to disagree with them; however, the question remains, why is there no early tradition recorded about it? One could simply assume that the house disappeared in the ruins of Jerusalem, during the destruction of the city by Titus. Yet there is the tradition that seven synagogues and one little church survived the annihilation of the city.

The Memoirs, of Hegesippus<sup>16</sup> may testify to this when we read in Epiphanius that seven synagogues and one little church were left standing.

He found the whole city razed to the ground [after the destruction by Titus] and the Temple of God [on Mount Moriah] trodden under foot, with the exception of a few buildings and the little church of God, on the site where the disciples returning after the Ascension of the Savior from Olivet, had gone to the upper room,<sup>17</sup> for there it [the little church] had been built, that is to say, in the quarter of Mount Zion which had been left over from the destruction, and parts of the building on Zion itself and the seven synagogues which alone remained standing on Zion like so many huts (cf. Isaiah 1, 8), of which one continued until the time of Maximus the bishop and the emperor Constantine, like a "booth in a vineyard," according to Scripture.<sup>18</sup>

If this is true then the site of the Upper Room could have been preserved.

After Good Friday, the Holy Scriptures never again speak of this Upper Room, unless the upper room of Acts 1, 13 or John Mark's home in Acts 12, 12 is assumed to be the place of the Lord's Supper. Lagrange states, "If one attentively reads these texts one has the clear impression that the house of the Supper has the appearance of an affluent place, chosen for one time and whose role ends with one use."<sup>19</sup>

Clearly, Epiphanius indicates that he believes that "the little church of God" was "on the site where the disciples (had returned) after the Ascension." Acts 1, 13 indeed speaks of an upper room where the disciples and possibly the first Christians gathered; however, Luke the author of both the Gospel (where the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper is recorded) and the Acts of the Apostles (where the upper room of Pentecost is noted), employs a different Greek word in each case apparently to distinguish between the two rooms. Hence it would not be logical for us to assume that the upper room of Pentecost must be the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper.

Nevertheless, it is possible that the site of the upper room could have served as the location where Bishop Maximus (331-349),<sup>20</sup> in the days of Constantine (305-337) and Constantius (337-361), had restored a little church. Archaeological evidence has proved that some of the remains had been erected prior to the fourth century, as the shape and construction are typical of a late Roman synagogue. The Judeo-Christian church appears to have served as an episcopal church, because the episcopal seat, it is recorded, was moved to the Anastasis during the reconstruction;<sup>21</sup> it is not unlikely that this was regarded as the throne of the first bishop of Jerusalem, Saint James.

Subsequently, this church was enlarged and remodeled into a Byzantine basilica by the Archbishop John (386-417).<sup>22</sup> Holy Zion (Hagia Sion) as it was called, was about 197 by 112 feet; henceforth, it appears to be known as the "mother of all churches,"<sup>23</sup> because it was thought that the Apostles had gathered here for Pentecost, the birthday of the Church.

The present church and abbey of the Dormition cover some forty per cent of the surface once occupied by Holy Zion. Although there may be an unbroken tradition that on this site was located the upper room, there is no indication that it was considered to be the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper.

In one of the sermons which compose his Catechetical Lectures, Saint Cyril of Jerusalem says:

And at Pentecost [the Holy Spirit] descended upon the disciples in the likeness of fiery tongues. That happened here in Jerusalem in the Upper Church of the Apostles, for we are privileged here in every matter . . . And it certainly would be appropriate that just as I talk to you of the things of Christ and Golgotha here on Golgotha, I should talk to you about the Holy Spirit in the Upper Church.<sup>24</sup>

Although this passage is used to support the traditional site of the Upper Room as being the place of the Lord's Supper, it should be noted that, Cyril speaks of it only as the place of Pentecost.

The description of the liturgy at Jerusalem as Egeria<sup>25</sup> preserved it, indicates that the church on Zion was not remembered for having been the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper. Her testimony, just as that of all the early writers, bears witness to the fact that the church on Zion was connected first and foremost to the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples.

Although throughout the year on every Sunday they assemble for the liturgy at the major church built by Constantine on Golgotha behind the Cross, yet on one Sunday, that of the feast of the fiftieth day, Pentecost, they assemble for the liturgy at (Z)ion . . .<sup>26</sup>

Of the liturgy for Maundy or Holy Thursday she writes:

. . . Whatever is customarily done from the first cock-crow until morning and what is done at (nine o'clock in the morning and at noon) takes place at the Anastasis [the sanctuary of the Resurrection]. At (two o'clock) all the people gather as usual

at the Martyrium [the main church]. . . . On that day the sacrifice [of the Mass] is offered at the Martyrium, and the dismissal from there is given (about four o'clock) . . . Following the dismissal from the Martyrium, everyone proceeds behind the Cross, where . . . the bishop offers the sacrifice and everyone receives Communion. Except on this one day, throughout the year the sacrifice is never offered behind the Cross save on this day alone.<sup>27</sup>

Very clearly then, the Lord's Supper was not celebrated at the Church of Zion even as Noele Denis-Boulet points out<sup>28</sup> but instead it was celebrated "behind the Cross"<sup>29</sup> because the Church of Zion undoubtedly commemorated neither the home of John Mark nor the Upper Room. "The place of institution was still unknown, for the congregation spent the evening and the night, not in the (Z)ion Church, but on the Mount of Olives."<sup>30</sup>

### *The House of John Mark*

"To us at least it seems most likely, that it was the house of Mark's father (then still alive)—a large one, as we gather from Acts 12, 13,"<sup>31</sup> where Jesus and His disciples celebrated the Passover meal, writes Alfred Edersheim, a Presbyterian of Jewish extraction. Both Edersheim and Theodor Zahn,<sup>32</sup> a German Protestant professor at Erlangen, maintain the widely held opinion that the youth who left his loin cloth (which he had hurriedly cast about him) in the hands of his pursuers at the arrest of the Lord, was probably the son of the householder of the Upper Room who later became the evangelist John Mark.<sup>33</sup>

Interestingly the Syrian Convent (or the Monastery of Saint Mark, or as it is sometimes called the Monastery of the Syrians) is one of the oldest convents in Jerusalem and has the tradition of being the place where the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, stood in Jesus' day. "Even assuming those actual walls and ceiling had long since crumbled to sacred dust, the present buildings also have a history centuries old."<sup>34</sup>

Upon entering the Syrian Church, one notices on the right-hand side an inscription, now enclosed in glass. It was discovered in 1940 during the renovation of the church. The inscription is in stone, which is about one meter above the present floor, and had been covered by a thin layer of plaster, even as much of the building still is to this day. Immediately the Syrian archbishop summoned the director of the Antiquities Department of Jerusalem, then in Jordan, who at that time was Mr. R. W. Hamilton. He arrived with two architects of the Holy Sepulchre, who had been commissioned by the British Mandate, and they photographed it and made "the assurance that the Syrian Church is not less valuable than the Holy Sepulchre or the Church of the Nativity."<sup>35</sup>

The text of the inscription, translated from the Christian Palestinian Aramaic reads as follows:

This is the house of Mary [the] mother of John [who is] called Mark. The Apostles consecrated this as a church in the name of

Mary the Mother of God, after the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ to heaven. [This house was] rebuilt in 73 after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.<sup>36</sup>

A little booklet about the Syrian Convent, printed in Arabic, supplies the following data:

No doubt that this valuable script goes back to the fifth or sixth century. As proof of this there are the Aramaic letters used in it, an old Aramaic writing which was used in Palestine in the first Christian centuries [now called Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA)]; that is, the *aleph* and the *mim* which are used in the old Aramaic Palestinian script. Therefore, it is authentic!<sup>37</sup>

The Syriac alphabet was the last important, direct descendent of the Aramaic language. The earliest datable Syriac inscription belongs to the year 73 A.D.

There are several traditions about the Syrian Convent in early Church writings. One example is found in the prayers composed by Saint Ephraim for Holy Thursday. In it he makes a reference to the Upper Room of the Last Supper which seems to point to the Syrian church as being the place where the disciples met for the Passover meal:

Blessed is the place of the righteous people because *here* the Lord has broken His body *and this small place* has become a focal point of Christians. (Italics mine.)

Blessed are you small place because *here* the Lamb of Easter took itself and in it He administered the new Pasch.<sup>38</sup> (Italics mine.)

#### *Conclusions Concerning the Upper Room of the Lord's Supper and Pentecost*

The irenic account of the earliest church mentioned in Scripture, does not allow us to do more than to ask unanswerable questions. A study of the itineraries of the many pilgrims does not leave us without confusion and problems. Difficulties arise not only from the fact that the various sites and churches commemorated a single event of the Gospels, but later one church would incorporate numerous traditional sites into it, probably for the convenience of the pilgrims. This too, however, is complicated by the fact that one church or holy place seems to have had more than one name; this may have resulted from misunderstanding, inaccurate translations, or what is more likely the use of a popular name as opposed to the name with which the building was consecrated.

Epiphanius writes concerning the report which is said to be from 130 A.D., that one of the seven synagogues or the "little church of God" was the upper room of Pentecost. Eusebius seems to indicate that the episcopal seat of the Bishop of Jerusalem was transferred from the early Judeo-Christian church on Mount Zion to the Holy Sepulchre, when the latter was completed. In 333 A.D. the Pilgrim of Bordeaux mentioned that only one of the seven synagogues remained. Possibly he may be referring to the Judeo-Christian



church. Unless one assumes that there were several churches on Mount Zion by this time, nothing prevents the assumption that the upper room and the place where the episcopal seat had been located were one and the same building. About 335 A.D. a basilica, undoubtedly the first one upon this site, was built. Here one can only conjecture that it was erected under Queen Helena or Constantine the Great, by Saint Maximus. In 348 A.D., Saint Cyril speaks of an "Upper Church" where the Pentecostal event took place, but because the name of the church is unfamiliar and not used by anyone else it can only be assumed that this was still the same Judeo-Christian church. According to Opatatus, in 370, there were no remains of the buildings mentioned by Epiphanius. This may be true because one of those remaining buildings had a church built over it. Fifteen years later, a small church was transformed by the Archbishop John II into a vast basilica; this tradition can be proved because the fragmentary foundations have been identified by Renard.<sup>39</sup> It must have been here that Egeria witnessed the beautiful liturgical ceremonies from Holy Week to Pentecost. After this enlargement the church was generally known as Saint Zion from 390 until its destruction by the Persians in 614 A.D. It was rebuilt by the Patriarch Modestus, but burned down again by the Saracens in 966. The Crusaders rebuilt it in 1099. From 1100 A.D. until 1219 it became Saint Mary on Mount Zion. This nomenclature was preserved from 1898 until the present day in the "Dormition Abbey."

The association of the Upper Room with the Cenotaph of David appears to have been quite natural. The words of Peter, on Pentecost (Acts 2, 29), "The patriarch David . . . both died and was buried, and his tomb is with us to this day" were thought to have been spoken in an upper room, even though we are told only that it was a house (Acts 2, 2).

We read in Scripture (Acts 12, 12-17) that after Peter had been released from prison, "He went to the house of Mary, the mother of John whose other name was Mark, where many were gathered together and praying. . . . He described to them how the Lord had brought him out of prison. And he said, 'Tell this to James and the brethren.'" Undoubtedly, James was not present and may have been living elsewhere. Since James was a "brother" of Jesus, it seems logical that he might be living with the Virgin Mary at the house of Saint John. This may well be the place where Peter wanted his message delivered. If this supposition is correct then the seat of the bishop (James) could have been at the house of John. So it would not be unnatural that this would have been a meeting place of the disciples after the Ascension (Acts 1, 13), and a possible, if not probable site for Pentecost. It is therefore easily understood why at least three events of the Gospels could be identified with a single site on Mount Zion: 1) the upper room of Pentecost; 2) the episcopal seat of James; and 3) the place where Mary lived and died, hence the *Dormitio*. It would be most likely that this is the site that Saint Cyril referred to as the upper room which was already then considered a church.

Logically, if the Upper Room of the Last Supper had been

considered identical with the upper room of Pentecost, one would expect that tradition would have mentioned them together before Sophronius in 636 A.D. However, thirteen pilgrims or writers do not breathe a word concerning the supposed relationship between these two rooms during the 250 years between John II and Sophronius. Instead, it is readily discernible that the only place which has any continuity of tradition, or at least a reference is made to it, is the upper room of Pentecost.

Even the Roman Catholic theologian, Decroix writes in *Bible Et Terre Sainte*:

Oh, certainly, all would be very easy if I could date the remains of archaeological (significance) before 135 A.D., but they are dated by the excavation to the end of the third century. Then let us confess that the entire mystery remains, and let us confess once more how badly informed we are about this pre-Constantinian period.<sup>40</sup>

Since it is not very probable that the Upper Room of the Last Supper was identified with the Church of Zion, one must conclude that only the lack of negative evidence makes the Cenacle or Coenaculum the Upper Room of the Last Supper. Either the location of the Upper Room was not known or else it was located elsewhere. The only other place which might fit the traditional picture for the house of Mark and the Upper Room is the Syrian Convent.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A. Cleveland Coxe, ed., *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII: *Fathers of the Third and Fourth Centuries*, by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (8 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), p. 667.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 667: "And they saw (Jesus) as He was going up to heaven. . . . And from thence they went up to the city, and proceeded to an upper room (*elita*)—that in which our Lord had observed the passover with them. . . ."
3. Alfred Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (Hereinafter referred to as *Life and Times of Jesus.*), (2 vols.; Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), Vol. II, p. 483.
4. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), p. 415.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
6. Clemens Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels* (Hereinafter referred to as *Holy Places.*) trans. by Ronald Walls, (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), p. 326.
7. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, Vol. II, p. 482.
8. Agrippa became king of Judca in 41 A.D.
9. Eusebius *The Ecclesiastical History* (Hereinafter referred to as *H. E.*), Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), II. IX, 4.
10. R. C. H. Lenski, *Commentary on the New Testament*, Vol. V: *The Interpretation of the Acts of the Apostles*, (Columbus, Ohio: The Wartburg Press, 1944), p. 39.
11. Eusebius *H. E.*, II. X, 6.
12. Josephus *Antiquities of the Jews*, Loeb Classical Library, (Cambridge: 1961), VIII. III, 2.
13. From the days of Herod the Great the western hill takes on the physiognomy of the eastern hill. Cf. Eugene Hoade, *Guide to the Holy Land*, (ed. 4, Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1962), p. 568.

14. Kopp, *Holy Places*, p. 325.
15. C. M. Watson, "The Traditional Sites on Sion," *Palestine Exploration Funds Quarterly Statement*, (London), 1910, p. 198 and 205.
16. Hegesippus (110?-180?), a Palestinian Jew converted to Christianity, visited various churches (Corinth, Rome, etc.) to judge the uniformity of their faith in the face of rising heresies. Returning to his own country (174-179) he recorded his *Memoirs* from the notes he had taken during his journeys. A few fragments cited by Eusebius and some other authors are all that remain of his five books. Cf. Eusebius *H. E.*, II. XXIII, 7.
17. *Hyepolon*
18. "De Mensuris et Ponderibus," *Migne's Greek Patrology*, 43, 262 (A).
19. "Si on lit attentivement ces textes, on a l'impression tres nette que la maison de la Cene a les apparences d'un lieu de circonstance, choise pour une fois, et dont le role est termine par la-meme." Quoted in J. Decroix, "Le Cenacle," *Bible et Terre Sainte*, (Paris) No. 98, February, 1968, p. 10.
20. Gregory T. Armstrong, "Imperial Church Building in the Holy Land in the Fourth Century," *Biblical Archaeologist*, Vol. XXX, No. 3, September, 1967, pp. 99-100.
21. John Baillie, John T. McNeill, Henry P. Van Dusen, gen. eds., *The Library of Christian Classics*, Vol. 4: *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nestorius of Emesa* (Hereinafter referred to as *Cyril of Jerusalem.*), ed. by William Telfer, (26 vols.; London: SCM Press Ltd., 1955), pp. 169-170.
22. Hoade, *Guide to the Holy Land*, p. 568.
23. Father James, *The Basilica of the Dormition on Mount Zion: (A) Historical Note*, (Jerusalem: Dormition Abbey. n. d.), p. 3.
24. Baille, *et al.*, *Cyril of Jerusalem*, p. 169.
25. Also known as Aetheria, Saint Silvia or Pseudo Sylva (*et al.*), probably a nun from Gaul or Spain who went to the Holy Land (ca. 414-417). Of prime interest is her description of the solemnities of the Church at Jerusalem during Holy Week and Pentecost and of one of the six churches described as the station church of Zion.
26. "Although throughout the year on every Sunday they assembly for the liturgy at the major church built by Constantine on Golgotha behind the Cross, yet on one Sunday, that of the feast of the fiftieth day, Pentecost, they assemble for the liturgy at Zion. . . ." E. Wistrand, *Textkritisches Zur "Peregrinatio Aetheriae,"* (Goteborg, 1955), pp. 22-25. Vincent and Abel also state that it was the church reserved for the chief liturgy of Pentecost. Hugues Vincent et Felix-M[arie] Abel, *Jerusalem recherches de topographie, d'archeologie et d'histoire*, Vol. II: *Jerusalem nouvelle*, (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1912-1926), p. 452.
27. George E. Gingras, trans., *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*, Ancient Christian Writers, Vol. 38, (New York: Newman Press, 1970), pp. 107-108.
28. "We may remember that even at Jerusalem there was no station at the Cenacle on (Maundy Thursday)." Henri Daniel-Rops, ed., *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Vol. CXIII: *The Christian Calendar*, by Noele M. Denis-Boulet, trans. by P. Hepburne-Scott, (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1960), p. 89.
29. Fred[erick] C[ornwallis] Conybeare, ed., *The Old Armenian Lectionary: Rituale Armenorum*, (Oxford, 1905), pp. 507ff. Also see Father Francken, "Lectionnaires Armeniens e Georgiens a Propos de Saint-Pierre a la-Maison-deCaiphe," (unpublished work, Jerusalem: Assumptionist Saint Peter Gallicantus).
30. Kopp, *Holy Places*, p. 325. Armstrong also points out that the "Elcona Church was . . . where by the fourth and fifth centuries some even believed that the Last Supper was held," quoted from, "Imperial Church Building," p. 94.
31. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, Vol. I, p. 485.
32. Zahn, "Die Dormitio Sanctae Virginis und das Haus des Johannes Markus," pp. 377ff.
33. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, Vol. I, p. 485: "(Judas) may have first brought the temple-guards, who had come to seize Christ, to the house of Mark's father . . . and that, finding Him gone, they had followed to Gethsemane . . . —Mark, startled from his sleep by the appearance of

armed men . . . hastily cast about him his loose tunic and (ran) after them . . . (and) escaped intended arrest by leaving his tunic in the hands of his would-be captors."

34. Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, *Treasure of Qumran: My Story of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1966), p. 89.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.
36. Gregory Paul Bahnam, ("The House of Mark in Jerusalem or the Monastery of Saint Mark for the Assyrians"), (Jerusalem: Arabic Publishing Est., 1962), p. 7.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
39. In 1899, H. Renard, an architect from Cologne commissioned to draw the plans for and to supervise the construction of the Dormition, which was to be at the site of the traditional Upper Room. At the site he had been able to make a few very fragmentary excavations and for him the Church of Zion bordered the Coenaculum (Upper Room) to the southeast, which is in agreement with the Madaba mosaic (map).
40. Decroix, "Le Cenacle," p. 13.