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The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem

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1. *Introduction*

The subject of this paper has been addressed before by Dōlabānī (1928), Meinardus (1964) and Karkenny (1976). Dōlabānī begins with a survey of the history of the Syrians in Palestine, then lists "the monasteries and the churches which we call after Mary Magdalene and Simon the Pharisee and the site of the Magdalene monastery". The kernel of his article is devoted to this monastery, which Dōlabānī identifies with the convent attested for the mid-eighth century (see note 40, below). He quotes MSS from St Mark's Library by number. Meinardus uses, amongst other literature and sources, "an unpublished study by Behnam Heggawi al-Musoli, secretary of St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem, 1955" (= Ǧaǧǧāwī 1955), on which Karkenny clearly relied extensively[1]. Ǧaǧǧāwī had the advantage of access to the library of St Mark's, but information based at one remove on his researches is of uncertain status, because it is not clear where evidence ends and interpretation begins. Moreover, we are not in a position to check all the evidence. Karkenny's work, though unscholarly, is worth reading in parts[2], and it contains photographs of a number of official orders or firmans from the Ottoman period, which are kept in the library of St Mark's at Jerusalem.

1 "Das Buch von Koriah [Karkenny (1976)] beruht offenbar weitgehend auf Vorarbeiten von Metropolit Dionysios Behnam Ǧaǧǧāwī, wie ein Vergleich mit Meinardus zeigt (ich glaube, mich auch an eine entsprechende Äußerung des Bischofs zu erinnern)." (Hubert Kaufhold, personal communication, 18ii1990).

2 O. F. A. Meinardus wrote a review of Karkenny (Koriah), which appeared both in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 36 (1979), 117-18 and in *Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte* 27 (1982), 143-47. He compares the book to his own about the Copts (1960), to Hintlian (1976) and to a book on "The Rights of the Abyssinian Church in the Holy Places" by Anbā Philippus (1959) and sees them all as responses to the competing claims of the rival anti-Chalcedonian churches. The present article attempts to establish historical fact, regardless of sectarian claims.

Unfortunately it remains difficult to gain access to this library. I stayed in Jerusalem for three months and visited the monastery with great regularity; but it was only during the last three days of my stay that I was permitted to see some books and these the bishop selected for me. My notes on these manuscripts will appear in a coming volume of *Oriens Christianus*. Thus the present article cannot be regarded as definitive, but it does represent an advance on what others have done[3].

The term "Syrian Orthodox" in the title connotes those Syrian Christians, especially from Northern Mesopotamia, whose ancestors opposed the Council of the Church in Chalcedon AD 451. As a result of the conflict which ensued, they adhered to Bishop Jacob of Edessa following his consecration in 543 and rejected the "official" bishop consecrated simultaneously for that see. This brought about a schism which has never been fully healed. From the point of view of the Chalcedonians, the "Jacobites" were the schismatics who broke away from the "Orthodox" Church; from the point of view of the "Jacobites" themselves, the "Chalcedonians" were the ones who had broken with Orthodoxy. Nevertheless the name "Jacobite", like other terms originally intended as derogatory, was defiantly adopted by the Syrian Orthodox themselves, who, until quite recently, were proud of it[4]. In Jerusalem, where all Churches came together, it was necessary to make distinctions plain. The Crusaders initially distinguished Greeks, Armenians, Syrians (meaning the Malkite, or non-Jacobite Syrians) and Jacobites (including Copts, Nubians and Ethiopians)[5].

3 I am grateful to Bernard Hamilton, Jan-Kees de Geus and Geert Jan van Gelder for reading and commenting on an early draft. Hubert Kaufhold contributed substantially to the completeness of my references. I visited Jerusalem with a research grant from the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, Bonn, in the winter of 1985-86. To Metropolitan Dionysius Bahnām Ǧaǧǧāwī are due both thanks for his hospitality and apologies for descending upon him at such a busy time of the year. Though my hope meticulously to examine his library proved vain, he compensated me with abundant opportunities to witness the Syriac Liturgy in the Holy Places, an activity, unlike scholarship, from which eternal merit accrues. For the altars at which the Jacobites celebrate, see Meinardus (1964), pp. 72-81. Everyone at St Mark's, and especially Father Simeon, made our family feel welcome; but our home was the Ecumenical Research Institute at Ṭanṭūr, which we remember with great warmth and gratitude. Kevork Hintlian of the Armenian Patriarchate and David Shulman and Meir Kister of the Hebrew University were most active in making my stay a useful one.

4 The greatest historian whom the Syrian Orthodox can claim, Dionysius of Tellmaḥrē, was proud to use the name "Jacobite" in the ninth century (Chabot 1920, vol. 1, p. 224, A.G. 922); nor can this precedent be dismissed as too antiquated: as recently as 1903 a Syrian Orthodox scribe at Jerusalem, whose manuscript will be described in a sequel to this article, referred to "the blessed Fathers of the enviable nation of the Syrian Jacobites". Fiey (1969) uses the term "Jacobite" for convenience, though with an apology (p. 113), because it is "considered offensive" by those to whom it is applied.

5 Hagenmeyer (1901), p. 164, a letter to Pope Urban II, dated 1098: "Nos enim Turcos et paganos expugnavimus, haereticos autem, Graecos et Armenos, Syros Jacobitasque expugnare nequivimus".

These were perhaps the four main administrative entities, although there were of course many other theological schools and linguistic shadings. Meinardus (1964: 68) has already pointed out the difficulty created by the "highly ambiguous usage of the terms 'Syrian' and 'Jacobite' by the Western pilgrims". For these reasons I do not here eschew the term "Jacobite".

2. *The phenomenon of pilgrimage*

According to a text composed at the Abbey of Qartmīn in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, Philoxenus of Mabbūġ wrote in a letter that seven visits to Qartmīn accumulated merit equal to that of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, because that monastery was built on the model of the Holy City[6]. This indicates that the Jerusalem pilgrimage was considered by Syrian Orthodox Christians around 500 to be beneficial to the soul; indeed, it was the standard against which other pilgrimages were measured. That pilgrimage still has significance for the Syrian Orthodox can be seen from the status accorded in their communities to those who have been to Jerusalem and have acquired the honorific of 'pilgrim to the Holy City'[7]. These pilgrims are held in honour (*cf.* Fiey 1969: 125); they are also expected to be more devout than the others and to be above any kind of ethical reproach. Younger people who go to St Mark's, but do not yet feel equal to such a responsibility, do not aspire to the honorific title, with all that that entails in the way of ritual performances and assiduous pilgrim-tours[8]. More could be said about Syrian Orthodox pilgrimage as a contemporary phenomenon; but our concern here is its history[9].

The most famous of Syrian Orthodox pilgrims is also the first recorded: Barṣawmō of Claudia. This man lived through the formative period which culminated in the ill-starred Council of Chalcedon and died one year before that universally famous Syrian saint, Symeon Stylites, in AD 458. While Symeon was claimed in retrospect by both sides in the Chalcedonian conflict as a supporter, Barṣawmō was the undisputed hero of the dissenters. One can

6 Palmer (1990), microfiche supplement, *Qartmin Trilogy*, XVIII.8-11.

7 The Ṭūrōyō title *Muqsī* is a contraction of the Arabic *maqdisī*. See Kaufhold (1991).

8 Whether a traveller to Jerusalem is "*maqdisī*" or not can be seen by the presence or absence of a representation of the risen Christ tattooed in blue on his skin. The Syrian Orthodox Church distributes a little booklet in which are set out the conditions under which a journey to Jerusalem can be considered as a valid pilgrimage. These are based on the nine injunctions (ideals rather than conditions: see notes 12 and 32 and the comments in the text a little below note 32 on mounted pilgrims) made by Gregory Barhebraeus (d. 1286) in chapter 9 of the first book of his *Ethicon* (Bedjan 1898), translated by Fiey (1969), pp. 117-20.

9 Fiey (1969) is excellent on the nature and characteristics of (Nestorian and) Jacobite pilgrimage; he treats in turn: 1) the arguments for and against pilgrimage to Jerusalem; 2) the preparations; 3) the journey; 4) the rituals performed; 5) the practice of settling in the Holy Land; 6) the pilgrim's return and 7) his death.

read his Life in Syriac, in Arabic and in Ethiopic; and there must surely be an Armenian version, too[10]. His achievements as "the Principal of the Extreme Ascetics" (*rīšō d-āvīlē*) are there zealously catalogued and jealously enumerated. They include four pilgrimages to Jerusalem.

On his first journey, Barṣawmō established his custom of going barefoot, without satchel, purse or stick, neither carrying provisions with him nor entering human settlements on the way. Coins he would not accept as alms. Since Barṣawmō was like Walter Bonatti, who always went one further than other mountaineers, climbing solo if they had climbed in company or scaling a face in the winter which had already been scaled in the summer, we can read this passage as the negative image of the normal pilgrim's equipment and habits. What Barṣawmō did not do was what every pilgrim, even the most devout, normally did.

From this first pilgrimage we learn nothing about the routes from Mesopotamia to the Holy Land. But Barṣawmō's second journey is described in more detail. From Jerusalem he took "the desert route" towards Sinaï, which obliged him to pass through a pagan city called Reqem d-Gaya. This has been understood to mean Nabataean Petra; but "Reqem D-Gey'a", if that is the same place, is elsewhere identified with the biblical Kadesh-Barnea[11]. Barṣawmō's passage was accompanied by a torrential rainfall, which only stopped when the pagans were converted. On his way back from Mount Sinaï, Barṣawmō went to Rabbat Moab, where there was a great synagogue of the Jews. As at Reqem d-Gaya, the pre-Christian cult did not survive the passage of the saint[12]. The last point mentioned on his journey north (or "back to the east", as the hagiographer puts it) is Telanissus, near Antioch, where he visited Symeon Stylites. Symeon's appearance in the hagiography serves the transparent purpose of attributing to the Stylite himself (and through him to God) the statement that Barṣawmō was the holiest man of his time. Telanissus, therefore, need not have been a point on a genuine journey, though that is not in itself improbable. Reqem d-Gaya and Rabbat Moab also serve a symbolic purpose, the one standing for paganism, the other for Judaism, while the desert route is probably symbolic of the unchristianized regions of the world. Nevertheless, it was conceivable to the intended audience of this story that a party of pilgrims (Barṣawmō was accompanied on this occasion by "forty" monks) might reach Jerusalem and Sinaï by an

10 Grébaut (1908-9); the contents are summarised in Nau (1913), pp. 272-6, 379-89 and (1914a), pp. 113-34, 278-89; the historicity of the text was investigated by Honigmann (1954), chapter 2; I am preparing an edition.

11 Honigmann (1954), p. 17 note 1; Höhne and Wahle (1981).

12 Nau (1927a and b). The indignant Barṣawmō and his loutish disciples clearly did not know the injunction: "Let [the pilgrim's] speech be friendly and his attitude to all and sundry gentle." (Fiey 1969: 118, citing Barhebraeus.)

inland route. We must remember here again that Barṣawmō was no ordinary pilgrim and that this desert route was probably not the one most frequently taken.

On his third and fourth journeys Barṣawmō took to the sea. The first time he embarked at Laodicaea with one hundred disciples and sailed to Cyprus, whence the company crossed back to Palestine in two boats, weathering a storm which seemed to blow them onto the Outer Ocean, so long were they out of sight of land. Back on dry land he passed Sebaste, which is Samaria; now it was the turn of some Samaritans to be converted, this time without any violence. At Jerusalem he visited Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, then lodged on Mount Sion in a certain large monastery near the basilica. This must be the "monastery of Photinus on Mount Sion", where he stayed during his fourth and last pilgrimage[13]. On this occasion he also had a large company with him; they had taken the road to Antioch by way of Cyrrhus, where Jacob, another saint made famous by the Chalcedonian Theodoret, provided a glowing testimonial to Barṣawmō's sanctity. From the port of Antioch (Seleucia) they had sailed along the coast to the Holy Land. Was this last not the most obvious way to go? Since Wilkinson, who has studied ancient travel in Palestine, does not mention the coastal ferries, it seems worth arguing the point that they were available, especially since much of the evidence is in unpublished Syriac texts[14].

3. *Evidence for the use of coastal ferries*

The first relevant text is a Latin one. Egeria, the fourth-century pilgrim, describes the length of the journey from Jerusalem to Edessa as twenty-five *mansiones*, meaning that one spent twenty-five nights in different places along the way. Between Jerusalem and Antioch she mentions no place, which would be odd in so detailed a narrative, unless she went by sea. By contrast, between Antioch and Edessa she made notes on the journey through Coele Syria to Euphratensis, on Hierapolis (Mabbūġ), on the Euphrates crossing, and on

13 Nau (1914a), pp. 115 and 122; Milik (1960-61), pp. 164-6, identified this monastery with the church of the Samaritan Woman, citing evidence that her name may have been preserved as Photina. If he is right, a corruption must have crept into the manuscript tradition at an early stage: by the omission of one dot the feminine possessive suffix could have been transformed into the masculine found in all the witnesses (DYRH D-PWṬYN'). But in fact, the very presence of the possessive suffix and the absence of an honorific suggest that the reference is not to the dedicate of a church within the monastery, but to the founder of the monastery.

14 Wilkinson (1977), pp. 15-32. It was noted above that Barṣawmō's hagiographer envisaged his journey from Jerusalem back to Claudia, south of Melitene (Malatya), as a journey from west to east rather than from south to north. If one was accustomed to the coastal route to Jerusalem, one would know that every morning's journey began with the sun in one's back and would therefore conclude instinctively that Jerusalem lay to the west of Antioch.

Batanis (Baṭnōn da-Srūġ). If she did not go by sea, she must have made a special detour to see Antioch, knowing that she would pass through it again on her way from Edessa to Tarsus[15]. Besides, the fifth-century Syriac version of the legend of Abgar tells how the king of Edessa sent a messenger to Jerusalem, who left Edessa on 14 March and arrived in Jerusalem on 12 April, a period of exactly thirty days[16]. This messenger would have been mounted on a horse and intent on speed, but anxious to avoid the possible delay of waiting for a fair wind or being blown off course. If thirty days was a fast riding speed overland, twenty-five days was probably the normal journey-time for those who went by boat with a favourable wind and continued by donkey or on foot. As we shall see, some fifteenth-century pilgrims managed to reach Ṭūr ʿAbdīn from Jerusalem in under a month and this was impressive.

The so-called *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, composed in Syriac at Edessa in or shortly after 506[17], contains the following passage relevant to our enquiry: "We received a letter from certain acquaintances of ours, who were travelling to Jerusalem, in which it was stated that, on the same night in which that great blazing fire appeared, the city of Ptolemais or ʿAkkō (= Acre) was overturned, and nothing in it left standing"[18]. The *Life of Aḥḥō of Rīš ʿAynō*, which is more in the nature of a folk-tale than a biography of the sixth-century saint, is more explicit because of the role played in the story by the ferry-crew, who turn out to be Aḥḥō's brothers. Aḥḥō stayed for one and a half years in Palestine, then set off home; but when he reached Acre "he felt so weary from the toil of the road, that he decided to board ship for Antioch". The text continues: "when they had sailed as far as Tiberias, a heavy gale struck their ship and it was obliged to stay out at sea for three days before entering harbour"[19]. Clearly it was normal to dock every night. The reference to Tiberias suggests that one spoke of the ports not by their own names, but by the names of the important inland cities which they served.

The most interesting description of all is the fifteenth-century source already referred to. The priest Addai of Bēṯ Səvīrīnō in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn made the journey in 1491/2. He writes of it in such an unpolished and inconsistent style (one cannot help improving it in translation) that he can hardly even have written a preparatory draft[20]. The passage omitted from the middle concerns

15 Francheschini and Weber (1965) and Wilkinson (1981), sections 17-19 of the *Itinerarium*.
16 Philips (1876), p. 3; Howard (1981), p. 7.
17 For the true authorship see Palmer (1990b).
18 Wright (1882), chapter xlvii; Chabot (1927), 274: 4-9.
19 *Cf.* Vööbus (1956); Baumstark (1922); I am preparing an edition.
20 Budge (1932), vol. 2, pp. L-LII (Syriac text, fol. 200a-201a); the translation given in this article is my own.

matters of politics, which need not concern us here. I append my comments in the form of footnotes:

> The priest Addai [...] was accompanied by his son, the priest Qawmē, the monk Rabbān Šābō of Ṣālaḥ, two priests of Bēṯ Səvīrīnō, Gabriel and Reuben, and many laymen from the same village. They went with Ḫwāğa Ḥasan[21] of Mardīn, the emir, who had undertaken a diplomatic mission to Egypt bearing splendid gifts and letters of peaceful intent from Sulaymān Baġ. His son, Muḥammad, accompanied him, as did a long caravan of merchants. [...]
>
> Ḫwāğa Ḥasan showed tokens of great respect to the priest Addai and to his fellow-pilgrims and they did not have to give a farthing to anyone throughout the journey. They enjoyed great comfort, thanks to the ambassador and his servants, as far as the town of Ramla[22]; there they encountered the emir of Jerusalem, on his way to the Holy City. After consulting with us, the ambassador said, "I am going to commit you to the protection of this man; I will give him instructions about you". We unpacked two fine coats as a present for the governor of Jerusalem and we entered the city in his company. Many hostile eyes followed us on our way, but they were unable to do us any harm[23].
>
> On his way back from Egypt[24] the ambassador said to us, "Will you not go back with me to our own country?" But it was the middle of January when he returned and not yet time for us to head for home. We stayed to receive the Holy Light[25] and to get a blessing from the Holy Sepulchre and from the Holy Places, then we left the Holy City and went back home, the priest Addai and his companions. Two of them, however, Rabbān Šābō the monk, from Ṣālaḥ, and the priest Gabriel from Bēṯ Səvīrīnō, died in Damascus; the priest Addai and his

21 "Ḫwāğa was a title particularly of great merchants; it was not appropriate for the clerisy": communication from Michael Rogers of the British Museum, 31 vii 1984.

22 From the fact that Ramla lay on Addai's route to Jerusalem we can infer that he came by sea, probably having embarked at Seleucia by Antioch; and from the fact that Addai does not tell us this, though he goes into some detail about the return journey by way of Damascus and Ḥama, we understand that this was the normal route (see below).

23 This is a graphic expression of the fears which were felt by pilgrims, even on the well-trodden highway between Jaffa and Jerusalem; it also shows that even after giving two fine coats to the governor of Jerusalem, Addai and his companions had possessions with them which made them acutely conscious of potential robbers (*cf.* note 32).

24 This seems to imply that the ambassador decided to visit Jerusalem after all on his way back home, surely because of his Muslim faith, whereas his urgent business had made it advisable to avoid the delay on the way to Egypt, since he saw an opportunity of transferring his duty of protection to another powerful man. This inference, if valid, gives some indication of how seriously the duty of protecting Christians could be taken by a Muslim, since the ambassador would apparently have made the detour to Jerusalem, however urgent his international mission, if he had not met the governor of that city at Ramla.

25 This is a reference to the ritual commemorating Christ's Resurrection on Easter Sunday, whereby a light "appeared" out of the Holy Sepulchre, which was used to distribute the flame to each pilgrim present. Meinardus (1964:79), in the section of his article devoted to "The Syrian Jacobite Sites of the 20th Century", gives a time-table for the Jacobite activities in the Church of the Resurrection during Holy Week: "At 1.00 p.m., the Syrian Jacobite representatives take the Holy Fire from the *Kouvouklion* to the Chapel of St. Nicodemus. Simultaneously, Syrian Jacobite laymen take the Holy Fire from the southern oval window of the Chapel of the Angel and proceed via the southern portion of the Rotunda to the Chapel of St. Nicodemus". On the descent of the Holy Light, or Holy Fire, see Fiey (1969), pp. 119-20. Barhebraeus (cited *ibid.*, p. 118) enjoins the pilgrim to be at Jerusalem for the whole of Holy Week (see note 8).

son the priest Qawmē, and the two priests Ṣəlīvō and Reuben, Addai's disciples, were there to prepare them for burial. For when we had come ashore off the Sea of Cyprus, some of us had gone to Damascus, while others continued as far as Tripolis and travelled to Ḥama from there. When we ourselves reached Ḥama, Rabbān Joshua the monk, of Bēṯ Səvīrīnō, the son of the priest Moses, became ill and died and was given a funeral and buried by the aforementioned priests.

In Damascus, the priest Qawmē fell seriously ill, but God — glory to His Grace! — made him well again. His father, in Ḥama, was waiting for his return[26]. The priest Addai waited for forty days, then went to Damascus with great sorrow[27] and so they came back (eventually) to Ḥama. However, their departure from Damascus was delayed until after Pentecost, because the entire land of Šām, together with Egypt and Romania, was in the grip of a fatal epidemic[28]. Moreover, the roads had been blocked by certain persons. Meanwhile some of their companions were safe at home after a month on the road, having escaped the contagion altogether[29].

From Ḥama they came to Aleppo. But the roads were closed to merchants and to travellers in both directions because of the horrible disease which infected the whole of the land of Šām. Besides, strife had broken out with the kingdom of the Mongols. Since they[30] were in an uncomfortable situation and certain friends not previously mentioned, whom we had expected to be making the journey by way of Edessa, did not arrive, they went with a commercial convoy of certain Muslim rebels, which took a path through the difficult mountain-country to Gargar, following the course of the Euphrates[31]. After eight days they entered Gargar, where the laird of Gargar seized and abused them and imprisoned them in his castle for eight days, until the feast of St Thomas Apostle (3 July), having deprived them of their girdles, their crosses and their provisions. Afterwards he released them and they crossed over the Euphrates. Bishop Bahnām of Gargar — the Lord have mercy on him! — who had been the disciple of the patriarch, John the Gargarite (*Gargarī*) — God have mercy on both of them! — was very kind to them indeed[32]. From there they came to Ḥaṣram castle

26 Addai himself, it would appear, probably accompanied by his disciples, Səlīvō and Reuben, sailed on to Tripolis and went to Ḥama direct. His son, with the monk Šābō and the priest Gabriel, disembarked, probably at Beirut, and crossed the mountains to Damascus, where the disease caught up with them.

27 Addai waited at Ḥama for forty days (which may perhaps be a way of saying "for a long time", considering there are only fifty days between Easter and Pentecost), then travelled south to Damascus to find out what had happened, fearing the worst for his son.

28 "Šām" designates virtually the whole area between Egypt and Anatolia; the latter is here referred to as "Romania".

29 Addai can only have learned this after his return; for discussion of the journey-time, see above.

30 Addai and his son, with their remaining companions.

31 This convoy was a poor substitute for a friendly caravan, which would have taken the normal route through Edessa; yet clearly the pilgrims did not dare to take even that route without an escort, at least not in the unstable situation described by Addai. On the route between Damascus and Aleppo, however, it must have been easy to find a party to go with, since Addai speaks of these journeys without any comment. Addai's route up the Euphrates is likely to have been the old Roman road from Zeugma (present-day Belkis, near Nizip) to Rumkale, Samosata and Gargar, parts of which had to be tunnelled in the walls of the river-gorge. See Wagner (1976).

32 It is interesting to note that Addai and his companions had at least two fine coats in their baggage on the way to Jerusalem, although they cannot have known they would have to find a present for the governor of Jerusalem (*cf.* note 23), whereas the laird of Gargar could find

and the laird of that castle seized them and stripped and plundered them of what remained in their possession. He gave them their fill of pain and misfortune; and if God — praise to His Goodness! — had not come to their aid, all of them would have been killed. From there they reached the town of Čarmūk[33] and found some small relief; and so they came to Amida[34]. But they found all the gates of the city cemented up with masonry and Nūr ʿAlī Baġ pitilessly sacking and plundering all the territory of Ḥasan Baġ.

Since Addai's friends probably had to get back to Bēṯ Səvīrīnō they must have embarked at Jaffa or at Caesarea and have sailed in very good time to Seleucia, where they must have hired mounts for the journey to Edessa in a caravan which was leaving the same day with that destination. They must have been equally fortunate in finding a convoy with which to ride to Nisibis, from which they could perhaps reach home in one long day's riding. Of course, they must have ridden, in spite of Barhebraeus's injunction to the pilgrim to go on foot "if possible" (see note 8). They cannot have been exaggerating their speed to impress the unfortunate Addai, because everyone knew when they arrived and the date of Easter was fixed as the eve of their departure. In fact, their good fortune may be linked to the large-scale rhythm of pilgrimage: travelling from Jerusalem to a Christian area immediately after Easter, one was riding on the crest of a wave. There was every chance of finding large numbers of people making the same journey, having perhaps combined their business interests with a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (*cf.* note 32).

My sketch map (Fig. 1) gives an idea of the routes which could have been taken by the North-Mesopotamian pilgrims going to Jerusalem. It can be used to follow the routes of Egeria, Barṣawmō, Aḥḥō, Theodotus, Addai and his companions. Theodotus (see note 38, below) visited Sinai first, presumably making the journey largely be sea (since no places on the way are named), and walked from there to Jerusalem, which was, in terms of the

nothing of value on them when they returned except for girdles, crosses and provisions. Perhaps they took saleable articles with them to pay for their journey home. Commerce may also be the explanation of the choice not to go with the multitude on the return journey, especially since Addai nowhere says *why* he and his son and their friends needed to go to Damascus and Ḥama. It would have been all too easy for a moralist to put their bad luck down to their worldly concerns. That insinuation may be present, for example, in the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* (Wright 1882, chapters xxxiv-xxxv; Chabot 1927, 260:5-262:6), where an evil fate befalls pilgrims at Arsamosata, many of whom have commercial reasons for attending the feast of the martyrs; and Barhebraeus discouraged pilgrims from trying to combine material with spiritual profit (see note 8). The kindness of the Bishop of Gargar may have consisted in mediating with the laird of Gargar and in giving the pilgrims new belts and enough money (as they thought) to reach home. John, the son of Qūphar, of ʿAynwardo, was called *Gargarī*, "the Gargarite". He was one of two patriarchs in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and he died at Ḥāḥ in the early part of AD 1493. This information is to be found in Abbeloos and Lamy (1872-77), cols. 841-44, part of the continuation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Barhebraeus. The author of this continuation was none other than the priest Addai of Bēṯ Səvīrīnō.

33 Modern Çermük.

34 Modern Diyarbakır, on the Tigris.

"History of Salvation", the right order in which to do things. That he took first to the sea is suggested more specifically by his encounter with a rich Antiochene on the first leg of his journey: Antioch was otherwise very much out of his way from the monastery of Qennešrē opposite Ğerablūs.

FIG. 1: ROUTES FROM MESOPOTAMIA TO JERUSALEM AND SINAI

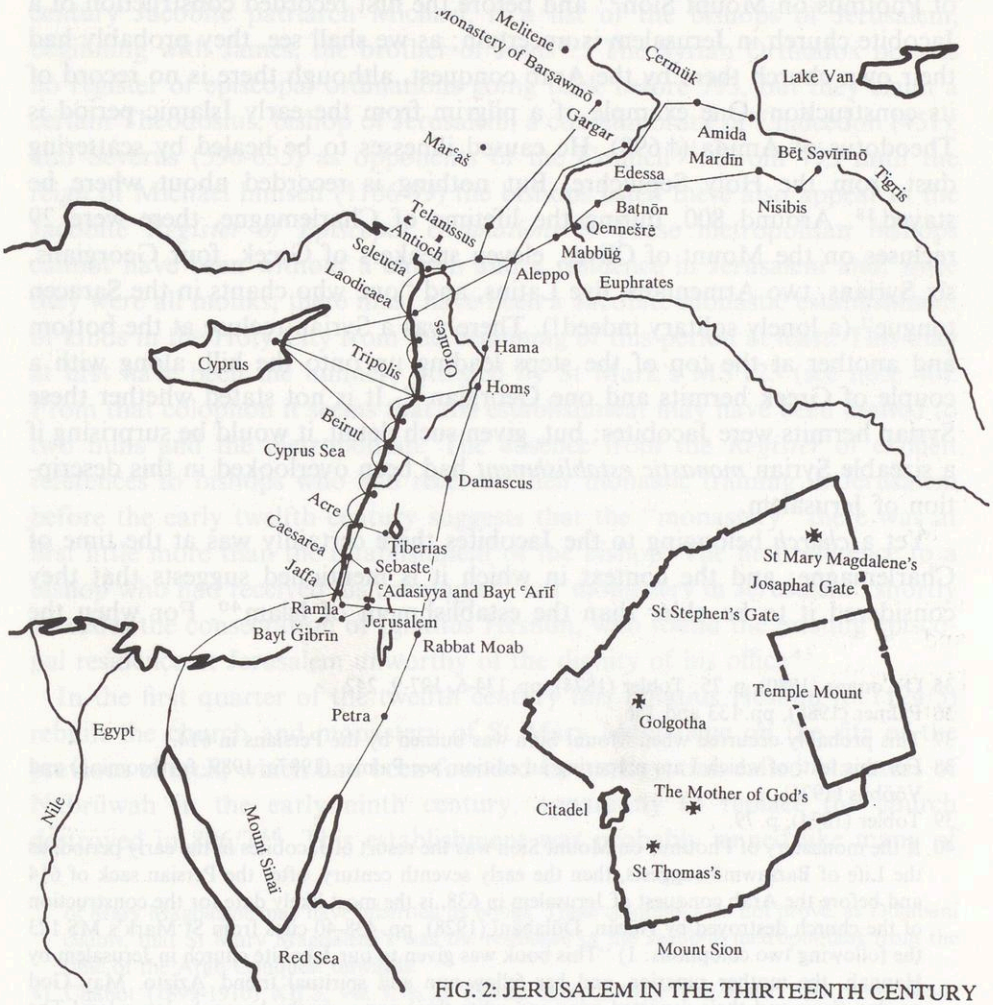

FIG. 2: JERUSALEM IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

4. *The property of the Jacobites in Jerusalem* (Fig. 2)

Barṣawmō had stayed in a monastery on Mount Sion. The Life does not mention the fact that the Upper Room was usually thought to have been on that

mountain[35]. Later tradition (from the sixteenth century) would situate the Upper Room in the monastery of St Mark. The location of the Upper Room on Mount Sion, which is widely favoured by non-Syrians, is attested in at least one Syriac source, although that is not Syrian Orthodox, but Chalcedonian: the *Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia at Edessa*, written in the 540s[36].

Who gave lodging to Jacobite pilgrims after the destruction of the monastery of Photinus on Mount Sion[37] and before the first recorded construction of a Jacobite church in Jerusalem is uncertain; as we shall see, they probably had their own church there by the Arab conquest, although there is no record of its construction. One example of a pilgrim from the early Islamic period is Theodotus of Amida († 698). He caused illnesses to be healed by scattering dust from the Holy Sepulchre. But nothing is recorded about where he stayed[38]. Around 800, during the lifetime of Charlemagne, there were 29 recluses on the Mount of Olives, eleven speakers of Greek, four Georgians, six Syrians, two Armenians, five Latins, and "one who chants in the Saracen tongue" (a lonely solitary indeed!). There was a Syrian recluse at the bottom and another at the top of the steps leading up onto the hill, along with a couple of Greek hermits and one Georgian[39]. It is not stated whether these Syrian hermits were Jacobites; but, given such detail, it would be surprising if a sizeable Syrian *monastic establishment* had been overlooked in this description of Jerusalem.

Yet a *church* belonging to the Jacobites there certainly was at the time of Charlemagne; and the context in which it is mentioned suggests that they considered it to be older than the establishment of Islam[40]. For when the

35 O'Connor (1980), p. 75; Tobler (1874), pp. 134-6, 197-9, 242.

36 Palmer (1988), pp. 133 and 156.

37 This probably occurred when Mount Sion was burned by the Persians in 614.

38 For this text, of which I am preparing an edition, see Palmer (1987a, 1989, forthcoming) and Vööbus (1976).

39 Tobler (1874), p. 79.

40 If the monastery of Photinus on Mount Sion was the resort of Jacobites in the early period, as the Life of Barṣawmō suggests, then the early seventh century, after the Persian sack of 614 and before the Arab conquest of Jerusalem in 638, is the most likely date for the construction of the church destroyed by Hārūn. Dōlabānī (1928), pp. 438-40 cites from St Mark's MS 123 the following two colophons: 1) "This book was given to our Jacobite church in Jerusalem by Ḥannah, the mother superior, and her fellow-nun and spiritual friend ʿAzīzto. May God pardon them and their departed ones and write their names in the heavenly Jerusalem! The gift was made in the reign of me, the least of all exiles, Jeremy, in name the metropolitan of the same see; and I have decreed by the living word of the Lord that no one shall have authority to remove it from the said place or to rub out this record. The year is 1061 (AD 749/50)". 2) "Michael, by the limitless grace of almighty God patriarch of the apostolic see of Antioch (= Michael I, 1166-1199)... Let no one [remove] this book from our monastery... which is named after St Mary Magdalene". From these two colophons Dōlabānī concludes that the monastery of Mary Magdalene was inhabited by Jacobite nuns in the eighth century; equally, the nunnery having ceased to exist, the ninth-century foundation

caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd ordered the destruction of Jacobite churches in 806/7, his pretext must have been that they had been built after Muḥammad, something which Muslim law forbade; yet "he tore down ancient churches, too, and our church in Jerusalem"[41]. This explains the construction in the early ninth century of a new Jacobite church, on which more below.

Appended to the chronicle just cited, which was written by the twelfth-century Jacobite patriarch Michael, is a list of the bishops of Jerusalem, beginning with James, the brother of Jesus[42]. The Syrian Orthodox possess no register of episcopal ordinations going back before 793, but they claim a certain Theodosius, bishop of Jerusalem, a contemporary of Chalcedon (451), and Severus (590-635) as opponents of the Council[43]. From 793 until the reign of Michael himself (1106-99) the bishops listed there also appear in the Jacobite *Register of Episcopal Ordinations*[44]. These metropolitan bishops cannot have been without a church and a residence in Jerusalem and, since they were all monks, there must have been a Jacobite monastic establishment of kinds in the Holy City from the beginning of this period at least. This may at first have been the nunnery attested by St Mark's MS 123 (see note 40). From that colophon it seems that the establishment may have been limited to two nuns and the metropolitan. The absence from the *Register* of explicit references to bishops who had received their monastic training in Jerusalem before the early twelfth century suggests that the "monastery" there was at first little more than the establishment of the bishop. The first reference to a bishop who had received his training at "our monastery in Jerusalem" shortly precedes the consecration of Ignatius Ḥesnūn, who found the existing episcopal residence at Jerusalem unworthy of the dignity of his office[45].

In the first quarter of the twelfth century this Ignatius Ḥesnūn (d. 1124/5) rebuilt the church and monastery of St Mary Magdalene on the site of the previous church, which had been founded by an Egyptian called Macarius of Nabrūwah in the early ninth century, apparently to replace the church destroyed in 806/7[46]. This establishment was probably ruined like many of

of Mary Magdalene may have inherited its books. These colophons do not prove, as Dōlabānī claims, that St Mary Magdalene's was the residence of the Jacobite metropolitans from the time of the Arab Conquest onwards.

41 Chabot (1899-1910) XII.5, vol. 3, p. 21 (Syriac text, p. 490). The word 'and' here means 'including'.

42 Chabot (1899-1910), Appendix IV.

43 See Fedalto (1983), p. 24; the bishop Samuel does not belong in this list, since he was a Malkite ("Syrus").

44 Chabot (1899-1910), Appendix III, hereinafter referred to as *Register*.

45 *Register*, XLI.30,32; Martin (1889), pp. 52, 73.

46 Ḥesnūn: Martin (1889), pp. 52, 73, translated below; a record of the death of this bishop has survived in epigraphic form on the chancel-screen of the present main church at St Mark's = No. 2 in Appendix II, following Part 2. On Macarius see Evetts (1915), p. 461.

the other Christian shrines of Jerusalem by the Caliph al-Ḥākim in 1009[47]. For more than eighty years after that no Jacobite church is known to have existed at Jerusalem. But in 1092 Manṣūr, a Jacobite from Tilbāna in Egypt, built a church there, which is not to be confused with the church built by Macarius. Abū 'l-Makārim, who wrote between the two periods of Crusader rule in the city, clearly distinguishes St Mary Magdalene's from the church built by Manṣūr[48]. If the two churches have nevertheless been confounded, that is because the latter is described as "the" church of the Orthodox Jacobites in Jerusalem. This could, however, be because St Mary Magdalene's, which Ignatius Ḥesnūn rebuilt from its ruins, was out of use in 1092. Alternatively, Abū 'l-Makārim was referring to his own time, when St Mary Magdalene's had been converted into a Muslim school.

The church and monastery of St Mary Magdalene, to which was added the title "and of Simon the Pharisee" (Simon is sometimes named first and once the name of Mary Magdalene is omitted: see Appendix I following Part 2 of this article), was near St Anne's in the north-west quarter of Jerusalem, by a postern gate which gave access to the space between the two walls without forming an entrance to the city[49]. This situation can be reconstructed on the basis of the topographical sketch in a manuscript of Cambrai, where the church is drawn as if standing on an elevation, though on the Cambrai plan the inner wall with the postern gate is not represented[50]. In the twelfth century the monks claimed to possess a hair of the Magdalene, which had been discovered on the spot, "proving" that this was where she had anointed

47 Bernard Hamilton, personal communication, 2 vii 1990.

48 Renaudot (1713), p. 466, quoted by Cerulli (1943), p. 13 (who verified the text in the Vatican MSS) and Meinardus (1960), pp. 12-13 and p. 16 (Abū 'l-Makārim).

49 There were not two monasteries, one of Simon and one of the Magdalene, as is supposed by Meinardus (1931), p. 63; as for the "church of St Peter", of which Karkenny (1976), p. 62 states that "Almost every time the Church of St Mary Magdalene is mentioned, this church is referred to as a church in the neighbourhood", this must, I think, be a similar error, compounded by the confusion of Simon with Peter. Karkenny, *loc. cit.*, further mentions the "church of Mary Kar'a" and the "church of al-Bashoura" as Syrian, but cites no evidence. Tobler (1874), pp. 164-5, 219-20; Taylor (1931), p. 121. The postern gate plays a romantic role in the tale reported in *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la terre d'Outremer*, in *Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, II, p. 27: In 1185 or 1186 the Jacobite abbot is supposed to have aided a spy of the Count of Tripolis by letting him in through the postern and disguising him as a monk. The story-teller conveniently forgot that the postern did not give access from outside the city. The north-west quarter was called the Jewry, yet in the twelfth century it was inhabited by the Syrians (the Malkites had a church of St Chariton near St Stephen's Gate); Prawer (1980), pp. 93ff., suggests that the Jewry was depopulated by the Crusader massacre of 1099 and that the Syrians, displaced by the Europeans from the area around Golgotha, moved into the empty houses of the unfortunate Jews.

50 The Cambrai Plan is published Röhricht (1891), pp. 139-40, plate IV; it is reproduced photographically in Boase (1971), fig. 2, and in Vincent and Abel (1922), p. 944; for a modern plan of Crusader Jerusalem see Prag (1989), p. 39.

Jesus's feet[51]. The Gospels are unanimous that this anointing occurred at Simon's house in Bethany, but evidently pilgrims were not generally familiar with the exact text of the Bible (Matthew 26:6-13; Mark 14:3-9; John 12:1-8), nor did the monks trouble to disillusion them. Other relics were the head of St James and an arm of St Stephen[52]. Opposite the entrance to St Mary Magdalene's was built a hostel around a courtyard, with three rain-water cisterns under it. This was done by Ignatius, son of Busayr of Ğādina, the successor of Ignatius Ḥesnūn, shortly after 1125[53].

According to various manuscript colophons of the twelfth century the monastery attached to this church could prove its legal claim to the villages of Bayt ʿArīf and ʿAdasiyya, as well as to that of Dayr Ḏakariyya[54]. The estates of Bayt ʿArīf and ʿAdasiyya straddled the Nablūs road to the north of Jerusalem at a few miles' distance[55]. Dayr Ḏakariyya has not been located[56]; like the other two it was abandoned when the Jacobites fled to Egypt in 1098 before the Crusader assault on Jerusalem and it was subsequently claimed by the Frankish conquerors. Bayt ʿArīf and ʿAdasiyya were claimed by the knight Geoffrey of the Tower of David. All these estates were restored to the Jacobites in the twelfth century, after lengthy and expensive legal battles. In ʿAdasiyya they built a defensive tower containing a chapel on the fourth storey. There were two rain-water cisterns at the foot of the tower. Next to this tower was built a small monastery, which was regarded as a dependency of St Mary Magdalene's. It was called the Monastery of the Tower or the Monastery of ʿAdasa[57]. In Dayr Ḏakariyya they built a tower for defence, a church and a number of rooms around the tower[58].

51 Tobler (1874), pp. 132-3; Meinardus (1960), p. 15: some hair of St Mary Magdalene preserved in a feretory in the Monastery of the Syrians in Wādī al-Naṭrūn, Egypt (*cf.* Meinardus 1964: 64); an anonymous pilgrim of 1140, translated in *P.P.T.S.*, VI,12, quoted by Meinardus, *ibid.*, also saw the Magdalene's hair.

52 See the anonymous pilgrim of 1140 (note 51).

53 Martin (1889), pp. 54, 75, 76, translated below.

54 Martin (1888, 1889); Taylor (1931) with Appendix I, following Part 2 of this article. The name "Ḏakariyya" has not been satisfactorily explained.

55 Prawer (1980), p. 132.

56 Taylor (1931), p. 124, translates this passage wrongly: the village "had belonged to the monastery formerly, in the time of the Muslims"; it was not taken by the Muslims. This and other mistakes make him say on p. 121 falsely (a) that the refugees' demands for food and clothing were *violent*, (b) that Dayr Ḏakariyya had been alienated from the monastery since the *Muslim* conquest and (c) that Ignatius had to be defended against a *charge* of wrongful confiscation. The inaccuracy of Taylor's translation is such that only a new translation can make this colophon useful. My translation, made from the copy published by Taylor, forms Appendix I of this article.

57 Martin (1889), pp. 50-3, 54, 71, 73, 76.

58 Taylor (1931), p. 124; for a better translation, see Appendix I. The fact that the text there translated refers to "our monasteries", in the plural, at Jerusalem shows that the Monastery of the Tower at ʿAdasiyya was in operation in 1148, so that the same writer's claim that the

In the interval of Muslim rule which followed Saladin's capture of the city in 1187 St Mary Magdalene's was converted into a Muslim school named al-Maymūniyya, after Saladin's treasurer, who founded it[59]. This gave the Muslims a claim to it when they returned, which seems to have meant that the Syrian Orthodox were obliged to abandon the church, although they certainly occupied it again from 1229 to 1244. The ruins of the "New Maymūniyya" survived into the mid-nineteenth century and were planned and drawn then. The reconstruction of the church of St Mary Magdalene by De Vogüé is impressive[60]. One can well believe that it was accounted the fourth in importance among the churches of Jerusalem[61].

When the Jacobites had to leave St Mary Magdalene's, they probably moved directly to St Thomas's[62]. This was originally a German church and so is likely to have been vacated at the end of second period of Crusader rule[63]. This tiny Crusader building near the citadel was given to the Muslims by the incumbent Jacobite monk when he was converted to Islam in 1451/2[64]. The Syriac inscriptions by the entrance in the south wall were deleted and that entrance was walled up to make a simple miḥrāb[65]. The conversion of the building into a mosque made it impossible for the Syrian Orthodox to reclaim it[66]; but evidence from seventeenth-century pilgrims and later writers suggests that the Muslims did not use it[67].

monasteries did not have estates and villages to provide for more than their subsistence in bread and pulses should not be read as a denial that they possessed ʿAdasiyya and Bayt ʿArīf at that time. The apologetic tenor of this text requires that estates other than Dayr Ḏakariyya be kept as far as possible out of the picture in order to deprive an opponent of the argument that the Jacobites did not need Dayr Ḏakariyya in addition to their other estates.

59 Abū 'l-Yumn al-ʿUlaymī, *Kitāb al-ins al-ǧalīl bi-ta'rīḫ al-Quds wa-l-Ḫalīl* (Cairo, A.H. 1283), p. 399, cited by Cerulli (1943), vol. I, p. 14.

60 Vincent and Abel (1922), p. 992; Vogüé (1860), pp. 292-5 and Plate XXI, reproduced by Cerulli (1943), fig. 2.

61 Meinardus (1960), p. 21.

62 Meinardus (1964), p. 67, refers to Ǧaǧǧāwī (1955) for the information that the Jacobites were in possession of St Thomas's in 1354 and that Basil III, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, resided in that monastery and was buried there in 1444. This tallies with the following MS evidence for the monastery of St Thomas supplied to me by Hubert Kaufhold: "1353: Paris Syr. 213 and Paris Syr. 245 (s. Zotenberg); 1417/8: Jerusalem, Markuskloster 96 [Baumstark (1911), p. 108, No. 10]; 1430: Vermerk in der Hs. Damaskus 5/23 (olim Jerusalem 117): Stiftung für das Thomaskloster in Jerusalem durch den Patriarchen Ignatios Hadaya".

63 Vincent and Abel (1922), p. 950 note 2.

64 Abbeloos and Lamy (1872-77), pt. 2, cols. 835-42; Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd. 3.8/1 s. XV, foll. 82-87; *cf.* Wright (1901), pp. 979-85, and Barṣawm (1943), p. 450. I am preparing an edition.

65 Vincent and Abel (1922), pp. 950-53, with a plan, elevations, drawings and two photographs.

66 The Cambridge MS (note 64), fol. 86a-b: "Then he (John Bar Šay Allāh) took the trouble to go up to Egypt to rescue Saint Thomas, but he was unable to do so, because he *(sic) had been made by them into a place for their worship (bēṯ masgəḏhūn)*".

67 Moore (1961), pp. 84, 89, 97; O'Connor (1980), p. 52; Prag (1989), p. 213; the Armenian claim to the chapel, asserted by O'Connor, is not mentioned by Hintlian (1976).

For twenty years after 1452 the Jacobites were without a church in the Holy City. Then they acquired the monastery of the Mother of God, Mary. This monastery had originally belonged to the Copts, but it was bought from them by the patriarch Ḫalaf in the 1470s and extended through the incorporation of adjacent properties by his successor, John. This sale was ratified by the Mamluk and Muslim religious authorities in Egypt[68]. The monastery of the Mother of God is identical with the present St Mark's, which also bears the dedication to her[69]. This monastery was endowed with a hostel by George of Bēṯ Səvīrīnō, bishop of Qartmīn Abbey, in 1489/90. Next to the monastery, in the vicinity of the hostel, was the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, which had been recently acquired by the Syrians at the time of the priest Addai's visit in 1491/2[70]. That was the house to which the apostle Peter ran when he escaped from prison (Acts 12:12).

In telling the story of this escape, Addai calls the house Peter's house, and describes the maid Rhoda as Peter's daughter[71]. This shows that the association with St Peter, not that with St Mark, was uppermost in his mind. Later, by a process we can imaginatively reconstruct, the house came to be identified with the location of the Last Supper. Mark 14:51-2 tells of a young man who escaped naked after Jesus's arrest in the garden of Gethsemane, leaving the soldiers with nothing but a sheet in their hands. Who else could known this but "Mark" himself? And how did he come to be there, wrapped only in a sheet, unless he had been sleeping in the house where Jesus ate the Passover meal[72]? The church of the Mother of God contains a Syriac inscription, possibly made about 1500, to judge by the letter-forms, which claims that the church was rebuilt after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in AD 73 (*sic*), and that the previous structure on the site, though proclaimed a church by

68 For the information in these four sentences, see note 64.

69 Bahnām (1962). "Der Name 'Muttergotteskirche' bleibt eigentlich immer erhalten. In Ordinationslisten erscheint häufig 'Markuskloster und Muttergotteskirche'." (Hubert Kaufhold, personal communication, 18 ii 1990). One example, pointed out to me by Hubert Kaufhold, is in the seventeenth century MS Egerton 704 in the British Library: see Wright (1870), p. 2.

70 Palmer (1990a), microfiche supplement, *Book of Life*, H. 18 and H. 24, Syriac text, fol. L, pp. 81-2. This is also the source for the information in the previous sentence.

71 Palmer (1990a), microfiche supplement, *Book of Life*, H. 18, Syriac text, fol. L, p. 82; on authorship, see E3.

72 The name of "St Mark's" seems first to appear in the two-volume Syriac Old Testament in Milan, according to Galbiati (1963), p. 192: "lavoro compiuto a Gerusalemme nel monastero di San Marco ... nel 1613" (*cf.* note 69). Sandys (1632) uses the name and calls it "an obscure church in the custody of the Syrians". Doubdan (1652) has the following description of St Mark's: "The entrance is very dark and leads to a long wooden slope at the foot of about twenty steps, at the top of which there is a little courtyard from which one enters the church". A little further on he mentions the ruins of a chapel said to be the Cenacle. The Swedish pilgrim, Hasselquist (1751), says that the House of St Mark is a Syrian church with an old stone font. These travellers are known to me from Moore (1961), pp. 85, 89, 97.

the apostles, had originally been the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark[73]. Some bishop of the monastery appears to have considered this inscription fraudulent and to have covered it with plaster, for it was only rediscovered in 1940, when the church was restored. Persons without sufficient knowledge of Syriac epigraphy have pronounced it to be of the fifth or sixth century.

Shortly after Addai's visit, the Syrian Orthodox appear to have regained the monastery attached to the former church of St Thomas, though not the church itself. Karkenny (1976: 59-60) translates a firman dated AH 987 (AD 1579/80), which confirms the rights of the Jacobites to St Mark's and St Thomas's "churches", for which we should read "monasteries". Just before this, Karkenny had translated another document dated AH 1030 (AD 1620/21) confirming the identity of a press "situated within St Thomas's Convent, owned by the Syrian Jacobites, located in the Zion Street to the West of the Victorious Fortress"; and on p. 58 he distinguishes between the erstwhile church of St Thomas, which exists as a mosque "up to this day and is taken care of by the sons of Al-Deisi", and a monastery of the same name, the ruins of which were sold to the Anglicans by the Muslims in 1838, enabling them to build Christ Church there. The Vatican Syriac MS 259 was bought for the monastery of St Thomas at Jerusalem in 1515[74].

Karkenny (1976), pp. 52-6, provides information not to be found elsewhere, except in the library of St Mark's, about the so-called Monastery of the Lentils (Dayr al-ʿAdas). We have seen that the Monastery of the Tower at ʿAdasiyya was also called the Monastery of ʿAdasa. But at a later date there was a monastery called Dayr al-ʿAdas in the city of Jerusalem itself. This monastery came into Syrian Orthodox hands in 1532, when it was bought by "Bishop Gregorius Yousef Al Korrji" from "a muslim called Yousef Ben Marei" for the sum of 4,000 dirhams. (According to Meinardus 1964: 68-9,

73 Bahnām (1962); O'Connor (1980), p. 52; Prag (1989), pp. 212-3. The inscription is published as No. 1 in Appendix II, after Part 2 of this article.

74 Mai (1825-38), vol. 5, p. 2. I owe this reference to Hubert Kaufhold, who adds the following: "Es müßte 1479 in Jerusalem auch noch eine syrische Kirche des heiligen Georg gegeben haben, s. die Weiheliste der Hs. Paris Syr. 110 [Nau (1915), pp. 512-15]: 'Le Saint Esprit a ordonné Michel prêtre pour la sainte église de Mar Georges à Jérusalem et pour toutes les églises de Dieu'. Oder war es die Weihe eines Kopten für das koptische Georgkloster, das aber erstmals 1720 belegt ist [Meinardus (1960), pp. 66-9]? Vielleicht hatten die Kopten zu dieser Zeit keinen Bischof in Jerusalem. In der Liste der koptischen Bischöfe bei Meinardus [(1960), p. 81] sind für die Zeit von 1362-1575 keine vermerkt. Oder ist die Georgkirche in Damaskus gemeint (die in Paris Syr. 110 ein paarmal erscheint)? 1585 wurde in Jerusalem noch die Hs. Leningrad 236 (Evangelien, jakobitisch, karschuni) geschrieben 'au monastère vénéré nommé "La Prison du Messie" (ḥabs al-masīḥ) qui est à Sion, auprès du Cénacle, le 12 jour du jeune de la Vierge, l'an 1896 de l'ère des Grecs' (s. D. Günzbourg u.a., Les Mss. Arabes... de l'Institut des Langues Orientales, St. Petersbourg 1891, 94f.). Auch ein Kloster der Jakobiten? Wohl kaum".

who refers to Ğaǧǧāwī 1955, the date of acquisition was 1527; Nau 1915: 518-9 seems to show that Gregory Kurǧī — "the Georgian" — was succeeded in or before September 1527 by Gregory Bahnām). The acquisition was confirmed by an "official document" numbered 95-96-97, which is "preserved in the monastery of St. Mark". Karkenny does not fulfil his promise to translate this document; but he refers to the journal *Al-Ḥikma*, Jerusalem 1933, p. 149. He does translate an Ottoman order dated AH 979 (AD 1571/2), which proves Syrian Jacobite possession of a monastery of this name in Jerusalem. This document is also cited by Dōlabānī (1928) 437, who says it is numbered 100 in the library of St Mark's.

According to B. Meistermann d'Alsace, *Nouveau Guide de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1907), p. 150, quoted by Karkenny: "After you go out of the Church of the Flagellation heading towards the Jebusite valley, about forty paces from there, you can see a small chapel in the name of al-ʿAdas which was rebuilt and repaired at the beginning of the twelfth century and very recently on the site of an old building. Nearby is an ancient monastery, an enormous building which goes back to the twelfth century. It survived until the sixteenth century. All the pilgrims link it with the house of Herod Antipas". From this it is clear that the monastery acquired in 1532 or 1527 was artfully identified, perhaps for the purpose of supporting a Syrian Orthodox claim, with the monastery at the village of ʿAdasiyya on the Nablus road, the location of which had by that time generally been forgotten.

"In AG 1897 (= AD 1585/6) Gregory (bishop) of Jerusalem, that is John of Gargar, the man who restored Dayr al-ʿAdasī, was martyred". This record, included in inscription No. 2 (see Appendix II), must refer to the monastery in the city. According to Meinardus (1964: 69) this John of Gargar was ordained in 1575 and Nau (1915), p. 519, confirms that the date was between 1574 and 1579; it was he who transferred the archepiscopal see "from the Monastery of St Mark to the Monastery of St Thomas"[75]. Karkenny (1976: 54-5) describes the martyrdom of this Gregory. A sacristan with a grudge against the bishop presented him with a pair of ritual slippers for the celebration of the Liturgy. He did not tell him that the name of the Prophet

75 Meinardus adds in the same place the following: "Other Syrian Jacobite sites in the 16th century included two nunneries which were maintained by a certain Michael, a monk, and the Adass Monastery, north of the Ecce Homo Arch (Via Dolorosa), the site of which commemorated the imprisonment of St Peter (Acts XII:4ff.)"; his source is again Ğaǧǧāwī (1955). For the eighth-century "nunnery" see note 40, above. The connection with a monk called Michael suggests that the reference here is to a twelfth-century colophon written by a monk of that name (Lyons, municipal library, MS 1, on which see below). He refers to "the nuns of the two monasteries", whereby we should understand that nuns were attached to the two male monasteries of St Mary Magdalene and of the Tower in ʿAdasiyya. On Dayr al-ʿAdas, see also Vincent and Abel (1922), p. 952 note 3.

Muḥammad was written underneath them. Then he informed the Muslims that trampling on the name of the Prophet was part of the ritual performed by the bishop in his church. On this pretext Gregory was hanged outside the gate of his monastery[76].

5. *The Syrian Orthodox at the Holy Sepulchre*

In May, 966, (not 965, as Fiey 1969: 124 writes) a tornado of violence left the Holy City in ruins. Even the dome of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed. A rich Jacobite from Iraq donated the money necessary for repairing it, but died before the work was finished. His name was ʿAlī b. Suwār, but he was known as Ibn al-Ḥammār, "the son of the donkey-man". We know about him from a reliable chronicler, the eleventh-century historian Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd of Antioch (see Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev 1924: 803-4).

However that may be, the Jacobites do not seem to have possessed a chapel at the Holy Sepulchre before Easter 1168, for in that year their patriarch Michael was still obliged to celebrate the Feast of the Resurrection at St Mary Magdalene's[77]. John of Würzburg, who visited Jerusalem *c.* 1165, shows considerable interest in the Jacobite monastery, yet he mentions no chapel of the Jacobites near Golgotha. However, the bishop to whom John dedicated his book, Theodoric of Würzburg, includes the Jacobites and the Nubians (who belonged to the Jacobite communion) among the communities he saw celebrating the liturgy in the Church of the Resurrection at some time between 1169 and 1173[78]. The *Citez de Iherusalem*, which appears to have been begun before and finished after 1187, tells us that there was a chapel ("mostier") to the left of the main door of the Holy Sepulchre, which was called "St Jake des Jacobins"[79]. In these circumstances it seems likely that the patriarch Michael's friendly reception by the Latin patriarch Amalric on the eve of Easter Sunday, 1168, may have led to the concession of the chapel of St James to the Jacobites.

To this may have been added that of the Mother of God, Mary, which Abū 'l-Makārim (before 1208) says the Copts had at the Sepulchre; for although they were in full communion with the Syrian Jacobites, they celebrated the

76 Karkenny gives the following references for the martyrdom: "The German historian Hamire, p. 157 [not in Karkenny's bibliography]. Cambridge library No. Dd 3082. Ottoman History by Ahmad Rasim, vol. 1, p. 433. Patriarchal Magazine, Jerusalem, vol. 1, p. 150".

77 Abbeloos and Lamy (1872-77), vol. 2, cols. 545-6; French translation: Chabot (1899-1910), vol. 3, p. 332.

78 Tobler (1865), cited by Cerulli (1943), pp. 29-30, who warns against possible interpolations in this unique MS of the fifteenth century.

79 Tobler (1874), pp. 202-3; *cf.* Michelant and Raynard (1882), pp. 35 and 174, cited by Meinardus (1960), p. 16.

liturgy in a different language[80]. The anonymous pilgrim from Loos in 1419 says that the Abyssinians, the Jacobites (*i.e.* Copts?) and the Syrians had two chapels in the Church of the Resurrection, one of which was situated behind the Holy Sepulchre; the chapel of the Jacobites behind the Holy Sepulchre was also noticed by another anonymous pilgrim in 1445[81]. By this is probably meant the Chapel of Nicodemus, in which the Syrian Orthodox are now to be found. At present, on the basis of the "Status Quo"[82], the Jacobites celebrate facing the Sepulchre in the western niche of the rotunda. It is incumbent upon them to exercize this and their other rights with regularity[83].

As for the identity of the other chapel, the evidence is confusing. A pilgrim's guide-book of 1350 describes a chapel of John the Evangelist as belonging to the Jacobites[84]. In John Poloner's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* of 1422 we read of four chapels encircling the Station of the Cross at the entrance to the Temple of the Sepulchre, of which the second from the left, in the corner, was dedicated to All Angels and held by the Jacobites[85]. By the (later?) fifteenth century, according to Prag (1989), "the Jacobites owned the Chapel of Helena", which the Armenians took over from them *c.* 1719.

Churches of the Syrian Orthodox in the Holy Land not directly connected with the Holy City are beyond the scope of this article, in spite of the fact that the title of Metropolitan of Jerusalem was often combined with the words "and of the sea-coast"[86].

80 Meinardus (1960), p. 16; Moravillé (1905), pp. 83-4, cited by Meinardus (1960), p. 21, where however reference is made to "one service in two languages". Bernard Hamilton suggests that the Coptic chapel in the Holy Sepulchre may have been a gift of Saladin after 1187. "He was Sultan of Egypt and Coptic power in Jerusalem seems to date from that time": personal communication, 2 vii 1990.

81 Meinardus (1960), pp. 21-22.

82 Cust (1929).

83 Information supplied by Mōr Dionysius Bahnām Ğağğāwī, Syrian Orthodox metropolitan of Jerusalem in 1986.

84 *P.P.T.S.* VI.9.

85 Tobler (1874), pp. 228-9.

86 One example is in the British Library MS 14,695, fol. 1a; see Wright (1870), p. 286. Another is in the text translated in Appendix I, below; Taylor (1931) interprets it as meaning "of Jerusalem and of all Palestine". But the MS in question was written for a church of St Mary Magdalene in Tyre (Taylor misunderstood this as a reference to the wall — reading *šūrō* for *ṣūr* — near the monastery of St Mary Magdalene in Jerusalem), which suggests that the Jacobites had churches in the harbour-towns to serve the pilgrims from Mesopotamia, most of whom came, as we have seen, by the sea-route. Note 97 (in Part 2 of this article) is an example of the title "metropolitan of Jerusalem and of the cities of the sea-coast". From Nau (1915), pp. 511-20, we learn of three Jacobite churches in and around Tripolis in the fifteenth century and of the addition of Damascus and Tripolis to the metropolitan title of Jerusalem in the sixteenth century. Dōlabānī (1928), pp. 436-37 refers to: 1. the church in Tyre; 2. a church to the south of the dome of the Ascension, said to be "the grave of the sinner, Mary, and the house of Simon the Pharisee" (report by the monk Sergius of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn of his pilgrimage to

6. *The bishops of Jerusalem and relations with the Roman Church*

Reference has already been made to Appendix IV of the *Chronicle of Michael*, in which the metropolitans of Jerusalem up to Michael's time (or rather those recognized as such by the Syrian Orthodox) are listed. For the period after that research needs to be done in manuscript collections in order to supplement and correct the sparse and unreliable[87] data in Meinardus (1964: 81-2), Karkenny (1976: 79) and Fedalto (1983: 25). For the present it will have to suffice to list the bishops of Jerusalem from the *Register*, which was begun in the late eighth century, giving the approximate date of their ordination; the numbering takes account of the undated names preceding these bishops in Appendix IV. In the last column, the figure in Roman numerals represents the ordaining patriarch, while the slash between the two figures in Arabic numerals represents the words "out of" in the formula "*n*th out of *x*", where *x* is the total number of bishops ordained by that patriarch:

NAME	POST	ANTE	MONASTERY OF ORIGIN	IN REGISTER
Timothy I	792	818	James, Cyrrhus	XVII 28th / 86
Job	816	845	–	XVIII 13th / 99
Ignatius I	816	846	Bīzūnō [Raqqa]	XVIII 37th / 99
Joseph III	816	846	Bīzūnō [Raqqa]	XVIII 67th / 99
John II	845	875	Tell ʿĒda [Antioch]	XIX 41th / 85
Cyril III Noah	845	875	–	XIX 66th / 85
Severus	877	884	Zūqnīn [Amida]	XX 26th / 26
Joseph IV	909	924	–, Damascus	XXIII 7th / 41
Theodore	909	924	Aṭūnōs [Rīš ʿAynō]	XXIII 21st / 41
Cyril IV	922	936	–, Edessa	XXIV 16th / 32
Jeremy II	935	954	–, Edessa	XXV 47th / 48
Thomas II	964	986	Tarʿēl, Marʿaš	XXIX 27th / 48
John III	1006	1031	Of the Cliff, Antioch	XXXI 28th / 48
Philoxenus II	1003	1031	Bar Gōgī [Melitene]	XXXI 39th / 48
Zacharias	1041	1058	Barīḏ [Melitene]	XXXIII 4th / 30
Thomas III	1041	1058	Qartmīn, Ṭūr ʿAbdīn	XXXIII 13th / 30
Timothy II	1062	1074	–, Amida	XXXV 12th / 17
John IV	1079	1083	Barīḏ [Melitene]	XXXIX 1st / 5
Cyril V[88]	1090	1130	Barṣawmō [Melitene]	XLI 1st / 61

Jerusalem in the mid-fifteenth century, MS 291 in the monastery of St Mark at Jerusalem); 3. the monastery of Mary Magdalene and Simon the Pharisee in the Holy City, which he distinguishes firmly from the monastery al-ʿAdas. At certain dates there were Jacobite bishops at Acre and at Tripolis: Hamilton (1980), pp. 347.

87 "Die Liste der Bischöfe bei Meinardus ist übrigens äußerst unzuverlässig (so werden A.Gr. teilweise als A.D. ausgegeben)": (Hubert Kaufhold, personal communication, 18 ii 1990.) Nau (1915), pp. 115-20, is an example of the kind of research needed to supplement the "maigres notices recueillis par Le Quien dans son vieil *Oriens christianus*".

88 After Cyril V, Fedalto (1983: 24) intrudes "Samuel 'Syrorum ep.'", giving as his source a

NAME	POST	ANTE	MONASTERY OF ORIGIN	IN REGISTER
David	1090	1130	Of the Valley of Elijah	XLI 17th / 61
Ignatius II Ḥesnūn	1090	1130	–	XLI 32nd / 61
Ignatius III Ğādina	1123	1140	Of the patriarchate	[see Part 2]
Ignatius IV Romanus	1138	1167	Of Jerusalem	XLIII 2nd / 34
Athanasius	1167	1200	– [Melitene]	XLIV 26th / 55
Ignatius V[89]	1167	1200	Of Jerusalem	XLIV 52nd / 55

It will be noticed that these bishops are all known to come from Syrian monasteries or towns, except for three whose origin is not stated. The Jacobite metropolitan episcopate of Jerusalem fell under the patriarchal jurisdiction of Antioch, not of Alexandria (see Hamilton 1980: 350). That makes it improbable that Cyril II of Alexandria consecrated the church built by Manṣūr al-Tilbānī in 1092, as Cerulli and Meinardus assume; it seems their source has simply "the Patriarch"[90]. At any rate, when Alexandria did interfere by consecrating a metropolitan for Jerusalem in 1235 or 1236, this caused a crisis in the relationship between the two patriarchates. The patriarch of Antioch travelled to the Holy City and lodged in St Mary Magdalene's, which had at that time a sizeable community of seventy monks. The schism which ensued in 1237 was triggered by the Coptic refusal to regard St Mary Magdalene's any longer as the Jacobite cathedral of Jerusalem. Antioch at the same time interfered in the jurisdiction of Alexandria by consecrating for the first time a native *abuna* for Ethiopia, where the Copts had always insisted on appointing one of themselves[91]. Barhebraeus represents this as a retaliatory measure; but he does not explain Alexandria's reason for provoking the crisis. Bernard Hamilton's discussion of Latin relations with the Jacobites, excellent as it is, also leaves this vital question insufficiently explained. In 1236 the Jacobite patriarch Ignatius II (1222-1252) swore a solemn oath of obedience to the Roman see and received the Dominican habit from the 'frères prêcheurs'. While this was technically an act of individual rather than corporate submission, it seems possible that it gave

certain "monachus anon. Scaphusensis", in RHC *Hist. occ.*, V, pp. 337-339". This Samuel should not be seen as a Jacobite.

89 "Der Bischof Thomas (ordin. zwischen 964 und 986) ist vermutlich identisch mit dem Metropoliten Thomas von Jerusalem, der für 1006 und 1007 in den Hss. Brit. Libr. 12149 und 12148 belegt ist [see Wright (1870), pp. 267f. and 264f.], so daß der folgende Johannes frühestens 1007 geweiht wurde. Genauere Ordinationsdaten finden sich für die drei letzten Bischöfe bei Honigmann [(1954), p. 110f.] (natürlich nur aufgrund von Michael bzw. Barhebraeus): Ignatius 1139, Athanasius 1185, Ignatius 1193": (Hubert Kaufhold, personal communication, 18 ii 1990.)

90 See note 48.

91 Abbeloos and Lamy (1872-77), vol. 2, pp. 654-64.

Alexandria the pretext for consecrating a bishop in the jurisdiction of Antioch. However, more study is needed before this question can be resolved[92].

With hindsight it is possible to see symptoms of the tendency to Union with Rome in the relations between the Jacobites and the Franks during the twelfth century. The colophons which will be quoted in Part 2 call King Fulk and King Baldwin III "victorious", an epithet traditionally reserved for rulers regarded by the writer as having correct beliefs and thus pleasing God, who "gives victory" in war. More explicitly, the colophon translated in Appendix I endorses the propaganda of the Second Crusade entirely: it was launched "in the name of Christ and for the sake of the Christian nation and in order to avenge Edessa and the rest of the Christians who had perished and to keep those countries that remained in Christian hands; above all, however, for the sake of that Holy Sepulchre of Christ and the rest of the holy places in Jerusalem". The same text reproduces the Crusaders' anti-Byzantine propaganda, calling the Byzantines "Greeks" as opposed to the true "Romans" from the West and stressing (against the universal claim of the Byzantine throne) that the emperor of Rome was the "king of kings". On the other side, the twelfth-century Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and Bishop of Acre, Jacques de Vitry, devotes many pages of his "History of Jerusalem" to the doctrines and the practices of the Jacobites. Close study of this text should reveal how the Franks of the first Crusader century assessed the Jacobite "heresy"; this in turn might suggest the kind of concessions which must have been made by the Jacobites in the thirteenth century to open the way for Union[93]. [To be continued.]

92 Cahen (1940), pp. 681-4; Hamilton (1980), pp. 347-55. If Hamilton is right in identifying the "Jacobite archbishop of Egypt", whose profession of faith was received by the Dominicans at the same time as that of Ignatius II, with the metropolitan of Jerusalem appointed by Alexandria, then this appointment must have preceded the patriarch's profession of faith. But the identification is uncertain; and if Alexandria was genuinely interested in union with Rome, why did it allow a schism with Antioch to occur and to continue? Hamilton himself points out (p. 354) that "the hostility of the Mamluk authorities towards the Christian powers" made union between Rome and Alexandria impossible.

93 *P.P.T.S.* XI, pp. 67-76, cited by Meinardus (1964), p. 66. I have not seen this, but in a letter of Jacques, besides the passage cited in note 128, we read the following (Huygens 1960: 83f.; my translation): "There were Jacobites there with their bishop, who circumcised their little boys like the Jews and revealed their sins to none but God in confession. Others of them did not practise circumcision and confessed their sins to priests, but both groups made the sign of the Cross with a single finger". He goes on to relate how he spoke to them through an Arabic-speaker in their church and explained their errors to them: "When they heard this Word of God, which they had not been accustomed to hear, they were so moved to compunction by the Grace of God that they solemnly promised me not to practise circumcision in future and to make their confession to priests". Jacques allowed, concealing his true opinion, that the sign of the Cross, made with one finger, would admit of an orthodox interpretation, as a symbol of the unity of the Holy Trinity. We can see in this conversation the kind of manœuvres that would be necessary to bring about a Union between the Churches. Contrast

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Jacques's attitude to the Syrian Christians of the Byzantine Rite (Huygens 1960: 84f.), whom he regards as "traitors, utterly corrupt, [...] divulgers of the secrets of Christianity to the Saracens"; they refused to bow at the Latin consecration, because the bread was unleavened, not leavened as in the Byzantine rite, nor would they use Latin altars without prior ablution. Nevertheless, he managed to extract a promise of better life from a group of them by preaching them a sermon. On the close relations between Syrian Jacobites and Franks, compare Kawerau (1955), p. 73f.

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