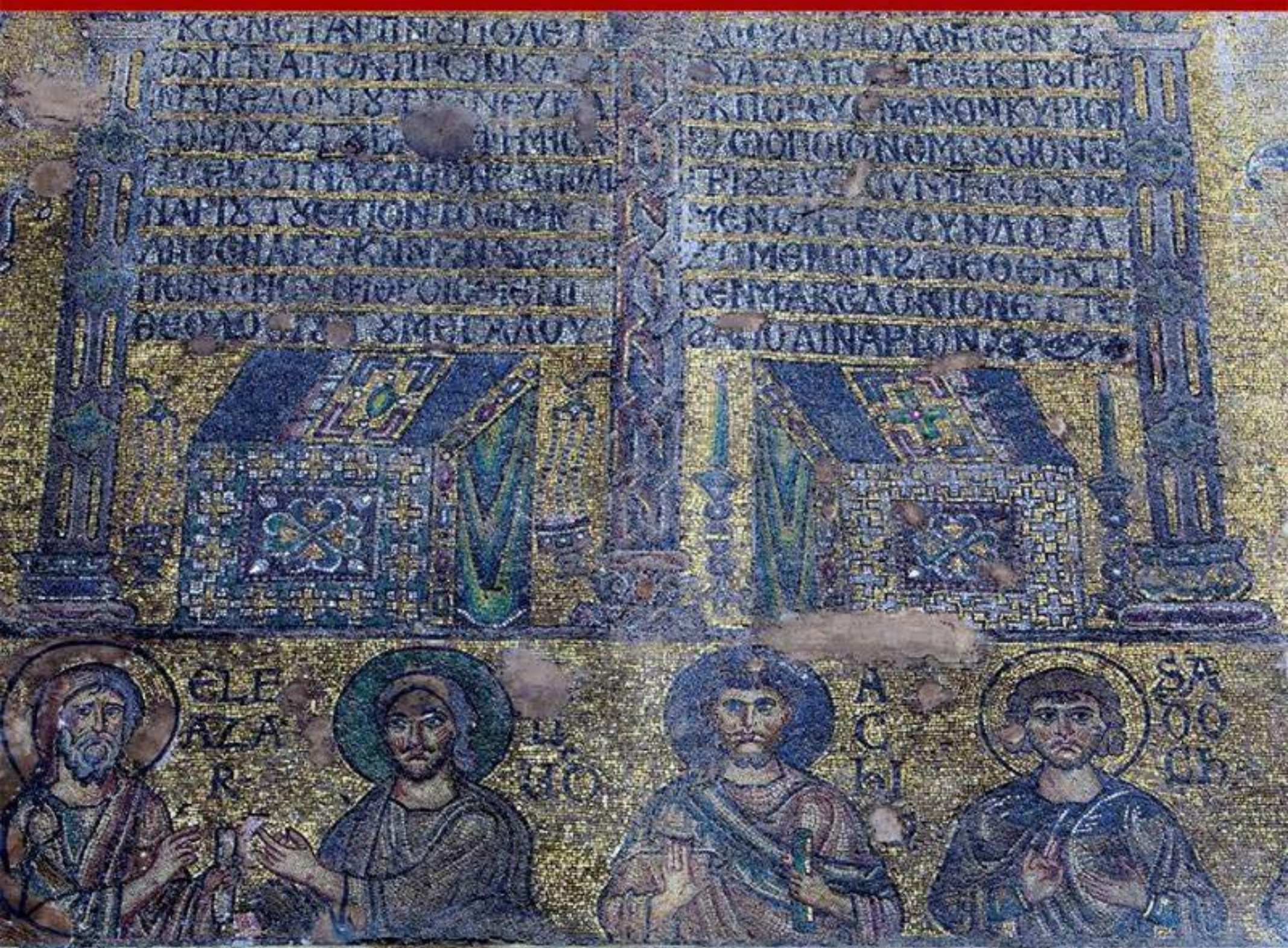


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# LITURGY AND BYZANTINIZATION IN JERUSALEM

*Daniel Galadza*

OXFORD EARLY CHRISTIAN STUDIES



# Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem

DANIEL GALADZA

**OXFORD**  
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Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,  
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First Edition published in 2018

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Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press  
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017942399

ISBN 978-0-19-881203-6

Printed and bound by

CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CR0 4YY

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- GL *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem (V<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, ed. by Michel Tarchnischvili. CSCO 188–9, 204–5. Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1959–60
- HagPRES Hagiopolite Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (of St James)
- JAS Liturgy of St James
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
- Mansi Mansi, Johannes Dominicus. *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols. Florence: Antonius Zatta Veneti, 1759–98
- Mus *Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales*
- NGDMM *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn, ed. by Stanley Sadie. London: Macmillan, 2001
- ΝΣ *Νέα Σιών. Ἐκκλησιαστικὸν περιοδικὸν σύγγραμμα* (Jerusalem)
- OC *Oriens Christianus: Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients*
- OCA *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
- OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- ODB *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols, ed. by Alexander P. Kazhdan, Alice-Mary Talbot, Anthony Cutler, Timothy E. Gregory, and Nancy P. Ševčenko. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991
- OLA *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
- PG *Patrologia Graeca*
- PL *Patrologia Latina*
- PLP *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. by Erich Trapp and Christian Gastgeber. CD-ROM version. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001
- PmbZ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit: 2. Abteilung (867–1025)*, 8 vols, ed. by Friedhelm Winkelmann, Ralph-Johannes Lili, Claudia Ludwig, Thomas Pratsch, Beate Zilke et al. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis*
- POC *Proche-Orient Chrétien*
- ППС *Православный Палестинский Сборникъ* (1881–1916, 1992– )
- PRES Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts
- ПС *Палестинский Сборник* (1954–1990)
- ПУЦТ *Православное Учение о Церковных Таинствах. V Международная Богословская Конференция Русской Православной Церкви. Москва, 13–16 ноября 2007 г.*, 3 vols. Moscow: Синодальная библейско-богословская комиссия, 2009
- ПЭ *Православная Энциклопедия*, vols 1–, ed. by Sergei L. Kravets et al. Moscow: Церковно-научный центр «Православная Энциклопедия», 2000–
- REB *Revue des études byzantines*

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into their own worship. Pilgrims who decided to stay and dedicate their lives to God joined many of the outlying monasteries, such as Mar Sabas Lavra in the Judean desert and the more distant Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai. In turn, these monastic centres became formative in the liturgical tradition known today as ‘the Byzantine rite’.

But the story of Byzantine liturgy is a tale of *two* cities and several monasteries;<sup>4</sup> the other city is Constantinople. Despite Jerusalem’s influence on the liturgical practices of all of Christendom, the imperial capital of Constantinople—‘the City’—became a rising force, eventually spreading its influence even to Jerusalem. Constantinople’s cathedral, Hagia Sophia, and its monasteries, such as the Stoudios Monastery, rose to such prominence that they became important liturgical centres, while Jerusalem, the centre of Christianity, was eventually relegated to the periphery as far as Byzantine liturgy is concerned.

The dialectic between centre and periphery has been examined in various disciplines, including within the study of Byzantium. Geographically broad, the ‘Byzantine periphery’ includes southern Italy, the Balkans, Cappadocia, Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine and moves increasingly eastward to encompass other regions, such as Mesopotamia, Persia, Georgia, Armenia, and the Arabian Peninsula. Byzantine art historians and archaeologists have observed that, despite certain regional characteristics in the periphery, monumental architecture and painting, for example, almost inevitably reveal dependence on metropolitan forms from the centre.<sup>5</sup> The methodological framework of ‘interlocking societies’ applied to art historical studies has challenged an enduring hierarchal relationship between the Constantinopolitan centre and its peripheries within the Byzantine commonwealth, pointing to ‘multi-faceted dynamics of cultural exchange’.<sup>6</sup> For example, Byzantine literature displays a dependence of the capital on the periphery. In the ninth century, after a period of decline, the consolidation of resources stimulated a revival of Greek literary culture. What may come as a surprise is that most of this periphery, particularly Palestine, was outside the Byzantine empire at that time, and yet it was this region that had preserved texts of Eusebius of Caesarea (c.260–339/40) and transmitted them to Constantinople. Palestinian churchmen also revived

<sup>4</sup> Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 56–60.

<sup>5</sup> See Annabel Jane Wharton, *Art of Empire: Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery: A Comparative Study of Four Provinces* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988).

<sup>6</sup> Elena N. Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine Past: The Perception of History in the Illustrated Manuscripts of Skylitzes and Manasses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 10–13, here 11. The method is based on Richard Fowler and Olivier Hekster, ‘Imagining Kings: from Persia to Rome’, in *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, ed. by Olivier Hekster and Richard Fowler (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2005), 9–38, here 35.

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practices, which were themselves often highly influenced by Jerusalem and Palestine. The justification for this distinction between the two terms should become clear in the following chapters, as will the fact that liturgical Byzantinization was not a process that occurred overnight or was completed in one fell swoop. Hagiopolitan and Constantinopolitan liturgical practices existed together in Palestine for some time, until Byzantinization displaced authentic local practices.

Nevertheless, the contemporaneous presence and awareness of more than one liturgical rite, or even the parallel coexistence of several distinct liturgical rites and traditions in the same city or ecclesiastical region, is not a unique characteristic of Jerusalem and Palestine but a phenomenon evident in various other historical contexts. In the fifth century the often cited exchange between St Ambrose of Milan (c.340–97) and St Augustine of Hippo (354–430) concerning fasting, summarized in English as ‘when in Rome, do as the Romans’, refers specifically to conflicts between fasting practices in Rome and Milan that Augustine was attempting to understand and reconcile.<sup>21</sup> From the eighth century onwards, southern Italian liturgical manuscripts reveal the presence of Hagiopolitan and Constantinopolitan prayers, mixed with local prayers from southern Italy.<sup>22</sup> During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the Franks exerted a significant liturgical influence on Rome, causing the adoption of various prayers and liturgical elements by popes; these were to form what would become known as the Roman rite.<sup>23</sup> Much later, in the seventeenth century, Roman influence on the Orthodox and Uniate Ruthenians in the Polish–Lithuanian commonwealth flooded the region with liturgical practices of the Roman rite that resulted in the ‘Latinization’ of many aspects of the Slavic Orthodox liturgy.<sup>24</sup> These varied examples show that the local character

<sup>21</sup> *Cum Romam venio, ieiuno sabbato; cum his sum, non ieiuno. Sic etiam tu, ad quam forte Ecclesiam veneris, ejus morem serva, si cuiquam non vis esse scandalo, nec quemquam tibi* (‘When I visit Rome, I fast on Saturday; when I am here [sc. in Milan], I do not fast. On the same principle, do you observe the custom prevailing in whatever Church you come to, if you desire neither to give offense by your conduct, nor to find cause of offense in another’s’). St Augustine of Hippo, *Ad Inquisitiones Ianuarii, Epistola LIV*, II.18, in PL 33, col. 201 = CPL 262.

<sup>22</sup> For example, *Εὐχή λεγομένη ἐν τῷ διακονικῷ μετὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰακώβου*, in Barberini Gr. 336 (8th cent.). See Parenti and Velkovska, *Barberini 336*, 242 (§ 277.1). See also Jacob, ‘Messanensis gr. 177’, 124–5; Jacob, ‘La tradition manuscrite’, here 114–21 and 137–8; Parenti, *A oriente e occidente di Costantinopoli*, 149–215; Elena Velkovska, ‘La liturgia italo-bizantina negli eucologi e lezionari del Nuovo Testamento della “scuola niliana”’, in *Il monachesimo d’Oriente e d’Occidente nel passaggio dal primo al secondo millennio: Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Grottaferrata, 23–25 settembre 2004* (Ἀνάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρνης 6, Grottaferrata: Monastero Esarchico, 2009), 215–55, esp. 232–40 and 253–5.

<sup>23</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 6–7; Enrico Cattaneo, *Il culto Cristiano in occidente: Note storiche* (BELS 13, Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1978).

<sup>24</sup> Laurence Daniel Huculak, OSBM, *The Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom in the Kievan Metropolitan Province during the Period of Union with Rome (1596–1839)* (Analecta OSBM, Rome: P. P. Basiliani, 1990); Peter Galadza, ‘Seventeenth-Century Liturgicons of the Kievan Metropolia

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liturgical Byzantinization upon the Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem. While Pott's study has attempted to discern the intention of liturgical reform,<sup>41</sup> this is more difficult in the present case because no authors between the eighth and thirteenth centuries explained why the change occurred, what its motivation might have been, or whether they were even aware that a change of the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem had occurred at all. As already noted, Christians in late antiquity and during the Byzantine period were aware of different forms of worship and generally respected the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem. However, with regard to any intention behind the change, there is only silence. Theories by modern liturgical scholars, such as the explanation that liturgical Byzantinization was a response to iconoclasm, seem simplistic because they do not explain why certain liturgical practices were adopted or abandoned and because they are often based on outdated historical information.<sup>42</sup>

As this study focuses on changes to the calendar and lectionary, I am dealing with changes that would have been noticeable to the average person attending a liturgical service—or 'liturgy from the bottom up'.<sup>43</sup> Textual changes to the presbyteral prayers in the eucharistic liturgy between JAS, BAS, or CHR would not have been immediately noticeable to anyone other than the presider praying these anaphoral prayers, especially since many of them were already recited inaudibly by the eighth century.<sup>44</sup> What would have been more noticeable is a change from JAS to BAS or CHR, as well as changes to texts or hymns read or sung aloud in church, for example scriptural readings, psalmody, or hymnody. Any change to their order, or to the dates

<sup>41</sup> See especially the chapter on the Stoudite liturgical reform in *ibid.*, 115–51.

<sup>42</sup> See Anton Baumstark, 'Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus', *Oriens Christianus* 24 (1927), 1–32.

<sup>43</sup> See Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes*.

<sup>44</sup> This is evidenced by various comments by patristic authors, as well as by the rubric 'μυστικῶς' in the earliest Euchologies, such as *Barberini Gr.* 336 (8th cent.). For more on this question, see Cyril Quatrone, 'The Celebrant: Priest or Pastor: An Investigation of the Mystical Prayers of the Divine Services of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church', *Orthodox Life* 4 (1996), 17–41; G. N. Filias, *Ὁ Τρόπος Ἀναγνώσεως τῶν Εὐχῶν στὴ Λατρεία τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Γρηγόρη, 1997); Robert F. Taft, SJ, 'Questions on the Eastern Churches: Were Liturgical Prayers Once Recited Aloud?', *Eastern Churches Journal* 8.2 (2001), 107–13; David M. Petras, 'The Public Recitation of the Presbyteral Prayers', *Eastern Churches Journal* 8.2 (2001), 97–106; Panagiotis Trembelas, 'The Hearing of the Eucharistic Anaphora by the People', trans. by David Petras, *Eastern Churches Journal* 8.2 (2001), 81–96—originally published in French in the volume *1054–1954: L'Église et les Églises: Études et travaux sur l'unité chrétienne offerts à Dom Lambert Beauduin*, vol. 2 (Collection Irénikon, Chevetogne: Collections de Chevetogne, 1955), 207–20; Robert F. Taft, SJ, 'Was the Eucharistic Anaphora Recited Secretly or Aloud? The Ancient Tradition and What Became of It', in *Worship Traditions in Armenia and the Neighbouring Christian East*, ed. by Robert R. Ervine (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2006); Gregory Woolfenden, 'Praying the Anaphora: Aloud or in Silence?', *SVTQ* 51.2/3 (2007), 179–202. For a more recent examination of this question, see Derek Krueger, *Liturgical Subjects: Christian Ritual, Biblical Narrative, and the Formation of the Self in Byzantium* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 106–29 (Chapter 4: 'Eucharistic Prayers: Compunction and the History of Salvation').

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hieromonk and philologist Grigol Peradze (1888–42)<sup>59</sup> died respectively at the hands of Soviets and Nazis, and both have since come to be venerated in the Orthodox Church.

The closure of ecclesiastical schools and the censure of religious studies in the Soviet Union shifted the centre of liturgical studies westward. A little more than a decade after Dmitrievskii's *Древнѣйшіе Патріаршіе Типиконы* (*The Most Ancient Patriarchal Typika*), Cyril Korolevsky (1878–1959), born Jean François Joseph Charon,<sup>60</sup> wrote a lengthy article on the liturgy in the Melkite patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, already noting the 'adoption' of Byzantine practices in the subtitle to its first part.<sup>61</sup> Korolevsky observed that the adoption of the Byzantine rite 'was more or less complete by the eleventh century with regard to the office' but 'the Liturgy of St James continued to be celebrated there and did not disappear altogether until the thirteenth century'.<sup>62</sup> This statement relied on an article on West Syrian liturgy by Gustav Bickell (1838–1906).<sup>63</sup> Due to lacunae in the liturgy of Jerusalem, Korolevsky was forced to fill in the gaps with information from Antioch or Alexandria, thereby conflating certain liturgical practices that were local to one or another of the three eastern patriarchates. Joseph Nasrallah (1911–93) greatly expanded on Korolevsky's work with his multivolume *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église Melchite du V<sup>e</sup> au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, which features numerous sections on liturgy in the greater historical and cultural context of Palestine and Syria under Muslim occupation. In addition, his article dedicated to the liturgy of the Melkite patriarchates at the height of Byzantinization is a significant contribution to this topic, identifying key

<sup>59</sup> Henryk Paprocki, 'L'Archimandrite Grigol Peradze (1899–1942)', *Revue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* 4 (1988), 198–230; Henryk Paprocki, 'Tbilissi: Le père Grigol Peradze canonisé', *Service Orthodoxe de Presse* 203 (1995), 11–12. Peradze's death at Auschwitz on 6 December 1942 has become the date of commemoration of his martyrdom.

<sup>60</sup> Cyrille Korolevskij, *Kniga Bytija Moego (Le Livre de ma vie): Mémoires autobiographiques*, 5 vols, ed. by Giuseppe M. Croce (Collectanea Archivi Vaticani 45, Vatican City: Archives Secrètes Vaticanes, 2007). Jean François Joseph Charon was a French Catholic priest and scholar who adopted the Byzantine rite in the Middle East, writing and working at the Congregation of the Eastern Churches in Rome under the adopted name Cyril Korolevsky. See Cardinal Eugène Tisserant, 'Biographie', in Cyrille Korolevskij, *Metropolite André Szeptyckyj, 1865–1944* (Rome: Opera Theologicae Societatis Scientificaе Ucrainorum, 1964), vii–xxvi; Constantin Simon, SJ, *Pro Russia: The Russicum and Catholic Work for Russia* (OCA 283, Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 2009), 205–10.

<sup>61</sup> See 'Première partie: Adoption du rite byzantin par les patriarchats melchites', in Charon, 'Le rite byzantin', 476. Much of this article was incorporated into his study on the history of the Melkite patriarchates. See Charon, *History of the Melkite Patriarchates*, especially vol. 3. Although this is a translation from the original French, the English version is more complete and updated, and will be relied upon here.

<sup>62</sup> [L]'adoption du rite byzantin...était à peu près consommée au onzième siècle pour ce qui regarde l'office: la liturgie de S. Jacques continua cependant à y être célébrée et ne dut disparaître entièrement qu'à la fin du treizième. Charon, 'Le rite byzantin', 494.

<sup>63</sup> Gustav Bickell, 'Die westsyrischen Liturgien', *Literarischer Handweiser* 86 (1869), 513–26. I thank Heinzgerd Brakmann for providing the full bibliographical information for this article.

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Greece, where the practice of celebrating JAS was revived in the nineteenth century.<sup>80</sup> Korolevsky lamented that the text was poorly printed and had an exorbitant price for the time. Nevertheless, he suggested that Greek Catholics also restore this liturgy, especially for the feast of the Apostle James on 23 October, after a more critical and scholarly edition of the text was prepared by liturgists, of course with the approval of the Holy See.<sup>81</sup> Since then, highly Byzantinized editions of JAS have been published and the celebration of the liturgy has become fashionable throughout the Orthodox and Byzantine rite Catholic worlds.<sup>82</sup> A quick search on the Internet shows that texts of JAS are now readily available in various languages, new music is being composed for the liturgy, and the latter is celebrated annually with great solemnity. In every instance there is an unfounded notion that the liturgy being celebrated is of greater antiquity than the normally celebrated CHR or BAS. For this reason, the celebrants remove all signs of what they perceive to be later developments in, or accretions onto, the liturgy: the altar is stripped of the tabernacle, clergymen remove their mitres or other head coverings, Communion is given to the laity separately under both kinds, without the use of a Communion spoon, and everything is 'restored' to its primitive simplicity.

All the while, a consistent ignorance of the authentic practices of Jerusalem prevails. This is best illustrated by the note on the reading from the Old Testament in an instructional booklet for JAS in the Russian Orthodox Church:

Regarding the readings—the Epistle and Gospel are taken either of the day or of the commemoration being celebrated, or according to the direction of the celebrant. As regards the reading of the Old Testament, an appropriate reading may be selected, or a reading of the commemoration being celebrated, or, in the end, the reading may be chosen by the [priest or bishop] celebrating the service.<sup>83</sup>

The problem here is not the celebration of JAS, whose anaphoral prayers are truly better read and prayed in church than exclusively studied in a classroom, but the incomplete understanding of this liturgy, of how it is supposed to function within the current Byzantine rite, and the ignorance of the calendar

<sup>80</sup> *Ἡ θεία λειτουργία τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου ἀποστόλου Ἰακώβου, τοῦ Ἀδελφοθέου, καὶ πρώτου ἱεράρχου Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐκδοθεῖσα μετὰ διατάξεως καὶ σημειώσεων ὑπὸ Διονυσίου Λάτα, ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ζακύνθου* (Zakynthos: n.p., 1886), 71; Brakmann and Chronz, 'Eine Blume der Levante', 90–2.

<sup>81</sup> Charon, *History of the Melkite Patriarchates*, vol. 3.1, 24.

<sup>82</sup> For more on the various editions of JAS, see the section 'Editions of the Liturgy of St James' in Chapter 3 here.

<sup>83</sup> *Относительно чтенія—то Апостолъ и Евангеліе берутся или рядовые дня или празднуемаго событія, или же по усмотрѣнію служащаго. Что касается чтенія Ветхаго Заветъа, то можно взять подходящую паремію, или же паремію празднуемаго событія, или же, наконецъ, предоставить выборъ чтенія совершающему службу.* In *Обиція указанія относительно чтенія Св. Писанія и пѣнія на Литургіи Св. Апостола Іакова. Приложение къ служебнику Литургіи Св. Апост. Іакова* (Ladomirova: Printing Press of the Venerable Job of Pochaev, 1938), 5.

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transmission of Constantinopolitan liturgical material to the Jerusalem patriarchate.<sup>99</sup>

The phenomenon of Byzantinization in Jerusalem occurred roughly between the Arab conquest in 638 and the expulsion of the crusaders in 1187. These two events mark the chronological limits of my study: Jerusalem still celebrated its own local liturgy at the start of the eighth century, but by the beginning of the thirteenth the liturgy had become completely Byzantinized. This process, of course, did not happen in a uniform manner and the various elements that make up the Hagiopolitan liturgical tradition were influenced diversely. For example, JAS was still celebrated until the thirteenth century, while the calendar and lectionary of Jerusalem came under Constantinopolitan influence much earlier. Given the various stages of development, the tenth and eleventh centuries are of particular interest in that they witness the transitional character of Hagiopolite liturgy during the process of Byzantinization. Despite falling outside the chronological limits of my study, certain liturgical sources of the fourth through to the seventh centuries are crucial for better gauging the nature of Hagiopolite liturgy before its gradual disappearance and for establishing what can be considered to be ‘authentic’ or local expressions of it before Byzantinization. These liturgical sources will be introduced in Chapter 1.

Multilingualism has been present among the Christian populations of Palestine from the very start of Christianity at the Cross of Christ, when Pilate wrote the charge for Jesus’ Crucifixion ‘in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek’ (Ἑβραϊστί, Ῥωμαϊστί, Ἑλληνιστί, John 19:20), and then at the events of Pentecost (Acts 2:1–42). Apart from these three languages, Syriac and Christian Palestinian Aramaic were spoken by the local population of Jerusalem and Palestine, Georgian and Armenian were common among pilgrims from the Caucasus, who established monastic colonies in the Holy Land and copied many liturgical manuscripts, translating them into their own tongues, and Arabic became the lingua franca after the Arab conquest. All these languages played an important role in the patriarchate of Jerusalem. With regard to the Chalcedonian liturgy, however, the most important languages, in order of precedence, are Greek, Georgian, Arabic, and Syriac. This study will focus on Greek and Georgian sources because of their direct connection to the primary liturgical centres of the Jerusalem patriarchate. Any future study of liturgical Byzantinization must, however, endeavour to examine these sources in all their original languages.

<sup>99</sup> For an initial bibliography on the Byzantinization of the Alexandrian patriarchate, see Charon, ‘Le rite byzantin’, 477–84; Nasrallah, ‘Liturgie des Patriarcats melchites’, 163–5; Aristeides Papadakis, ‘Alexandria, Patriarchate of’, in ODB 1, here 61; Martiniano P. Roncaglia, ‘Melchites and Copts’, *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, ed. by Aziz S. Atiya (New York: Macmillan, 1991), here 1583. For Antioch, see Korolevsky, *Christian Antioch*; Charon, ‘Le rite byzantin’, 485–94; Nasrallah, ‘Liturgie des Patriarcats melchites’, 156–9; Aristeides Papadakis, ‘Antioch, Patriarchate of’, in ODB 1, here 116–17.

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Thus, the goals of this book are to establish the sources that preserve Hagiopolite liturgy before, during, and after its Byzantinization; to present their historical context; and to investigate JAS, its presence, its transformation, and its decline, as well as changes to the liturgical calendar and lectionary of Jerusalem, in order to understand how and why Jerusalem lost its liturgical tradition.

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and the Armenian and Georgian lectionaries of Jerusalem, it is possible to examine initiation rites, the celebration of the Eucharist, the daily office, and the liturgical year—particularly Theophany, Lent, Pascha, Pentecost—and to get a general overview of saints' commemorations.<sup>3</sup> Stig Frøyshov has lamented that, despite the 'the richness of the sources, the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem is still rather poorly known'. While no extensive general study of Jerusalem's early liturgy exists, no such study could be written until its major documents are edited or discovered by liturgiologists. Even the 1975 'new finds' of Sinai will take time to undergo scholarly investigation.<sup>4</sup>

Before moving on to the liturgical sources themselves, it is necessary briefly to review a few questions regarding the textual sources of the liturgy and their classification. Although the aim of every historian of liturgy must be 'to let the sources speak for themselves', manuscripts of the ancient Hagiopolite liturgy's books have suffered the ravages of time and are incomplete witnesses to liturgical rites and actions.<sup>5</sup> In many cases the manuscript sources are simply no longer extant. If one wishes to compensate for the missing testimonies of worship in Jerusalem, theological commentaries and pilgrimage accounts prove extremely useful. As John Baldovin notes,

one of the most difficult tasks for the contemporary liturgical historian is to discern what various acts of worship meant to those who participated in them. After all, the true history of Christian worship is not contained in prayer texts or lectionaries or *Typika* alone as much as in the actual experience of Christians in different places and different eras.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, not only do theological commentaries and pilgrimage accounts supplement the information from liturgical manuscripts—they also bring them to life. What the authors of these commentaries and accounts describe or omit from their experiences of liturgical worship is telling: it suggests which rites and actions they considered to be the most significant ones. Nevertheless, such accounts are by their very nature subjective because, in the process of describing certain elements of liturgical prayer, they inevitably omit others. As a consequence, descriptions of liturgy are not to be taken as perfect outlines of the unfolding of a liturgical rite. Despite criticism about the factual reliability of such perspectives, Robert Taft rightly defends the 'ingenuousness' of eyewitness accounts. The liturgical scholar's task is to examine prescriptive liturgical books together with eyewitness accounts. One can gain insights

<sup>3</sup> Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*; Bradshaw, *Search for the Origins*, 113–17.

<sup>4</sup> Frøyshov, 'The Georgian Witness', 228. For more on the liturgical manuscripts found in the Sinai 'new finds', see Appendix 1.

<sup>5</sup> Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes*, 30.

<sup>6</sup> John F. Baldovin, SJ, 'A Note on the Liturgical Processions in the Menologion of Basil II', in *Εὐλόγημα: Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, SJ*, ed. by Ephrem Carr, Stefano Parenti, Abraham-Andreas Thiermeyer, and Elena Velkovska (Rome: Sant'Anselmo, 1993), 25.

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processions also occurred as part of evening prayer.<sup>22</sup> The main elements of this system were likely well established by the time of Cyril of Jerusalem's death in 387.

Worship in Byzantine Palestine was centred on several urban churches and monastic centres. Of the three churches constructed by Constantine on important caves connected with the life of Christ, the primary place of worship and the one most frequently mentioned in Jerusalem's stational liturgy was the Anastasis complex built over a pagan temple on Golgotha, the spot where Christ was crucified.<sup>23</sup> The complex consisted of three parts: (1) at the west end, the Anastasis or Holy Sepulchre, which housed the tomb of Christ within a rotunda and had an exposed forecourt outside its east entrance;<sup>24</sup> (2) at the east end, the Martyrium<sup>25</sup> or Basilica, built over the place where the Cross of Christ was found, with its own exposed forecourt at its east entrance opening onto the *cardo maximus*; and (3) at the south end, the Cross between the Anastasis and the Martyrium.<sup>26</sup> The image of the tomb of Christ and the church complex began to appear on ampullae and its form was imitated throughout Christendom by pilgrims.<sup>27</sup> The Anastasis began to accumulate diverse traditions and the site became a 'goldmine for pilgrims'.<sup>28</sup> Its location was often confused and conflated with that of the site of the Jewish Temple, which was completely abandoned during the Byzantine period.<sup>29</sup> The original Anastasis complex, different in plan from the current Holy Sepulchre,<sup>30</sup> facilitated

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 59, 83.

<sup>23</sup> See Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III, 25–43; *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1, ed. by Ivar A. Heikel (Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1902), 91–6; Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, ed. by Averil Cameron, trans. by Stuart George Hall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 132–8. For a discussion of some of these churches, see Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*.

<sup>24</sup> Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, vol. 1, 51–80; John Wilkinson, 'The Tomb of Christ: An Outline of Its Structural History', *Levant: Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem* 4 (1972), 83–97.

<sup>25</sup> 'Martyrium' normally designates a church built over relics. In this case the relics are understood to be those of the true Cross in Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3: 30 (= PG 20: 1089–92). Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' II, 249–50 notes that 'Martyrium' can also designate a place commemorating a 'theophany'. See also Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, vol. 1, 103–14.

<sup>26</sup> Corbo, *Santo Sepolcro*, vol. 1, 81–102. For a plan of the Anastasis complex, see the section 'Plan of the Anastasis Complex, 4th, 11th, 12th cent.' in Appendix 2. The location of the baptistery is still debated. See Annabel Jane Wharton, 'The Baptistery of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and the Politics of Sacred Landscape', *DOP* 46 (1992), 313–25.

<sup>27</sup> Lieselotte Kötzsche, 'Das Heilige Grab in Jerusalem und seine Nachfolge', in *Kongress für Christliche Archäologie*, 272–90.

<sup>28</sup> Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*, 8.

<sup>29</sup> Heribert Busse and Georg Kretschmar, *Jerusalem Heiligtumstraditionen in altkirchlicher und frühislamischer Zeit* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), especially 81–111; Tracy Thorpe, *The Power of Silence: The Empty Temple Mount in Late Antique Jerusalem* (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2009).

<sup>30</sup> Abel, 'Jérusalem', *DACL* 7.2, here 2312.

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pilgrim accounts from the sixth century onwards.<sup>52</sup> According to the GL, 23 October commemorated the church's 'Great Enkainia' (სატფური დიდი, *satp'uri didi*) under Emperor Maurice (582–602)—presumably a restoration.<sup>53</sup> Despite the importance of processions to these churches and throughout the city as part of Jerusalem's liturgy, the most important—and earliest—witnesses of Hagiopolite liturgy come from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

### The *Catecheses* of St Cyril of Jerusalem

The earliest extant Hagiopolite liturgical texts are catechetical sermons and commentaries from the cathedral of Jerusalem delivered by the Holy City's bishop in the fourth century. The catechetical sermons are attributed to St Cyril of Jerusalem, although both his authorship and the details of his life are disputed. Cyril served as bishop of Jerusalem from around early 349 until his death on 18 March 387.<sup>54</sup> He had a turbulent episcopal career, although the details depend on which sources one reads. Cyril's conflicts with Accacius of Caesarea stemmed in part from jealousy and rivalry between the mother see of Caesarea and its suffragan see, Jerusalem, and from Cyril's preoccupation with the status of Jerusalem, although recent examination of historical sources suggests that Cyril's depositions arose from his involvement in the Arian controversy rather than from purely political or personal motives.<sup>55</sup> Considered an opponent of classical Arianism but sympathetic to semi-Arianism, Cyril never used the term *ὁμοούσιος* in his catechetical lectures on the grounds that it was not found in Scripture.<sup>56</sup> Reliance on Scripture was a hallmark of Cyril's theology. Explaining the Creed, he stated, 'in regard to the divine and holy mysteries of the faith, not even a casual statement should be delivered without the Scriptures'.<sup>57</sup>

The 'Hagiopolitan Creed' appears to be at the root of Cyril's catechetical oeuvre, which comprises a *Procatechesis*, eighteen *Prebaptismal Catecheses* delivered in Constantine's Martyrium to those preparing for enlightenment

<sup>52</sup> Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' II, here 259–60 and 270; Shalev-Hurvitz, *Holy Sites Encircled*, 141–67.

<sup>53</sup> GL § 1320; Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' II, here 270; Walter Emil Kaegi and Anthony Cutler, 'Maurice', ODB II, 1318.

<sup>54</sup> The dates of Cyril's episcopacy are not agreed upon; McCauley gives 349–87, Cross 350–86, and Piédagnel c.350–87.

<sup>55</sup> Peter Van Nuffelen, 'The Career of Cyril of Jerusalem (c.348–87): A Reassessment', JTS 58 (2007), 134–46.

<sup>56</sup> Alois Grillmeier, SJ, *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche*, vol. 1: *Von der Apostolischen Zeit bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon (451)*, 3rd rev. edn (Herder: Freiburg, 1990), 459–60; Barry Baldwin, 'Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem', ODB I, 571–2.

<sup>57</sup> Δεῖ γὰρ περὶ τῶν θείων καὶ ἁγίων τῆς Πίστεως μυστηρίων, μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἄνευ τῶν θείων παδαδίδοσθαι γραφῶν. *Prebaptismal Catechesis* 4: 17 (= PG 33:476–7).

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Table 1.1. Continued

8. Diptychs/Anaphoral Intercessions ( <i>Mystagogical Catechesis</i> 5:8–9)	After the eucharistic gifts are ‘perfected’ ( <i>ἀπαρτισθῆναι</i> ), they pray for the whole world, its rulers, hierarchs, the sick, the suffering, and all who need God’s assistance. It is not mentioned who makes these commemorations, whether the presider or the deacon.
9. The Lord’s Prayer ( <i>Mystagogical Catechesis</i> 5:11–18)	After the ‘Our Father’ (Matthew 6:9–13), the people say ‘Amen’. Although Cyril explains each phrase and petition of the Lord’s Prayer, he does not indicate any embolism at the conclusion of the prayer other than the ‘Amen’ of the people to ‘set the seal’ ( <i>ἐπισφραγίζειν</i> ) on the prayer. Although ‘Our Father’ had been recited three times daily in early Christian prayers, this is the earliest mention of it within the eucharistic liturgy. By Saint Augustine’s day in the fifth century, it had become commonplace and expected. <sup>76</sup>
10. ‘Holy Things’ Exclamation ( <i>Mystagogical Catechesis</i> 5:19)	After ‘Our Father’, the bishop exclaims ‘Holy things for the holy’ ( <i>Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις</i> ), to which the people respond: ‘One is holy, one is Lord, Jesus Christ’ ( <i>Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός</i> ). This exclamation is accompanied by the presentation of the gifts, which were ‘visited’ ( <i>ἐπιφοίτησιν</i> ) by the Holy Spirit—a term peculiar to Cyril’s <i>Catechesis</i> , the anaphora of JAS, and the Hagiopolitan baptismal rite. <sup>77</sup>
11. Communion Hymn ( <i>Mystagogical Catechesis</i> 5:20)	In preparation for Communion, Psalm 33:9 ‘Taste and see that the Lord is good’ ( <i>Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρησιτὸς ὁ Κύριος</i> ) is sung. This is the oldest form of the Communion hymn. <sup>78</sup>
12. Reception of Communion ( <i>Mystagogical Catechesis</i> 5:21–22)	The body of Christ is received in the hand, with ‘Amen’. The blood of Christ is received from the chalice, with ‘Amen’. <sup>79</sup> Cyril suggests that those who receive Communion sanctify their other senses by touching their hands, eyes, and brows with the moisture from the blood of Christ, which is still on their lips.
13. Thanksgiving Prayer ( <i>Mystagogical Catechesis</i> 5:22)	Cyril commands the people to wait for the prayer, which was presumably followed by dismissal at the end of the liturgical service.

This catechesis contains one of the earliest mentions of the Lord’s Prayer in the Divine Liturgy and of the Sanctus in the anaphora.<sup>80</sup> Georg Kretschmar shows that the structure and content presented by the fifth mystagogical catechesis are very similar to those of the Syrian version of JAS, which is

<sup>76</sup> See *Didache* 8:2–3, in *La doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè)*, ed. by Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier (SC 248, Paris: Cerf, 1978), 172–5; Taft, *Hours*, 5, 13, and 64; Taft, *Precommunion Rites*, 129 and 135–40.

<sup>77</sup> Taft, *Precommunion Rites*, 231–2.

<sup>78</sup> See Chapter 3, ‘The Hymn for Communion’.

<sup>79</sup> The practice of receiving Communion through a spoon is first attested in Palestine in the seventh century. See Robert F. Taft, ‘Byzantine Communion Spoons: A Review of the Evidence’, *DOP* 50 (1996), 209–38.

<sup>80</sup> Robert F. Taft, SJ, ‘The Interpolation of the Sanctus into the Anaphora: When and Where? A Review of the Dossier. Part II’, *OCP* 58 (1992), 85–8, 114–21.

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Sunday eucharistic liturgy; he insists that ‘we have no evidence for a separation of the word synaxis and eucharist proper at this time’<sup>99</sup> and refers to the fact that, assuming that the procession of the bishop to the Anastasis also included the transfer of the gifts, the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Eucharist would take place in two different churches. He thus prefers to understand *aguntur gratiae Deo* as a thanksgiving prayer after Communion, similar to the one given in *Apostolic Constitutions* 7:26—a reading that has become accepted among most liturgiologists.<sup>100</sup>

When attempting to understand difficult passages in Egeria’s account, it is important to remember that her descriptions were not exhaustive, especially if one considers her frequent use of the phrase ‘one does there that which is also customary for us to do’ (*aguntur ibi quae consuetudinis est etiam et apud nos*)<sup>101</sup> to describe central—and often complex—liturgical services.<sup>102</sup> Her primary interest throughout the Sunday Eucharist was in its numerous homilies, which she considered to be unusual.

Apart from the often ambiguous descriptions of liturgical practice in the fourth century, several prescriptive liturgical books have survived that go back as early as the fifth century and are directly connected to the Jerusalem lectionary. These are the Armenian lectionary, the Georgian lectionary, and the *Iadgari*. Although the extant manuscripts preserving these texts do not date from the era before the liturgical Byzantinization of Jerusalem, liturgical scholars have determined that they preserve the ancient liturgical practice of Jerusalem from before later modifications. All three sources were published and made accessible in critical editions during the twentieth century.

### The Armenian Lectionary

Although a complete version of the original Greek version of the Jerusalem lectionary no longer exists, the manuscripts of the Armenian clergy, which was serving in Jerusalem already from the fourth century, preserved the Greek Hagiopolite lectionary in Armenian translation.<sup>103</sup> Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (1856–1924) was the first to edit the sources of the original Hagiopolite lectionary in Armenian translation in 1905.<sup>104</sup> His translations were based on two manuscripts: *Paris BNF Arm. 44* (formerly *Ancien fonds arménien 20*)

<sup>99</sup> Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 59.

<sup>100</sup> *Apostolic Constitutions* 7:26; *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, vol. 3: *Livres VII et VIII*, ed. by Marcel Metzger (SC 336, Paris: Cerf, 1987), 54–7; Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 59. See also Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*, 21–2, for various theories about the structure of the Eucharist described by Egeria.

<sup>101</sup> Egeria, *Itinéraire*, § 38: 2. <sup>102</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 290 n. 1.

<sup>103</sup> Renoux, *Introduction*, 21–2; AL, 24; Verhelst, ‘Jerusalem in the Byzantine Period’, 430.

<sup>104</sup> Conybeare and Maclean, *Rituale armenorum*, 507–27.

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appeared in 1959 and 1960, shortly after his death.<sup>131</sup> The six manuscripts Tarchnischvili employed in his edition are: *Paris BNF Geo. 3* (10th–11th cent.), labelled GL (P);<sup>132</sup> *Sinai Geo. O. 37* (formerly *Cagareli 30*) (982), labelled GL (S), copied by the scribe Iovane Zosime on Sinai; *Mestia Historic–Ethnographic Museum 51* (10th cent.), copied by Iovane Zosime in his early period, probably at St Sabas Lavra and labelled GL (L) for Lathal, the place in Georgia where it was discovered;<sup>133</sup> *Tbilisi Erovnuli Library 40* (10th cent.), copied by Michael Č'ikauri and referred to as GL (K), for Kala or Lakurga;<sup>134</sup> *Universitätsbibliothek Graz Pergament 27* (7th cent.), GL (Gr), a fragment of 19 folios copied at Sinai; and *Tbilisi Geo. 1831* (8th cent.), a palimpsest labelled GL (H).<sup>135</sup> Although subsequent scholars have identified additional Georgian manuscript witnesses to the Jerusalem lectionary and have published new editions that incorporate recently discovered manuscripts, Tarchnischvili's edition is still the standard one.<sup>136</sup> The Greek original from the GL was translated but has not survived. Thanks to the discoveries or 'new finds' at Sinai, however, we have at least one fragmentary manuscript, *Sinai Gr. N.E. MF 8* (10th cent.), which preserves a Greek version of the Jerusalem lectionary—not only its scriptural lections, but also its hymnography—and whose structure is very similar to the GL.<sup>137</sup>

Like the AL, the GL contains readings and psalms for the eucharistic synaxis that include references to the location of liturgical stations. Two particular developments in the GL are prescriptions for liturgical services, including readings, for every day of the year and the inclusion of hymnography in the eucharistic synaxis; the AL does not provide propers for liturgical services on every day of the year, nor does it include any hymnography. The GL contains a commemoration for almost every day that relies on a general 'canon', according to the type of commemoration: of the Theotokos, the Cross, the Apostles, the prophets, the martyrs, the hierarchs, the confessors, and various other categories. Certain days have their own specific readings and hymns, though there are often similarities in theme and content between the common texts

<sup>131</sup> All citations of the GL refer to paragraph numbers (§) from Tarchnischvili's edition in CSCO. For a biography of Tarchnischvili, see G. Garitte, 'Necrologue de Michel Tarchnischvili', *Mus* 71 (1958), here 398; D. Lang, 'Father Michael Tarchnischvili', *BK* 4–5 (1958), here 30–1.

<sup>132</sup> Employed by Tarchnischvili for GL § 16–729 and 766–1696.

<sup>133</sup> Employed by Tarchnischvili for GL § 1–53, 65–6, 83, 146–286, 325–589, 612–19, 644–898, 930–1019, 1055–543, and 1668–72.

<sup>134</sup> Employed by Tarchnischvili for GL § 355–882.

<sup>135</sup> See the introduction to the GL by Tarchnischvili (CSCO 188, vi–xii). This edition is now available online at TITUS. Because of the more expansive nature of the GL in comparison with the AL, the great variety of readings in the edition's manuscripts, and the closer connection between the GL and Greek witnesses of the Jerusalem lectionary, the specific manuscripts comprising Tarchnischvili's edition of the GL will occasionally be cited, when necessary.

<sup>136</sup> For example Outtier, 'Sinaï géorgien 54'; Outtier, 'Un nouveau témoin partiel', especially 172–4, where Outtier indicates corrections to the GL; Verhelst, *Lectionnaire de Jérusalem*; Verhelst, 'Liturgy of Jerusalem', 430.

<sup>137</sup> Galadza, 'Sinai Gr. N.E. MF 8'. See also Appendix 1.

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tempting, since the hymnody of this type of book was often an exegetical elaboration on Scripture; but *tropologion* is most likely connected to *τρόπος* ('way, manner') and *λόγος*, as is the technical term *troparion* (*τροπάριον*).<sup>162</sup> The etymology of the proper name Tropologion, then, remains to be explained.

Extant Greek books bearing the name Tropologion include several manuscripts analysed by Heinrich Husmann and Stig Frøyshov.<sup>163</sup> Their contents include elements that later became the liturgical books of the Byzantine rite—books titled Menaion, Triodion, Pentekostarion, and the Great Parakletike or Oktoechos. The dating of the Tropologion manuscripts, however, reveals that they are contemporary with books from a latter period in the development of these books. As the original hymnographical source was expanded through new compositions by monastic hymnographers from the Anastasis in Jerusalem—possibly the monks known as *spoudaioi* in certain liturgical and historical texts—and from Mar Saba Lavra in the Judean desert, its contents were eventually divided among other books, on the basis of the type of hymn.<sup>164</sup> When the liturgical cycles and seasons had more or less taken shape, the hymnody was once more divided and expanded, primarily by Stoudite hymnographers. At this point it was merged with scriptural readings, synaxaria, rubrical indications, and even some of the fixed parts of the ordinary, to create the first versions of the books now known as the Oktoechos, the Triodion, and the Menaion.<sup>165</sup> Without knowledge of the recent discoveries in Sinai and new research in this field, the name Tropologion was often misunderstood by liturgiologists without an understanding of musical manuscripts, and used—not surprisingly—to refer both to the ancient and to more recent Tropologia.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>162</sup> See Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. *τροπάριον*; Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 1412. See also Oliver Strunk, 'Tropus and Troparion', in *Speculum Musicae Artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, ed. by Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1970), 305–11, reprinted in Oliver Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York: Norton, 1977), 268–76.

<sup>163</sup> Husmann mentions *Sinai Gr. 777* (11th cent.), *Sinai Gr. 784* (12th cent.), and *Sinai Gr. 789* (12th cent.), all of which contain various *stichera*, *kathismata*, and canons from the Oktoechos. *Sinai Gr. 556* (11th cent.), *Sinai Gr. 579* (11th cent.), *Sinai Gr. 607* (9th–10th cent.), and *Sinai Gr. 759* (11th cent.) are more like Menaia, to judge from their contents. *Grottaferrata Δ.γ. XII* (970) is also mentioned. See Husmann, 'Hymnus und Troparion', here 29–31 and Frøyshov, 'Early Development', here 165.

<sup>164</sup> Frøyshov, 'Early Development', 144–5. For more on the *spoudaioi*, see Chapter 2, 'Palestinian Monasticism'.

<sup>165</sup> See Nikiforova, *Из истории Минеи в Византии*; Frøyshov, 'Early Development', 165; Elena Velkova Velkovska, 'Byzantine Liturgical Books', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies I*, 225–40; Manel Nin, 'Other Liturgical Books in the East', in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, vol. 1, 241–4; Momina, 'О происхождении греческой триоди', 113, 117.

<sup>166</sup> Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 58, uses the term to refer to newer books, while Frøyshov, Wade, and others who deal with early Hagiopolitan liturgy intend the earlier, unified source.

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monasteries. Nikolai Uspensky and Miguel Arranz suggested that the absence of the all-night vigil in Stoudite sources indicates that the service arose, or was revived, only in the twelfth century,<sup>188</sup> despite the description of the practice of the Saturday night vigil in Palestine both in the *Life of Sabas* (written in the sixth century by Cyril of Scythopolis) and in the testament of St Sabas.<sup>189</sup>

Because there are no extant Sabaite or other Palestinian monastic liturgical manuscripts from the Byzantine period, hagiographical accounts and edifying texts from Palestinian monasteries prove to be extremely valuable. The numerous hagiographies of Palestinian monks written by Cyril of Scythopolis suggest that, leaving aside the stationary character of Jerusalem's liturgy, Palestinian monks shared the main features of Hagiopolite liturgy. For example, one can assume, from hagiographic accounts and later liturgical manuscripts copied at Mar Saba Lavra, that the eucharistic liturgy both in Jerusalem and in Palestinian monasteries would have been the Liturgy of St James (JAS), at least until the beginning of Byzantinization.<sup>190</sup> Apart from such a conclusion, it is difficult to know more details about Palestinian monastic liturgical practices during the Byzantine era with any certainty. The saints' lives composed by Cyril of Scythopolis suggest that the Eucharist was not celebrated every day.<sup>191</sup> Spiritually edifying tales, such as the *Spiritual Meadow* by John Moschus, often use liturgical services as the background for spiritual advice or theological instruction, but give little detail about the liturgical practice itself.<sup>192</sup> By far the most informative text on monks and liturgy in the Jerusalem patriarchate during the Byzantine era is the *Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronius*, which describes a meeting between Hagiopolitan monks and a hermit on Mount Sinai. The monks in question are the Abbots John and Sophronius, believed to be John Moschus (c.540–634),<sup>193</sup> author of the *Spiritual Meadow*, and Sophronius (c.560–638), future patriarch of Jerusalem,<sup>194</sup> who travelled from Palestine to visit the monk Neilus on Sinai and prayed with him there. During their prayer, the two abbots noted that the monks on Sinai did not sing any hymns

<sup>188</sup> See Miguel Arranz, SJ, 'N. D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-Night Vigil in the Greek Church and in the Russian Church', SVTQ 24 (1980), here 174.

<sup>189</sup> ἐθέσπισεν δὲ ὥστε κατὰ δὲ κυριακὴν εἰς τὴν θεοτόκου ἐπιτελεῖσθαι ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἀπαρ-αλείπτως ἀπὸ ὄψε ἕως πρωὶ ἀγρυπνίαν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις γίνεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατὰ τε κυριακὴν καὶ δεσποτικὴν ἑορτήν. *Life of Sabas*, chapter 32, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 118. For the testament, see *Sinai Gr. 1096* (12th cent.), 148r; Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie* I, 222–3; Gianfranco Fiaccadori, '42. Sabas: Founder's Typikon of the Sabas Monastery near Jerusalem', BMFD IV, here 1316.

<sup>190</sup> See Appendix 1 for the various Georgian 'liturgical collections' copied at Mar Saba Lavra that contain JAS, presumably a sign that this liturgy was celebrated in Palestinian monasteries.

<sup>191</sup> See, for example, *Life of Sabas*, chapter 32, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 117–18.

<sup>192</sup> John Moschos, *Λειμών (Pratum)*, PG 87.3:2852–3112; *The Spiritual Meadow by John Moschos (also known as John Eviratus)*, trans. by John Wortley (Cistercian Studies Series 19, Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1992).

<sup>193</sup> Barry Baldwin, 'Moschos, John', ODB II, 1415.

<sup>194</sup> Aristeides Papadakis, 'Sophronios', ODB III, 1928–9.

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Bollandist Hippolyte Delehaye (1859–1941) focused on the hagiographical texts and published them in 1902 under the title *Synaxarium ecclesiae constantinopolitanae*. The primary manuscripts that Mateos employed are *Hagios Stavros Gr. 40* (10th–11th cent.), labelled H, and *Patmos Gr. 266* (9th–10th cent.), labelled P, both of which provide the lives of various saints in abbreviated form (βίοι ἐν συντόμῳ), along with four other manuscripts.<sup>211</sup> Mateos' two-volume edition follows the structure of the liturgical year in Constantinople:<sup>212</sup> the fixed cycle runs from 1 September to 31 August and the movable cycle begins with the Sunday before Meatfare, continues through Lent, Easter, Pentecost, and all the Sundays after Pentecost, until the year arrives again at the period of Meatfare. The text contains the names of the saints to be commemorated, liturgical prescriptions indicating the location of a station within the city of Constantinople, the basic structure of services, and liturgical set pieces such as troparia, *prokeimena*, and the Communion hymn (κοινωνικόν).<sup>213</sup>

Extant eleventh-century manuscripts of the Constantinopolitan Praxapostolos (πραξαπόστολος), a liturgical book containing scriptural readings from Acts (πράξεις), from the Epistles (ἀπόστολος) of St Paul, and from the General Epistles, also provide information on liturgy at the Great Church of Constantinople. Apart from the texts of the scriptural readings themselves, these books contain the full liturgical ordo (ἀκολουθία) of services in the form of troparia, *prokeimena*, verses for the Alleluia, Communion hymns, and other liturgical prescriptions.<sup>214</sup> Two important examples of the Constantinopolitan Praxapostolos are *Dresden Sächsische LB Gr. A.104* (11th cent.) and *Moscow GIM*

studies. While the reading of the lives of saints from synaxaria in monastic environments is better known, it is not clear when they were read in cathedral liturgy. The most probable location of a synaxarion reading at the Cathedral Orthros in Constantinople would have been at the end of the service, between the end of the Orthros and the beginning of the Divine Liturgy. See Delehaye, *Synaxarium*, v–vi; Skaballanovich, *Толковый Типиконъ*, vol. 2, 189; Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 1, xxiii–xxiv; Miguel Arranz, 'Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines', OCP 37 (1971), 406–36; Miguel Arranz, 'L'office de l'Asmatikos Orthoros (matines chantées) de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin', OCP 44 (1978), 126–32.

<sup>211</sup> See Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 1, iv–vi. For more on the individual manuscripts, see Andrea Luzzi, 'Il Patmiacus 266: Un testimone dell'utilizzo liturgico delle epitomi premetafrastiche', RSNB 49 [2012] (2013), 239–61; Andrea Luzzi, 'Synaxaria and the Synaxarion of Constantinople', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, vol. 2: *Periods and Places*, ed. by Stephanos Efthymiadis (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), 197–210, esp. 200–3.

<sup>212</sup> For further explanations of the structure of the liturgical year, see Chapter 4, 'The Structure and Characteristics of the Hagiopolite Liturgical Year', and Chapter 5, 'Structures of the Jerusalem Lectionary: Gospel Cycles'.

<sup>213</sup> See Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 1, xxii–xxiv for a reconstruction of the various services indicated in this source.

<sup>214</sup> Andreou, *Praxapostolos*, 46.

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notes, Juan Mateos' edition of the *Typikon* of the Great Church has been, perhaps inadvertently, accepted as the sole witness of liturgical life in Constantinople. For this reason, a comparison with other liturgical books, particularly the *Praxapostolos* and its rich rubrics and other information, is of utmost importance.<sup>241</sup> Nevertheless, the uniformity in the ordering of pericopes in lectionaries in Constantinople and in the Byzantine rite is surprising, especially when compared with the diverse and irregular order of the pericopes in Jerusalem's various lectionaries.<sup>242</sup> With regard to the Divine Liturgy itself, Constantinople celebrated the Liturgy of St Basil the Great (BAS) and the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (CHR), whose texts were found in the *Euchologion* along with that of other sacraments, liturgical rites, and prayers.<sup>243</sup> Apart from the liturgical texts themselves, Constantinople has an abundance of commentaries on, and mystagogies of, the Divine Liturgy that explained its rites, rituals, and liturgical actions to the faithful in mystical, anamnestic, and mimetic terms—something that did not happen in Jerusalem.<sup>244</sup> Because current knowledge of the assimilation of the Stoudite and Sabaite traditions alongside that of the Great Church, as well as of the development of sacraments in the Byzantine rite, is still in its infancy, this study will steer clear of questions not directly related to the liturgical calendar and to the lectionary within the eucharistic liturgy.

## HAGIOPOLITE LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS IN THE PERIOD OF BYZANTINIZATION

Any study of a change in liturgical practice must examine the practice in question before, during, and after the purported change. The eucharistic synaxis in the *Mystagogical Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, the *Itinerarium*

<sup>241</sup> [L]'approccio esplicativo secondo cui l'unico punto di riferimento per la comprensione della tradizione liturgica bizantina sarebbe un solo libro, per esempio, il *Typikon della Grande Chiesa*, è insufficiente. La ricerca liturgica dovrebbe guardare a questo testo in modo diverso, visto che non può presentare realtà liturgiche del periodo in cui esso è stato redatto ('The explanatory approach according to which the only point of reference for understanding the Byzantine liturgical tradition would be one book, for example, the *Typikon* of the Great Church, is inadequate. Liturgical research should look to this text in a different way, since it cannot present the liturgical realities of the period in which it was redacted'). Andreou, *Praxapostolos*, 102.

<sup>242</sup> For more on the various orderings of pericopes, see Chapter 5 here.

<sup>243</sup> See P. Joannou, 'Euchologion', *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 3, ed. by Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, 2nd edn (Freiburg: Herder, 1959); Robert F. Taft, 'Euchologion', ODB II, 738; Stefano Parenti, 'Euchologion', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 3, ed. by Walter Kasper, 3rd edn (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 976; Parenti, 'La "vittoria"'. For more on sacraments, see the conference proceedings on Orthodox sacraments in ΠΥΛΗ; Parenti, 'Towards a Regional History'.

<sup>244</sup> See Chapter 3, 'Mystagogies of the Liturgy of St James', for a discussion of this question.

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are edited, it is perhaps better to state that they represent a 'mixed type' of lectionary rather than being witnesses of the Jerusalem order of pericopes. The Typikon of the Anastasis, *Hagios Stavros Gr. 43* (1122), notes the presence of two rites—the local Hagiopolitan and the Constantinopolitan—but the contemporary liturgical Typika, *Sinai Gr. 1096* (12th cent.) from Sabas Lavra and *Sinai Gr. 1097* (1214) from Sinai, are almost completely Byzantinized.<sup>257</sup>

Many manuscripts with connections to Jerusalem or Palestine have not been discussed here for various reasons, which will be explained presently. The provenance of a liturgical manuscript is of the utmost importance for this study, devoted as it is to the liturgical practice of a specific region at a specific time. Provenance can be a difficult matter to establish and, thus, it is best addressed at the outset of this work. Liturgical and codicological evidence can be both a help and a hindrance in understanding the origin of a liturgical source. Several examples of differing opinions between liturgists and codicologists can be provided here.

Liturgists often establish the provenance of a manuscript on the basis of the presence or absence of certain liturgical elements. For example, the Euchologion *Moscow RGB Gr. 27* [*Sevastianov 474*] (10th cent.), edited by Stephan Koster, was initially believed to be of Middle Eastern origin because of the presence of certain Hagiopolitan prayers.<sup>258</sup> More recently, however, this thesis has been challenged as a result of closer analysis of the script and of the decoration of the manuscript, both of which connect the codex to a scribe clearly formed in Constantinople.<sup>259</sup> These factors, as well as the manuscript's later history and the additions made by a second scribal hand in 'epsilon' style typical of Palestine and Cyprus, only complicate matters.<sup>260</sup>

Nevertheless, the evidence from codicology is more certain for establishing a manuscript's origin. According to the colophon of the Gospel book *Vatican Barberini Gr. 319* (1039/1168), the first part of the codex (fol. 1r–174v) was copied by presbyter Leon in 1039 in Jerusalem. It makes mention of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and of the holy fire at the Anastasis in Jerusalem.<sup>261</sup> The second part (fol. 191r–196v) contains tables with readings from the

<sup>257</sup> For more on these manuscripts, see Chapter 2, 'The Development of Stational Liturgy', 'Palestinian Monasticism', and 'Hagiopolite Patriarchs in Exile'; also Appendix 1.

<sup>258</sup> Stephan Josef Koster, *Das Euchologion Sevastianov 474 (X. Jhdt.) der Staatsbibliothek in Moskau* (Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1996).

<sup>259</sup> Inna P. Mokretsova, M. M. Naumova, Elina N. Dobrynina, Boris L. Fonkitch, *Материалы и техника византийской рукописной книги (по реставрационной документации Государственного научно-исследовательского института реставрации)* (Moscow: Indrik, 2003), 107–9 (Russian) and 262–3 (English).

<sup>260</sup> Koster, *Das Euchologion Sevastianov* (see n. 226), 474, 15–24.

<sup>261</sup> Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit*, 330–1; *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, vol. 7: *Manuscripts in Rome, Part I* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1937), 15 (no. 285).

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In the absence of any synthetic, authoritative study of the Hagiopolite liturgy, I shall endeavour to re-examine the questions of why, how, and when Byzantinization occurred by looking at the historical context.<sup>4</sup> The following ‘braided’ narrative of analysis and storytelling is by no means complete or free of bias.<sup>5</sup> The liturgical history of Jerusalem for the period between the Arab conquest and the First Crusade presented in this chapter takes into account the fragmentary nature of the sources for this era—especially the so-called ‘dark centuries’ from the ninth through to the eleventh—where contemporaneous sources often ignore coexisting religious groups or the works of authors who write in other languages. For example, Jewish historical accounts often make no mention of the presence of Christians in Jerusalem. This is the impression one gets from the various histories of the period.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, Latin and Greek liturgical sources from the Holy Sepulchre of the twelfth-century Latin kingdom make no mention of each other’s existence, and churches and holy sites described in accounts written in one language are extremely difficult to corroborate with those of another language.<sup>7</sup> According to literary historian Hayden White,

all original descriptions of any field of phenomena are *already* interpretations of its structure . . . The plot-structure of a historical narrative (*how* things turned out as they did) and the formal argument or explanation of *why* ‘things happened or turned out as they did’ are *prefigured* by the original description (of the ‘facts’ to be explained) in a given dominant modality.<sup>8</sup>

The modality in question here is that of the liturgy and of the dynamic interaction between the various people and powers that influenced it.

<sup>4</sup> Several adequate histories of the Jerusalem patriarchate that consider the variety of linguistic sources do exist. The recent article on the Jerusalem patriarchate from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries by Constantin A. Panchenko, ‘Иерусалимская православная церковь’, ПЭ 21: 466–76, serves as an excellent introduction to this complex period.

<sup>5</sup> This expression, used to define narrative, comes from David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), xi. See also Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 211.

<sup>6</sup> See for example Gil, *History of Palestine*, esp. 430–89, whose detailed history of the period between 634 and 1099 gives little information on the relations between Christians and Jews.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, 436–42; Johannes Pahlitzsch and Daniel Baraz, ‘Christian Communities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099–1187 CE)’, in *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: From the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, ed. by Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 205–35.

<sup>8</sup> Hayden White, ‘The Fictions of Factual Representation’, in Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 214–29, here 221–2. Originally published in *The Literature of Fact*, ed. by Angus Fletcher (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 21–44.

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literature—which clearly opposed the doctrinal statements of the Council of Chalcedon—was destroyed after the Constantinopolitan synodal intervention in 536.<sup>26</sup> The surviving hagiography, such as the work of Cyril of Scythopolis, has been considered a ‘propagandist regional history in the service of Chalcedonian orthodoxy and the Jerusalem patriarchate’.<sup>27</sup>

### The Christian Population and Its Languages

Egeria’s account gives us valuable, though perhaps idealized, information on the life of Christians in Jerusalem, a heterogeneous and multilingual assembly consisting of Greek and Christian Palestinian Aramaic speakers, monastics and lay people—both locals and foreign pilgrims. Apart from their intense liturgical schedule, which required them to rise before cockcrow and to return to services several times during the day, they also fasted extensively during Lent, eating nothing but gruel and water.<sup>28</sup> Egeria’s visit to Jerusalem not only made her an eyewitness to liturgical life but also alerted her to the separation and unity among the diverse language groups in Jerusalem. Her account reads as follows:

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*Et quoniam in ea prouincia pars populi et grece et siriste nouit, pars etiam alia per se grece, aliqua etiam pars tantum siriste, itaque quoniam episcopus, licet siristenouerit, tamen semper grece loquitur et nunquam siriste: itaque ergo stat semper presbyter, qui episcopo grece dicente, siriste interpretatur, ut omnes audient quae exponuntur. Lectiones etiam, quecumque in ecclesia leguntur, quia necesse est grece legi, semper stat, qui siriste interpretatur propter populum, ut semper discant. Sane quicumque hic latini sunt, id est qui nec siriste nec grece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores grecolatini, qui latine exponent eis.*<sup>29</sup>

Now in that province some of the people know both Greek and Syriac, while some know Greek alone and others only Syriac; and because the bishop, although he knows Syriac, always speaks Greek and never Syriac, there is always a priest standing by who, when the bishop speaks Greek, interprets into Syriac, so that all may understand what is being taught. And because all the lessons that are read in the church must be read in Greek, he always stands by and interprets them into Syriac, for the people’s sake, that they may always be edified. Moreover, the Latins here, who understand neither Syriac nor Greek, in order that they not be disappointed, have (everything) explained to them, for there are other brothers and sisters, knowledgeable of both Greek and Latin, who translate into Latin for them.

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<sup>26</sup> *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*, vol. 3: *Collectio Sabbaitica contra acephalos et origeniastas destinata: insunt acta synodorum Constantinopolitanae et Hierosolymitanae A. 536*, ed. by Eduard Schwartz (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1940), 113, 121; Flusin, ‘L’hagiographie palestinienne’, 39.

<sup>27</sup> Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky, ‘Monasticism in the Holy Land’, 261.

<sup>28</sup> Egeria, *Itinéraire*, § 28: 1–4 (pp. 264–6 Maraval).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, § 47: 3–4 (p. 314 Maraval).

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was one of the first to compose Melkite apologetics in Arabic in order to respond to non-Chalcedonian Christians and to Islam.<sup>48</sup> Thus Griffith views the Melkites as a ‘culturally, historically, and socially distinguishable subset’ of the Rūm Orthodox or Jerusalem patriarchate.<sup>49</sup>

When examined from the perspective of liturgical texts, such a distinction between Melkites and the other Orthodox of the Jerusalem patriarchate is, however, not as clear as Griffith presents it. Granted, the context of Palestine—which is significantly different from that of Constantinople—helps to explain why Melkites viewed themselves as the ‘church of the six councils’ long after the seventh ecumenical council in 787. Jerusalem’s church had no need for its own ecclesiastical council to combat Christian iconoclasm internally, because it was concerned with external accusations of idolatry from Jews and Muslims.<sup>50</sup> This is reflected in liturgical manuscripts, which often make reference to only six ecumenical councils, even if they were copied after 787.<sup>51</sup> Several references are made to the ‘six synods’ in liturgical texts after the eighth century that include the calendar of al-Bīrūnī and several manuscripts of JAS.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, the omission of the seventh ecumenical council is not limited to liturgical manuscripts used by Arab Orthodox. Despite the apparent urgency to have the fourth ecumenical council included in diptychs within the Sabaite monastic milieu during the sixth-century Christological controversies,<sup>53</sup> the first extant Hagiopolite liturgical manuscript to mention the seventh ecumenical council at Nicaea was copied as late as the fourteenth-century and is found in the Diakonikon for JAS preserved in manuscript *Sinai Gr. 1040*.<sup>54</sup> Only two other known Greek manuscripts of JAS mention seven ecumenical councils in the diptychs, namely *Koutloumoussiou Gr. 194* (14th cent.) and *Paris Suppl. Gr. 476* (15th cent.).<sup>55</sup> Georgian manuscripts of JAS are also resistant to having more than six councils commemorated in the diptychs.<sup>56</sup> Likewise, the Testament of St Theodore the Stoudite, read aloud

(1932), 28–44, 111–23, 165–77, 216–24, 329–53, 415–22, 450–72, 514–34, 570–85, 644–64, 698–719; NΣ 28 (1933), 11–25.

<sup>48</sup> Sidney H. Griffith and Alexander Kazhdan, ‘Theodore Abu-Qurra’, ODB III, 2041; John C. Lamoreaux, ‘The Biography of Theodore Abū Qurrah Revisited’, DOP 56 (2002), 25–40; John C. Lamoreaux, *Theodore Abū Qurrah* (Library of the Christian East 1, Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 2005).

<sup>49</sup> Griffith, ‘The Church of Jerusalem and the “Melkites”’, 204.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 191–7. <sup>51</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>52</sup> al-Bīrūnī, *Fêtes des Melchites*, 18–19, 26; Mercier, *Liturgie de Saint Jacques*, 104.

<sup>53</sup> *Life of Sabas*, ch. 60, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 162.

<sup>54</sup> *Καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μεγάλων ἑπτὰ Συνόδων...* (‘And of the seven holy great councils...’). Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 502. This part of the diptychs for the dead from JAS is not included in Dmitrievskii’s transcription. See Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie II*, 134. For more on this source, see Appendix 1.

<sup>55</sup> See Mercier, *Liturgie de Saint Jacques*, 218; Kazamias, *Θεία Λειτουργία τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἰακώβου*, 206.

<sup>56</sup> *Liturgia ibero-graeca*, 96 and 165.

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site in the Roman empire, a position it preserved even among those who rejected Chalcedon.<sup>71</sup>

### Pilgrimage

While much has been written about Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land until the seventh century, the same is not true for the period after the Arab conquest.<sup>72</sup> The earliest Byzantine description of these holy sites comes from the eighth or ninth century and was written by Epiphanius Hagiopolites, of whom little is known.<sup>73</sup> A pilgrimage to Palestine under Emperor Leo III (r. 717–41)<sup>74</sup> around 734 turned into a one-way trip to martyrdom for sixty pilgrims when they were put to death by Muslim authorities. Their *Passio* was originally written in Syriac and soon translated into Greek.<sup>75</sup> Subsequent pilgrims also experienced persecution and were memorialized in Constantinopolitan synaxaria.<sup>76</sup>

Despite these difficulties, it is known that Greek pilgrims continued to visit Jerusalem and the holy sites without interruption. Right up until a few years before the destruction of the Anastasis in 1009, the Holy City enjoyed a status far superior to that of any pilgrimage site and beyond its patriarchal status as authorized by any church council.<sup>77</sup> A major difference in the middle and late Byzantine periods is the absence of women pilgrims. During the late antique and early Byzantine periods their presence was common and included many

<sup>71</sup> Siméon Vailhé, 'L'Érection du Patriarcat de Jérusalem, 451', *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 4 (1899), 44–57; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 7–8; Perrone, 'Christian Holy Places', 15 and 36–37.

<sup>72</sup> Maraval, *Lieux saints*; Josef Engemann, 'Das Jerusalem der Pilger. Kreuzauffindung und Wallfahrt', in *Kongress für Christliche Archäologie*, 24–35.

<sup>73</sup> Alexander Kazhdan, 'Epiphanius Hagiopolites', ODB I, 714; Külzer, *Peregrinatio*, 14–20; H. Donner, 'Palästina-Beschreibung des Epiphanius Hagiopolita', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 87 (1971), 42–91; Vasilii G. Vasilevskii, *Διήγησις Ἐπιφανίου περὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τόπων* (ΠΠC 11 [4.2], St Petersburg: Православное Палестинское Общество, 1886).

<sup>74</sup> Peter A. Hollingsworth, 'Leo III', ODB II, 1208–9.

<sup>75</sup> BHG 1217; Anastasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἐξήκοντα νέων μαρτύρων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλει ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος τῶν Ἀράβων μαρτυρησάντων* (ΠΠC 34 [12.1], St Petersburg: Православное Палестинское Общество, 1892). The authenticity of the eleventh-century version by Symeon the Hesychast (BHG 1218) has been questioned. See A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'IX. Ὀκτωβρίῳ κα'. *Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων μαρτύρων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριῶν*', in *Συλλογὴ παλαιστίνης καὶ συριακῆς ἀγιολογίας* 1 (ΠΠC 57 [19.3], St Petersburg: Православное Палестинское Общество, 1907), 136–63; George Huxley, 'The Sixty Martyrs of Jerusalem', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 18 (1977), 369–74.

<sup>76</sup> See the notice for St Gregory of Acritas (c.780) in the synaxarion of Constantinople: Delehay, *Synaxarium*, 372–3.

<sup>77</sup> Griffith, 'The Church of Jerusalem and the "Melkites"', 185.

noble women.<sup>78</sup> As for non-Chalcedonians, they came to be unwelcome, though this did not stop them from visiting Jerusalem and the Holy Land as pilgrims.<sup>79</sup> In the 650s, Catholicos Isho'yahb III of Adiabene (d. 659) was in contact with the church of Jerusalem and even solicited financial aid for the restoration of the Anastasis.<sup>80</sup> Later Byzantine authors from the twelfth century onward have left accounts of their own pilgrimages to Jerusalem. One of the most notable is that of John Phocas (c.1177), a well-educated pilgrim who provides unique accounts of the holy sites.<sup>81</sup>

For the liturgical historian, however, the most useful pilgrimage accounts are generally the earlier narrations. Egeria's account is unique in that it clearly describes daily liturgical services at the Anastasis.<sup>82</sup> For monastic liturgy, the *Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronius* also provides copious detail regarding the differences between rural Egyptian and Palestinian monastic traditions.<sup>83</sup> Kekelidze, however, is justified in lamenting that the descriptions of the holy sites left by pilgrims are often unable to satisfy scholarly accuracy and curiosity, due to their own contradictions.<sup>84</sup> In any case, I must note that the use of such sources can never replace the investigation of actual liturgical texts.<sup>85</sup>

## The Development of Stational Liturgy

Despite their lacunary and fragmentary information, pilgrimage accounts bring elements of liturgical books to life. This is especially true of Egeria's account, in particular with regard to stational liturgy.<sup>86</sup> The system of stations

<sup>78</sup> Alice-Mary Talbot, 'Byzantine Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century', in Patrich, *Sabaite Heritage*, 97–110, here 98–9.

<sup>79</sup> See the *Life of Euthymios*, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 47–9; Jean-Maurice Fiey, 'Le pèlerinage des Nestoriens et Jacobites à Jérusalem', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 12 (1969), 113–26.

<sup>80</sup> Sebastian Brock, 'Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba: The Translation of St Isaac the Syrian', in Patrich, *Sabaite Heritage*, 201–8, here 202.

<sup>81</sup> PG 133:923–62; Ivan E. Troitskii, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Φοκά, Ἐκφρασις ἐν συνόψει τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας μέχρις Ἱεροσολύμων κάστρων καὶ χωρῶν Συρίας, Φοινίκης καὶ τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἁγίων τόπων* (ΠΠС 23 [8.2], St Petersburg: Православное Палестинское Общество, 1889); *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land*, trans. by Aubrey Stewart (London: Adelphi, 1889); Alexander Kazhdan, 'Phokas, John', ODB III, 1667; Külzer, *Peregrinatio*, 20–1. For the later period, see Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291* (Crusade Texts in Translation 23, Surrey: Ashgate, 2012).

<sup>82</sup> See Chapter 1, 'The Catecheses of St Cyril of Jerusalem'.

<sup>83</sup> See Chapter 1, section 'Monastic Liturgy in Byzantine Jerusalem and Palestine'.

<sup>84</sup> Kekelidze, *Κανонарь*, 29.

<sup>85</sup> Such a distinction is not made by Verhelst, who refers to the hypothetical 'Euchologia' of St Cyril of Jerusalem and of Egeria. See Verhelst, 'Liturgy of Jerusalem', 446.

<sup>86</sup> For more on stational liturgy, see Chapter 1, 'Stational Liturgy and the Topography of Jerusalem'.

in Jerusalem was further developed in the GL, providing commemorations for every day of the year at various churches and holy sites throughout the Holy City. Stéphane Verhelst notes that the GL uses various terms to describe its seventy-three stations.<sup>87</sup> These can be divided into three groups on the basis of their geography and titles in the GL. The first group of stations are biblical or apocryphal sites, such as Golgotha, the Church of Bethlehem, or the Cathedral of Sion.<sup>88</sup> The second category consists of foundations (შენებულო, *šēnebuli*), that is, urban monastic communities of foreign monks who did not speak Aramaic, such as the Monastery of the Spoudaioi, the Foundation of Eudokia, or the Foundation of Melania.<sup>89</sup> The third category consists of villages (დაბაო, *dabay*) settled by local Aramaic-speaking monks.<sup>90</sup> Verhelst cautions that these categories, however, are not exclusive, serving more as a means of systematizing the numerous stations.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, Verhelst has noted that the GL omits stations at Euthymian or Sabaite monasteries, which he speculates may be due to the fallout from Miaphysite controversies around the time of Chalcedon and the ensuing Origenist disputes.<sup>92</sup> All stations listed in the GL date from before the Persian sack of Jerusalem in 614, showing simplification and reduction rather than expansion and development of the network of Hagiopolitan stational liturgy.<sup>93</sup>

In Constantinople, the synaxis of the day indicated in liturgical books was not the only liturgical celebration of the cathedral liturgy for that day.<sup>94</sup> What designated the primary celebration of the day was the presence of the bishop, and not necessarily the location where the synaxis was held. Whether or not this was the case in Jerusalem is unclear. However, it is clear that monks played a part in cathedral services in Jerusalem. This is, perhaps, how the calendar was generalized and the readings and hymns appropriate to the place and time gradually lost their importance and force: the cathedral monastics and the local monasteries that had a daily cycle of services and did not participate in the stational liturgy would hold the same services as the cathedral liturgy, but without moving from place to place within the space of the city. The *Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronius* confirms that monks were familiar with the services and ordo of cathedral liturgy in Jerusalem.<sup>95</sup> The absence of Euthymian and Sabaite monasteries from the GL's stations means these monasteries would have had greater freedom to modify their liturgical calendar and sanctoral cycle. Local monastic saints certainly figure

<sup>87</sup> For a complete list, see Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' I, 16–26. For a map, see 'Map of the City of Jerusalem, 4th–11th cent' in Appendix 2 here.

<sup>88</sup> Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' II, 247–73. <sup>89</sup> Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' I, 35–58.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 28–35. <sup>91</sup> Ibid., 58–60; Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' II, 273–4.

<sup>92</sup> Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' I, 58–9. For more on these disputes, see Booth, *Crisis of Empire*.

<sup>93</sup> Verhelst, 'Lieux de station' II, 275; Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 100–2.

<sup>94</sup> See 'λειτουργία', in Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 2, 302–3; Baldovin, *Urban Character*, 205–6.

<sup>95</sup> Longo, 'Narrazione', 236.

more prominently in the earliest extant Sabaite liturgical calendars, such as *Sinai Gr. 1096* (12th cent.) and *Sinai Gr. 1097* (1214). Whether monastic revisions to the common Hagiopolitan sanctoral cycle began before 614 or only after the Arab conquest is unclear. Nevertheless, a Sabaite calendar distinct from the cathedral rite of Jerusalem must have been well established by the tenth century, since Iovane Zosime is able to distinguish between a 'Jerusalem model' (იერუსალემისაფთა, *ierusalēmisayta*) and a contemporaneous Sabaite model (საბაწმიდისაფთა, *sabacmidisayta*) in the calendar he copied in manuscript *Sinai Geo. O. 34* (10th cent.).

### Palestinian Monasticism

The common language of these monasteries was Greek, but Syrian and Georgian monks were integral members of these communities. I will examine the liturgy in the general context of Palestinian monasticism before turning to the particularities of Greek, Syrian, and Georgian monasticism in the Jerusalem patriarchate. However, a complete picture of Byzantine monasticism in the Holy Land is still lacking, because most studies of fifth-century theological controversies generalize the situation in Palestine and equate it with that of Syria or Egypt.<sup>96</sup> More recently, Phil Booth has focused on the activity of three Palestinian monks—John Moschus, Sophrionius of Jerusalem, and Maximus Confessor—showing the important role of a more 'sacramentalized' and liturgically integrated monasticism at the service of the church in the sixth and seventh centuries.<sup>97</sup>

Liturgical sources reveal two kinds of monastic rites: the communal and/or private services obligatory for monks every day, and the less frequent communal services for the whole community. These existed side by side in Jerusalem, with monastic influence eventually causing the expansion of the cathedral *cursus* from a daily morning and evening service to a multiplicity of daily offices observed even by the laity.<sup>98</sup>

The Horologion of *Sinai Geo. O. 34* (10th cent.) is particular because it contains a daily *cursus* of twenty-four hours, divided between 'public' (საჯროფ, *saeroy*) services and simpler services of ascetics. The public services were intended for the whole monastic community and contained elements from cathedral usage, such as prayers from the Jerusalem Euchologion and a programme of reading selected—rather than continuous—psalmody.<sup>99</sup> As the ascetic services were also prayed in common in the church, rather than privately in the monks' cells, the main characteristic of the ascetic services

<sup>96</sup> See Perrone, 'Monasticism', 68. <sup>97</sup> Booth, *Crisis of Empire*.

<sup>98</sup> Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, 111–13.

<sup>99</sup> Frøyshov, *Horologe 'géorgien'*, vol. 2, 425–546, esp. 542–6.

was in their simple structure, consisting primarily of a fixed psalm, a continuous reading of variable psalmody, and a prayer.<sup>100</sup> Until Frøyshov's work on *Sinai Geo. O. 34* (10th cent.), only Palestinian monastic Horologia, such as the manuscript *Sinai Gr. 863* (9th cent.) edited by Juan Mateos, were known in liturgical studies.<sup>101</sup> The discovery of hitherto unknown manuscripts among the Sinai new finds of 1975 has changed this. Among the most interesting manuscripts is the Horologion in *Sinai Geo. N. 23* (986), copied in Constantinople by Iovane-Meli from a Constantinopolitan model. This, then, appears to be the earliest manuscript of a Constantinopolitan Horologion and its potential implications for our knowledge of the development of the Liturgy of the Hours are significant.<sup>102</sup>

It is believed that the contents of the Horologion of *Sinai Geo. O. 34* (10th cent.) originated at the cathedral of Jerusalem, where a monastic group called *spoudaioi* (οἱ μοναχοὶ Σπουδαῖοι; სპონდრიელნი, *spondielni*), the 'zealous ones', served at the Anastasis and at nearby churches, assisting in the liturgical services.<sup>103</sup> In the Typikon of the Anastasis, the *spoudaioi* are identified as a group responsible for the beginning of the vigil on the eves of Palm Sunday<sup>104</sup> and Holy Saturday<sup>105</sup> and are said to have had their own order of services.<sup>106</sup> A similar duty is given to the *hagiosionitai* (Ἁγιοσιωνῖται) in the Typikon of the Anastasis, which indicates that this group was responsible for a vigil (ἀγρυπνία) in the upper room (ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ) on Holy Thursday.<sup>107</sup> The *spoudaioi* lived in the Monastery of the Theotokos of the Spoudaioi (ἡ Θεοτόκος τῶν Σπουδαίων), founded in 494 in Jerusalem near the Anastasis, by Patriarch Elias (r. 494–516).<sup>108</sup> Dmitrievskii believed that they prayed uninterrupted services at the holy sites and filled in the times until the patriarch arrived, just as the *monazontes* and *parthenai* did, according to Egeria's observations of them.<sup>109</sup> Because the Typikon of the Anastasis covers only two weeks of the year, it is impossible to say whether this group of monks performed the same duties during the remainder of the year.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, 547–666, esp. 665–6.

<sup>101</sup> Mateos, 'Horologion'; Parenti, 'Fascicolo ritrovato'.

<sup>102</sup> Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts*, 396–7.

<sup>103</sup> Frøyshov, *Horologe 'géorgien'*, vol. 2, 335–6 and 670–1.

<sup>104</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Anastasis Typikon*, 3. <sup>105</sup> Ibid., 161–2.

<sup>106</sup> οἱ δὲ Σπουδαῖοι... ψάλλουν ἐκεῖ τὸν κανόνα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκολουθίαν καὶ ἀπολύ[ονται], καθὼς ἐστὶν ὁ τύπος αὐτῶν ('The *spoudaioi*... sing there the canon and the whole service and make the dismissal, as is their custom'). Ibid., 7; Dmitrievskii, *Древнѣйшіе Патриаршіе Типиконы*, 84; Kekelidze, *Канонарь*, 265–7.

<sup>107</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Anastasis Typikon*, 83.

<sup>108</sup> See ch. 31 of the *Life of Sabas*, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 116, lines 4–8. See also GL § 1140 for the feast of the dedication of the Church of the Theotokos of the Spoudaioi on 11 August.

<sup>109</sup> Dmitrievskii, *Древнѣйшіе Патриаршіе Типиконы*, 111–13; Egeria, *Itinéraire*, § 24: 1 and 25: 6 (= pp. 234–6 and 248–50 Maraval).

According to Sophrone Pétridès, the *spoudaioi* are also attested in Constantinople and in Cyprus.<sup>110</sup> Other similar groups, such as the *philoponoi* (φιλόπονοι), ‘lovers of toil’, are found in Alexandria, Beirut, and Antioch, the most famous member being the sixth-century Alexandrian philosopher John Philoponus, one of the best-known commentators of Aristotle.<sup>111</sup> It is not clear, however, whether these terms are ever used in a liturgical context. The examples provided by Pétridès suggest that they do not in fact refer to a coherent, liturgical group, whether monastic or lay. Nevertheless, the presence of groups designated by such names in Jerusalem as late as the twelfth century—if we are to trust the references in the *Typikon* of the Anastasis—is significant.

Another influential constituency of the Jerusalem patriarchate that had its own liturgical order was that of the monks of Palestine. The *Typikon* of the Anastasis describes Palestinian monastics participating in services at the Holy Sepulchre, which indicates that monks from the monasteries of St Sabas, St Chariton, and St Theodosius were present at Golgotha for the Hours of Holy Friday, while the patriarch and the rest of the people simultaneously held another service outside, across from Golgotha.<sup>112</sup> Other testimonials to the daily life of Palestinian monks come from the *Vitae* of the most exemplary ones, composed by Cyril of Scythopolis (c.525–59).<sup>113</sup> The *Life of Stephen the Sabaite* also contains such material.<sup>114</sup>

The largest and most famous of all *lavras* in Palestine was the Great Lavra, known today as the Lavra of St Sabas, 14.5 km south-east of Jerusalem. Initially established in 483 as a *lavriote* community by St Sabas the Sanctified (439–532),<sup>115</sup> the monastery later adapted to coenobitic life.<sup>116</sup> The architectural corpus of the Lavra was scattered across the Kidron Valley but was subsequently consolidated in an elevated area of approximately 100 by 600 m<sup>2</sup>. This is where St Sabas built the first prayer house (εὐκτήριον). The house was replaced by the Great Church of the Annunciation, consecrated on 1 July 501 by Patriarch Elias,<sup>117</sup> and by the ‘God-built’ (θεόκτιστος) cave church now dedicated to St Nicholas of Myra.<sup>118</sup> The tomb of St Sabas is presently located in the main courtyard (μεσίαυλον) of the monastery. Other structures included a hostel, a bakery (μαγκιπεῖον), a hospital (νοσοκομείον), and numerous

<sup>110</sup> Pétridès, ‘Spoudaï’; Sophrone Pétridès, ‘Spoudaï et Philopones’, *Échos d’Orient* 7 (1904), 341–8.

<sup>111</sup> Barry Baldwin and Alice-Mary Talbot, ‘Philoponos, John’, ODB III, 1657.

<sup>112</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Anastasis Typikon*, 147.

<sup>113</sup> Barry Baldwin and Alice-Mary Talbot, ‘Cyril of Skythopolis’, ODB I, 573.

<sup>114</sup> *The Life of Stephen of Mar Sabas*, ed. by John C. Lamoreaux (CSCO 578–579, Louvain: Peeters, 1999).

<sup>115</sup> Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko, ‘Sabas’, ODB III, 1823.

<sup>116</sup> Patrich, *Sabas*, 57–66. See also Siméon Vailhé, ‘Le monastère de Saint-Sabas’, *Échos d’Orient* 2 (1898–9), 332–41 and *Échos d’Orient* 3 (1899–1900), 18–28 and 168–77.

<sup>117</sup> *Life of Sabas*, Chapter 32, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 117–18; Patrich, *Sabas*, 72–5.

<sup>118</sup> *Life of Sabas*, ch. 18, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 102; Patrich, *Sabas*, 69–72.

monastic cells.<sup>119</sup> Joseph Patrich admits that little is known of the construction of the original Great Church, as the present structure dates back to a much later period.<sup>120</sup> This helps to explain why certain liturgical documents and pilgrim accounts attest to a different arrangement. According to the liturgical Typikon of St Sabas Lavra preserved in the codex *Sinai Gr. 1096* (12th cent.), in a stational procession during vigils known as *lite* (λιτή) as well as at the end of matins, the monks walked from the cave church to the Church of the Forerunner, where they would chant *stichera* slowly, for as long as it took to anoint the brethren with holy oil.<sup>121</sup> The Slavic pilgrim Abbot Daniel (c.1106–8) notes:

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Суть же 3 церкви... И ту есть гробъ  
святаго Савы посредѣ церквий тѣх трій,  
вдалѣе отъ великія сажень 4; и есть  
теремець над гробомъ святаго Савы,  
учинено красно.<sup>122</sup>

There are three churches here... and between  
the three churches is the tomb of St Sabas,  
about four fathoms [7.3 m] from the great  
church, and there is a beautifully executed  
chapel over the tomb.<sup>123</sup>

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However, Denys Pringle notes that the identity and location of the third church mentioned by Abbot Daniel is uncertain.<sup>124</sup>

The close proximity between Jerusalem and the monasteries of the Judean desert had an impact on debates within Palestinian monasticism regarding Christological controversies in the sixth and seventh centuries. The main goal of the *Life of Euthymios* and *Life of Sabas*—to portray the organization of the powerful movement of Chalcedonian monasticism in the Judean wilderness<sup>125</sup>—makes it easy to

<sup>119</sup> For plans of the monastery, see Patrich, *Sabas*, 60 fig. 8, 69 fig. 12, and 78 fig. 22.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>121</sup> λιτανεύομεν ἐξερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ θεόκτιστον... Καὶ ἀπεκεῖσε ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Προδρόμου· ψάλλονται στιχηρά, πλ. β' Προφήτα κήρυξ Χριστοῦ, Δόξα, θεοτοκίον· Ἁγία παρθένη Μαρία, μείζων ἀγγέλων... ψάλλονται δὲ ταῦτα ἀργῶς διὰ τὸ δίδοσθαι ἅγιον ἔλαιον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπισκέψεως παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου ἢ τοῦ ἱερέως· λαμβάνομεν δὲ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ παλάμῃ καὶ χριόμεθα διὰ τῆς δεξιᾶς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ('We process, going out to the God-built cave... and we depart thence to the shrine of the Forerunner. Stichera, Tone 2 plagal [Tone 6] are sung: "O Prophet, preacher of Christ... ", Glory... Theotokion: "Holy virgin Mary, greater than the angels..." These are sung slowly throughout the distribution of the holy oil to the brothers after the visitation by the hegoumenos or the priest. We take it in the palm of the left hand and anoint the forehead and heart with the right'). Dmitrievskii, *Описание III*, 21–2.

<sup>122</sup> *Житѣе и хожденье Данила руськыя земли игумена, 1106–1107 гг.*, ed. by Mikhail A. Venevitinov (ППС 3, St. Petersburg: Типографія В.Θ. Киришбаума, 1885), 54–5; 'Хождение игумена Даниила', ed. and trans. by Gelian M. Prokhorov, in *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*, vol. 4: XII век, ed. by Dmitrii S. Likhachev, Lev A. Dmitriev, Anatolii. A. Alekseev, Natalia V. Ponyrko (St Petersburg: Наука, 1997), 60.

<sup>123</sup> This translation follows Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 2, 259. See also Wilson, *Abbot Daniel*, 34.

<sup>124</sup> Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, vol. 2, 260.

<sup>125</sup> Flusin, 'Palestinian Hagiography', 210.

forget the strong opposition to Chalcedon and certain Origenist leanings among Palestinian monks.<sup>126</sup>

Attempts by Byzantine emperors to reconcile Miaphysite and Chalcedonian Christological positions through compromise led to more disputes in Palestine. Emperor Justinian's attempt to interpret Chalcedon from a perspective acceptable to moderate Miaphysites led to the posthumous condemnation in 553, at the fifth ecumenical council of Constantinople II, of the writings of three church fathers central to Antiochene Christology: Theodore of Mopsuestia (c.350–428), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (c.393–466), and Ibas of Edessa (d. 28 October 457).<sup>127</sup> Origen was also condemned at this council, in particular for his views on the preexistence of the soul, universal salvation (*ἀποκατάστασις πάντων*), and restoration of the undifferentiated unity in God and for his belief that each intellect will become identical to Christ at the last judgement, hence the Greek name *isochristoi* ('Christ's equals') given to Origen's followers.<sup>128</sup> Origenism, however, was a broad label in Palestine and also denoted a spiritual tradition of individual monastic contemplation.<sup>129</sup> Further compromise under Emperor Heraclius led to declarations of a 'single activity' (Monoenergism) and a 'single will' (Monotheletism) in Christ, which only complicated matters and resulted in imperial legislation that banned discussion of these questions. Once the majority of non-Chalcedonians found themselves outside the Byzantine empire after the Arab occupation of Antioch and Alexandria, both Monoenergism and Monotheletism were condemned at the sixth ecumenical council of

<sup>126</sup> Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina*, 89–202; Flusin, 'L'hagiographie palestinienne', 26–7. For more on this question, see also Cornelia B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian* (Oxford Early Christian Studies, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Aryeh Kofsky, 'What Happened to the Monophysite Monasticism of Gaza?', in *Christian Gaza in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Arieh Kofsky (Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 3, Leiden: Brill, 2004), 183–94. See also n. 26 in this chapter.

<sup>127</sup> Timothy E. Gregory, 'Three Chapters, Affair of the', ODB III, 2080–1; Barry Baldwin, 'Theodore of Mopsuestia', ODB III, 2044; Barry Baldwin, 'Theodoret of Cyrrhus', ODB III, 2049; Timothy E. Gregory, 'Ibas', ODB II, 970–1.

<sup>128</sup> For the anathemas against Origen, see 'Iustiniani edictum contra Originem', in *Collectio Sabbaitica contra Acephalos et Origeniastas destinata*, ed. by Eduard Schwartz (Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum 3, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1940), 213–14; 'Canones XV (contra Origenem sive Origenistas)', in *Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum sub Iustiniano habitum*, ed. by Johannes Straub (Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum 4.1, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), 248–9.

<sup>129</sup> For a discussion of the nature of Origenism in Palestine during this period, see Andrew Louth, 'The *Collectio Sabbaitica* and Sixth-Century Origenism', in *Origeniana Octava: Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition: Papers of the 8th International Origen Congress, Pisa, 27–31 August 2001*, 2 vols, ed. by Lorenzo Perrone (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 164, Leuven: Peeters, 2003), vol. 2, 1167–75; Timothy E. Gregory, 'Origen', ODB III, 1534; Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, 18–22.



Constantinople III in 680–1 and compromise formulae aimed at appeasement were abandoned.<sup>130</sup>

The ensuing ‘crisis of empire’ in the fallout from Chalcedon and the Arab conquest of vast tracts of Byzantine territory resulted in a new monastic ideological programme promoted by John Moschus, Sophronius of Jerusalem, and Maximus Confessor—the ‘Moschan circle’, as Phil Booth refers to the three Palestinian monks. The role of the monk at the service of the church and as an active participant in its sacramental life—rather than as an aloof hermit in the Judean wilderness—was accompanied by

first, an absolute refusal to contemplate compromise or Communion with heretics (against the advocates of *oikonomia*); second, a recognition of papal pre-eminence within the church (against the dictatorial stance of the capital); and third, the exclusion of the emperor from religious narratives (against the political culture of the Christian empire).<sup>131</sup>

This view of the imperial capital and of the emperor changed drastically in Palestine after the victory over Constantinopolitan iconoclasm and increased the persecution of Christians by Muslim rulers.<sup>132</sup> Nevertheless, former rifts within the Jerusalem patriarchate were still visible in liturgical sources such as the later manuscripts of the GL, where Euthymian and Sabaite monastic foundations were excluded from the stationary liturgy of Jerusalem. Whether this was the result of these monasteries’ opposition to the Monotheletism and Origenism endorsed by the patriarchate in Jerusalem is unclear.<sup>133</sup> In any case, exclusion from the Holy City’s stationary liturgy would have affected the liturgical calendar of the Euthymian and Sabaite monasteries and provided them with an opportunity to distinguish themselves by developing liturgical practices that were different from those of heretics. This may explain why even the earliest extant Sabaite liturgical calendars, such as *Sinai Gr. 1096* (12th cent.), are highly Byzantinized and show few similarities to other Hagiopolitan liturgical calendars of the same period.

Such was the situation in which Greek, Syriac, and Georgian monastic life in the Judean desert developed. After the Arab conquest, however, our knowledge of the ninth through to the eleventh centuries consists of fragmentary

<sup>130</sup> Timothy E. Gregory, ‘Monoenergism’, ODB II, 1396–7; Timothy E. Gregory, ‘Monotheletism’, ODB II, 1400–1. For a basic bibliography and summary of these disputes, see *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, vol. 1: *General Introduction, Documents before the Council, Session I*, trans. by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis (Translated Texts for Historians 45, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 51–6.

<sup>131</sup> Booth, *Crisis of Empire*, 338.

<sup>132</sup> For these changing views, see ‘Islamic Occupation’, ‘Byzantine Iconoclasm and Its Impact on Palestine’, and ‘Theodore Balsamon and the Rite of Constantinople’ in this chapter.

<sup>133</sup> Verhelst, ‘Lieux de station’ I, 58–9. For more on this question, see ‘The Development of Stationary Liturgy’ in this chapter.

glimpses rather than seamless narratives.<sup>134</sup> The focus of historical witnesses in the period after the Arab conquest is mainly on the larger monasteries, which suggests that many monasteries did not survive the Persian and Arab attacks of the seventh century.<sup>135</sup>

### Greek Monastic Liturgy

The primary liturgical language of most Palestinian monasteries was Greek, so what is said generally of monasticism applies equally to Greek-speaking monasticism. However, the same multilingualism that Egeria witnessed in fourth-century Jerusalem is also reflected in Hagiopolitan and Palestinian monasteries until the crusades.<sup>136</sup> For example, in the *Life of St Sabas* we read that Armenian monks were permitted to serve the canonical hours (τῆς ψαλμωδίας κανόνα)<sup>137</sup> in their own language (τῇ τῶν Ἀρμενίων διαλέκτῳ), but were to join the Greeks for the Divine Liturgy,<sup>138</sup> which is indicated here by the term προσκομιδή.<sup>139</sup>

Contrary to what one might assume, the Lavra of St Sabas in Palestine became the centre of a Greek intellectual revival after the Arab conquest. This revival not only influenced Jerusalem and Palestine but also had an impact upon Constantinople and the rest of the Byzantine empire, where a decline in literary production had been felt since the time of the Emperor Heraclius (d. 641).<sup>140</sup> The monastery served as the home of great hymnographers and theologians, although some of them spent only a part of their creative careers at the monastery, often leaving on account of ordination to the episcopate, or in order to carry out some other appointments assigned to them by the patriarch.<sup>141</sup> Many Hellenophone monks of Palestine—such as St Sophronius,

<sup>134</sup> Nasrallah, *Histoire* II.1, 69; Constantin A. Panchenko, 'Иерусалимская православная церковь', ПЭ 21: 472.

<sup>135</sup> Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky, 'Monasticism in the Holy Land', 288.

<sup>136</sup> For more on bilingualism among Palestinian monks, see Nasrallah, *Histoire* II.1, 65–6.

<sup>137</sup> For an explanation of this term, see Alexei A. Dmitrievskii, 'Что такое κανὼν τῆς ψαλμωδίας, так нерѣдко упоминаемый въ жизнеописаніи препод. Саввы Освященнаго?' *Руководство для сельскихъ пастырей* 38 (1889), 69–73. For more on Armenian monasticism in the Holy Land, see Nina G. Garsoïan, 'Introduction to the Problem of Early Armenian Monasticism', *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 30 (2005–7), 177–236, here 185 and 220–6.

<sup>138</sup> ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς θείας προσκομιδῆς ἔρχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλημισταρίων καὶ τῶν θείων μεταλαμβάνειν μυστηρίων ('At the time of the divine offering join the Greek-speakers and partake of the divine mysteries.'). *Life of Sabas*, ch. 32, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 117.

<sup>139</sup> For an explanation of the term προσκομιδή, see Stefano Parenti, 'Nota sull'impiego del termine προσκομιδή nell'eucologio Barberini gr. 336 (VIII sec.)', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 103 (1989), 406–17; Pavlos Koumarios, 'Prothesis and Proskomide: A Clarification of Liturgical Terminology', *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 52: 1–4 (2007), 63–102, esp. 68–72.

<sup>140</sup> Mango, 'Greek Culture in Palestine', 149.

<sup>141</sup> For a general overview of the literary work of the residents of St Sabas Lavra, see Archbishop Aristarchos Peristeris, 'Literary and Scribal Activities at the Monastery of St Sabas', in Patrich, *Sabaite Heritage*, 171–94.

later patriarch of Jerusalem (c.560–638);<sup>142</sup> St Andrew, bishop of Crete and composer of the Great Canon (d. 4 July 740);<sup>143</sup> the hymnographer and apologist St John of Damascus;<sup>144</sup> the Damascene's adopted brother, Cosmas, bishop of Maiouma (c.675–752) and composer of hymnographic canons for Palm Sunday, the Nativity of Christ, the Dormition, the Exaltation, and Holy Week;<sup>145</sup> the polemicist Theodore Abū Qurrah, bishop of Ḥarrān;<sup>146</sup> Michael Syncellus (c.761–846), hieromonk of the Lavra, grammarian, and homilist as well as emissary of Patriarch Thomas to Rome and Constantinople;<sup>147</sup> and Mark, hymnographer and bishop of Otranto (9th–10th cent.)<sup>148</sup>—were considered to have been monks of St Sabas Lavra at some point during their lives. Some aspects of their biographies, however, have been questioned in recent scholarship and connect them rather to a monastery at the Anastasis in Jerusalem or with other unidentified monastic communities in Jerusalem or Palestine.<sup>149</sup>

Incidentally, the reference to a calligrapher (*καλλιγράφος*), the Galatian monk Eustathius,<sup>150</sup> as well as the numerous biblical and patristic citations in the writings of Cyril of Scythopolis suggest the presence of a significant library at St Sabas already in the fifth century.<sup>151</sup> Two libraries existed at the monastery, one on the south side of the Great Church and the other in the tower of Justinian, and contained all the books of the Lavra's Jerusalemite *metochion* of the archangels. Many of the most valuable manuscripts and church objects were, however, destroyed by fire during the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Christoph von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem: Vie monastique et confession dogmatique* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972); Aristeides Papadakis, 'Sophronios', ODB III, 1928–9.

<sup>143</sup> Alexander Kazhdan, 'Andrew of Crete', ODB I, 92–3.

<sup>144</sup> See n. 47 here ('Melkites: A Subgroup?').

<sup>145</sup> Alexander Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson-Ševčenko, 'Kosmas the Hymnographer', ODB II, 1152.

<sup>146</sup> See n. 48 here ('Melkites: A Subgroup?').

<sup>147</sup> Robert Browning and Alexander Kazhdan, 'Michael Synkellos', ODB II, 1369–70; Mary B. Cunningham, *The Life of Michael the Synkellos: Text, Translation and Commentary* (Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations 1, Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1991); Claudia Sode, *Jerusalem–Konstantinopel–Rom: Die Viten des Michael Synkellos und der Brüder Theodoros und Theophanes Graptoi* (Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 4, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001).

<sup>148</sup> Panagiotēs G. Nikolopoulos, 'Μάρκος, Ἐπίσκοπος Ὑδροῦντος', *ΘΗΕ* 8: 759; Paolo Cesarotti, 'Da "Marco d'Otranto" a Demetrio: Alcune note di lettura su poeti bizantini del Salento', *RSBN* 37 (2000), 183–208.

<sup>149</sup> See, for example, Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople'; Louth, *St John Damascene*, 6–7.

<sup>150</sup> *Life of Sabas*, ch. 84, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 189.

<sup>151</sup> For an index of Cyril of Scythopolis' sources, see the index in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 254–6; Bernard Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'œuvre de Cyrille de Skythopolis* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1983), 43–73; Cirillo di Scitopoli, *Storie monastiche del deserto di Gerusalemme*, trans. by Romano Baldelli and Luciana Mortari (Abbazia di Praglia: Edizioni Scritti Monastici, 1990), 409–17; Patrich, *Sabas*, 189–92; Cynthia Jean Stallman-Pacitti, *Cyril of Skythopolis: A Study in Hagiography as Apology* (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1991).

<sup>152</sup> For a brief survey of the scribal production of Mar Sabas Lavra, see Siméon Vailhé, 'Les écrivains de Mar-Saba', *Échos d'Orient* 2 (1898–9), 1–11 and 33–47; Archbishop Aristarchos

## Syriac Monastic Liturgy

A reference to the practice of multiple, multilingual services is repeated in the twelfth-century redaction of the founder's *Typikon* of St Sabas Lavra, which is considered the will and testament of St Sabas (439–532) himself, although no contemporaneous copies are extant. The description of the liturgical services within the monastery is as follows:

Μὴ ἔχειν δὲ ἐξουσίαν μήτε τοὺς Ἰβήρας, μήτε τοὺς Σύρους, ἢ τοὺς Φράγγους λειτουργίαν τελείαν ποιεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ συναθροισμένους ἐν αὐταῖς ψάλλειν τὰς ὥρας καὶ τὰ τυπικά, ἀναγινώσκειν δὲ τὸν Ἀπόστολον καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσερχεσθαι εἰς τὴν μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος τῶν θείων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων.<sup>153</sup>

Nor shall it be permitted that the Georgians, or the Syrians, or the Franks celebrate a complete liturgy in their churches. Let them instead gather over there, and sing the canonical hours and *Typika* in their own language, and read the Epistle and the Gospel as well, and then go to the Great Church and take part in the divine, undefiled, and life-giving sacraments together with the whole brotherhood.<sup>154</sup>

At least for major feasts, the Divine Liturgy that the monastic brotherhood would celebrate in common in the Lavra's Great Church was probably still JAS until the twelfth century.<sup>155</sup> Both the *Life of Stephen the Sabaite*, which mentions that Stephen served BAS frequently on the basis of ancient traditions, and liturgical manuscripts from Palestine and Sinai containing both BAS and CHR, such as *Sinai Geo. N. 54* (10th cent.) and *Sinai Gr. 1040* (14th cent.), suggest that the position of JAS as the primary eucharistic Divine Liturgy of Palestinian monasticism was in decline by the twelfth century.<sup>156</sup> This seems even more likely when one considers that the *Typikon* in *Sinai Gr. 1096* (12th cent.)—the same manuscript that contains the Testament of St Sabas—makes no reference to JAS. The reference to 'Franks' may be a later interpolation into a much older original text. However, it should be noted that Latin speakers were present in Jerusalem both as pilgrims and as permanent monastics. The priest Gabriel of the Anastasis, as the *Life of Euthymius*, was

Peristeris, 'Literary and Scribal Activities at the Monastery of St Sabas', in Patrich, *Sabaite Heritage*, 171–94, here 175–7.

<sup>153</sup> *Sinai Gr. 1096* (12th cent.), 148r; Dmitrievskii, *Oniscanie* I, 222–3.

<sup>154</sup> English translation from Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Sabas: Founder's *Typikon* of the Sabas Monastery near Jerusalem', *BMFD* IV, 1316, with my emendations.

<sup>155</sup> See Charon, 'Le rite byzantin', 495.

<sup>156</sup> See Auzépy, 'De la Palestine à Constantinople', 190; Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts*, 413–15. See also Chapter 3, 'Eucharistic Liturgies' and 'Sources of the Liturgy of St James'.

fluently trilingual in Latin, Greek, and Syriac, and there were monks from the West, on the Mount of Olives, who prayed in Latin.<sup>157</sup>

'Syrian' served as a unifying designator for speakers of Syriac, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Arabic in Palestine until the ninth or tenth century.<sup>158</sup> From the time of Egeria until the twelfth century, Syriac had a prominent place in the daily life of Jerusalem, as witnessed by another directive of St Sabas' testament:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ φθοροποιοὶ δαίμονες ἐν ταῖς  
προχειρήσεσι τῶν ἡγουμένων εἰώθασι  
δειχωνίας καὶ στάσεις ἀναρύπτειν τῶν δύο  
γλωσσῶν, μεταξύ Ῥωμαίων τε φημί καὶ  
Σύρων, ἐκ μέσου τὸ σκάνδαλον ἐξελαύνοντες,  
διοριζόμεθα μηδένα τῶν Σύρων ἀπὸ γε τοῦ νῦν  
τῆς τοῦ ἡγουμένου ἐπιβαίνειν ἀρχῆς,  
οἰκονόμους δὲ καὶ δοχειαρίους καὶ εἰς τὰς  
λοιπὰς διακονίας προτιμᾶσθαι τοὺς Σύρους καὶ  
διαταττόμεθα καὶ ἀποδεχόμεθα, ὡς  
ἀνυστικωτέρους ὄντας καὶ δραστικούς ἐν ταῖς  
πατρά[ι]σιν αὐτῶν.<sup>159</sup>

Since in the act of the nomination of the superiors pernicious demons are accustomed to raise disagreements and divisions between the two languages (I mean between Romans [i.e. Byzantines] and Syrians), in order to get rid of this scandal, we ordain that no Syrian should be appointed to the office of superior; but we both decide and accept that Syrians, being more efficient and practical in their native country, should be preferred for the stewardship and treasurership as well as for other ministries.<sup>160</sup>

But, despite their efficiency and practicality, Syrians were never permitted to be abbots in these monasteries, and thus Syriac never held liturgical primacy in the multilingual monastic communities of Palestine or in the Jerusalem cathedral. One example of a bilingual Melkite liturgical manuscript of uncertain provenance is *Sinai Gr. N.E. X 239* (12th–13th cent.), a peculiar Greek–Syriac manuscript containing CHR that presumes that the clergy would know both Greek and Syriac, since it indicates that most of the prayers were said inaudibly in Syriac and the exclamations were made in Greek.<sup>161</sup> The earliest Syriac liturgical manuscript relevant to my study is *Sinai Syr. M52N* (9th–10th cent.), dated to the late ninth and early tenth century, which contains a complete calendar of fixed commemorations for the whole liturgical year (10 folios); this calendar follows closely the sanctoral cycle of the Jerusalem lectionary, from 1 October (*Teshri I*) until 30 September (*Elul*). André Binggeli's preliminary study of this calendar has stressed its importance

<sup>157</sup> ἔμαθεν ὀρθῶς λαλεῖν τε καὶ γράφειν κατὰ τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Σύρων φωνήν ('he had learnt to speak and to write accurately in the Latin, Greek, and Syriac languages'). *Life of Euthymius*, ch. 37, in Schwartz, *Cyril of Scythopolis*, 56; McCormick, *Survey of the Holy Land*, 206–7.

<sup>158</sup> Leeming, 'The Adoption of Arabic as a Liturgical Language', 240–1.

<sup>159</sup> *Sinai Gr. 1096* (12th cent.), fol. 149v; Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie I*, 224.

<sup>160</sup> English translation from Gianfranco Fiaccadori, 'Sabas: Founder's *Typikon* of the Sabas Monastery near Jerusalem', *BMFD IV*, 1317.

<sup>161</sup> Nikolopoulos, *Νέα εὐρήματα*, 224; Brock, 'Manuscripts liturgiques', 278.

for the study of liturgy in Jerusalem between the appearance of new martyrs—namely martyrs of the Arab conquest, who were integrated into the sanctoral cycle—and the final liturgical Byzantinization of the Jerusalem patriarchate.<sup>162</sup>

Nevertheless, very few Syriac liturgical manuscripts show a clear connection with the Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem. The lack of Syriac and Arabic liturgical sources is also explained by the fact that not all Syriac- and Arabic-speaking Christians were Chalcedonian Melkites who shared the faith promoted by Constantinople.<sup>163</sup> The majority of sources reflect the East and West Syrian liturgical traditions, which had closer ties to Antioch.<sup>164</sup> Because of the liturgical limitations imposed on the various linguistic communities, Arabic liturgical texts are generally restricted to lectionaries such as *Sinai Ar. 72* (897), *Sinai Ar. 54* (9th cent.), *Sinai Ar. 74* (9th cent.), *Sinai Ar. 70* (9th–10th cent.), or *Sinai Ar. 97* (1123/4).<sup>165</sup> Another, similar source, the New Testament codex *Vatican Ar. 13* (9th cent.), was probably used among Arabic monks in a multilingual environment such as St Sabas or Mount Sinai.<sup>166</sup> The most important Arabic Gospel lectionary for this study is the bilingual Greek–Arabic codex *Sinai Ar. 116* (995/6) in the hand of Presbyter John, son of Victor of Damietta, who copied both the Greek and the Arabic text on Sinai while he was a priest in the monastery. He had previously entered the monastery and became monk on Sinai in 984/5.<sup>167</sup>

Although the provenance of the extant liturgical manuscripts is very difficult to determine, colophons of most extant Syriac Melkite liturgical manuscripts indicate that they were copied in parts of Syria and Cappadocia—within the Antiochene patriarchate, not in Jerusalem.<sup>168</sup> This is particularly the case with *Vatican Syr. 19* (1030) and *Vatican Syr. 20* (1215).<sup>169</sup> Regarding liturgical content, most manuscripts contain CHR or BAS and very few

<sup>162</sup> Binggeli, 'Calendrier melkite de Jérusalem', 193. See Appendix 1 for more on this manuscript.

<sup>163</sup> Nadia El Cheikh and Clifford E. Bosworth, 'Rūm', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 8, 601–6; Griffith, 'The Church of Jerusalem and the "Melkites"'; Johannes Pahlitzsch, 'Griechisch, Syrisch, Arabisch: Zum Verhältnis von Liturgie- und Umgangssprache bei den Melkiten Palästinas im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', in *Language of Religion, Language of the People: Medieval Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, ed. by Ernst Bremer, Jörg Jarnut, Michael Richter, and David J. Wasserstein, with assistance from Susanne Röhl (Mittelalter Studien 11, Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006), 37–47.

<sup>164</sup> Sebastian Brock, 'Liturgy', GEDSH, 248–51.

<sup>165</sup> See 'Melkites: A Subgroup?' and 'Arabization' in this chapter; also Appendix 1.

<sup>166</sup> Francesco D'Aiuto, 'Graeca in codici orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana', in Perria, *Tra oriente e occidente*, 227–96, here 241–5 and tables 1–3 there. See also Joshua Blau, 'A Melkite Arabic Literary "Lingua Franca" from the Second Half of the First Millennium', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57 (1994), 14–16.

<sup>167</sup> Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste*, 356; Harlfinger, Reinsch, and Sonderkamp, *Specimina sinaïtica*, 17–18 and tables 18–22; Garitte, 'Évangélaire grec-arabe', 208–9. See Appendix 1 for more on this manuscript.

<sup>168</sup> For more on the problem of colophons, see Ševčenko, 'Manuscript Production'.

<sup>169</sup> See Appendix 1 for more on these manuscripts.

contain JAS.<sup>170</sup> However, they often do make note of distinctions between various liturgical practices, for example by referring to liturgical usages ‘according to the Greek order’ (*‘ik tks’ ioni’*) or to differences between liturgical usage in Edessa and in Melitene; and they generally originate from the area around the Black Mountain near Antioch, making it difficult to situate any of them within the environs of the Jerusalem patriarchate.<sup>171</sup>

### *Georgian Monastic Liturgy*

As noted already, Georgians had a significant presence in Palestine from the fifth century, and St Sabas Lavra was one of their primary bases. Between the eighth and the tenth centuries, this monastery was the focal point of Georgian scribal activity outside the Caucasus. It was here that a major redaction of the Georgian bible, known as ‘the St Sabas redaction’ (საბასწმინდობრი, *sabacmিদური*), took place between the eighth and the tenth centuries.<sup>172</sup> After 980 Georgian scribes abandoned the Lavra and moved to Sinai, where Georgians were known already since the late sixth century.<sup>173</sup> Contact between Sinai and Palestine was quite common at the time and several routes facilitated travel.<sup>174</sup>

Among the Georgian monks who migrated from Mar Sabas to Sinai was the scribe Iovane Zosime, the most notable Georgian figure in Palestine in the tenth century.<sup>175</sup> Little is known of his early life, and some have speculated

<sup>170</sup> Sebastian P. Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Athens: Mount Sinai Foundation, 1995), esp. 57–9; Philothée, *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques*.

<sup>171</sup> Heinrich Husmann, ‘Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: Altsyrisch-melkitisch’, OCP 42 (1976), 156–96, esp. 156–64.

<sup>172</sup> Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte*, 62–3.

<sup>173</sup> The earliest mention of Georgians is under the name *bessas* in the *Itinerarium* of Antoninus of Piacenza (c.570). See *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, ed. by Johann Gildemeister (Berlin: Reuthers, 1889), § 37: 27 (Latin), 56 n. 48 (German). For a more recent edition, see *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, ed. by Paul Geyer (CCSL 175, Turnhout: Brepols, 1965), 148 (§ 37, V 184.4). This name corresponds to the word βέσσοι in the *Life of Theodosius the Cenobiarch* (BHG 17766). See n. 38 here (‘The Christian Population and its Languages’); Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte*, 62, 69.

<sup>174</sup> For the various routes connecting Jerusalem and Sinai, see Pau Figueras, ‘Pilgrims to Sinai in the Byzantine Negev’, in *Kongress für Christliche Archäologie*, 756–62. See also Yoram Tsafrir, ‘The Maps Used by Theodosius: On the Pilgrim Maps of the Holy Land and Jerusalem in the Sixth Century CE’, DOP 40 (1986), 129–45; Israel Roll, ‘Roads and Transportation in the Holy Land in the Early Christian and Byzantine Times’, in *Kongress für Christliche Archäologie*, 1166–70.

<sup>175</sup> Tarchnishvili, *Geschichte*, 109–14; Garitte, *Calendrier palestino-géorgien*, 16; Bernard Outtier, ‘Langue et littérature géorgiennes’, in *Christianismes orientaux: Introduction à l’étude des langues et des littératures*, ed. by Micheline Albert, Robert Beylot, René-G. Coquin, Bernard Outtier, Charles Renoux, and Antoine Guillaumont (Initiations au christianisme ancien, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1993), 263–96, here 289. The most recent and complete biography of Iovane Zosime is in Frøyshov, *Horologe ‘géorgien’*, vol. 2, 217–30. Zosime’s name is absent from PmbZ II.

that he was born around 920 and became a novice at the monastery of Šatberdi in Georgia around 940.<sup>176</sup> Various manuscript colophons preserved at Sinai show that he lived at St Sabas Lavra around 962<sup>177</sup> and then moved to the Monastery of St Catherine on Sinai, where he resided between 973<sup>178</sup> and 986,<sup>179</sup> dying shortly thereafter. One of the most important liturgical texts for the study of the liturgical Byzantinization of Jerusalem is the calendar that Zosime copied in codex *Sinai Geo. O. 34* (10th cent.). It bears the title ‘Synaxes of the Months of the Year’ (კრებად თთუეთად წელიწადისათად), where the term ‘synaxis’ (კრებად, *krebay*) is equivalent to the Greek *σύναξις*, a liturgical gathering intended to celebrate a feast or a commemoration.<sup>180</sup> The contents of this calendar reflect a mixed Hagiopolitan transitional liturgy. Gérard Garitte believed that the liturgical calendar was not intended for actual use but rather as a kind of encyclopaedic synaxarion that revealed the compiler’s awareness of two sanctoral traditions active in his time—a hybrid and a *compilation artificielle*.<sup>181</sup> Zosime himself identifies four sources for his collection:

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ესე კრებანი დ დედითა დამიწერიან, თავად  
კანონისადათა და საბერძნეთი-სადათა და  
იერუსალჴმისადათა და საბაწმიდისადათა.<sup>182</sup>

I have described these synaxes from  
four sources: chiefly the canon  
(*kanoni*), and also of the Greeks, and of  
Jerusalem, and of St Sabas.

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Garitte has made suggestions as to what these sources may have been: the canon (კანონისადათა, *kanonisayta*) refers to the Jerusalem lectionary;<sup>183</sup> a Greek model (საბერძნეთისადათა, *saberznetisayta*) is perhaps a synaxarion of Palestinian origin;<sup>184</sup> the ‘Jerusalem model’ (იერუსალჴმისადათა, *ierusalēmisayta*) was something other than the Jerusalem lectionary, perhaps something like the hymnals or the Menaia found in *Sinai Geo. O. 1*, *Sinai Geo. O. 59*, *Sinai Geo. O. 64*, and *Sinai Geo. O. 65*;<sup>185</sup> and there is a contemporaneous

<sup>176</sup> Frøyshov, *Horologe ‘géorgien’*, vol. 2, 221. For more on the Monastery of Šatberdi, which was founded by Gregory of Khandzta in the ninth century in Tao-Klardžeti, Georgia, see Valeri Silogava and Kakha Shengelia, *Tao-Klardžeti* (Tbilisi: Caucasus University Press, 2006).

<sup>177</sup> *Sinai Geo. O. 34* (10th cent.); Frøyshov, *Horologe ‘géorgien’*, vol. 2, 220.

<sup>178</sup> *Sinai Geo. O. 35* (973); Frøyshov, *Horologe ‘géorgien’*, vol. 2, 219.

<sup>179</sup> *Sinai Geo. Tsagareli 92* (986); Frøyshov, *Horologe ‘géorgien’*, vol. 2, 219.

<sup>180</sup> Mateos, *Typicon*, vol. 2, 319–20; Garitte, *Calendrier palestino-géorgien*, 20, 43.

<sup>181</sup> [L]e calendrier de Jean Zosime est un document hybride... Il ne semble pas qu’un tel document puisse être considéré comme un ordo destiné à régir réellement la vie liturgique d’une communauté. Garitte, *Calendrier palestino-géorgien*, 37.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 23–31.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 31–3.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*, 33. For a description of these manuscripts, see Nikolai Marr, *Описание грузинских рукописей синайского монастыря* (Moscow: Академия Наук СССР, 1940), 99–107, 135–41, 141–52; *Description I*, 13–38 (*Sinai Geo. O. 1*), 162–86 (*Sinai Geo. O. 59*), 187–208 (*Sinai Geo. O. 64*), 208–9 (*Sinai Geo. O. 65*).



Sabaitic model (საბაწმობისაჲთა, *sabacmidisayta*), which Garitte does not identify.<sup>186</sup> Iovane Zosime's familiarity with a variety of liturgical traditions in Palestine and Sinai has inspired Stig Frøyshov to consider him—along with Nikon of the Black Mountain one century later (c.1025–c.1100/10)<sup>187</sup>—‘a precursor to comparative liturgy in our time’.<sup>188</sup>

Unlike the Arabic sources, extant Georgian liturgical manuscripts from the ninth century onward contain more than just lectionaries. A great number also contain JAS and various prayers of Palestinian origin no longer extant in Greek sources. As with the GL, the Georgian manuscripts of JAS and other prayers from the Euchologion are invariably translations from Greek originals that have in many cases been lost. These include *Sinai Geo. N. 58* (9th–10th cent.), *Sinai Geo. O. 54* (10th cent.), and *Sinai Geo. O. 12* (10th–11th cent.), liturgical books that contain Divine Liturgies, sacraments, readings from the Jerusalem lectionary, and an assortment of other prayers and rites.<sup>189</sup> For lack of a better term, they have been dubbed ‘liturgical collections’ (ლიტურგიკული კრებულო, *liturgikuli krebuli*; συλλογή λειτουργικῶν κειμένων).<sup>190</sup> Since these types of manuscripts are often acephalous (i.e. they do not bear any title) and are not intended exclusively for the presiding bishop or presbyter but contain hymns and readings for chanters or the laity, Georgian scholars are hesitant to call them Euchologia (εὐχολόγια).<sup>191</sup> Because of the potpourri of its contents within a codex of generally small dimensions,<sup>192</sup> Bernard Outtier refers to this type of book as a *missel de voyage*.<sup>193</sup> The all-encompassing nature of its content recalls the western Latin liturgical books known as *libelli missarum*, where liturgical action was concentrated in the presider's hands.<sup>194</sup> While the Georgian ‘liturgical collections’ do derive from a monastic environment, either at the St Sabas Lavra in Palestine or at St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, these books are not intended exclusively for a monastic community, which is obvious from the inclusion of marriage services and prayers for pregnant women.

If Sabaite monks from the various language groups were to come to the Great Church to celebrate together the Divine Liturgy in Greek, as mentioned

<sup>186</sup> Garitte, *Calendrier palestino-géorgien*, 35–7.

<sup>187</sup> Alexander Kazhdan, ‘Nikon of the Black Mountain’, ODB II, 1484–5.

<sup>188</sup> ‘Zosime fut ainsi, en compagnie de Nikon de la Montagne-Noire un siècle plus tard, un précurseur à la Liturgie comparée de notre temps’. Frøyshov, *Horologe géorgien*, vol. 2, 230.

<sup>189</sup> For a description of each of these manuscripts, see Appendix 1.

<sup>190</sup> *Liturgia ibero-graeca*, 29–31. This term is also followed by Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts*.

<sup>191</sup> Robert F. Taft, ‘Euchologion’, ODB II, 738; Stefano Parenti, ‘Euchologion’, in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 3, ed. by Walter Kasper, 3rd edn (Freiburg: Herder, 1995), 976.

<sup>192</sup> The codices range from 200 × 150 mm to 50 × 90 mm.

<sup>193</sup> Outtier, ‘Sinai géorgien 54’, 88.

<sup>194</sup> Eric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by Madeleine Beaumont (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), 107, 109–10.

in the *Life of Sabas* and regulated by the Testament of St Sabas, how would these Georgian liturgical manuscripts have been used in the Greek-dominated monastic liturgical environment? It is most likely that they were used in smaller communities or in monastic dependencies where the majority of monks were Georgians or liturgical services were conducted in Georgian. Regardless of their use, the very existence of these sources is of great importance for the study of the Hagiopolite liturgy during this period.

## HAGIOPOLITAN DECLINE

Before the Arab conquest, the Jerusalem church was flourishing, monasticism was thriving, and new hymnography and literature was being composed. Conflicts and theological disputes caused significant disruption to ecclesiastical life, but Chalcedonian Christians were still in the majority and controlled the holy sites. The worst was yet to come.

The turbulence of sixth-century theological disputes in Palestine was replaced by war and bloodshed in seventh-century Jerusalem. The Persian conquest of Jerusalem (614–30) caused considerable loss of life and inflicted significant destruction upon the city. The advancing Persian army pushed towards Palestine nomadic Bedouin raiders, who massacred monks at the Great Lavra a week before the Persians seized Jerusalem.<sup>195</sup> Despite such upheavals, a building programme was immediately initiated under Patriarch Modestus of Jerusalem (d. 634).<sup>196</sup> Rather than being a restoration of the status quo, this was simply the calm before another storm.

## Islamic Occupation

The defining event of the period of Byzantinization, which has implications for the history of Jerusalem even until today, is the capture of the Holy City by the Muslim forces of Caliph 'Umar in 638.<sup>197</sup> Jerusalem was thereafter no

<sup>195</sup> Antiochus Strategos, *Epistula ad Eustathium*, PG 89:1421–8; Dauphin, *La Palestine byzantine*, vol. 2, 357.

<sup>196</sup> Thomson, *Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos*, 70–2; Constantin A. Panchenko et al., 'Иерусалим', ПЭ 21: 397–441, here 413. For more on this question, see 'Changes in Topography' in this chapter.

<sup>197</sup> The exact date of Jerusalem's conquest is not completely clear. The traditional date is February 638, although the city may have already fallen by December 637. In either case, the conquest occurred before the death of Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem on 11 March 638. See André Guillou, 'Prise de Gaza par les Arabes au VIIe siècle', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 81 (1957), 396–404.

longer within the same empire as Constantinople, and Chalcedonian Christians found themselves a powerless majority ruled by a minority from another religion and culture. The Christian perspective on the occupation of Jerusalem varied from one group to another. The monks of St Sabas believed that the preceding fall of Palestine to the Persians in 614 was punishment for the sin of Monotheletism and for the separation from Constantinople.<sup>198</sup> At the other extreme, Michael I Rabo (1126–99),<sup>199</sup> Miaphysite patriarch of Antioch, believed that God had sent the Arabs to deliver Palestine from the tyranny of the Byzantines—a popular topos that was adapted and repeated in Byzantine post-Florentine reactions to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.<sup>200</sup>

Chalcedonian authors also employed literary topoi to describe the events surrounding the arrival of the Muslim invaders.<sup>201</sup> St Maximus Confessor writes of a civilization-destroying ‘barbarous nation of wild beasts’ that only resemble humans in physical appearance,<sup>202</sup> and St Sophronius of Jerusalem compares the events he witnessed to the apocalyptic abomination of desolation from the prophecy of Daniel.<sup>203</sup> Certainly parallels between the biblical battle of the Israelites and Philistines (1 Samuel 17:1) and that of the Byzantine and Muslim armies, which was taking place before these authors’ very eyes, were tempting. But, according to Claudine Dauphin, the invading Arabs did not carry out any systematic massacres. Their invasion was a ‘war of usury’ and siege more than one of military invasion,<sup>204</sup> and the demographic decline in Palestine under the Arabs had already begun during the Byzantine period, as established by archaeological and demographic studies.<sup>205</sup>

Despite diverging perceptions of the event, it is clear that the Arab occupation of Palestine ushered in a long transitional period of cultural, social, and political—but especially liturgical—change. A key figure at the beginning of this period was Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem (c.560–638), who witnessed the Arab conquest of his city. It was Sophronius, and not any military or civil leader, who negotiated with Caliph ‘Umar the treaty that led to Jerusalem’s

<sup>198</sup> Frederick C. Conybeare, ‘Antiochus Strategos: The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614 AD’ [*sic*], *English Historical Review* 25 (1910), 502–17.

<sup>199</sup> Sidney H. Griffith, ‘Michael I the Syrian’, ODB II, 1362–3; D. Weltecke, ‘Michael I Rabo’, GEDSH, 287–90.

<sup>200</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, vol. 2, pp. 431–2 (= 11: 8). For more on anti-Byzantine sentiment, see Nasrallah, *Histoire* II.1, 58; Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 568.

<sup>201</sup> Dauphin, *La Palestine byzantine*, vol. 2, 360.

<sup>202</sup> Maximus Confessor, *Epistulae*, XIV, PG 91:540.

<sup>203</sup> Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Homilia in Theophaniam*, 10: 24–31 (6 January 637); Sophronius of Jerusalem, ‘Λόγος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα’, in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολύμητικῆς Σταχυολογίας*, vol. 5 (St Petersburg: Kirschbaum, 1898), 151–68, here 166. See also Daniel 9:27, 11:31, 12:11; 1 Maccabees 1:54, 6:7; Matthew 24:15.

<sup>204</sup> Dauphin uses the term *guerre d’usure*. See Dauphin, *La Palestine byzantine*, vol. 2, 363–8.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 371–2.

submission.<sup>206</sup> The role of Sophronius as a kind of ethnarch suggests the rise in importance of Jerusalem's hierarchy during the period when Greek-praying Christians in Jerusalem found themselves outside the Byzantine empire; it also bears witness to the progressive development of a top-down model of leadership within the patriarchate of Jerusalem. Sophronius was not only an ecclesiastical leader but also the chief hymnographer in the new phase of hymnographic composition found in the *Iadgari*.<sup>207</sup>

In the first years of Muslim occupation, little changed for the Jerusalem patriarchate in terms of demographics and civil administration; and the relations between Muslims and Christians were good. Cities remained Christian, while Muslims established new towns and villages or occupied houses abandoned by Christians who had fled with the Byzantines. The Umayyad dynasty's founder, Mu'āwiya (r. 661–80), retained the existing civil tax infrastructure administration established under the Byzantines, adding only a new personal (*ḡizya*) and territorial (*ḥarāḡ*) tax, so that only the ruler who governed and received the taxes changed. Not only did churches and monasteries remain open, but new ones with visible external crosses could be constructed in newly established Muslim towns.<sup>208</sup>

Although the Umayyads preferred not to involve themselves in Christological controversies, they were forced to oversee strained inter-Christian relations.<sup>209</sup> Conflicts between Chalcedonians, Miaphysites, and Monothelites were intensified, because the Chalcedonians, now no longer the established and state-approved church, were occasionally viewed with suspicion by Muslim authorities,<sup>210</sup> while non-Chalcedonians received preferential treatment due to their opposition to Constantinople and support for the occupation.<sup>211</sup> Although this is often repeated as a commonplace and may in fact have been true in Egypt, Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger have pointed out that there is no evidence for such attitudes in Syria, since 'the earliest Miaphysite literary responses to the conquest in both Syria and Egypt take the form of apocalypses that portray the arrival of the Muslims as a catastrophe presaging the end of times'.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>206</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, 339; Mango and Scott, *Chronicle of Theophanes*, 472. See also Daniel J. Sahas, 'The Face to Face Encounter between Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem and the Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: Friends or Foes?', in *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, ed. by Emmanouela Grypeou, Mark N. Swanson, and David Thomas (History of Christian-Muslim Relations 5, Brill: Leiden, 2006), 33–44.

<sup>207</sup> Frøyshov, 'Early Development', 144; Aleksidze et al., *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts*, 367. See also Stig Frøyshov, 'Sophronios of Jerusalem', *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (Canterbury Press, 2013). At <http://www.hymnology.co.uk/s/sophronios-of-jerusalem> (accessed 25 April 2016).

<sup>208</sup> Nasrallah, *Histoire* II.1, 40–3.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 209–10.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>212</sup> Noble and Treiger, *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World*, 14.

In time, the occupiers' initial tolerance for the adapting Christian majority began to fade. Once the antithesis between Arabs and non-Arabs had disappeared, the divide between Muslims and non-Muslims sharpened.<sup>213</sup> This antagonism coincides with the reign of the 'Abbasid dynasty (c.750–1258) and, particularly from 959, with the rule of Fatimid caliphs from Egypt, who were known for their severity towards Christians.<sup>214</sup> Their hostile attitude turned Jerusalem into a setting for theological debates and martyrdom for many Arab Melkite new martyrs, Anthony Rawḥ and Peter Capitolias among them.<sup>215</sup>

Despite these difficulties, there was still freedom of movement and contact between Jerusalem and the other patriarchates. One of the better known figures of the 'Abbasid period, Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem, was initially a doctor and a deacon in Jerusalem who in 797 became a monk at the Lavra of St Sabas. After serving as *hegoumenos* of the Old Lavra, Thomas became patriarch some time before 807.<sup>216</sup> It was this same Patriarch Thomas who sent his secretary Michael Syncellus to Rome via Constantinople in 815. Resources permitted Thomas to restore the Anastasis, which he did after the death of Hārūn al-Rashīd in 809, even without the caliph's permission.<sup>217</sup> Contact between the Judean monasteries and the patriarchate were also maintained at this time. There were many cases of *hegoumenoi* of St Sabas Lavra being promoted to the episcopate, both within the patriarchate of Jerusalem and elsewhere. For example, Theodore Abū Qurrah, previously believed to have been a monk of St Sabas and then its *hegoumenos*, became bishop of Edessa in the Antiochene patriarchate.<sup>218</sup> Thus mobility and fluid exchange of clergy existed between Palestinian monasteries and areas beyond the Jerusalem patriarchate.

Jerusalem's foreign contacts were not limited to the other eastern patriarchates. In 808, after hearing of suffering and poverty in Jerusalem, Charlemagne (c.742–814) sent a delegation to the Holy Land to assess

<sup>213</sup> Arthur Stanley Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of 'Umar* (London: Frank Cass, 1970), 3.

<sup>214</sup> Vittorio Peri, *La 'Grande Chiesa' Bizantina: L'ambito ecclesiale dell'Ortodossia* (Brescia: Queriniana, 1981), 146.

<sup>215</sup> Griffith, 'The Church of Jerusalem and the "Melkites"', 183–5. See Chapter 4, 'New Martyrs'.

<sup>216</sup> See BHG 1670, *De S. Stephano sabaita thaumaturgo monacho* (in AASS, Julii, tomus III), 588, § 136 (13 July); BHG 1200, *Martyrium SS. XX patrum sabaitarum* (in AASS, Martii, tomus III), \*2–\*14, here \*5, § 24 (20 March). For other supplemental edited folios from the passion of the twenty martyrs, see Robert P. Blake, 'Deux lacunes comblées dans la *Passio XX Monachorum Sabaitarum*', AB 68 (1950), 27–43.

<sup>217</sup> Eutyches Patriarcha Alexandrini, *Annales*, pars 2 (CSCO 51, Beirut: Typographeo Catholico, 1909), 55–6; Constantin A. Panchenko, 'Иерусалимская православная церковь', ПЭ 21: 470. See n. 147 ('Greek Monastic Liturgy') here in this chapter.

<sup>218</sup> John C. Lamoreaux, 'The Biography of Theodore Abū Qurrah Revisited', DOP 56 (2002), 25–40. For more on Theodore Abū Qurrah, see 'Melkites: A Subgroup?' in this chapter.

the financial situation of the church there and to provide support.<sup>219</sup> Its report reveals the existence of 162 members of personnel, including sixty ordained clergy attached to the Holy Sepulchre complex alone:<sup>220</sup> a number comparable, for example, to that of the Church of Blachernai in Constantinople but far smaller than the 600 clergy at Hagia Sophia in 612.<sup>221</sup> The total patriarchal budget that the delegation calculated was comparably small, around 1,660 solidi, or 7.06 kilograms of gold.<sup>222</sup> This amount provided for the salaries of all the clergy, which the patriarch distributed after matins on Holy Thursday<sup>223</sup> and also during the foot washing later in the day, according to the Typikon of the Anastasis;<sup>224</sup> a peculiar choice, considering the condemnation of Judas' love of money sung throughout the hymnography for that day.<sup>225</sup>

### Migrations

Despite the turmoil that followed the Arab conquest of the Holy City, Palestine and Jerusalem were considered hospitable and relatively safe regions. According to the *Life of St Stephen the Younger*, Palestine—Muslim rule notwithstanding—was a safer refuge than Constantinople or other regions of the Byzantine empire for persecuted iconophile monks during the eighth century.<sup>226</sup> In the early ninth century, another Byzantine account paints a decidedly different picture of the apparent stability of the church of Jerusalem. The monastic chronicler Theophanes (d. 818) describes the situation:

<sup>219</sup> McCormick, *Survey of the Holy Land*, xiii.

<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 31 table 2.3.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., 24–5.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>223</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ῥογεύει ὁ πατριάρχης [εἰς] τὸν κλῆρον τὴν ῥόγαν αὐτῶν οὕτως· μετὰ τὸ ἀπολυσαὶ ὁ ὄρθρος, ἀλλάξει καὶ καθήσει εἰς τὸ Σέκρετ[ον] καὶ φορεῖ τὸ ὠμοφόριον αὐτοῦ· καὶ εὐθὺς ἀλλάζουν οἱ ἑβ' ἀρχ[ιερεῖς] καὶ παραστήκουν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἄρξεται ῥογεύειν αὐτῶν πάντων ἐμβάθμως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν ('On this holy day the patriarch distributes the largesse to the clergy thus: after the dismissal of matins, he leaves and sits in the council chamber and wears his *omophorion*. Immediately the twelve bishops leave and stand by him, and he begins to distribute to all of those in ministry and according to order'). Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Anastasis Typikon*, 99.

<sup>224</sup> καὶ [ὁ πατριάρχης] φιλεῖ τὸν πόδα καὶ δίδει ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ νομίματος ('And the patriarch kisses their feet and gives each one of them a coin'). Ibid., 113.

<sup>225</sup> See *ibid.*, 96–116.

<sup>226</sup> See BHG 1666, Stephanus Constantinopolitanus Diaconus, *Vita Sancti Stephani junioris, monachi et martyris*, PG 100:1120; and *La Vie d'Etienne le Jeune par Etienne le Diacre*, ed. by Marie-France Auzépy (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 3, Aldershot: Variorum, 1997), 125–6. See also Marina Detoraki, 'Greek Passions of the Martyrs in Byzantium', in *Ashgate Companion to Byzantine Hagiography* II, 85–9.

τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει πολλοὶ τῶν κατὰ Παλαιστίνην Χριστιανῶν μοναχοὶ καὶ λαϊκοὶ καὶ ἐκ πάσης Συρίας τὴν Κύπρον κατέλαβον φεύγοντες τὴν ἄμετρον κάκωσιν τῶν Ἀράβων. ἀναρχίας γὰρ καθολικῆς κατασχούσης Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἀρχήν, φόνοι τε καὶ ἀρπαγαὶ καὶ μοιχεῖαι, ἀσέλγειαί τε καὶ πᾶσαι πράξεις θεοστυγεῖς ἐν κώμαις καὶ πόλεσι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεολέστου ἔθνους αὐτῶν ἐπράττοντο, οἳ τε κατὰ τὴν ἁγίαν Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλιν σεβάσμιοι τόποι τῆς ἁγίας ἀναστάσεως, τοῦ κρανίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐβεβηλώθησαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον διαβόητοι λαῦραι τοῦ ἁγίου Χαρίτωνος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μοναστήρια καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησῖαι ἠρημώθησαν. καὶ οἳ μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν μαρτυρικῶς, οἳ δὲ τὴν Κύπρον κατέλαβον καὶ ἐκ ταύτης τὸ Βυζάντιον, οὗς Μιχαήλ, ὁ εὐσεβῆς βασιλεὺς, καὶ Νικηφόρος, ὁ ἁγιώτατος πατριάρχης, φιλοφρόνως ἐξένισαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐλθοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει μοναστήριον ἐπίσημον ἐδώρησατο, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον ἐναπομείνασι μοναχοῖς τε καὶ λαϊκοῖς τάλαντον χρυσοῦ ἀπέστειλεν, καὶ παντοίως τούτους ἐθεράπευσεν.<sup>227</sup>

In the same year [812/13] many of the Christians of Palestine, monks and laymen, and from all of Syria arrived in Cyprus, fleeing the excessive misdeeds of the Arabs. For, as a result of the general anarchy that prevailed in Syria, Egypt, Africa, and their [i.e. the Arabs'] entire dominion, murders, rapes, adulteries, and all manner of licentious acts that are abhorred by God were committed in villages and towns by that accursed nation. In the holy city of Christ our God the venerable places of the holy Resurrection, of Golgotha, and the rest were profaned. Likewise the famous *lavras* in the desert, that of St Chariton and that of St Sabas, and the other monasteries and churches were made desolate. Some Christians were killed like martyrs, while others proceeded to Cyprus and thence to Byzantium and were given kindly hospitality by the pious emperor Michael and the most holy patriarch Nikephoros. The emperor made a gift of an important monastery to those who had come to the City, while to those who had remained in Cyprus, both monks and laymen, he sent a talent of gold and provided for them in every way.<sup>228</sup>

It is generally accepted that the great migrations of 'Christian monks and laity' described by Theophanes were those of an 'intellectual élite' fleeing Monotheletism as well as Persian and Arab invasions in the seventh century, and then iconoclasm in the eighth and ninth centuries. The picture painted by Theophanes was not that simple. Just as the persecution of Christians in the early church did not continue without interruption but went in fits and spurts, in tandem with periods of peace, so too was the situation for Christians in Palestine. The Byzantine recapture of Syrian territories in the late tenth century subjected the region to pillaging and a scorched earth policy, as well as to psychological pressure designed to disrupt the unity of the non-Chalcedonian Christian population.<sup>229</sup> The chronicles of the period, especially those of Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) and Bar Hebraeus (c.1226–86), suggest that the Miaphysites moved north and east, towards Militene and Edessa,

<sup>227</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, 499. For biographical information on Theophanes, see Mango and Scott, *Chronicle of Theophanes*, xliii–lii; Alexander Kazhdan, 'Theophanes the Confessor', ODB III, 2063.

<sup>228</sup> Translation from Mango and Scott, *Chronicle of Theophanes*, 683. See also Griffith, 'Holy Land in the Ninth Century', 232.

<sup>229</sup> Dagron, 'L'immigration syrienne', 183–5.



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