ARMENIAN WRITERS IN MEDIEVAL JERUSALEM (6TH–16TH CENTURIES; REVISED AND EXPANDED)*

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The earliest of the Armenian diaspora communities is that of Jerusalem, with its beginning in early Byzantine monasticism. However, the documentary history of Armenian presence in the Holy City could be traced to earlier times, especially when a delegation of Armenian clergy attended the dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 335.[1] By the sixth century there were spacious Armenian monasteries around the

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1 Abraham Terian, *Macarius of Jerusalem: Letter to the Armenians, A.D. 335,* AVANT: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 4 (Crestwood: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2008), 13–63.

city, as the ruins with several inscriptions in mosaic floors found on the Mount of Olives to the east and in the vicinity of Damascus Gate to the north indicate.[2] These monasteries must have suffered the fate of nearly all such buildings and churches in the Holy Land during the devastating invasion in 614 by Khosrow II of Persia (590–628). The boundaries of

[2] For an illustrated description of these floors, see Bezalel Narkiss, "The Armenian Treasures of Jerusalem," in *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem*, ed. Bezalel Narkiss et al. (New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Brothers, 1979), 21–28. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Holy Land: An Archaeological Guide from Earliest Times to 1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 106, has this to say about the one in the Damascus Gate vicinity: "this mosaic floor is perhaps the most beautiful in the whole country." For a fine study on the dominant motif of birds, see Helen Evans, "Nonclassical Sources for the Armenian Mosaic Near the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period (Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980)*, ed. Nina G. Garsoïan et al. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 217–22. Additional discoveries in more recent years have revealed the extensiveness of the site north of the Damascus Gate; see Michael E. Stone and David Amit, "New Armenian Inscriptions from Jerusalem," *Cathedra* (April 1997) 27–44 (in Hebrew). For other documentary sources, see further below, n. 17. Armenian legend has it that St. Gregory and King Trdat came to Jerusalem and there they met with Pope Sylvester and Emperor Constantine, at which time the holy places were divided by lot among their custodians, thus explaining how Armenians in the Holy Land came to possess their places (see, e.g., the thirteenth-century sage and hymnographer Vardan Arewelts'i, *Nerboghean i Surb Grigor Lusaworich'*, in *Hovhannu Sarkawagay, Vardanay Bardzrberdts'woy, Hovhannu Yerznkats'woy Nerbogheank' i S. Grigor Lusaworich'* [Panegyrics on St. Gregory the Illuminator by...], [ed. Ghewond Alishan], *Sop'erk' haykakank'* [Armenian Booklets] [Venice: S. Ghazar, 1853] 5:77–78; he lists: the Manger, Golgotha, and the convents of St. John the Forerunner and St. James). For a far more dramatic description of an alleged meeting of these four leaders in Rome, see ibid., 66–68; cf. Agat'angeghos (Aa) 873–80; Arm. text, *Agat'angeghay Patmut'iwn Hayots'* (Agat'angeghos' History of the Armenians), ed. Galust Tēr-Mkrtch'ean and Step'an Kanayeants' (Tiflis: Martiroseants', 1909), 485–89, also in the ongoing series Matenagirk' Hayots' (Armenian Classical Authors, hereinafter abbr. MH), gen. ed. Zaven Yegavian, Armenian Library of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Antelias: Armenian Catholicosate of Cilicia; Yerevan: Matenadaran, 2003ff.) 2:1722–26 (ed. Iwzbashian and Muradian); Eng. trans., Robert W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1976), 407–15.

the present-day Armenian Quarter, covering nearly a sixth of the Old City at the southwestern corner and around the monastery of St. James, were fairly well established by the end of the eleventh century. And the community thrived under the Crusaders.[3] Unlike other communities in the Armenian diaspora, and those in Armenia as well, the Jerusalem community was seldom disturbed and hardly ever displaced from its present Quarter.[4] Its continuity enabled it to flourish as a religious and learning center and to become territorially the largest monastic establishment in the medieval city.

Part of this historic legacy today is the collection of nearly four thousand medieval manuscripts at St. James, catalogued by Archbishop

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[3] Joshua Prawer, "The Armenians in Jerusalem under the Crusaders," in *Armenian and Biblical Studies*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976), 222–35. Unfortunately, there is but one passing reference, and that only to the location of the Armenian Quarter, in Mustafa A. Hiyari, "Crusader Jerusalem 1099–1187 A.D.," in *Jerusalem in History*, ed. Kamil J. Asali (New York: Olive Branch Press, 1990), 130–71, note esp. 144; cf. Andrew Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude: Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 55–57, 65–100.

[4] Armenian clergy in Jerusalem were persecuted during upheavals instigated by the Mamluks (1365–1369), heightened because of a Frankish attack on Alexandria in 1366. Three centuries later, the St. James Monastery was temporarily seized by the Greek Orthodox Church (1657–1659). Information obtained from colophons: MSS J122, pp. 975–78, and J16, pp. 1310–14. The first of these colophons is comparable with that of MS M7091, on which see Levon S. Khach'ikyan, *ZhD dari hayeren dzeṙagreri hishatakaranner* (Colophons of Fourteenth-Century Armenian Manuscripts) (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1950), 473; for an Eng. trans., see Avedis K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301–1480* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 94–95. On conditions leading to the later event during the Patriarchate of Astuatsatur Tarōnets'i (in office 1645–1670), see Maghak'ia Ormanian, *Azgapatum* (National History), 3 vols. (Constantinople: V. and H. Ter-Nersesian, 1912–1914; Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1927; repr. Beirut: Sevan, 1960) 2/2:2512–29 (§§ 1729–1739). A history of later conflicts over sacred sites, including the St. James Monastery, is found in MS J3825); cf. Ormanian, *Azgapatum*, 2/3:3073–74 (§ 2106), on the Patriarchate of Karapet Gandzakets'i (in office 1762–1768).

N. Bogharian.[5] These include scores of texts identified by him as recensions with some unique content.[6] Nearly half of these were penned locally, and a few of them were written by local chronographers, liturgists, lexicographers, and poets. The rest are copies of broadly spread religious works, yet with occasional colophons vividly recounting contemporary and near-contemporary events and encounters with other Christian as well as non-Christian entities. Unfortunately, however, these special manuscripts and others in the larger collection that were penned locally have not attracted the scholarly attention they deserve, in spite of the fact that the careful cataloguer has provided the full colophons of nearly all manuscripts. To these may be added the scores of other codices copied in Jerusalem and now kept elsewhere among other collections of ancient Armenian manuscripts.[7]

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[5] Norayr Bogharian [Pogharian], ed., *Grand Catalogue of St. James Manuscripts*, 11 vols. (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1966–1991); all in Armenian.

[6] Note especially the following pages for lists enumerating some 380 particular texts provided by the cataloguer: 1:651; 2:647; 3:621; 4:667–68; 5:xiv–xv; 6:xiv–xv; 7:xxvii; 8:xiv–xv; 9:xiv; 10:xii; 11:471. For a history of the collection, see Michael E. Stone, "The Manuscript Library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem," *Israel Exploration Journal* 19 (1969) 20–43, also publicshed separately, same title (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1969).

[7] The other major repositories are the Mashtots' Matenadaran in Yerevan, the Mekhitarist Libraries in Venice and Vienna, and the All-Savior Cathedral in New Julfa. The respective catalogues are: *Ts'uts'ak dzeŕagrats' Mashtots'i anvan matenadarani* (Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library Named for Mashtots'), ed. O[nik] Eganyan, A[ndranik] Zeyt'unyan, and P'[aylak] Ant'abyan, 2 vols. (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1965–1970, revised with expanded descriptions in an ongoing multivolume series as of 1984); *Mayr ts'uts'ak hayerēn dzeŕagrats' matenadaranin Mkhit'areants' i Venetik* (Grand Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Library of the Mekhitarists in Venice), ed. Barsegh Sargisian, Grigor Sargsian, and Sahak Chemchemian, 8 vols. (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1914–1998); *Haupt-Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, ed. Jakovbos Dashian (Tashian), Hamazasp Oskian, and Augustin Szekulian (Ōgostinos Sek'ulian), 3 vols. (Vienna: Mechitaristenbuchdr., 1895, 1964, 1983); all vols. provide German summaries of the descriptions); and *Ts'uts'ak hayerēn dzeŕagrats' Nor Jughayi Amenap'rkich' Vank'i* (Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Monastery of All-Savior

With an effort to contextualize these medieval resources at St. James, I shall explore briefly the Armenian literary activity in Jerusalem from Byzantine times to the late Middle Ages, through the wider gateway the Crusades and the Cilician Kingdom opened to the Holy City. In this short survey I shall account for the learned ecclesiasts who resided there for some time during these centuries–whether as members of the monastic brotherhood or as pilgrims–and on whose writings the time spent in Jerusalem appears to have had an indubitable impact.

I.

The earliest surviving Armenian document written in Jerusalem is a letter by Grigor Bishop of the Artsrunis (c.500–570).[8] This letter, written in c.560 and sent to followers in Armenia, stresses the necessity of celebrating Candlemas or Penthesis, a festival in honor of the purification of the Virgin Mary and the presentation of the infant Christ in the Temple forty days after His birth *(Teaṙnĕndaṙaj),* on the traditional day, the fourteenth of February. Grigor begins by referring to an imperial letter sent by Justinian I (527–565), in the thirty-third year of his reign, to the Patriarch Eustochius (or Eutychius, 552–563) and the rest of the clergy in Jerusalem ordering them to reckon the feast day from the birth of Christ on the twenty-fifth of December. Grigor, following the residents of Jerusalem, encourages his followers in the home country not to yield to revisionist Byzantine pressures under Justinian. To underscore the

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in New Julfa), ed. S[mbat] Tēr-Awetisian, L[evon] G. Minasian, and O[nik] S. Eganian, 2 vols. (Vienna: Mkhit‘arean Tparan, 1970–1972). All catalogues are in Armenian.

[8] A critical text of the document, based on MSS J3152 (A), J71 (B), J1A (C), J154A (D), J764 (E), has been edited by Norayr Bogharian, “T‘ught‘ yErusaghemē i Hays vasn Teaṙnĕndaṙajin” (An Epistle from Jerusalem to the Armenians Regarding the Penthesis), *Sion* 38 (1964) 33–36; trans. by Abraham Terian in *Macarius of Jerusalem,* 155–62. The earliest reference to this document is in a letter to an unnamed bishop of Antioch by Step‘annos Bishop of Siwnik‘ (c.680–735); see *Girk‘ T‘ght‘ots‘* (Book of Letters), ed. Norayr Bogharian (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1994), 500.

veracity of the traditional date, he speaks of a great miracle at Hagia Sion that day, water streaming from a pillar, while the Patriarch led the services at St. Procopius in defiance of the imperial order (apparently before proceeding to the Martyrium or the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher, the *Anastasis*). Grigor goes on to describe the defiant celebrations led by the Patriarch Macarius II (563–574) in the following year at the Martyrium. While offering the Eucharist, the celebrant Patriarch had a vision which he recounted after the trance: an angel flew from Golgotha and struck one of the pillars of the Martyrium with his right hand. This left an imprint of the nailed right hand of Christ, which the people could see; even more, an image of the Blessed Virgin with the Child holding a crimson cross in His right hand, and the same crimson cross appearing on every pillar. Many of those who witnessed the miracle were healed that day. Grigor cites the dramatic experience of a crippled Armenian woman from Mokk‘ (Moxoene, today in Van province) named Soghovmē who was healed after she crawled toward the pillar on which were revealed the images of the right hand of the Lord and of the Virgin with the Child. Soghovmē stood straight as with faith she embraced that pillar, whereupon she and all those present began to praise God in unison.

Miracles aside, the historicity of this document is verifiable in the development of the Jerusalem liturgy as well as in the history of Imperial meddling in church affairs under Justinian I; for indeed, in the fifteenth year of his reign (542) Justinian ordered the observance of the feast of Penthesis at Constantinople as a thanksgiving for the cessation of a plague at Christmas time.[9] Apparently, it took another fifteen years for the new feast day to become a controversial issue in Jerusalem and perhaps also in other parts of the Empire. Moreover, the document

[9] See “Candlemas” in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F(rank) L. Cross and Elizabeth A. Livingstone, 2nd ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 229. At a later time the feast was observed there on the second of February (see Édouard de Moreau, “L’Orient et Rome dans la fête du 2 février,” *Nouvelle revue théologique* 62 [1935] 5–20).

clearly indicates that in Jerusalem these festal services were being held on the traditional date, at the Martyrium, as indicated in the Armenian Lectionary *(Chashots')* of mid-fifth-century Jerusalem (preferred text in MS J121; cf. J71)[10] and as described by the fourth-century pilgrim Egeria in her 381–384 travel account *(Peregrinatio,* 26).[11] With rare exceptions, the close harmony between Egeria's memoirs and the services in the old Armenian Lectionary–the foremost of the early Jerusalem Lectionaries extant, have long been noted in "Egeriana" scholarship[12] The old Armenian Lectionary was translated from Greek in the 460s and most likely in Jerusalem: it follows the early Jerusalem tradition for the services there, its injunctions are for use in Jerusalem primarily, and the last saint it commemorates is Bishop John of Jerusalem who died in 417 (before the episcopal see of Jerusalem became one of the initial five patriarchates). Although the translation from Greek

[10] According to Athanase Renoux, between 417 and 438: "Un manuscrit du vieux lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (Cod. Jerus. arm. 121)," *Le Muséon* 74 (1961) 361–385; 75 (1962) 385–398; idem, *Le Codex arménien Jerusalem 121,* Patrologia Orientalis 35.3, 36.2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969, 1971); idem, *Le Lectionnaire de Jérusalem en Arménie: Le Čašoc',* Patrologia Orientalis 44.4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989). Cf. Hugo Méndez, "Revising the Date of the Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 29 (2021) 61–92, dating it "to a point after 439"; or, "the years intervening between c. 456 and 479," adding, "'c. 460s' is appropriate" (76, 91 and n. 134).

[11] For an English translation of Egeria's memoirs, with a substantial chapter on the old Armenian Lectionary followed by an annotated outline of its contents comparing them with Egeria's descriptions, see John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land,* 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Ariel; Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1981), esp. 253–77. The celebration at Sion could be attributed to liturgical changes made a century earlier, in the time of Juvenal (422–458) and Anastasius I (458–478).

[12] For a brief, comparative survey, see Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels,* 253–277. The striking harmony between Egeria's account and the old Armenian Lectionary is to be seen at the outset, in the vigils of Epiphany and Easter: Armenians in Byzantine Jerusalem held each of the eight-day services after Epiphany at various churches in and around the city, the last being held in the Holy Anastasis; so were also the services of the Holy Week, culminating at the Anastasis.

does not require that it was done in Jerusalem, there is no good reason to reject the possibility since it was structured for stational use, at prescribed locations there; its use elsewhere in the Greek-speaking church was limited to the lections or Bible readings, and that is how it was transmitted after the fifth century.[13] The translation time and place of this complete Lectionary have broad implications not only for the Byzantine liturgical tradition in Jerusalem but also for the religious life and literary activities of Armenians there at the time.[14]

Also worth mentioning here, as we proceed chronologically, are the three eyewitness accounts by seventh-century Armenian pilgrims to various sites in the Holy Land–even though they do not account for any

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[13] See Robert F. Taft, "Lectionary," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 2:1201.

[14] Avedis K. Sanjian heightens the possibility for an Armenian scriptorium there in the fifth century, *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 4 and 314 n. 16; idem, "The Armenian Communities of Jerusalem," in Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures*, 11–12. Contributing to this conclusion is a questionable colophon (published by Garegin Zarphanalian, *Matenadaran haykakan t'argmanut'eants' nakhneats' [Dar D-ZhG]*, [Library of Ancient Armenian Translations [IV–XIII Cent.] [Venice: S. Ghazar, 1889], 286) purporting to be from the middle of the fifth century and the year in which Mashtots' died (450 *[sic]*), found in a manuscript of the year 1403 containing a translation of Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* "translated in the holy city Jerusalem." But see the more cautious assessments of the evidence by (Catholicos) Garegin I Hovsep'ian (of Cilicia, in office 1943–1952), *Hishatakarank' dzeṙagrats'* (Colophons of Manuscripts) (Antélias: Kat'oghikosut'iwn Hayots' Kilikioy, 1951), addendum no. 1 (cols. 1019–1020). Cf. A[rtashes] S. Mat'evosyan, *Hayeren dzeṙagreri hishatakaranner, E–ZhB dd.* (Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V–XII Centuries), Nyut'er hay zhoghovrdi patmut'ean (Themes in the History of the Armenian People) 21 (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1988), 3 (no. 6). See also Stone, "The Manuscript Library," 26–27; Robert W. Thomson, "Jerusalem and Armenia," in *Proceedings of the 1983 Oxford Patristic Conference*, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 77–91, esp. 80 (repr. in idem, *Studies in Armenian Literature and Christianity*, Collected Studies Series 451 [Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1994], ch. V).

scholarly activity in Jerusalem during this early period. A vivid description of Mount Tabor by an anonymous pilgrim, found at the end of *Haytnut‘iwn Teaṙn i T‘ap‘ōr Leṙin* (The Epiphany of the Lord on Mount Tabor), has been wrongly attributed to Eghishē in *Srboy hōrn meroy Eghishēi Vardapeti Matenagrut‘iwnk‘* (Writings of Our Holy Father Eghishē Vardapet).[15] A description of churches in Jerusalem and its vicinity, Bethlehem, and the Jordan Valley by the hermit Hovsep‘ of Arts‘akh, preserved in *Patmut‘iwn Aghuanits‘ Ashkharhi* (History of the [Caucasian] Albanians, 2.50–51) by Movsēs Kaghankat‘uats‘i or Daskhurants‘i, has been known in Holy-Land studies for more than a century.[16] So is also the earlier, mid-sixth-century report to Vahan Mamikonian by a certain Anastas Vardapet, recounting his visit to some seventy monasteries in and around Jerusalem where monks from Armenia, Caucasian Albania, and some from Georgia resided;[17] preserved in part by Kaghankat‘uats‘i *(History,* 2.52).

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[15] Robert W. Thomson, “A Seventh-Century Armenian Pilgrim on Mount Tabor,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 18 (1967) 27–33, with translation of the text found in the 1859 Venice edition of the works attributed to Eghishē (by the given title), 236–39. It is likely that such a description is in keeping with the requirements set in the *Progymnasmata,* the popular textbooks of rhetorical exercises in Late Antiquity, which included a section on descriptive writing.

[16] E(rnest) W. Brooks, “An Armenian Visitor to Jerusalem in the Seventh Century,” *The English Historical Review* 11 (1896) 93–97, and R. Nisbet Bain, “An Armenian Description of the Holy Places in the Seventh Century,” *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (1896) 346–49, both with translation of the text found in Movsēs Kaghankat‘uats‘i, critical ed. by Varag Aṙak‘elyan, *Patmut‘iwn Aghuanits‘ Ashkharhi* (History of the [Caucasian] Albanians) (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1983), 280–85; cf. the subsequent critical text ed. by Petros H. Hovhannisian, MH 15:350–53; C. J. F. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranc‘i* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 181–84.

[17] “Vasn Vanorēits‘, or i Surb K‘aghak‘n yErusaghēm” (On the Monasteries in the Holy City Jerusalem), in MH 5:1275–79 (ed. Pawēl Ch‘obanian). See also below, n. 45, and the secondary sources in Hakob S. Anasyan, *Haykakan matenagitut‘yun* (Armenian Bibliology), 3 vols. (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1959, 1976; Matenadaran and Yerevan State University, 2004) 1:825–

Among seventh-century Armenian monks in Jerusalem and known by name are the five pupils of the sage and prolific author Anania Shirakats‘i, who wrote some twenty treatises covering every aspect of the sciences known in the early Middle Ages (corresponding to the second division or the *Quadrivium* of the classical curriculum).[18] Although the testimony about them dates from the twelfth century, it derives from a

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29, and Avedis K. Sanjian, “Anastas Vardapet’s List of Armenian Monasteries in Seventh-Century Jerusalem: A Critical Examination,” *Le Muséon* 82 (1968) 265–92. For more on this much redacted text (wrongly attributed to Catholicos Anastas Akoṙets‘i, in office 661–667), originally written in the period of Justinian and before the Chalcedonian turmoil in sixth-century Jerusalem, redacted following the separation of the Armenian and Georgian churches and again, following the Arab conquest, see Abraham Terian, “Rereading the Sixth-Century List of Jerusalem Monasteries by Anastas Vardapet,” in *Sion, Mère des Églises. Mélanges liturgiques offerts au Père Charles Athanase Renoux,* ed. Michael Daniel Findikyan, Daniel Galadza, and André Lossky, Semaines d’ Études Liturgiques Saint-Serge, S1 (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2016), 273–88. For the part utilized by Kaghankat‘uats‘i, see Aṙak‘elyan, *Patmut‘iwn,* 285–86; cf. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians,* 184–85.

[18] His autobiography survives in two recensions, one shorter than the other. The shorter recension was first published by K[erovbē] P[atkanean], *Ananiayi Shirakunwoy mnats‘ordk‘ banits‘* (The Rest of the Works of Anania Shirakats‘i) (St. Petersburg: Kayserakan Chemaran Gitut‘eants‘, 1877), 1–4, then by Ghewond Alishan, *Hayapatum* (Armenian History), 2 vols. (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1901–2) 1:232–33, and is available in an English translation by Frederick C. Conybeare, “Ananias of Shirak: I. His Autobiography,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 6 (1897) 572–74. The longer version was first published by Dashian, *Haupt-Katalog der armenischen Handschriften,* 174–76, then by Ashot G. Abrahamyan, *Anania Shirakats‘u matenagrut‘yunĕ* (Writings of Anania Shirakats‘i), (Yerevan: Matenadaran, 1944), 206–9, and is available in a French translation by Haïg Berbérian, “Autobiographie d’Anania Širakac‘i,” *Revue des études arméniennes,* n.s. 1 (1964) 189–94; cf. Paul Lemerle, “Note sur les données historiques de l’Autobiographie d’Anania de Shirak,” ibid., 195–202. The longer version is generally preferred. Further bibliography in Anasyan, *Haykakan matenagitut‘yun,* 1:731–74. For a comprehensive study, see Alessandro Orengo, “Un *selfie* alla cultura armena del settimo secolo: l’“Autobiografia” di Anania Širakac‘i,” *LEA - Lingue e letterature d’Oriente e d’Occidente* 5 (2016) 81–102; cf. idem, “L’*Autobiographie* d’Anania Širakac‘i,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 86 (2020) 9–18.

highly reliable source: the chronographer Samuēl Anetsʻi (c. 1100–1180). He mentions the five pupils by name: Hermon, Trdat, Azaria, Ezekiēl, and Kirakos. They had left their renowned teacher, embraced Dyophysite Christology, and resided in Jerusalem as ascetics or monks. Although there are five centuries between Anetsʻi and the reported event, he probably had at his disposal some documentary evidence for this somewhat specific piece of information–possibly obtained at Haghbat where he studied with great masters (Hovhannēs Sarkawag Vardapet and Gēorg Vardapet Uṙchetsʻi, later Bishop of Haghbat). Moreover, as a careful chronographer, Anetsʻi had thoroughly studied the chronological works of Shirakatsʻi, which he utilizes, and had researched the authorities behind the latter's primary sources, carefully identifying them all.[19] However late his testimony may be, his credentials and the naming of the five should lend it some credibility. Shirakatsʻi complains in his "Autobiography" about students who were eager to leave his circle in order to teach prior to completing their course of study.

Much later documentary evidence for translational activity in Jerusalem has been drawn from an often copied colophon (with minor variants) from the year 869 or 879/880. The colophon in question pertains to the anonymous hagiography on the mythical life of St. Dionysius the Areopagite. One version has: "This history of St. Dionysius was translated from ancient Greek in the city Jerusalem, and the physician Hovhannēs translated [it] into ours; 318 by the Armenian reckoning [=869]." Another version has: "This history of St. Dionysius was translated in the holy city Jerusalem from lofty Greek, and the physician Hovhannēs

[19] Arshak Tēr Mikʻelian, ed., *Samuēli Kʻahanayi Antsʻewoy [sic] Hawakʻmunkʻ i grotsʻ patmagratsʻ* (Compilation from the Books of Historians by the Priest Samuēl Anetsʻi) (Vagharshapat: Mother See Press of Ējmiatsin, 1893), 84–85; Ashot G. Abrahamyan, "Samvel Anetsʻu tomarakan ew tiezerakan ashkhatutʻyunĕ" (The Chronological and Cosmological Works of Samuel Anetsʻi), *Ējmiatsin* 9.1 (1952) 30–34.

translated [it] into ours; 329 of the Armenian era [=880]."[20] Still another has: "This history of St. Dionysius was translated in the holy city Jerusalem from Greek, and the physician Hohannēs translated [it] into ours; 328 of the Armenian era [=879], to the glory of Christ our God, to whom be glory always." On earlier translational work there, I agree with the following assessment by Stone: "it can be safely assumed that in fact such activity antedates these ninth-century references."[21]

Further evidence for such translational activity during this period may be derived from a colophon of the year 1271, referring to the activities of Vardan Vardapet Arewelts'i (one of the most renowned theologians of the Armenian Church, c.1200–1271) while he was on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1239/40.[22] While at St. James, Arewelts'i became

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[20] The first two texts are quoted by Mkrtich' (Episkopos) Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk' Hay Erusaghēmi* (Members of the Brotherhood and Visitors of Armenian Jerusalem) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1929), 354, following Zarphanalian, *Matenadaran haykakan t'argmanut'eants' nakhneats'*, 382. The preferred text, however, is the third: that of MS J282, as in Hovsep'ian, *Hishatakarank' dzeŕagrats'*, no. 30 (cols. 81–82); also in Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 2:99, where it reads as follows: *"Ays patmut'iwn srboyn Dionēsiosi i Sb. K'aghak'n E[rusaghē]mi t'argmaneal ēr i yunakanēn, isk i mers t'argmaneats' Hovhannēs Bzhishk, YIĔ [879], i t'uakanut'eans hayots' i p'aŕs K'[ristos]i A[stutso]y meroy o(w)rum p'aŕk' yaw[iteans]"*; cf. 1:30, 303, 458; 2:276 for the texts in MSS 1C, 97, 154D, 368. All these Jerusalem manuscripts have the year 879 in the often copied colophon. On the history of the Greek version, see Alexander Kazhdan and Barry Baldwin, "Dionysios the Areopagite, Pseudo-" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* 1:629–30.

[21] Stone, "The Manuscript Library," 27.

[22] Given the significance of this short colophon, we furnish the text as found in the collection by Artashes S. Mat'ēvosyan, *Hayeren dzeŕagreri hishatakaranner, ZhG dar* (Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, Thirteenth Century) (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1984), no. 320 (MS M4086): *"T'argmanets'aw chaŕs ays erkuts' k'ahanayits', i Dawt'ē ew i Hovhannisē. Ew aŕajin[n] t'argmanch'ats' zk'aroz vardapetut'ean aŕak'eloyn Hakovbay ew zglkhatumn i Hrēits'n hramanawn Herovdēi. Isk erkrordn zgnaln i Spania i dzeŕn hreshtakats', orpēs ew chaŕs patmē kargaw. Isk eraneli vardapetn Hayots' Vardan greal zerkuts'n t'argmaneals, ew ĕst iwrum imastut'eann miaworeats' i mi, zt'erin elits' ew oghorkeats' yErusaghēm, ew aŕak'eats' i teghis teghis."* "This

aware of two apocryphal writings previously unknown to him that narrate the martyrdom of St. James the brother of St. John: one on his being beheaded, an account usually found following the text of his teaching, and the other on his headless body being washed away miraculously to Spain.[23] The first, with the teaching, was translated by a certain Dawit‘ K‘ahanay, and the second by a certain Hohannēs K‘ahanay. Arewelts‘i copied the works translated by the two, combining them into a single document, and dispatched copies to several places–conceivably in Armenia and Cilicia. From the likelihood that Arewelts‘i was not familiar with these ancient translations prior to his pilgrimage, and from his subsequent role in spreading these writings around, it may be concluded that they were unknown in Armenian circles outside Jerusalem. Intriguing as the recurring name Hohannēs may be, it would be difficult to identify either of these early translators with others named above, given the popularity of such biblical names in medieval Armenia.

To this Byzantine period belongs a little-known author from Jerusalem: the hermit archdeacon Grigor Sarkawagapet Erusaghēmats‘i, whose

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treatise was translated by the two priests Dawit‘ and Hohannēs. The first translator rendered *The Proclaimed Teaching of the Apostle James* and his decapitation by the Jews on Herod’s command, and the second, his transportation to Spain at the hands of angels—as the treatise recounts in sequence. However, the blessed doctor of the Armenians, Vardan, copied the two translations, and by virtue of his wisdom, combined into one. He filled in the incomplete and refined it in Jerusalem and dispatched (copies) to various places.” Cf. idem, *Hayeren dzeŕagreri hishatakaranner, E–ZhB dd.* (Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, V–XII Centuries), Nyut‘er hay zhoghovrdi patmut‘ean (Themes in the History of the Armenian People) 21 (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1988), no. 38.

[23] On these apocryphal writings known as the Oriental Acts, see Aurelio de Santos Otero, “Later Acts of Apostles,” in *The New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, rev. ed.; trans. and rev. by R. McL. Wilson; 2 vols. (Cambridge: James Clarke, and Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991–1992) 2:476–78 (13.1: *Acta Iacobi Zebedaei* and 13.2: *Passio Iacobi Zebedaei*); the martyrdom of James is ultimately from Hegesippus, the second-century historian of the Jerusalem Church, of whose works fragments are preserved in Eusebius (see, e.g., *Hist. Eccl.* 2.9).

name we first encounter among the panegyrical compositions in medieval Armenian literature dedicated to St. Gregory the Illuminator.[24] His panegyric is among the earliest laudations of considerable length on the Illuminator by an Armenian author,[25] and unlike all other medieval panegyrists on St. Gregory, the Jerusalemite archdeacon shows no dependence on similar compositions traditionally attributed to St. John Chrysostom (c.350–407, or to his circle) that were translated into Armenian in the eleventh-twelfth centuries upon the request of Catholicos Grigor II Vkayasēr (in office 1065–1105).[26] His general familiarity with the life of

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[24] These works have been collected in the small yet celebrated series *Sop‘erk‘ haykakank‘* (Armenian Booklets) edited anonymously by Ghewond Alishan; vol. 4: *Hovhannu Oskeberani ew Grigori Sarkawagapeti Nerbogheank‘ i S. Grigor Lusaworich‘* (esp. 129–57), and vol. 5: *Hovhannu Sarkawagay, Vardanay Bardzrberdts‘woy [read Arewelts‘woy], Hovhannu Erznkats‘woy nerbogheank‘ i S. Grigor Lusaworich‘* (Panegyrics on St. Gregory the Illuminator by…), (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1853). Translated selections in Abraham Terian, *Patriotism and Piety in Armenian Christianity: The Early Panegyrics on St. Gregory,* AVANT: Treasures of the Armenian Christian Tradition 2 (Crestwood: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2005).

[25] Another early Armenian composition worthy of note is the *sharakan* on the release of St. Gregory from the pit, “Ov erjanik tēr surb Grigor...” (O you blessed St. Gregory...) attributed to Movsēs Bishop of Siwnik‘ (in office 725–731); *Sharakan Hogewor Ergots‘ Surb ew Ughghap‘aṙ Ekeghets‘woys Hayastaneayts‘* (Hymnal of Spiritual Songs of the Holy Orthodox Armenian Church) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1936; repr. New York: St. Vartan Press, 1986), 554–64; cf. Norayr Bogharian, *Hay groghner, E-ZhĒ dar* (Armenian Authors, V–XVII Centuries) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1971), 109.

[26] The translation by a certain Abraham Ghṙamatikos was revised by Catholicos Nersēs Shnorhali (in office 1166–1173) upon the request of his brother, Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (in office 1113–1166), according to a colophon by Nersēs at the end of the first of these two panegyrics *(Sop‘erk‘*, 4:5–87, last two pages especially). The full title of the first panegyric *(... i Kokison Hayots‘ minch‘ yak‘sorans ēr, i khndroy hayazin orumn episkoposi ew vardapeti hamazgwoy norin Deoskoros anun koch‘ets‘eloy...)* (... at Cucusa in [Cilician] Armenia, while he was in exile, upon the request of a certain bishop and vardapet, his Armenian-born compatriot named Dioscoros...) suggests that it was written between 404 and 407, the year of Chrysostom’s deportation to Pityus or Colchis on the Black Sea (he died en route at Comona in Pontus). However, there

St. Gregory the Illuminator owes to the fifth-century *History of the Armenians* by Agathangelos.[27] He shows familiarity with the *Yachakhapatum* discourses and the *History* of Khorenatsʻi, thus indicating that he could not have written before the eighth century; however, based on the traditional dates of these works, some have wrongly dated him to the sixth century,[28] yet the place of his activity remains certain. The full title

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is reason, and that more than the geographical anachronism in the word "Armenia" in the title, to suspect both works as spurious (the popularity of Chrysostom as preacher and writer gave rise to several such works in Greek, some attributed to Theophilos I, Patriarch of Alexandria [d. 412)], who moved to Constantinople and joined the opposition to Chrysostom only to regret—so it seems). Vkayasēr himself is the translator of the *Life of St. John Chrysostom* from Greek *(Patmutʻiwn Varutsʻ ... Surb Hovhannēs Oskeberan Hayrapetin Kostandnupolsoy: Tʻargm. i Hunakanē i Hays, i Grigorē Katʻughikosē Vkayasēr kochʻetsʻeloy* [History of the life... of St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople, translated from Greek into Armenian by Catholicos Grigor, called Vkayasēr] [Venice: S. Ghazar, 1751]).

[27] On the date of the extant Armenian version of Agathangelos and its dependence on early-fifth-century sources, Koriwn's *Life of Mashtotsʻ* in particular, see Thomson's introduction in *Agathangelos*, lxxv–xciii; cf. Abraham Terian, *The Life of Mashtotsʻ by His Disciple Koriwn: Translated from the Classical Armenian with Introduction and Commentary,* Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022), 21–23, 211.

[28] Mikʻayēl (Vrd.) Chʻamchʻiantsʻ places him in the sixth century, *Patmutiwn Hayotsʻ* (History of the Armenians), 3 vols. (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1786) 1:778; so too Barsegh Sargisian, "Grigor Sargawakapet grichʻ Z daru ew Khorenatsʻwoy het unetsʻats anor aghersnerĕ" (G. S., a Sixth-Century Writer and His Queries Addressed to Khorenatsʻi), *Bazmavēp* 62 (1904) 119–26, 157–65. Manuk Abeghyan, *Hayotsʻ hin grakanutʻyan patmutʻyun* (History of Ancient Armenian Literature), 2 vols. (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1944–1946) and Bogharian, *Hay groghner,* are silent about this virtually unknown author. His "Khawskʻ i S. Grigor Lusaworichʻ" (Discourse on St. G. L.) is included as an addendum in MH 9:1058–65 (ed. H[akob] Kʻēosēian, who uncritically affirms the sixth-seventh century date, p. 1055). On the late-sixth-century date of the *Yachakhapatum*, see Abraham Terian, *Moralia et Ascetica Armeniaca: The "Oft-Repeated Discourses" (Yačaxapatum Čaṙkʻ),* The Fathers of the Church 143 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2021), 41–51; for a brief history of scholarship on the date of Khorenatsʻi, see Robert W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenatsʻi, History of the Armenians: Translation and Commen-*

of his work bears this clearly: *"Grigori Sarkawagapeti ew chgnawori khosk' i S. Grigor Lusaworich' asats'eal i surb k'aghak'n Erusaghēm"* (A Discourse on St. Gregory the Illuminator by Grigor the Archdeacon and Hermit, Composed in the Holy City Jerusalem). He could well be the same person mentioned in the title of another work: *"S. Grigori Sarkawagi Erusaghimats'oy Govest i S[ur]b Khach'n K'[ristos]i A[stutso]y meroy"* (A Panegyric on the Holy Cross of Christ our God by St. Grigor Sarkawag of Jerusalem). This work, however, belongs to St. Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444),[29] yet it may have been translated by Grigor Sarkawag(apet) in Jerusalem, hence the erroneous ascription to him. The attribute "Saint" in this title is commensurate with the word "Hermit" in the previous title, befitting a holy man.[30] More importantly, to the same archdeacon *(sarkawargapet)* Grigor Erusaghēmats'i is attributed the earliest Armenian glossary of philosophical terms and concepts: *Sahmank' zanazank', artoroshealk' ĕst srbots' ew tsayragoyn vardapetats'* (Various Definitions Drawn upon [Works of] Saints and Supreme Doctors).[31] There is little alphabetic arrangement in this crude compilation of philo-

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tary on the Literary Sources, Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 1–8.

[29] Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 1:13 (MS J1B); cf. 1:449 (MS J154C); 2:441 (MS J461).

[30] Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk',* 93–94, wrongly lists the latter separately and without any date.

[31] See, e.g., MS J656 (early eighteenth century) and the ten, mostly older Matenadaran MSS cited in the index of Eganyan et al., *Ts'uts'ak dzeŕagrats',* 1:1473; 2:1288: M464 (seventeenth century), M1980 (1391), M2041 (seventeenth century), M2269 (eighteenth century), M2771 (1703), M3082 (the oldest, dated 1267 [fols. 431r-451v]), M4166 (thirteenth-fourteenth century), M5254 (1281), M5443 (thirteenth century), and M8132 (fourteenth century); seven of these ten manuscripts (excluding M2041, M2771, and M5443) are cited with their dates in the anonymously published *"Ts'uts'ak Matenadarani p'ilisop'ayakan nyut'er parunakogh dzeŕagreri"* (Catalogue of Matenadaran Manuscripts Containing Philosophical Subjects], *Banber Matenadarani* 3 [1956] 406–7, which adds another, MS M7151, dated to the fourteenth century). Unfortunately, Grigor of Jerusalem has attracted little attention in Armenian scholarship; cf. Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk',* 74–75. See also the references in n. 33, below.

sophical definitions gleaned from works translated into Armenian in an interlinear fashion from Greek by the so-called *Hunaban Dbrots‘* (the Hellenizing School, active c. 570 – c. 730).[32] Subsequent anonymous expansion (in two recensions) is attested in another such glossary titled *Sahmank‘ imastasirakank‘* (Philological Definitions), which is at times wrongly attributed to the Neoplatonist philosopher Dawit‘ Anyaght‘ because of the semblance of this title to the *Sahmank‘ p‘ilisop‘ayakank‘* (Definitions of Philosophy) by Dawit‘, on which–*inter alia*–the expanded glossary depends.[33] Three other works are also attributed to our Grigor. In the manuscript tradition his glossary is often followed either by another reference work titled *Harts‘munk‘ karchaṙotabar* (Questions in Brief) or by a treatise titled *Haghags bnut‘ean mardoy, i ch‘orits‘ goya-*

[32] See Abraham Terian, “The Hellenizing School: Its Time, Place, and Scope of Activities Reconsidered,” in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period (Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980),* ed. Nina G. Garsoïan, Thomas F. Mathews, and Robert W. Thomson (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 175–86.

[33] For more on this glossary and its sources, see Hayk M. Amalyan, *Mijnadaryan Hayastani baṙaranagrakan hushardzannerĕ* (The Lexicographical Masterpieces of Medieval Armenia), 2 vols. (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1966–1971) 1:166–79, note esp. 170, on the antiquity of MS 6897 (dated 1317 [fols. 397v–410r] and representing recension *[a]);* cf. 2:308 for other manuscripts at the Matenadaran. See also Abraham Terian, “A Medieval Armenian Glossary of Philosophical Terms and Concepts,” in *International Symposium on Armenian Linguistics, Yerevan, September 21–25, 1982: Reports,* ed. Gevorg B. Djahukyan et al. (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1984), 557–83, inviting attention to MS J1213 (dated 1635/6 [155–81] and representing recension *[b]).* In recension *[a]* the arrangement of the entries does not go beyond the initial letter; whereas in recension *[b]* the arrangement progresses to the second consecutive letter of the entry. The wrong attribution of this glossary to the philosopher Dawit‘ appears also in Bogharian’s comprehensive list: *Grand Catalogue,* 4:xx, where MS J1213 is cited under the name of Dawit‘; cf. also 3:xv, where Bogharian omits listing MS J656, which bears Grigor’s name with the full title of his glossary (although the author is cited in the index of proper names, p. 630).

ts‘eal (On the Nature of Man, Composed of Four [Elements]).[34] This fourth work bearing our author’s name is titled *Zgisbn imastasirut‘ean* (The Beginning of Philosophy), of which only a fragment survives.[35] We shall thus date the Jerusalemite archdeacon to the general period between the Byzantine dominance in the Holy Land and the coming of the Crusaders; conceivably, to the eighth century, as suggested by the sources utilized by him.

II.

A noticeable period of Armenian literary activity in the Holy Land began immediately following the First Crusade (1099). Even the local hierarch (*hogewor tērn*) Simēon (1090–1109) is credited as translator of the apocryphal *Book of Adam*.[36] Much of this revival is to be attributed to the newly established Armenian nobility in Jerusalem. Queen Arda, wife of Baldwin I, the first Latin King of Jerusalem (r. 1100–1118), was the daughter of T‘oros Ṙubinean, the Armenian Prince of Edessa (Urfa). Several privileges were bestowed upon the local community through her

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[34] In addition to the manuscripts cited above (n. 31), see MSS M453, M546, M549, M550, M552, M715, M1424, M1979, M2490, M3672, M3697, M3710, M3838, M4076, M5077, M5373, M5443, M5611, M5622, M5728, M5919, M5975, M6017, M6146, M6233, M6870, M6989, M7049, M7262, M7749, M8132, M8397, M8487, M8811, M8995, M9018, M9098, M10200 (from the indices of Eganyan et al., *Ts‘uts‘ak dzeṙagrats‘*, 1:1473; 2:1288, who are inclined to attribute the latter work to our author; Amalyan, with his focus on medieval glossaries and their sources, mentions only the former as a work of our author, *Baṙaranagrakan hushardzannerĕ*, 1:174).

[35] In a thirteenth-century philosophical and theological miscellany at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS BnF303). See Frédéric Macler, ed., *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens et géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908), 155–56.

[36] Aghawnuni, *Miabank‘ ew ayts‘eluk‘*, 472. Unfortunately, he does not cite the manuscript of the colophon to which he refers. The Armenian by this title is a translation of the Greek *Adam and Eve*, also known as the *Apocalypse of Moses*. On its edition and comparative studies, see Michael E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 12–13.

beneficence. This state of affairs continued as another Armenian queen succeeded her: Morfia, wife of Baldwin II (r. 1118–1131), and their daughter, reigning queen Melisende (r. 1131–1153). This royal patronage, together with the relative proximity of Cilicia to Palestine, helped pave the way for a constant flow of learned clerics both from Armenia and Cilicia.[37] There were also occasional royal visits from Cilicia.[38] The

[37] For the many clerics whose visits are documented in dedicatory colophons, inscriptions, and various registries at St. James, see Aghawnuni, *Miabank‘ ew ayts‘eluk‘, passim,* giving their brief vitae, alphabetically arranged by their first names, down to the turn of the twentieth century. It should be stated that not all persons mentioned in the present study are accounted for by Aghawnuni.

[38] That of King T‘oros II (r. 1145–1169) is recorded by Guillaume of Tyre, in *Guillaume de Tyre et ses continuateurs, texte français du 13e siècle*, ed. M. Pauline Paris, 2 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1879) 2:289–91; that of King Het‘um II (r. intermittently, 1289–1301) is recorded by Minas Hamdets‘i (Patriarch of Jerusalem, 1697–1704), in *Minas Vardapeti Hamdets‘woy Azgabanut‘iwn Hayots‘* (‘*Genealogia Armeniaca*’ by Minas Vardapet Hamdets‘i) (Vagharshapat: Mother See Press of Ējmiatsin, 1870), 45; and that of Queen Mariun, the widow of King Constantine (Guy or Gyd Lusignan) III (r. 1343–1345), recorded in a colophon described further below. It is important to note that several of the most prized biblical manuscripts in Jerusalem are those which once belonged to members of the Cilician royal families (a much older manuscript, a Gospel of c.1029–1064 [MS J2556], belonged to Gagik-Abas, Bagratuni “Shahanshah” and King of Kars till he ceded his kingdom to the Byzantine Empire in 1064, d. 1081). The colophons of these manuscripts are invaluable for the dynastic histories they contain. The exemplar of the personal Gospel of Queen Mariun (MS J1973) contained a colophon by the earlier scribe, Bishop Nersēs Lambronats‘i, in which he claims to have copied it “from an original by the translators” *(i stoyg awrinakē t‘argmanch‘ats‘n),* thus making the document particularly attractive for text-criticism. Just as importantly—from a historian’s perspective—Nersēs spells out the close ties between Church and State and names every member of the royal family, both living and dead. The manuscript also contains illuminations with representtations of the Queen within the various scenes from the life of Christ, including a named identification of her within the scene of the deposition of Christ from the cross (see the four reproductions in Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures*, 85–88, nos. 108–111; Bogharian thinks the young princess represented in the scene of the Nativity is possibly Mariun’s daughter Pheme, *Hay grich‘ner [T‘-ZhĒ dar]* [Armenian Scribes (IX–XVII Centuries)] [Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1992], 137). These illumina-

hundreds of guestrooms at St. James enabled many of these visitors to stay there for some time–some even for years.[39]

Foremost among these visitors are two of the six princely Pahlawuni heads of the Armenian Church: Catholicos Grigor II Vkayasēr (in office 1065–1105) and a grandson of his sister Mariam, Catholicos Grigor III Pahlawuni (in office 1113–1166). The first came to Jerusalem in 1099, on the wake of the Crusaders' capture of the city, and the second in 1142 to attend an ecumenical council convened by the Roman Catholic Church (in the previous year he attended a similar council held in Antioch). A nephew of the latter, Catholicos Grigor IV Tghay (in office 1173–1193), in 1189 wrote a lengthy *Lament over Jerusalem (Oghb*

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tions on parchment, inserted within the Gospel on paper, are by the famed Sargis Pitsak and resemble other such royal representations in other royal manuscripts at St. James (cf. the Gospel manuscript of Queen Keran and others in Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures,* 65–69). The widowed Queen Mariun came to Jerusalem following a brief captivity in Egypt after the fall of Sis in 1375 to the Mamluk viceroy of Aleppo and the imprisonment of the last king of the Armenians, Levon V Lusignan (r. 1363–1364, 1374–1375), in Cairo. The death and burial of the Queen after three years' residence in Jerusalem is the subject of another, later colophon found in a Gospel manuscript of the year 1280 and once owned by her husband, King Constantine III (r. 1344–1362), and then given by the widowed Queen to a certain Vahram, the author of the colophon (the text of this colophon is published by Bogharian, *Hay grich'ner,* 144–46, from a notebook by Catholicos Sahak II Khapayian of Cilicia [in office 1902–1939]; Bogharian does not indicate the whereabouts of this Gospel manuscript). A poorly preserved ancient tombstone inscription once marked her grave in the southwestern corner of the courtyard of the St. James Cathedral. For more on Mariun, see Gohar Grigoryan Savary, "Mariun: An Exiled Queen's Pilgrimage and Death in Jerusalem," *Al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭā* 29 (2021) 217–55.

[39] A register in MS J1776 names the subdivisions of the monastery and enumerates more than three hundred guestrooms (pp. 68–101). Moreover, there were several Armenian monasteries not far from the Old City; for their history see Mkrtich' (Episkopos) Aghawnuni, *Haykakan hin vank'er ew ekeghets'iner Surb Erkrin mēj* (Ancient Armenian Monasteries and Churches in the Holy Land) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1931).

Erusaghēmi) upon the city's fall to Salaḥ ad-Dīn in 1187.[40] Although there is no mention of his visit to Jerusalem, there is no good reason to rule out the possibility of him having been there. His sentiments for the city reflected in the *Lament* would almost certainly require that he had been there previously.[41] Another such lament over Jerusalem was written by Nersēs Vardapet Mokats'i during his stay at Jerusalem in 1609.[42]

These prelates paved the way for countless clerics to follow in their footsteps. Among them was Vardan Vardapet Aygekts'i (c. 1170–1235), a noted homilist who also composed a prayer book while in Jerusalem

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[40] For the complete text of over four-thousand lines, titled *Asats'eal ban oġhbergakan vasn aṙmann Erusaghēmi* (Recitative Lamentation over the Capture of Jerusalem), see A[satur] Š. Mnatsʿakanyan, ed., *Grigor Tġha: Banasteġhtsut'yunner ev poemner* (Grigor Tghay: Compositions in Verse and Poems) (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1972), 244–333, and notes, 431–34. Cf. the incomplete French trans. by Édouard Dulaurier, "Élégie sur la prise de Jérusalem," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, 2 vols., Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale / Nationale, 1869–1906) 1:269–307; on the genre and the Armenian reception, see Valentina Calzolari, "Les villes en deuil. La Lamentation sur la prise de Jérusalem de Grigor Tłay mise en regard avec la Lamantation sur la prise d' Edesse de Nersēs Šnorhali," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 21 (2012) 53–97; Theo Maarten van Lint, "The Poem of Lamentation over the Capture of Jerusalem Written in 1189 by Grigor Tłay Catholicos of All Armenians," in *The Armenians in Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, ed. Michael E. Stone, Roberta R. Ervine, and Nira Stone, Hebrew University Armenian Studies 4 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 121–42; and Tamar M. Boyadjian, *The City Lament: Jerusalem Across the Medieval Mediterranean* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 2018), 105–37.

[41] One of Grigor IV's close associates and a relative (a first cousin once removed), the prolific writer, theologian, and ecumenist, Nersēs Lambronats'i (1153–1198, Archbishop of Tarsus since age twenty-three (1175/6–1198), is said to have been in Jerusalem during the city's siege (based on partial and conflated use of colophons bearing his name; Alishan, *Hayapatum*, 2:437–40; Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, 396–397). On the impossibility of this, see Abraham Terian, "The Colophons of Nersēs of Lambron Bearing on the Third Crusade," *Crusades* 22 (2023) 191–209.

[42] MS V1624.

(MS J1130; cf. J939, J1576, J1690).[43] The prayers, written to be read at various sacred sites, anticipate many such compositions in subsequent centuries and in various languages–most immediately by Catholicos Grigor VII Anawarzetsʻi (in office 1293–1307), who wrote meditations on the sacred sites in Jerusalem;[44] Bishop Nikoghayos Akhkʻermantsʻi, who in 1483 prepared a detailed list of the sacred sites to be visited;[45] and Eremia Chʻēlēpi Kʻēōmiwrcheantsʻ (1637–1695), the prolific chronicler of life in his native Constantinople, who also wrote meditations on the sacred sites during his visit in 1665.[46] While in Jerusalem, Aygektsʻi ap-

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[43] *Aghōtʻagirkʻ surb tegheatsʻ* (Prayer Book for the Holy Sites); for manuscripts with varying contents and early editions, see Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, 279; cf. Aghawnuni, *Miabankʻ ew aytsʻelukʻ*, 502–3, on the authorship and date of MS 939, composed in 1321 and ascribed to another Vardan Vardapet.

[44] An incomplete work, MS V742, pp. 100–109; see Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, 335.

[45] Published with an English translation by Ghewond Alishan, along with the earlier list of Armenian monasteries in the Holy Land by Anastas Vardapet, *Anastasay Vardapeti vasn vanorēitsʻ Hayotsʻ yErusaghēm* (Anastas Vardapet on the Armenian Monasteries in Jerusalem) (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1896); Aghawnuni, *Miabankʻ ew aytsʻelukʻ*, 401. See also above, n. 17.

[46] *Govabanutʻiwn Tnōrinakan tegheatsʻ yErusaghēm* (Praise to the Dominical Sites in Jerusalem) (according to Vrej Nersessian, *Catalogue of Early Armenian Books: 1512–1850* [London: The British Library, 1980], 19, no copy of this privately published book survives; printed in Chʻēlēpi's own press in Constantinople, 1677). On his visit Chʻēlēpi must have donated to the local library several copies of his works, including his celebrated diary for the years 1648–1662; the history of the fires in 1660 that swept Constantinople, illustrated with illuminations; and his *Stampōlay Patmutʻiwn* (History of Istanbul) in verse, ed. Vahram Y. Tʻorgomian, 3 vols., Azgayin Matenadaran 71, 130, 144 (Vienna: Mkhitʻarean Tparan, 1913–1938), and possibly his *Patmutʻiwn Osmanean Tʻagaworatsʻ* (History of the Ottoman Sultans), several late copies of which are found: e.g., MSS J464, J1176. Cf. Simēon Dpir Lehatsʻi (1584–1637), who wrote on his travels through the Holy Land, including a descripttion of the St. James brotherhood, the first of such travel accounts in Armenian literature (George Bournoutian, trans., *The Travel Accounts of Simēon of Poland [Simēon Dpri Lehatsʻwoy Ughegrutʻiwn]*, [Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publ., 2007]); excerpt in Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, 512–14. A century after Chʻēlēpi, a certain Archbishop Martiros wrote *Hṙchʻak Erusaghēmi (Laudation of Jeru-salem)* in

parently drew his inspiration for yet another work: an encomium dedicated to St. James and John, the sons of Zebedee, and the rest of the Apostles (MSS J1, J154). It should be noted that the St. James Cathedral marks the traditional site of the Apostolic Council held in Jerusalem in A.D. 49 under the leadership of St. James "the brother of the Lord" and the likely author of the Epistle of James in the New Testament (Galatians 2:1–10; cf. Acts 15:1–30), whose remains are believed to have been interred beneath the main altar. There too, in a side chapel within the Cathedral, is the traditional burial spot of the head of St. James "the son of Zebedee" and brother of St. John the Evangelist, beheaded by Herod Agrippa I in A.D. 44 (Acts 12:1–2). Such an edifice with its twin apostolic traditions must have had a great impact upon the author.

A rather unusual pilgrim was the cleric Hovhannēs Gaṙnetsʻi (c. 1180 – c. 1245), a missionary and writer on moral maxims, who was known also as a healer and miracle-worker. He must have claimed to have witnessed several miracles During his short stay at St. James (1222/3), such as the one reported on his authority in the thirteenth-cen-

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verse, while at St. James, in 1773 (Nicosia MS 62). Besides, there are a number of scattered poems on various sacred sites in several manuscripts; e.g., by Karapet Hamtʻetsʻi in 1746 (MS J3681), and by Hovhannēs Kaṙnetsʻi (Nodar) who in a miscellany of the year 1812 has a collection of 27 odes on such sites written in 1805 (MS J1844, pp. 93–129). Certain of the latter and earlier others have been variously anthologized in booklets for pilgrims, *Tetrak govasanatsʻ i veray hamōrēn tnōrinakan surb ukhtategheatsʻ* (A Booklet of Praises to All Dominical Sacred Sites of Pilgrimage) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1914; earlier versions: 1833, 1835[2], 1839, 1847, 1859, 1860, 1862, 1867, 1893, 1906). A later and better representative of this tradition or genre of meditations in the Holy Land is Catholicos Mkrtichʻ I Khrimian (Hayrik, in office 1893–1907) who on his visit to Jerusalem in 1850 wrote *Hrawirak Erkrin Aweteatsʻ* (Inviter to the Promised Land) (Constantinople: Hovhannēs Miwhēntisian Press, 1851; repr. with a new preface, Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1892); and in this century, writing in prose, Harutʻiwn G. Mrmrian, *Aleluia yErusaghēm* (Alleluia to Jerusalem) (Constantinople: Zardarian Gratun, 1903).

tury *Armenian History* of Kirakos Gandzakets‘i.[47] He covered nearly every site on a pilgrim’s itinerary, in conformity with a favorite prayer he wrote for the safety of fellow travelers.[48] When at the River Jordan, his prayer was interrupted by three Iranian Moslems wanting to be baptized by him. Doubtful of their sincerity at first, he yielded to their request when the eldest among them recounted visions with familiar sites and identified our pilgrim priest as the baptizer in one of the visions. Gaṙnets‘i also reports a pilgrimage to Mount Sinai by a group of forty Armenians, of whom he was one, and miracles accompanying them at the monastery of St. Catherine.[49]

The ultimate authority behind these and other stories about Gaṙnets‘i is Vardan Vardapet Arewelts‘i, the renowned theologian and editor of the ancient translations of the apocryphal writings on St. James, of which we spoke earlier. He visited Jerusalem in 1239/40, and on his return to Armenia he was urged by Catholicos Kostandin I Bardzerberdts‘i (in office 1221–1267) to stay in Hṙomklay, where he spent five years (1241–1246). There he became the most entrusted friend of the Catholicos and was commissioned by King Het‘um I (r. 1226–1269) to write a commentary on the Armenian version of the *Ars Grammatica* by Dionysius Thrax.[50] At Hṙomklay, Arewelts‘i became acquainted with Gaṙ-

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[47] Kirakos Gandzakets‘i, *Patmut‘iwn Hayots‘*, ed. Karapet A. Melik‘-Ohanjanyan (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1961), 348–55; note especially the miracle of the talking murals representing the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin by the Archangel Gabriel.

[48] “Aghot‘k‘ eraneloyn Hovhannu Gaṙnets‘woy vasn chanaparhi” (A Prayer of Hovhannēs Gaṙnets‘i for Travel), anthologized in *Aghot‘agirk‘* (Prayer Book), ed. Mesrop Aramian et al. (Yerevan: Gandzasar Handēs, 1992), 270–73; cf. *Aghot‘amatoyts‘ Hovhannu Vardapeti Gaṙnets‘woy* (Prayers of Hovhannēs Vardapet Gaṙnets‘i) (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1911).

[49] For a history of Armenian pilgrimages to the Sinai, see Michael E. Stone, *The Armenian Inscriptions from the Sinai,* Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 6 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 25–52.

[50] MSS J657, pp. 13–120; J857, pp. 243–316; text published by Levon G. Khach‘eryan, *Vardan Arewelts‘i, Meknut‘iwn k‘erakani* (Vardan Arewelts‘i: Commentary on the Grammar [of Thrax]) (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences,

nets‘i, whose fame had compelled the Catholicos to invite him there earlier. The two guests had a close relationship at Hṙomklay, till Gaṙnets‘i’s death and burial there in 1245. Arewelts‘i returned to Armenia, where he was a highly sought teacher for years and at various monasteries (especially the monastery of Khor Virap, where he died in 1271). He went on to translate and to write several treatises on diverse subjects, as well as prayers and hymns; but it is in his biblical commentaries where we are apt to discern some influence of the Jerusalem pilgrimage.

To be sure, very few of the numerous learned pilgrim-clerics in Jerusalem are known to have authored a work while there. Most are like Gaṙnets‘i and Arewelts‘i’s pupil, Hovhannēs Erznkats‘i (c.1240–1293). The latter refers to his pilgrimage to the Holy City in the “Preface” to his *Hawak‘umn meknut‘ean k‘erakani* (Compilation of Commentary on Grammar).[51] Like his teacher, Erznkats‘i had been to Jerusalem in the year 1281 and, like him, upon his return through Cilicia, he was persuaded by Catholicos Hakob I Klayets‘i (in office 1267–1286), nicknamed *Gitnakan* (Scholar) and known for his command of the Scriptures and patronage of learning, to teach grammar to fellow ecclesiastics; and this led to the production of the book. It would be wrong, however, to disregard the likely influence Jerusalem must have had on the later homilies by Erznkats‘i.

The most eminent of these pilgrim scholars is perhaps Grigor Tat‘ewats‘i (c. 1344–1409), the renowned dean of the monastic school at Ta-

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1972). Arewelts‘i also wrote a short grammar upon the request of T‘oros K‘ahanay, the nephew of the Catholicos (cited by Bogharian, *Hay groghner,* 296).

[51] Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 4:552–55. For the full text of the work, see the edition by Levon G. Khach‘eryan, *Hovhannēs Erznkats‘i (1230–1293 t‘t‘), Hawak‘umn meknut‘ean k‘erakani* (Los Angeles: Alco Printing, 1983), and Roberta R. Ervine, “Yovhannēs Erznkac‘i Pluz’s *Compilation of Commentary on Grammar*” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1988); and Abraham Terian, “A History of Armenian Grammatical Activity: An Account by Hovhannes Yerznkats‘i,” in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Armenian Linguistics, Anatolian and Caucasian Studies,* ed. John A. C. Greppin (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1992), 213–19.

t‘ew, who was ordained as a priest in Jerusalem in 1371 by his mentor and fellow pilgrim, the equally voluminous Hovhannēs Orotnets‘i-Orbēlean (1315–1387). Tat‘ewats‘i seems to have left behind a legacy of interest in his works. His major work, *Girk‘ Harts‘mants‘* (Book of Questions), completed in 1397, was copied several times in Jerusalem, even during the author’s lifetime; e.g., the scribe Karapet copied it from a local manuscript in the year 1407 at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (MS M918).[52] An early copy of his commentary on the biblical “Wisdom Literature” was owned by a certain Awetik‘ Vardapet, who allowed a local scribe named Step‘annos to copy it in the year 1411, only six years after the completion of the original work by the author (MS J1128). Another of Orotnets‘i’s pupils, Grigor Vardapet Khlat‘ets‘i or Tserents‘ (c. 1350–1425) spent three years in Jerusalem (1403–1405), where, upon his arrival, he completed his very contemporary *Patmut‘iwn arshawanats‘ Lank t‘emuri* (History of the Conquests of Tamerlane) in verse.[53] The inspiration these and other writers drew from Jerusalem for their subsequent works could be demonstrated; such an exposition of their writings, however, is beyond the limits of this article. Suffice it to say that some of these pilgrim scholars seem to have left copies of their works in the local library, and subsequent copies were made there from these originals or near-originals; others must have left behind one or another of their most cherished manuscripts.[54]

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[52] Altogether, there are 19 manuscripts of this work at St. James; note especially MS J1155, penned at the Convent of Apahuneats‘ in 1413, not long after Tat‘ewats‘i’s death in 1409.

[53] See Levon S. Khach‘ikyan, *ZhE dari hayeren dzeŕagreri hishatakaranner* (Colophons of Fifteenth-Century Armenian Manuscripts), part 1 (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1955), 286–88.

[54] A scholar who fits this profile is Grigor Vardapet Archishets‘i, who likewise spent three years in Jerusalem (1480–1483), teaching the Gospel of Luke; this according to a colophon in the textbook used by him: *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke* by Bishop Ignatius, a vardapet at the monastery of Shap‘ir in Sev Leŕ, c.1130 (MS J352, dated 1272; Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 2:249); cf. Aghawnuni, *Miabank‘ ew ayts‘eluk‘*, 94–95.

A near-contemporary of Tat‘ewats‘i is the much less-known persona of Grigoris Vardapet P‘ilisop‘ay, a member of the Jerusalem brotherhood and grand sacristan of St. James Cathedral, named in a colophon of a local manuscript (J67, *Meknut‘iwn Kat‘ughikeayts‘* [Commentary on the Catholic Epistles] by Sargis Vardapet), dated 1424.[55] Nothing has reached us from his pen.

Other writers could be mentioned: from the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, T‘adēos T‘okhat‘ets‘i (c.1540–1602), the author of *Tagh i Tnōrēnut‘iwnn Teaṙn* (Ode on the Passion of the Lord), describing the Easter celebrations at Jerusalem and dwelling on the festival of the Holy-Light;[56] Nersēs Vardapet Mokats‘i (c.1575–1625) who on a visit in 1609 wrote his *Oghb vasn aṙman Erusaghēmi* (Lament over the Fall of Jerusalem),[57] *Nerboghean i P‘okhumn Astuatsatsnin* (Panegyric on the Assumption of the Bearer of God; later expanded by his pupil Step‘anos Shatakhets‘i), and possibly also his *Tagh G. Awur Paytsaṙakerput‘ean* (Ode for the Third Day of Transfiguration);[58] and Catholicos Movsēs III Tat‘ewats‘i (in office 1629–1633) who previously had spent five years in Jerusalem (1605–1611) and who is known for his hortatory pastorals and encyclicals.[59]

III.

Prominent scribes, who likewise came as pilgrims to Jerusalem, also stayed there for a while and contributed the fruit of their penmanship to the local churches besides doing so for their respective patrons. Some seventy scribes and/or illuminators are known by name during the most productive years of 1300–1600. To my knowledge, the earliest extant

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[55] See Aghawnuni, *Miabank‘ ew ayts‘eluk‘*, 103.
[56] Partial text in Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, 480–81.
[57] Cf. the earlier *Lament over Jerusalem (Oghb Erusaghēmi)* by Catholicos Grigor IV Tghay (in office 1173–1193), upon the city’s fall to Salaḥ ad-Dīn in 1187 (see above, n. 40).
[58] Bogharian, *Hay groghner*, 489–90.
[59] Ibid., 508–11.

manuscript copied in Jerusalem, at St. James, is a collection of homilies *(Charǝentir)* of the year 1215, penned by the scribe and binder Hovhan (MS V204). In the colophon he refers to the Theotokos Church *(Surb Astuatsatsin)* built by Gēorg K'ahanay between Jerusalem and Bethlehem and the solitary life there of Gēorg's nephew, the recipient of the manuscript, the hermit Hovhannēs.[60] In the early-fourteenth century codices were copied at a number of places in and around St. James, such as at the monastery (later convent) by the Church of the Holy Archangels, located within the walls near Zion Gate, and at the monastery by the Church of the Holy Savior, on the traditional Mount Zion outside Zion Gate and immediately south of the St. James compound. Sufficient data may be gathered from the published colophons of fourteenth-century manuscripts. In one such publication there are sixteen colophons from as many manuscripts penned in Jerusalem by fourteen different scribes.[61]

Foremost among them is Step'anos Erkayn (active 1295–1327) who seems to have spent two terms in the Holy City–judging from the colophons of the seven surviving manuscripts by him. The first of these manuscripts was penned at the Monastery of the Illuminator on Mount Sepuh, today's Kara Daghi (1295); the next two at the Holy Archangels in Jerusalem (1314, 1316); the following two at Drazark monastery, in Adana province of modern Turkey (1318, 1321); the next one again at Jerusalem, at St. James (1321/2); and the last again at Drazark (1327).[62]

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[60] Colophon in Hovsep'ian, *Hishatakarank'dzeŕagrats'*, no. 346; Mat'ēvosyan, *Hayeren dzeŕagreri hishatakaranner, ZhG dar,* no. 54; Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, 347–48 and the references there, cf. 357, on the work of the scribe Hovhannēs Sanahnets'i in 1311. These manuscripts are not accounted for by Stone in his history of scribal activity in Jerusalem ("The Manuscript Library," 27–28).

[61] Khach'ikyan, *ZhD dari ... hishatakaranner,* 168–69, 178–79, 244, 273–76, 291, 322, 395–97, 410, 431, 437, 447, 462, 473, 503–4, 542, 620.

[62] Bogharian, *Hay grich'ner,* 115–24, gives present-day locations of the seven manuscripts. Those of the years 1314 and 1316 have long been assumed to be the earliest dated manuscripts penned in Jerusalem (the first, a hymnal, is MS 121 of the Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia; the second, a

His near-contemporary, the scribe Nersēs Krakts‘i, writing in Jerusalem in 1335, describes the recent Mamluk invasion of Cilicia and the massacre and the exile of Armenians. He repeatedly expresses fear that the same might soon happen in Jerusalem, where local reprisals were already beginning, and he hopes that there would be a Frankish intervention.[63] His worst fears came true, as the colophons by the scribe Vardan Baberts‘i or Ghrimets‘i (c.1310–1380) indicate. The latter was determined to return to Jerusalem after a pilgrimage from the Crimea, and following his return he spent twelve years at St. James and became Bishop (1363–1374). His colophons describe the hardships under the Mamluks (1365–1369), when the Frankish remnants were expelled from Jerusalem and their churches shut–including the Church of the Holy Sepulcher (the gate of which was walled for some time). The Armenian clergy were also persecuted and some were “martyred” in 1367 (the colophons of MSS M7091 and J122 are noteworthy).[64] A Scribe named Manuēl praises the virtues of the Patriarch Basilios (in office 1341–1356) in a colophon of the year 1352, at the end of MS M2233, *K‘arozgirk‘ Bart‘oghimēosi* (The Preaching of Bartholomew).[65]

Lectionary for the patriarch of the day, Dawit‘ [in office 1316–1321], is MS J271). Cf. Aghawnuni, *Miabank‘ ew ayts‘eluk‘*, 479–80.

[63] For the text of the colophon(s), see Khach‘ikyan, *ZhD dari ... hishatakaranner*, 273–75; for an English translation, see Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts,* 74–75; cf. MS J282 for an earlier colophon (1331) by Krakts‘i, naming fellow monastics at the scriptorium of Holy Archangels (Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 2:99–100). There were efforts in 1311 by Patriarch Sargis I (in office 1281–1313), to distance his community from the Cilician hierarchy and kingship; see Sergio La Porta, “The Armenian Episcopacy in Mamluk Jerusalem in the Aftermath of the Council of Sis (1307) and in the Wake of Ilkhan Ghazan’s Last Invasion of Syria (1303),” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 17.2 (2007) 99–114.

[64] Bogharian, *Hay grich‘ner,* 163–74 (see also above, n. 4); cf. Vardan’s colophons in MSS J30 and M5557.

[65] Khach‘ikyan, *ZhD dari ... hishatakaranner*, 396; see also idem, *ZhE dari ... hishatakaranner*, part 1, 233, coloph. no. 255a [Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts,* 144], where in 1419 another local scribe by the same name

Step‘anos K‘ahanay, a little-known scribe from the early-fifteenth century, wrote an inspiring poem titled *Govest Grk‘oys* (In Praise of This Book) at the end of a local compilation of Biblical interpretations by Grigor Tat‘ewats‘i, in the year 1411 (MS J1128).[66] Ghazar Ghrimets‘i, a more prominent cleric and scribe (active 1419–1437), resided in Jerusalem for a while. One of the nine extant, massive codices by this attested teacher of calligraphy was copied at the scriptorium of the Holy Savior monastery in 1426 (MS J1988). The colophon of this Psalmody mentions a number of local persons who were in one way or another helpful in the production of the codex, beginning with the Bishop Melk‘iset‘ who provided the material.[67] Another contemporary cleric and scribe who stayed in Jerusalem for at least a couple of years is Grigor Ēlmēlik‘ents‘ (active 1427–1441). Of the eight extant manuscripts by him, the last three were copied in Jerusalem during the years 1439–1441 (MS V974; Ancyra MS 312; Antilias MS 84).[68] Grigor was also an illuminator and binder of manuscripts. Three more scribes from the fifteenth century may be mentioned: T‘adēos Kronawor or Sarkawag, the copyist of MS J2149, *A Book of Anthems (Gandzgirk‘)* of the year 1449 penned at Holy Savior,[69] and Aleppo MS 23, a Gospel

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copied a collection of homilies *(Charŕentir)* upon the request of Catholicos Pōghos II Garŕnets‘i (in office 1418–1430). Other scribes during this period seem to have copied Gospel manuscripts for sale to pilgrims, to help alleviate the economically dire situation that necessitated the mortgaging of religious items treasured at St. James and which were redeemed in 1469 by Catholicos Karapet II Ewdokiats‘i (of Cilicia, in office 1446–1477); ibid., 256, coloph. no. 283a; 529, coloph. no. 598; idem, *ZhE dari ... hishatakaranner B,* 285, coloph. no, 368; cf. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts*, 148, 196, 297).

[66] Published by Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 4:197–98. The date of this manuscript is significant, given the fact that Tat‘ewats‘i died in 1409.

[67] Ibid., 195–96; Levon S. Khach‘ikyan, *ZhE dari hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner* (Colophons of Fifteenth-Century Armenian Manuscripts), part 3 (Yerevan: Arm. Academy of Sciences, 1967), 367.

[68] Bogharian, *Hay grich‘ner,* 222–23.

[69] The end-gatherings of this manuscript contain a portion of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem (bishop 349–386) and/or to his suc-

copied partly in Jerusalem and partly at the hermitage of Mar Saba in the Judean desert;[70] Soghomon, a pilgrim scribe and a newly ordained priest at Holy Savior, is the copyist of a much prized Gospel of the year 1475 (MS J1943, with illuminations by a certain Hovhannēs) and the author of a colophon narrating the Armenians' loss of Golgotha to the Georgians in 1476 and the immediate appeal to the Sultan who permitted the Armenians to build a new stairway to the sacred place;[71] and Martiros Pursatsʻi, Patriarch of Jerusalem (in office 1491–1501). On an earlier visit to the Holy City (1463–64) Martiros completed the copy and illumination of an equally prized Gospel (MS J2567) as well as the illumination of a Synaxarion (MS J27), both at Holy Savior.[72]

The scribes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are numerous, as are also the restorers of manuscripts during these centuries. The colophons by these restorers are no less significant than those by the original scribes, for they also recount contemporary events. Suffice it to mention five scribes and/or restorers from this period. Mikʻayēl Kʻahanay was a talented poet besides being a scribe. Two of his poems, one in onomastic acrostics, appear at the end of a Prayer Book copied by him locally in 1583 (MS J1915).[73] Bishop Astuatsatur Tarontsʻi was active in

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cessor, John of Jerusalem (bishop 386–417). The text in three columns on four folia is in uncials *(erkatʻagir)* and has been described briefly by Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 7:201.

[70] Colophon provided by Aghawnuni, who also equates the identity of the scribe with that of the Jerusalem manuscript *(Miabankʻ ew aytsʻelukʻ,* 148–49).

[71] Narkiss, *Armenian Art Treasures,* 89, 94–95, 152; Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 6:488–91; colophon also in Aghawnuni, *Miabankʻ ew aytsʻelukʻ,* 475. Apparently, the alternate stairway to Golgotha is the winding one, on the south side. The fact that Golgotha was an Armenian chapel is attested in other colophons, e.g., MS J1973 with its colophon of the year 1396, by Oshin Khanutʻpan, donating the Gospel "to the sacred site of Golgotha" (ibid., 514).

[72] Bogharian, *Hay grichʻner,* 237.

[73] Cf. "Otanawor i veray eōtʻantsʻ khorhrdotsʻ" (A Poem on the Seven Sacraments) in onomastic acrostics by another local scribe, Esayi Kʻahanay, in MS J58, p. 914b (at the end of a treatise titled *Haghags eōtʻn khorhrdotsʻ ekeghetsʻwoy* [On the Seven Sacraments of the Church] by Patriarch Hakob Nalian of

Jerusalem during the years 1581–1594. Several colophons attribute to him the restoration of a number of manuscripts (chronologically: MSS J1784, J27, J1272, J1924, J265, J331, J1987, J332, J1339, J503, J345) and the penmanship of some others (MSS J1974 and J1597, both containing Psalms; cf. MS M2578, a miscellany compiled, in part, in Jerusalem).[74] And from the seventeenth century three more bear mentioning: Melk‘iset‘ K‘ahanay Mokats‘i, active in Jerusalem from 1628–1635 (MSS J1567, J1576, and J2672); his compatriot, Step‘anos Erets‘ Mokats‘i, active there from 1625–1639 (MSS J1483, J2381, J1567, J2352, J1733 [in Bethlehem], and Isfahan MS 514; thereafter, in 1641, we find Step‘anos in Van: MS J1980); and Hovhannēs K‘ahanay Khizants‘i, a prolific scribe and illuminator, active in Jerusalem from 1625 until his death sometime after 1663 (MSS J2515, J1829, J1945, J2659, J1919, J2175, J2639, J2668, J1438, J984, J2651, J1549, J2103, J2608, J2613, J355, J2665, J15, J2596, J1403, J2652 [the latter four were penned in Bethlehem], and M1256).[75]

Later restorers have often used the blank folia of earlier manuscripts to chronicle contemporary events, such as in MS J1920 (a Lec-

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Constantinople [in office 1741–1746, 1752–1764] and of Jerusalem [in office 1749–1751], copied in 1772); text in Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue,* 1:190.

[74] Bogharian, *Hay grich‘ner,* 249–53. A lesser contemporary was Martiros (mistakenly called Matt‘ēos by Bogharian, 253) K‘ahanay Khizants‘i, the primary copyist of MS 1920, a Synaxarion of the year 1591.

[75] Five other manuscripts have reached us from his two visits to his native Khizan, in 1644 and 1649–1650 (MSS J2631, J1969, J2203, J2286, J3904); Bogharian, *Hay grich‘ner,* 336–41. Khizants‘i seems to have followed in the footsteps of two earlier–though less prolific–scribes and illuminators from Khizan who preceded him to Jerusalem: Sargis K‘ahanay Khizants‘i (c.1500–1572), who left behind a colorful calendar of feasts or “Lesser Synaxarion” *(Tonats‘oyts‘)* penned and illumined at St. James (MS J2494); and Khach‘atur K‘ahanay Khizants‘i (c. 1552–1608) known for two codices completed at St. James: a miscellany (Aleppo MS 117) and a Synaxarion (MS J1920). For details, see N(orayr) Tsovakan (Archbishop N. Bogharian) *Hay nkaroghner (ZhA-ZhĒ dar)* (Armenian Illuminators [XI–XVII Centuries]) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1989), 145, 169; repr. from *Sion* 59–63 (1985–1989), *passim.*

tionary of the year 1591, written locally). The restorer recounts a night-time robbery in the Holy Savior Monastery–just south of the Old City's Zion Gate, carried out by nomadic Bedouins (p. 1208, dated 1692). In another, MS J251 (a Gospel of the year 1260, written in Hṙomklay and illuminated by T'oros Roslin), a chronicler recounts on the final folio the manifold activities of the Patriarch Gregory VI, the Chain-bearer (in office 1715–1749; an obituary by the Patriarch's hand laments the loss of his assistant and historian of the city, Bishop Hovhannēs [Hannē] Erusaghēmats'i, d. 1733; see MS J303; cf. MS J598 for another obituary of this distinguished cleric).[76] In yet another, MS J16 (a local Lectionary of c.1600), a lengthy colophon details down to the year 1838 the tension between the Armenian and the Greek Churches and the aftermath of the fire that devastated the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1808 (pp. 1310–13).[77] The same colophon covers the 1831 political uprising that spread from Palestine to Transjordan and the efforts of Ibrahim Pasha in putting it down. Moreover, MS J83 (1821) gives a biographical history of the Ottoman Vezirs from the fourteenth century through much of the eighteenth (1785), leaving the reader curious about the earlier sources of this constantly updated history.[78] Another, MS J3694 (1743–45), provides a local, monastic chronicle for the years to which it is dated.[79]

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[76] *Patmutiwn S. Erusaghēmi* (History of Holy Jerusalem), (Constantinople: Astuatsatur Kostandnupolsets'i, 1731; repr. 1734). For more on its various editions, see Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, 358–59. Several of the paintings in the St. James Cathedral are the work of this much loved bishop.

[77] Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue*, 1:101–3; cf. T'adēos M. Tēr Astuatsaturian, *Nkaragir aghetits' Erusaghēmi* (Description of the Calamities of Jerusalem) (Constantinople: Hovhannēs Miwhēntisian Press, 1860); for other, unpublicshed works by this author, including a description of the sacred sites in Jerusalem, see Aghawnuni, *Miabank' ew ayts'eluk'*, 148.

[78] Of special interest is the biography of the seventy-fourth Vezir, Ermēni Siwlēyman P'asha (in office 1654–1655; thereafter twice mayor of Constantinople). Text provided in the *Grand Catalogue*, 1:272–73. Of no less interest are those on the history of the Ottoman Sultans: MSS 14, 1329.

[79] Kevork Hintlian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Armenian Patriarchate, 1989), 61–62, invites attention to the several

IV.

The purpose of this study is not simply to provide information, but to stimulate further interest in the resources at St. James in Jerusalem. Because the brevity of the original paper was a major consideration when surveying the relevant writers, I was compelled to relegate considerable information to the notes. These notes, replete with references to secondary sources, were expanded to better acquaint readers with the primary sources.

Beginning with the first Armenian document written in Jerusalem, we have seen that liturgical matters were the primary concern of the earliest writers, followed by monastic affairs and pilgrimages in the Byzantine period. The survey reveals a narrow range and limited variety of their contributions. The opposite is true, however, for the later writers who were not quite apart in time but whose interests were somewhat diverse. In my coverage of the latter centuries I have by no means exhausted the parade of learned clerics with some writing to their credit. Amidst the many pilgrim clerics, we have encountered a few local writers who with their works are seldom mentioned or anthologized.

The Cilician Kingdom provided the Armenians a wider entry to the Holy Land, a gateway through which many more learned clerics came bearing their gifts of various sorts–both material and non-material. Unfortunately, however, there never developed a particular school of thought peculiar to Jerusalem except perhaps one to be noted for meditations on sacred sites, an appreciable literature in praise of Jerusalem.

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tombstone inscriptions at the Armenian cemetery on Mount Zion, by the old scriptorium at Holy Savior. Two of them are worth quoting: “Here rests / Ghevond of Van, the lover of letters, / The scribe / Who copied so many manuscripts / Both old and new; / Copied so many colophons. / And now, I left all these behind. / My love – manuscripts / I leave all these, O Father, / As my testament”; another has: “This is the refuge of the just. / Sing Alleluia / For the binder / Of holy books, / For the monk Mĕkhit‘ar.”

As indicated, the earliest extant manuscript copied in Jerusalem is a collection of homilies *(Charŕentir)* of the year 1215 (MS V204), and it may well be the only surviving Armenian manuscript copied in thirteenth-century Jerusalem. Consequently, the literary environment that may have existed there before the fourteenth century cannot be reconstructed from an inventory of the kind of manuscripts copied locally. Moreover, most manuscripts include several works by different authors and writings that are often centuries apart; they could not always be an adequate representation of the intellectual environment that produced them. Nor could the relation between these writers be established in such a way as to show contact and continuity of thought. Most of the local writing was done because certain scribes or recipients preferred this or that work, mostly of limited scope and use.

Published colophons, wherein Jerusalem is named as the place of copying a given manuscript, are but starting loci of quarrying historical information pertaining to the medieval city in general and the Armenian community in particular. Moreover, the *Grand Catalogue* of the St. James manuscripts provides considerable information through secondary colophons of donated manuscripts from elsewhere. Still, there remain abundant resources, so long treasured at St. James, that have not as yet been fully considered when writing the history of the Armenian community in medieval Jerusalem.[80] These resources are apt to contribute to the history of the medieval city of which the Armenian community had always been a substantial part; for indeed, there is no history of Christian Jerusalem without Armenian presence there.

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[80] For brief studies, see Maghak‘ia Ormanian (Patriarch of Constantinople, in office 1896–1908), *Haykakan Erusaghēm: Nkaragir At‘oŕoy Srbots‘ Hakobeants‘* (Armenian Jerusalem: Description of the See of St. James) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1931), written while at St. James, 1914–1917; and N(orayr) Tsovakan (Archbishop N. Bogharian), *Srbots‘ Hakobeants‘ Vank‘ (ZhD-ZhĒ dar)* (St James Monastery [XIV–XVIII Centuries]) (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1985); repr. from *Sion* 58 (1984) 40–43, 86–90,153–156, 219–222; and 59 (1985) 45–48, 176–180.

ՀԱՅ ԳՐՈՂՆԵՐ ՄԻՋՆԱԴԱՐՅԱՆ ԵՐՈՒՍԱՂԵՄՈՒՄ

Արթահամ Տէրեան

Ամփոփում

Հայ հեղինակները միջնադարյան Երուսաղեմում գրեթե շարունակական ներկայություն են ունեցել Զ–ԺՋ դարերի հազարամյակի ընթացքում: Մինչդեռ բյուզանդական ժամանակաշրջանի ամենավաղ աղբյուրները վերաբերում են ծիսական թեմաներին, հետագա գրությունները խորանում են ավելի ստեղծագործական ջանքերի մեջ և ավարտվում են սուրբ վայրերին նվիրված հոգեւոր գրություններով: Հիմնականում հանրագիտարանային այս հոդվածում նշվում են մի քանի հեղինակների անուններ՝ ինչպես բնիկ, այնպես էլ ուխտավոր, ինչպես նաև թարգմանիչներ և գրիչներ (ծանոթագրություններում ներկայացված է ավելի ընդարձակ տեղեկատվություն՝ երկրորդական աղբյուրներով): Երուսաղեմում ընդօրինակված ձեռագրերի և ավելին՝ Սրբոց Յակոբեանց Վանքին նվիրաբերված ձեռագրերին ավելացված հիշատակարանները կարող են նպաստել հայկական Երուսաղեմի դարավոր պատմությանը, հատկապես խաչակիրների ժամանակաշրջանից ի վեր:

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