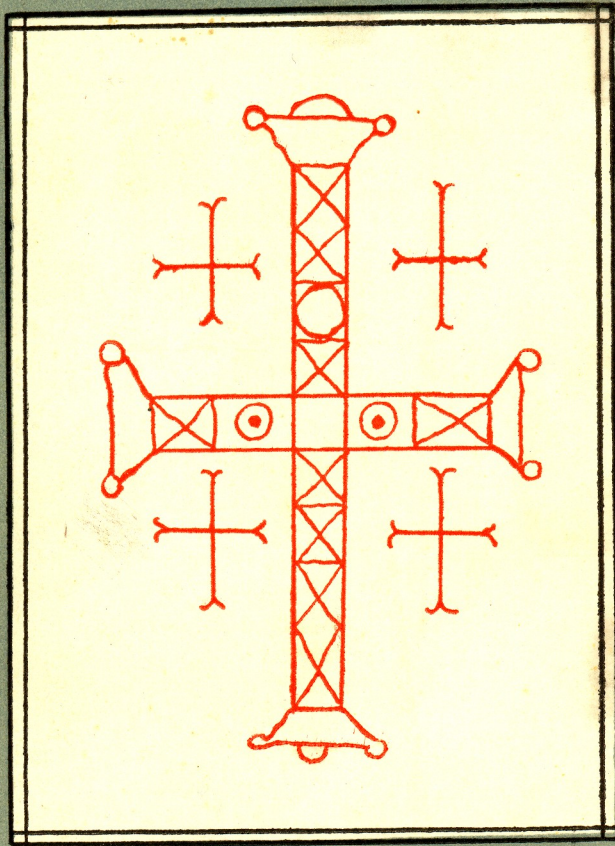


# The Copts in Jerusalem



OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS



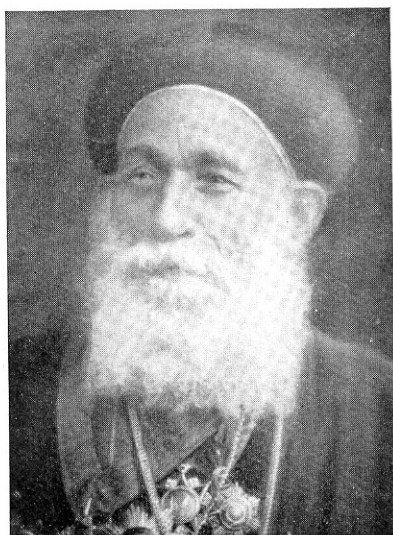


1. ANBA KIRILLUS VI.  
Pope of Alexandria and 116th Patriarch of the See of St. Mark.





2. Anbâ Kîrillus V.  
112th Patriarch.  
(1874-1927)



3. Anbâ Yûânnis XIX.  
113th Patriarch.  
(1928-1942)



4. Anbâ Maqârîûs III.  
114th Patriarch.  
(1942-1945)



5. Anbâ Yûsâb II.  
115th Patriarch.  
(1946-1956)



# The Copts in Jerusalem

OTTO F.A. MEINARDUS

Associate Professor  
The American University at Cairo

C A I R O

COMMISSION ON OECUMENICAL AFFAIRS OF THE  
SEE OF ALEXANDRIA, CAIRO

1960

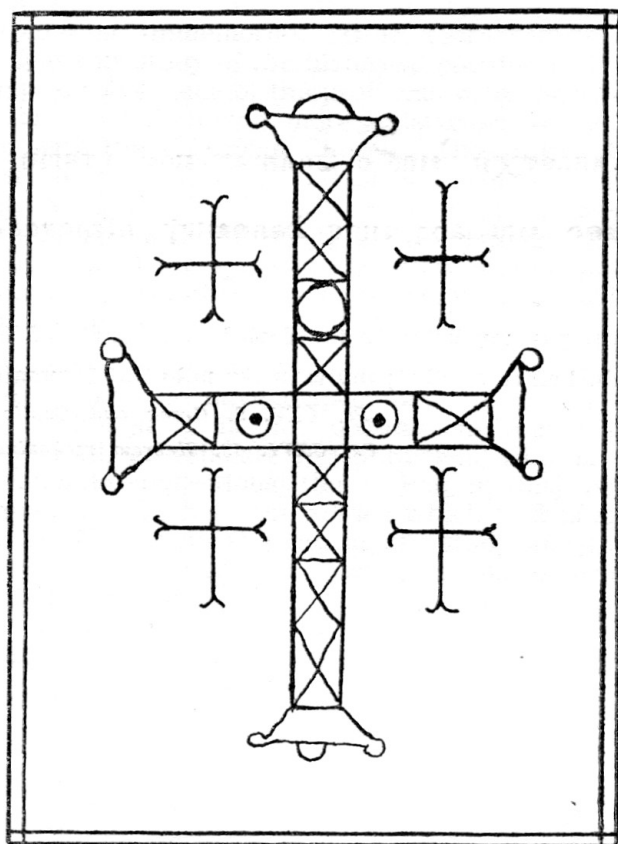


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Sixth Century Coptic Cross displaying the distinctive  
features of the Cross of the Latin Patriarchate  
of Jerusalem



Osireion at Abydos. East pillar on the south side showing Cross traced  
with red chalk on red granite. *Les Cahiers Coptes*, XII, 13.



†ⲙⲁ† ⲁⲗⲁⲉⲧϭⲏ ⲁⲛⲓⲥ ⲉⲗⲗⲓⲁⲧⲗⲏⲟⲧ ⲁⲧⲉⲛⲓ ⲁⲛⲓⲥ  
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"I will pay my vows to the Lord in the courts of the House  
of the Lord, before all the people, in the midst of Jerusalem."

*Ps. CXV, 9, Greek and Coptic reckoning*

*Ps. CXVI, 19, Hebrew reckoning*

## Preface

The aim of the present study is to show, that among the various Christian communities established in Jerusalem, the Egyptian or Coptic Church has been represented in the Holy City from time immemorial. It is, moreover, to be devoutly hoped, that this study of the historical position of Dair as-Sultân may help to solve some of the problems with regard to property-claims, and that thereby a more satisfactory settlement may be reached with the Ethiopian Church. The author feels assured, however, that, in view of the present complex situation, His Holiness Anbâ Kîrillus VI will come to an agreement on this thorny question with His Majesty Haile Selassie, if both parties are embued with the spirit of Christian charity, and eschewing all recourse to legal documents and action, wherein worketh not the righteousness of God.

The author takes this opportunity to express his sincere gratitude to all who have helped him in making this study possible. Though it is not possible to name here all the Reverend Fathers, scholars and librarians, who have given him many valuable suggestions, the author, in duty bound, wishes to acknowledge the help and advice which he has received from Dr. O.H.E. KHS-Burmester during the study and the writing of this work. His interest and concern in this undertaking was a constant inspiration.

Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross,  
September 27, 1960

*Otto Meinardus*



## 1. The History of the Copts in Jerusalem

**A**MONG those who are recorded by St. Luke to have received baptism on the Day of Pentecost,<sup>1</sup> there may have been some of the Egyptians who were said to be living in Jerusalem at that time. If any of these Egyptians returned later to their country, they would have formed the nucleus of the first Christian Community in Egypt.

With the Discovery of the Holy Cross by St. Helena in May 328 A.D., and the subsequent building of the Church of the Resurrection<sup>2</sup> over the Tomb of Christ, Jerusalem became the principal place of pilgrimages for Christians. One of the best known pilgrims in the fourth century was St. Mary of Egypt. After a career of infamy at Alexandria up to her twenty-ninth year, as an actress and courtisan, she joined on one occasion a group of pilgrims to the Holy Land hoping only for new opportunities to continue her sinful ways. On reaching the Holy City, St. Mary the Egyptian mixed with the crowd to get into the Church of the Resurrection, where the Holy Cross was exposed for the veneration of the faithful, but an invisible force prevented her from entering the Church. This happened three or four times, whereupon St. Mary retired into a corner of the courtyard to consider the cause of it, and having seriously reflected on her dissolute life, she burst into tears. While beating her sinful breast, she perceived above her an icon of the Mother of God. She fixed her eyes upon it, and addressed herself to the Holy Virgin, begging her help and assistance. St. Mary besought the Holy Virgin that she might be permitted to enter the Church

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(1) *Acts* 2 : 10.

(2) This is the historical name of the Church. In the West it is commonly called the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

to behold the Sacred Wood of her redemption, and promised that from that moment she would consecrate herself to God by a life of penance. After fervent prayer, she felt within her soul consolation, and when she attempted again to enter the church, she was able to go up into the middle of it without hindrance, and there she had the joy of venerating the Precious Wood of the Glorious Cross. Realising the incomprehensible mercy of God, St. Mary cast herself on the ground, and after kissing the pavement in tears, she arose and went up to the icon of the Mother of God, where falling on her knees, she begged for her intercession. Then she heard a voice saying : "If thou go beyond the Jordan, thou shalt find there rest and comfort." Before crossing the Jordan, she stopped at the Monastery of St. John the Baptist. Beyond the Jordan, St. Mary passed forty-seven years in penance and received the Last Sacrament from St. Zosimus before she died in 431 A.D.<sup>3</sup>

The *Letter of Paula and Eustachium to Marcella*, (386 A.D.), refers to the monks of the various nations who visited the Holy City. "Why need we mention the Armenians, the Persians, the nations of India and Ethiopia, and the neighbouring country of Egypt, abounding in monks, Pontus and Cappadocia, Coele-Syria, and Mesopotamia and all the multitudes of the East."<sup>4</sup>

The Feast of the Consecration of the Holy Church of Golgotha (Martyrium) and the Holy Church of the Resurrection (Anastasis) was one of the principal occasions for the pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The Pilgrim of Etheria<sup>5</sup> mentions that "not only monks and renuntiants from the different provinces of Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, or the Thebaid, where there are a number

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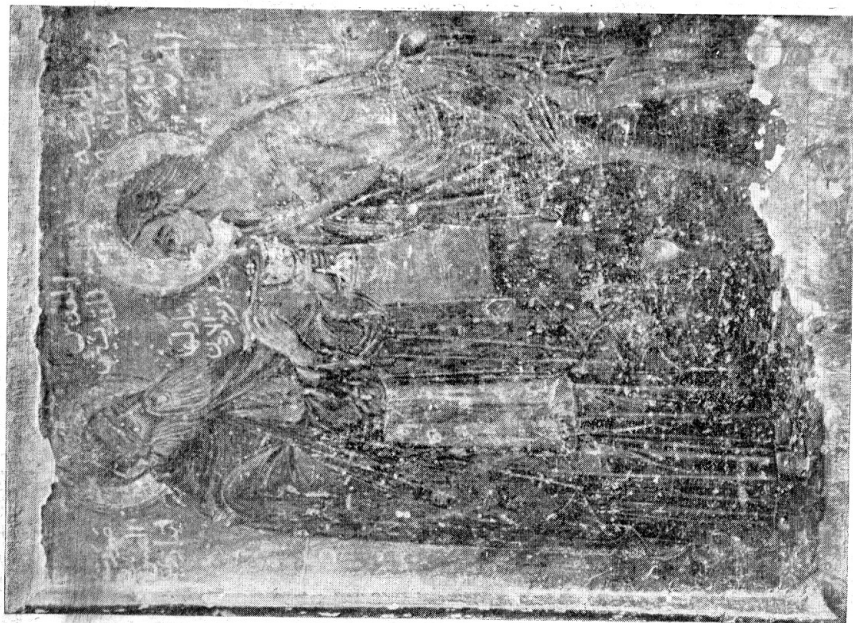
(3) Synax., *Patr. Orient.*, XVI, 286-290 ; *Ethiop. Synax.*, 6 Miyāzyā, Budge III, 784-6 ; "The Pilgrimage of Seawulf", *PPTS*, IV, 14. (*PPTS* = *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*).

(4) Aubrey, "Letter of Paula and Eustachium to Marcella," *PPTS*, I, 1.

(5) The Pilgrim of Etheria, probably a Spanish abbess or nun, made her pilgrimage around 385 to Egypt, the Holy Land, Edessa, Asia Minor and Constantinople. Gamurrini (1884) held that the writer was Saint Silvia, the sister of the Roman prefect Rufinus, and hence the document came to be known as the *Peregrinatio Silviae*.

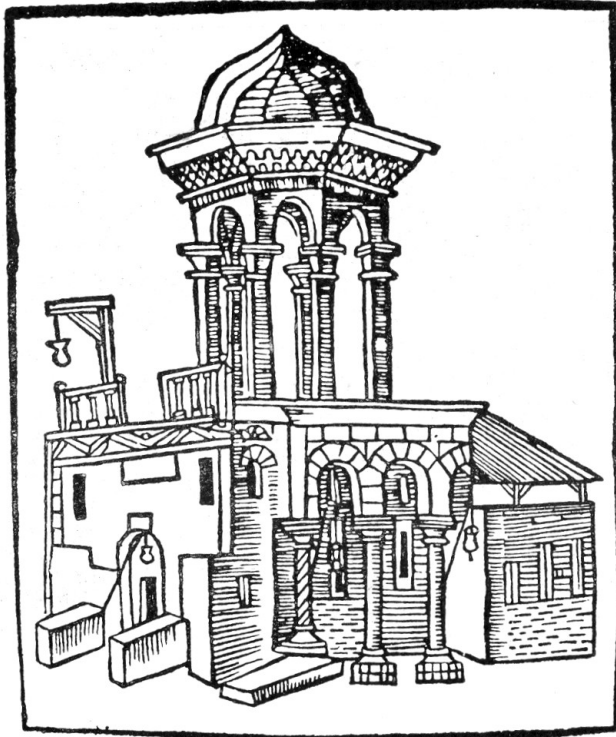


7. St. Mary of Egypt,  
(Occidental representation)

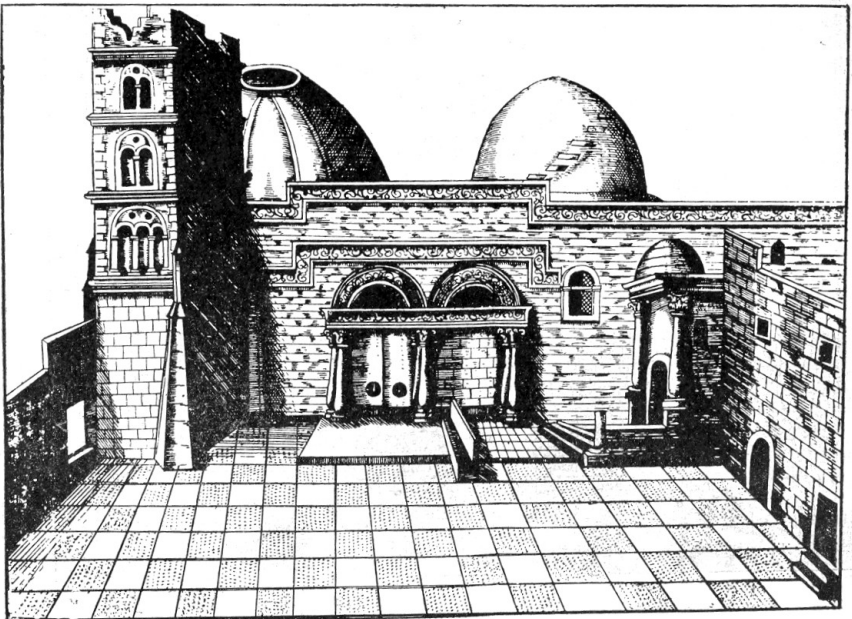


6. St. Zosimus administering the Holy Mysteries  
to St. Mary of Egypt in the Desert of the Jordan.  
(Icon on 16th cent. chalice-ark, Church of Abū  
Saifan, Old Cairo).

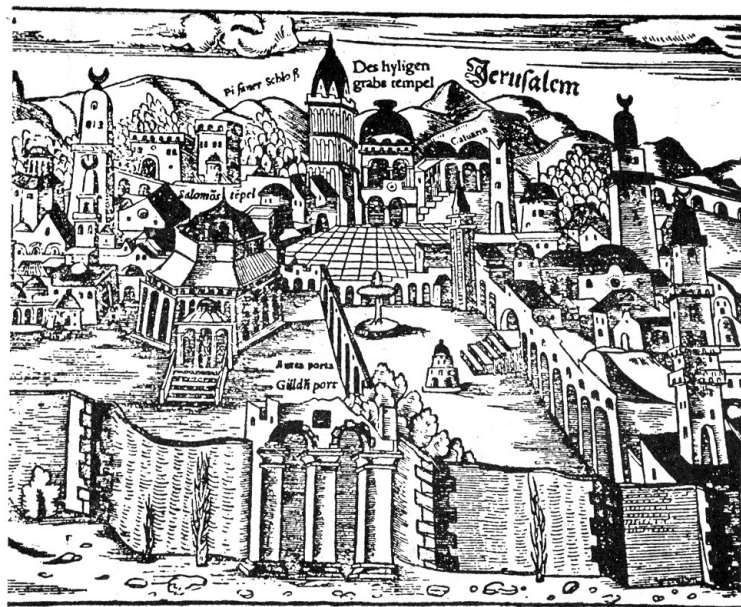




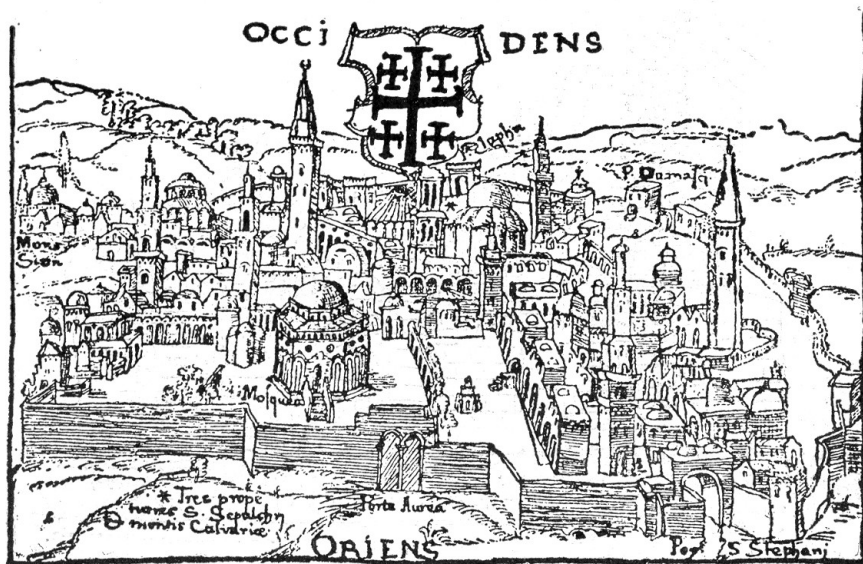
8. The Church of the Resurrection  
in the 15th Century.



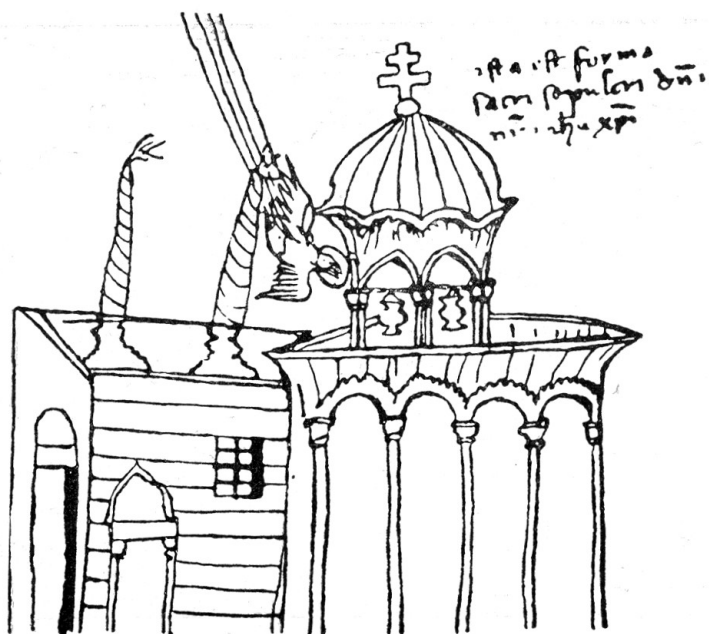
9. The Church of the Resurrection in 1565.



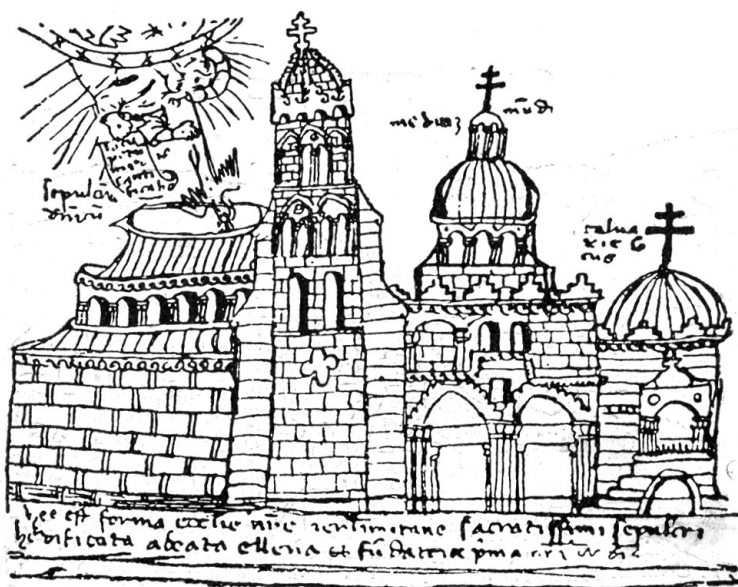
10. Jerusalem in 1550.



11. Jerusalem in 1581.



12. The Kouvouklion in the 16th century.



13. The Church of the Resurrection in the 16th century.



of monks, but from all sorts of different places and provinces" came to Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup>

The Copts are mentioned as pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Letter of Guarantee attributed to the Caliph 'Umar and dated in the 15th year of the Hīgra (637 A.D.). This covenant is said to have been made between the Caliph and the Greek patriarch Sophronius.<sup>7</sup> "Let peace remain among them (the Christians) as regards their churches and monasteries, as well as all the other places of prayer belonging to them in Jerusalem and outside, that is to say, the 'Camama' or the Church of the Resurrection and the Great Church of Bethlehem, where Jesus Christ was born... And in order that the Georgians and Abyssinians depending on the Greek Nation be well established, let all other nations that go there on pilgrimage, Latins, Copts, Syrians, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Maronites submit to the Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem."<sup>8</sup>

By the beginning of the ninth century, the Copts had their own church in Jerusalem. During the patriarchate of Anbâ Ya'qûb (810-830), Macarius of Nebrûwah, the magistrate, built a church in Jerusalem, which at the time of the writing of the Biography of the Patriarch in question was a place of refuge for the Orthodox and for those who made pilgrimages to that city

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(6) Bernard, "The Pilgrimage of S. Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy Places," *PPTS*, I, 76.

(7) The variety and the order of Christian communities represented in Jerusalem according to this document, would suggest for its composition a date during the Mameluke period. Scholz, writing in 1820, already questioned the authenticity of the Omarite Covenant. Cf. Scholz, *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parätonium*, etc., 293, and Luke, speaking of the work of the Holy Places Commission, points out, that these firmans, as issued by the Mamelukes of Egypt, are not infrequently in contradiction with one another. Cf. Luke, "The Christian Communities..." in Ashbee, *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, 46.

(8) Famin, *Histoire de la rivalité et du Protectorat des Eglises Chrétiennes en Orient*, 456, 148; Themelis, *Les Grecs aux Lieux Saints*, 7; Philippus, *The Rights of the Abyssinians in the Holy Places*, 5, 6; Isâdhûrus, *Al-Kharîdat an-Nafisah fî Târîkh*, IV, 59; Papadopoulos, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Jérusalem*, 259.

in order to pray there. Macarius built this church as a monument of himself for ever, and it is called the Church of the Magdalene.<sup>9</sup> The construction of this church is also mentioned by Maqrîzî, who states that in his days (Anbâ Ya'qûb), a church was built in Jerusalem for such Christians from Egypt as went thither.<sup>10</sup>

Gibbon, speaking of the period from 638 to 1099, refers to the many pilgrims from the East and the West who continued to visit the Holy Sepulchre, and mentions that the Greeks, Latins, Nestorians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, Armenians and Georgians maintained their chapels, their clergy and the poor of their respective communities.<sup>11</sup>

There are not many references to Coptic pilgrims to Jerusalem prior to the Crusades. A Christian Arabic papyrus of the ninth century, however, speaks of a Coptic lady-traveller who had returned to Egypt from Jerusalem, where presumably she had gone on a pilgrimage;<sup>12</sup> and John (Yûhannâ) ibn Sa'id al-Qulzumî mentions that sometime between 1047 and 1092 he went to Jerusalem and elsewhere,<sup>13</sup> namely the Sepulchre and Calvary at Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup>

During the patriarchate of Anbâ Kirillus II (1078-1092), the Ghuzz or Turkomans captured Jerusalem and extended their conquests to the Egyptian frontier. The Turkoman sovereign, Sultan Galâl ad-Dîn, also known by the name of King Shah, appointed a Jacobite Copt, a certain Mansûr at-Tilbanî, to become assistant to the Governor. Mansûr at-Tilbanî as well as his wife Mu'înah were of great help to the Christians who came to Jerusalem from Egypt and from other parts. At this time, the Coptic churches and monasteries in Jerusalem were confided to the

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(9) *Hist. Patr., Patr. Orient.*, X, 461.

(10) Malan, *History of the Copts (Maqrîzî)*, 81.

(11) Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, IV, 184.

(12) Anawati, "Un Papyrus Chrétien en Arabe," *Mélanges Islamologiques*, II, (1954), 98.

(13) The visit of John ibn Sa'id should be placed during the patriarchates of Christodoulus and Cyril II.

(14) *Hist. Patr.* II, III, 358.

Syrian Jacobites, who held the same belief as the Copts.<sup>15</sup> In order to avoid any misunderstanding, however, which might arise with regard to the Coptic ownership of the Church of the Jacobite Christians, Anbâ Kîrillus II responded to the request of Mansûr at-Tilbanî in delegating an Egyptian bishop to consecrate the church, which was reconstructed by Mansûr at-Tilbanî. The consecration took place in the month of Barmahât 808 (1092 A.D.)<sup>16</sup>

After the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 by Godfrey of Bouillon, the Jacobite Copts were no longer able to go to the Holy City on account of the hatred which the Franks had towards the Copts, and the pilgrimages were temporarily interrupted. In August 1099, Arnulf of Rohes was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem. His aim was to latinize the See. With Godfrey's approval he installed twenty canons and banished the priests of the Eastern Churches who had held services in the Church of the Resurrection. These included not only the Greek-Orthodox and Georgians, but also Armenians, Jacobites and Copts.<sup>17</sup>

From the beginning of the 12th century, however, both the Church and the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene served again as the spiritual centre for the Jacobites, both Syrians and Egyptians. The church was situated in the vicinity of the city-walls near the Gate of Herod, north of the Via Dolorosa.<sup>18</sup>

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(15) The Jacobites received their name from Jacob Bardaeus, a Syrian monk, who died in 578, as Bishop of Edessa, and who converted the Syrian Church to the Monophysite doctrine. The term Jacobite was originally applied only to the Syrian Monophysites, it is often applied, however, to the Copts. Maqrîzî, in his *History of the Copts* constantly refers to the Copts as Jacobites. *The History of the Patriarchs* (II, III, 399) also identifies the Jacobites with the Copts, and the Canons of Cyril III Ibn Laklak (1235) speak of the Coptic Jacobite Church. (*Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte*, XIV, 141). Thietmar (1217) mentions the Jacobites who come from Egypt and who claim to be the heirs of the Pharaohs (Saint-Genois, *Voyages faits en Terre Sainte*, 56), whereas Jacques de Vitry (1227) and Marino Sanuto (1306) state that the Jacobites had a teacher who is said to be James, a disciple of the Alexandrian Patriarch, (Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, I, 1091-92).

(16) Filûtâûs 'Awad, *Dair as-Sultân milk al-Qibt la al-Habash*, 17.

(17) *Hist. Patr.*, II, III, 398-9 ; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 294.

(18) Fifteen years after the Crucifixion of Christ, Herod Agrippa extended the City of Jerusalem by building a third wall. From this time onwards, Calvary and the Garden of Joseph of Arimathea with the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord were enclosed in the city walls.



An interesting account of the existence of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene is found in two Syriac Codices, that of Lyons (February 10, 1138) and that of Paris (August 25, 1138).<sup>19</sup> These documents refer to arguments between the Jacobite Communities in Jerusalem on the one hand, and a certain Frank, called Godfrey of Asha, on the other hand. These two documents provide us with some pertinent historical data concerning the Jacobite community in Jerusalem.

Apparently, the Jacobite community, including the Syrians, fled to Egypt, when the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099. After a few years, however, they returned to the Holy City, though they were unable to obtain from the Franks those sites which prior to the conquest by the Crusaders had belonged to the Jacobites. It was only after the intervention of Athanasius VII, Patriarch of Antioch, that Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem, returned to the Jacobites their original places. This transference must have happened after 1100, the year when Athanasius VII became Patriarch, and before 1118, the year when Baldwin I died. Among those properties returned by Baldwin, there were two sites, which had been occupied by Godfrey of Asha the Crusader.<sup>20</sup>

In 1124 or 1125, Ignatius I, Patriarch of Antioch, repaired the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene, so that it became available again for the use of the monks. Ignatius established a rule, whereby all Jacobite monks had to reside there. Therefore, from 1125 onwards, the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene resumed its place in the Jacobite community. In the same year, the successor to Ignatius I, the Patriarch Ignatius II of Antioch visited the Holy City and enlarged the Jacobite Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene.

In 1137, Godfrey of Asha, after having been released by the Saracens, claimed those sites which he had captured. To settle the dispute, a compromise was reached, and in February 1138, the Jacobites paid the sum of 200 dinars to Godfrey of Asha.

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(19) Martin, "Les premiers princes croisés et les Syriens jacobites de Jérusalem," *JA*, Nov.—Dec. 1888, 471-490, Jan. 1889, 33-79.

(20) Nau, "Le croisé lorrain Godefroy de Ascha, d'après deux documents syriaques du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *JA*, Nov.—Dec. 1899, 421-431.

In 1140, an anonymous pilgrim visited Jerusalem and stated that he had seen a Monastery of the Jacobites, wherein was the head of St. James and the arm of St. Stephen. This pilgrim also referred to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene which belonged to the Jacobites, where they show some of the hair of their Patron-Saint.<sup>21</sup> In the Church of the Resurrection, our anonymous pilgrim noticed a chapel, which belonged to the Syrians, wherein they kept the Holy Cross.<sup>22</sup>

The Syrian Codex 27 of the Jacobite Monastery of St. Mark in Jerusalem contains an interesting colophon, the contents of which inform us that the codex was completed in 1149 A.D. in the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene at the time of Athanasius VIII, Patriarch of Antioch, John V, Patriarch of Alexandria, and Ignatius III, Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem. This codex was written to be used by the monks of the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene, which is situated in the vicinity of the wall of the city.<sup>23</sup>

Johann of Würzburg, visiting the Holy Land in 1165, refers to the Jacobite monks, who possess the Church of St. Mary Magdalene.<sup>24</sup> He also provides us with a list of the various nations who maintained chapels in Jerusalem, though some of them were apparently closed at the time of his pilgrimage. He enumerates the following :

Greeks, Latins, Germans, Hungarians, Scottish, Navarrians, Britons, English (Angli), Franks, Ruthenians, Bohemians, Georgians, Armenians, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Indians, Egyptians, Copts, Capheturicians, Maronites, etc.<sup>25</sup>

In the *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* of Bar Hebraeus we read, that in 1168, the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Michael I, went

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(21) Some hair of St. Mary Magdalene is now preserved in a feretory in the Monastery of the Syrians, Wādī 'n-Natrūn.

(22) "Anonymous Pilgrims", *PPTS*, VI, 12.

(23) Taylor, "A new Syriac fragment dealing with incidents in the Second Crusade," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XI, (1931), 120-130.

(24) Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae ex saeculo VIII, IX, XII et XV*, 132, 164.

(25) *Ibid.*, 189-190.

for the Easter celebrations to Jerusalem to celebrate the Divine Liturgy and to consecrate the Holy Chrism in the Jacobite Monastery of St. Mary Magdalene.<sup>26</sup>

In the latter part of the 12th century, Theoderich<sup>27</sup> (1172) and an anonymous pilgrim<sup>28</sup> (1180) refer to the Franks, the Greeks, the Syrians, the Armenians, the Jacobites and others, who were in Jerusalem. The number of pilgrims from the various Christian communities and nations increased as time went on, and many of the Churches felt the need to establish themselves permanently in the Holy City. In 1187, Sultan Salâh ad-Dîn granted exemption from taxes to the Greeks, Georgians, Copts and Abyssinians who came to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. By this ordinance the Sultan also confirmed the privilege of the Copts and the Abyssinians to have sites in the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>29</sup> Yet, in spite of this, we hear of Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites and Copts, fugitives from Palestine, who were driven from the realm of Salâh ad-Dîn, after the capture of Jerusalem, and who settled in Cyprus, where each sect observed its own rites.<sup>30</sup>

In the first few years of the 13th century,<sup>31</sup> Abû 'l-Makarim refers to three churches in Jerusalem, which belonged to the Copts : The Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Church of the Resurrection, the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, which was built by Macarius an-Nebrûwah, and the Church, which was reconstructed by Mansûr at-Tilbanî.<sup>32</sup>

When it was discovered, however, that the Syrians had added some properties of the Copts to their own, and had wasted others, Anbâ Kirillus III (1235-1243) appointed in 1238 an Egyptian Archbishop of Jerusalem, where he succeeded, after much

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(26) Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, II, 546 f.

(27) Theoderich, "Description of the Holy Places", *PPTS*, VI, 14.

(28) "Anonymous Pilgrims", *PPTS*, VI, 29.

(29) Themelis, *op. cit.*, 68.

(30) Cobham, *Excerpta Cyprica*, 197, Joannes Cotovicus (Johann van Cootwyck).

(31) The year 1208 is the last date mentioned in the history of Abû'l-Makarim.

(32) Filâtâûs 'Awad, *op. cit.*, 7.

trouble, in regaining the Chapel in the Church of the Resurrection and the Church which was reconstructed by Mansûr at-Tilbanî.<sup>33</sup> Anbâ Kîrillus III declared all Coptic monasteries exempt from the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop, and made them directly dependent upon the See of Alexandria. In pursuance of this policy, and also to serve the needs of many Egyptians scattered throughout Syria, the Patriarch consecrated an Archbishop for the Holy City. The Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch was much distressed at this appointment, and retaliated by excommunicating the newly appointed Coptic Archbishop.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, the Patriarch of Antioch consecrated an Ethiopian monk as Archbishop of Abyssinia, thus assuming a privilege which had been exclusively held by the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>35</sup>

By the middle of the 13th century, the Coptic Archbishopric of Jerusalem was well established. Ernoul<sup>36</sup> (1231) and Guillaume of Tyr<sup>37</sup> (1261) make mention of the Church of St. James which was the property of the Jacobites. In the *Ethiopic Synaxarium* we read that Anbâ Ghabriâl, the 78th Patriarch of Alexandria, went to Jerusalem, where he was blessed in the Holy Places. He was ordained to the priesthood of the Church of the Resurrection, and then he returned to Cairo.<sup>38</sup> During the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 13th century, the Copts not only had a resident Archbishop, but also monks in the Holy City. Conder states, "that their (Coptic) bishop wore a crown like the Greek patriarchs, their monks wore white pointed cowls. They still preserved the ancient Kiss of Peace, which was not yet extinct in the West."<sup>39</sup>

Around 1280, Burchard of Mount Sion referred to the Syrians, Ethiopians and Egyptians who were among the nationals residing

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(33) *Ibid.*, 17.

(34) Renaudotius, *Hist. Patr. Alex. Jacobit.*, 579 f.

(35) Kawerau, *Die Jacobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der Syrischen Renaissance*, 67.

(36) Michelant, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, 35.

(37) *Ibid.*, 174.

(38) *Ethiop., Synax.*, 11 Hamlé, Budge IV, 1107.

(39) Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 221.



in Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> In 1287, Abû Ishaq al-Mu'tamam ibn al-'Assâl<sup>41</sup> composed a homily addressed to the Egyptian Christians to join a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.<sup>42</sup>

It is interesting to note, that the *Coptic Synaxarium*, which was compiled by Peter Severus al-Gamil, Bishop of Malig (12-13th century), includes nine commemorations which are directly related to Jerusalem. Of these, four commemorations refer to the Holy Cross. On the 16th of Tût (September 26), the Coptic Church commemorates the Consecration of the Church of the Resurrection by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria, and the Patriarch of Antioch. On the following day, the 17th of Tût (September 27), the *Synaxarium* mentions the Invention of the Holy Cross by St. Helena, while the Appearance of a Cross of Fire over Golgotha in the year 351 A.D. is commemorated on the 12th of Bashons (May 20). On the 10th of Barmahât (March 19), the Copts honour the memory of the Recovery of the Holy Cross from the Persians. In 629 A.D., the East Roman Emperor Heraclius returned the Holy Cross to Jerusalem.

Apart from these commemorations, the *Coptic Synaxarium* mentions the following bishops of Jerusalem. Anbâ Yûhannâ, *ca.* 117-138 A.D., on the 3rd of Barmûdah (April 11), Anbâ Bar-kisûs (Narcissus), *ca.* 222-235 A.D., on the 1st of Barmahât (March 10), Anbâ Kîrillus, *ca.* 306-337 A.D., on the 22nd of Barmahât (March 31), and Anbâ Akâkîûs (Acacius or Decius) on the 29th of Barmûdah (May 7).

By the middle of the 14th century, we hear of some special places which were in the hands of the Copts. The Chapel of St. Michael, which to this day is in the hands of the Copts, may, even then, have belonged to the Jacobites, while the small chapel, known as the Chapel of St. Mary the Egyptian was the property of the Abyssinians (now Greek).<sup>43</sup> An anonymous Guide-Book

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(40) Burchard, "A Description of the Holy Land," *PPTS*, XII, 104.

(41) Abû Ishaq is the brother of As-Saffî ibn al-'Assâl.

(42) Graf, "Rede des Abû Ishaq al-Mu'tamam ibn al-'Assâl," *Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte*, VII, (1941), 51-59.

(43) Vincent & Abel, *Jérusalem*, II, 291. The Chapel of St. Michael may also have belonged to the Georgians.

to Palestine of 1350 refers to the Chapel of St. John the Evangelist which belonged to the Jacobites.<sup>44</sup>

The pilgrims of the 14th century list the following Christian communities represented in the Church of the Resurrection.

1336 *Guilielm de Boldensele*<sup>45</sup>

Greeks, Syrians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Christians of the Girdle,<sup>46</sup> Nubians, Ethiopians, Indians, Georgians.

1346 *Niccolo di Poggibonsi*<sup>47</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Indians, Ethiopians, Georgians, the Christians of the Girdle.

1348 *Ludolf von Suchem*<sup>48</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Nubians (Copts and Abyssinians), Syrians, Georgians, Nestorians.

1350 *Anonymous Pilgrim of Miltenberg*<sup>49</sup>

Franciscans, Armenians, Greeks, Indians, Jordiani, Jacobites, Anabites.

(44) "Anonymous Guide-Book to Palestine", *PPTS*, VI, 9.

(45) Canisius, *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum*, etc., IV, 348.

(46) The "Christians of the Girdle" (Cristiani della cintura) were the Copts. During the patriarchate of Cosmas II (851-859), the Copts were compelled to wear, as a mark of ignominy, girdles while the women, to whom the girdle was a distinguishing mark of feminine modesty, were forbidden to wear them. (Cf. Fowler, *Christian Egypt*, 70). During the reign of al-Hâkim (996-1021), the Copts were forced to wear a distinctive dress consisting also of a sash around their loins. In the 13th century, during the reign of Qalâûn, we read that the Christians in Egypt were made to ride on donkeys with girdles round their waistes. The patriarch of the Christians then obliged his people to wear blue turbans, and a girdle about their loins and forbade them to ride on horses or mules. (Cf. Malan, *A Short History of the Copts*, 89, 99, 104). And in 1849, Pardieu speaks of the Copts with their ink-horn in their girdle. (Cf. Pardieu, *Excursion en Orient*, 36). — Luke, on the other hand, points out that the "Christians of the Girdle" may be none other than the local Orthodox Christians, the people who would now be called the Arabophone flock of the Orthodox Patriarch in Jerusalem, (Cf. Luke, *The Christian Communities*, etc., 51).

(47) Niccolo di Poggibonsi, *A Voyage beyond the Seas*, 22.

(48) Ludolf von Suchem, "Description of the Holy Land", *PPTS*, XII, 97.

(49) Conrad, *Vier Rheinische Palaestina-Pilgerschriften*, 45.

- 1355 *Anonymous Pilgrim* <sup>50</sup>  
Franciscans, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Indians (Abyssinians), Maronites, Syrians.
- 1384 *Frescobaldi* <sup>51</sup>  
Franks, Greeks, Armenians, Christians of the Girdle, Jacobites.
- 1384 *Philippe de Mézières* <sup>52</sup>  
Latins, Armenians, Greeks, Christians of the Girdle (Christiani de Zona), Nestorians (Northorini), Jacobites, Georgians, Indians.
- 14th cent. *Codex Vaticanus* <sup>53</sup>  
Franciscans, Greeks, Georgians, Jacobites, Abyssinians, Servj (Servians), Christians of the Girdle, Armenians.
- 14th cent. *Codex XIV* <sup>54</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Indians, Nubians, Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites, Copts, Ysini (followers of Nestorius in Egypt), Soldini, Maronini.

At the beginning of the 15th century, the Jacobite Copts had definite holdings within the Church of the Resurrection. <sup>55</sup> Ignatius of Smolensk, <sup>56</sup> making his pilgrimage around 1400, mentions the Syrians and the Jacobites, and the latter celebrating their Liturgy behind the Holy Sepulchre; on the other hand,

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(50) Slisansky, *Neue Reisebeschreibung nacher Jerusalem, etc.*, 84.

(51) Frescobaldi, *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Palestine, etc.*, 77.

(52) Molinier, "Description de deux manuscrits contenant la règle de la Militia Passionis Christi de Philippe de Mézières." *Archives Orient. Latin*. I, (1881), 354.

(53) Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, I, 220.

(54) Codex XIV, fol. 28b of the Archives of the Dominican Order (Rome, St. Sabena).

(55) Vincent & Abel, *op. cit.*, II, 292; Harvey, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, xi.

(56) Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, I, i, 150.

the Archimandrite Grethenios noticed that the Jacobites conducted their services left of the entrance to the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>57</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain when the Church of St. Mary Magdalene passed from Coptic into Greek hands. The Church is now in Latin hands. The Seigneur de Caumont (1418) merely lists the church as being one of the Holy Places in Jerusalem,<sup>58</sup> and Hans Porner calls it the fourth church in Jerusalem.<sup>59</sup> In 1442, John Poloner says: "The fourth chapel on the right side when you go out of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at the side of the belfry is that of St. Mary Magdalene, which belongs to the Greeks."<sup>60</sup> Hans Rot, visiting the Holy Land in 1440, speaks of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene in which there are the "Cursi and Nestorini."<sup>61</sup>

When Zosimus, deacon of the Monastery of St. Sergius, went to Jerusalem in 1419, he saw the Copts making a procession around the Holy Sepulchre, while singing and striking with a hammer on a piece of wood or on a stone and turning some rattles.<sup>62</sup> In the same year, the anonymous pilgrim of Loos writes that the three nations, the Abyssinians, Jacobites and Syrians have their patriarch in Cairo. Furthermore, that they possess two chapels in the Church of the Resurrection, of which one is situated behind the Holy Sepulchre, and that these three nations join in one service, though their languages are

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(57) Khitrowo, *op. cit.*, 170.

(58) De la Grange, *Voyaige d'Oultremer en Jhérusalem*, 79.

(59) Häuselmann, "Hans Porner's Meerfahrt," *Zeitschr. d. hist. Vereins für Nieder-Sachsen*, (1874-75), 141.

(60) Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae, etc.*, 228.

(61) Bernouilli, "Hans und Peter Rot's Pilgerreisen etc.," *Beitr. z. Vaterl. Gesch.*, hrsg. *Hist. u. Antiquar. Ges. i. Basel*, n.f. 1, (1882), 374. By the middle of the 17th century, the Church of St. Mary Magdalene was definitely in Greek hands, as attested by Jean Doubdan (*Le Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, 276), and in 1842, we hear of the Greek Catholics, who held services in the Church of "Touch Me Not" (Μη μου ἅπτου), or St. Mary Magdalene's Chapel, which the Franks possess. Cf. Neophytos, *Annals of Palestine 1821-1841*, 57.

(62) Khitrowo, *op. cit.*, 210.

different.<sup>63</sup> In 1421, John Poloner refers to several chapels in the Church of the Resurrection, which belonged to the Indians (Abyssinians), the Jacobites, the Georgians and the Greeks.<sup>64</sup> An anonymous pilgrim, visiting Jerusalem in 1445, noticed the Jacobites, who had a little chapel behind the Holy Sepulchre in the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>65</sup>

Writing in the first part of the 15th century, Maqrîzî mentions, that the Copts have also a Church of St. Mary at Gaza, and at Jerusalem the Kumâmah (i.e. Church of the Resurrection, or rather a chapel in it), and the Church of Zion.<sup>66</sup>

During the 15th century, the number of Christian communities represented in the Church of the Resurrection increased considerably, and the pilgrims list the following denominations.

1419 *Hans Porner*<sup>67</sup>

Franks (good Christians), Greeks, Armenians, Centuri, Arabians, Jacobites, Antonites, Brothers from India.

1419 *Zosimus*<sup>68</sup>

Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Arians, Abyssinians, Copts, Jacobites, Nestorians.

1431 *Marino di Nanni da Siena*<sup>69</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Indians, Jacobites, Georgians, Nestorians.

1432 *Bertrandon de la Brocquierre*<sup>70</sup>

Franks, Jacobites, Armenians, Abyssinians, the Christians of the Girdle.

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(63) Moravillé, "Un pèlerinage en Terre Sainte," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXVI, 83-84.

(64) Tobler, *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, etc., 228.

(65) Schefer, *Le voyage de la Sainte Cité de Hierusalem*, 73.

(66) Abû Sâlih, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, 346, Appendix.

(67) Häuselmann, *op. cit.*, 147.

(68) Khitrowo, *op. cit.*, 210.

(69) Morani, *Del Viaggio in Terra Santa*, etc., 71.

(70) "The Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquiere," Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 287.



- 1458 *William Wey* <sup>71</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Indians, Jacobites,  
 Abbatii, Pessini.
- 1461 *Louis de Rochechouart* <sup>72</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians,  
 Syrians, Abyssinians, Maronites, Nestorians, Christians  
 of the Girdle (Christiani de Zona).
- 1463 *Koster Bernd* <sup>73</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Ffuriani (pro-  
 bably Juriani or Georgiani), Golhyten (Goffiten or  
 Copts), Jacobites, Indians, Nestorians.
- 1465 *Basil the Merchant* <sup>74</sup>  
 Greeks, Georgians, Servians, Franks, Syrians, Jaco-  
 bites, Melkites, Copts, Nestorians.
- 1479 *Sebald Rieter, Jr.* <sup>75</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Georgians, Indians, Syrians, Ar-  
 menians, Jacobites.
- 1480 *Felix Fabri* <sup>76</sup>  
 Franks, Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites who are the  
 followers of Dioscorus, Abyssinians, Nestorians, Ar-  
 menians, Georgians, Maronites.
- 1481 *Paul Walther of Guglingen* <sup>77</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Abyssinians, Jacobites,  
 Maronites.

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(71) Wey, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, 77-78.

(72) Coudere, "Journal de voyage à Jérusalem," 254, *Rev. Or. Latin*, I, (1893), 168-274.

(73) Stroick, "Der Bericht des Koster Bernd über seine Pilgerfahrt," *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, XC, (1934), 99.

(74) Khitrowo, *op. cit.*, 253.

(75) Röhricht, *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter*, *Bibl. lit. Ver. in Stuttgart*, 168, 75.

(76) "The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri," II, ii, 384-391, *PPTS*.

(77) Sollweck, *Itenerarum in Terram Sanctam, etc.*, *Bibl. lit. Ver. in Stuttgart*, 92, II, 289, 170, III, 143.

- 1487 *Obadia da Bertinoro* <sup>78</sup>  
Catholics, Greeks, Jacobites, Armenians, Johannites  
(Abyssinians).
- 1490 *Philippe de Voisins* <sup>79</sup>  
Abyssinians, Syrians, Armenians, Jurgiens (Geor-  
gians), Latins.
- 1494 *Pietro Casola* <sup>80</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Georgians, Armenians, Abyssinians,  
Syrians, Maronites, Golbites (Copts), Jacobites, Copts.
- 1495 *Claes van Dusen* <sup>81</sup>  
Minne-Brothers, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Indians,  
Jacobites, Georgians (Georgians).
- 1496 *Pfalzgraf Alexander* <sup>82</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Georgians, Armenians, Jacobites,  
Syrians, Maroneller (Maronites), Nestorians, Abys-  
sinians.
- 1497 *Arnold von Harff* <sup>83</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Georgians, Abyssinians, Syrians, Ar-  
menians, Jacobites.
- 1498 *Henry the Pious, Duke of Saxony* <sup>84</sup>  
Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Nubians, Jabeans,  
Chaldaeans, Maronites, Ethiopians, Egyptians, Jaco-  
bites, Latins, Greeks.

The Jacobites (Copts) must have made a definite impression upon the Western pilgrims to the Holy Land, for both, Johann

(78) Schwab, "Lettres d'Obadia de Bertinoro," *Archives Israélites*, XXVI, (1886), II, 273.

(79) Tamizey de Larroque, "Voyage à Jérusalem", *Arch. de la Gasco-  
gne*, III, 33.

(80) Newett, *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage, etc.*, 391.

(81) Conrady, *op. cit.*, 209.

(82) Alexander, *Beschreibung der Meerfahrt zum H. Grab, etc.*, 40, in  
*Reyssbuch dess heyligen Lands.*, Frankfurt, 1584.

(83) Letts, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, 203.

(84) Mencius, *Itinera sex a diversis Saxoniae Ducibus et Electoribus  
diversis temporibus in Italiam omnia, etc.*, 71, 93.

Tucher and Sebald Rieter, Jr., remark, that the Jacobites, Syrians and Indians are very similar to the Latin faith in worship and in order.<sup>85</sup> An anonymous pilgrim of Württemberg substantiates this when he says : The Indians, Jacobites and Syrians are very much like the Latins, while the Greeks are the most repulsive.<sup>86</sup>

During the latter part of the 15th century, the number of Copts in Jerusalem could not have been very large.<sup>87</sup> Francesco Suriano, writing towards the end of the 15 century, states, "that as the Copts had left Jerusalem, when I was there, and gone to Cairo, I had no opportunity of talking to them. The Copts are least in number, and as they are few, when the sons of their priests are born, they make them deacons and subdeacons."<sup>88</sup> Felix Fabri assigned to the Jacobite Copts the Stone of Uncion, and both Peter Fassbender<sup>89</sup> (1492) and Arnold von Harff<sup>90</sup> (1497) refer to a Chapel belonging to the Jacobites which is situated behind the Holy Sepulchre.

In the 16th century the pilgrims list the following Christian communities in the Church of the Resurrection :

1500 *Pietro Paolo Rucellai*<sup>91</sup>

Greeks, Georgians, Indians, Armenians, Syrians, Abyssinians, Jacobites, Maronites, Latins.

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(85) Tucher in *Reyssbuch dess heyligen Lands*, 355 ; Röhricht, "Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter," *op. cit.*, 75-76.

(86) Schön, "Eine Pilgerfahrt in das Heilige Land im Jahre 1494," *Mittheilungen d. Inst. f. Oesterreichische Geschfch.*, XII, 3, 6. Even the Duke Frederick II of Liegnitz felt that the Jacobites, Syrians and Indians were very similar to the Latins in their doctrine and in the manner in which they celebrate the Liturgy. Cf. Meisner, "Die Pilgerfahrt des Herzog Friedrich II von Liegnitz," *ZDPV*, I, (1878), 186.

(87) Yet it is stated by Luke, that since the middle of the 13th century there has been a regular succession of Coptic Metropolitans in Jerusalem. Luke and Roach, *The Handbook of Palestine*, 45.

(88) Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, 92.

(89) Röhricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, 258.

(90) Letts, *op. cit.*, 203.

(91) Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio di Bibliografia Sanfrancescana*, 511.

- 1505 *Pierre de Smet* <sup>92</sup>  
 Latins, Indians (Abyssinians), Armenians, Georgians,  
 Greeks, Syrians, Maronites, Nestorians, Jacobites.
- 1506 *Sir Richard Guylforde* <sup>93</sup>  
 Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Maronites, Nestorians,  
 Armenians, Georgians, Abyssinians, Latins.
- 1507 *George of Garing* <sup>94</sup>  
 Franciscans, Greeks, Syrians, Georgians, Jacobites,  
 Indians and Abyssinians, Armenians.
- 1507 *Martin Baumgarten* <sup>95</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Georgians, Jacobites who are  
 a people of Asia and of Aethiopia as far as Upper  
 India, Abyssinians or Indians, Armenians.
- 1512 *Jean Thénau* <sup>96</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Maronites, Abyssinians, Jacobites or  
 Syrian Copts belonging to the Patriarchate of Alexan-  
 dria, Georgians, Armenians.
- 1519 *Dietrich von Kettler* <sup>97</sup>  
 Franciscans, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Indians,  
 Syrians, Nestorians.
- 1519 *Jan Watt* <sup>98</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians, Nestorians, Ja-  
 cobites, Georgians, Indians.

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(92) Saint-Génois, *Les Voyageurs Belges*, I, 208.

(93) Ellis, *The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land*, 23.

(94) Pez, *Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novissimus*, 549.

(95) *The Travels of Martin Baumgarten, a Nobleman of Germany*, 464.

(96) Thénau, *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Jean Thénau*, 101.

(97) Hoogeweg, "Eine Westfaelische Pilgerfahrt...", *Zeitschr. f. vaterländische Geschichte u. Altertumskunde*, XLVII, (1889), 200.

(98) Weisweiler, "Eine Pilgerreise nach Jerusalem im Jahre 1519," in *Das Hlg. Land. Organ d. dtsh. Vereins v. Hlg. Lande*, XLI, (1897), 114.

- 1527 *Noé*<sup>99</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Giacopini (Jacobites), Ethiopians, Georgians, Christians of the Girdle, Nestorians.
- 1533 *Greffin Affagart*<sup>100</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Abyssinians, Syrians or Copts, Armenians, Maronites, Georgians, Nestorians, Jacobites.
- 1535 *Bartolomeo Georgievics*<sup>101</sup>  
 (Visitors) Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Maronites, Chaldaeans, those from the Far East and India, Greeks, Albanians, Serbians.
- 1539 *Pierre Belon du Mans*<sup>102</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, St. Thomas Christians, Abyssinians, Nestorians, Maronites and three other groups.
- 1542 *Meggen*<sup>103</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Georgians, Armenians, Syrians, Ethiopians.
- 1548 *Barone d'Aramon*<sup>104</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Copts, Syrians, Jacobites, Abyssinians, Christians of the Girdle.
- 1556 *Johann von Ehrenberg*<sup>105</sup>  
 Latins, Greeks, Copts, Abyssinians, Syrians, Armenians, Indians, Georgians.
- 1560 *Anonymous Franciscan Pilgrim*<sup>106</sup>  
 The Friars of St. Francis, Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Georgians, Abyssinians, Copts, Nestorians, Armenians.

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(99) Noé, *Viaggio da Venetia al Santo Sepolero*, D.

(100) Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte*, 76-93.

(101) Georgievics, *Specchio de' lochi sacri di Terra Santa*, 17 v.

(102) Pierre Belon du Mans, *Les Observations, etc.*, 143.

(103) Meggen, *Peregrinatio Hierosolymitana*, 115.

(104) Shefer, *Le Voyage de M. d'Aramon*, 121.

(105) *Reyssbuch des heyligen Lands*, 274a.

(106) Luke, "Diary of a Franciscan Pilgrim," in Ashbee, *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, 45.



- 1562 *Luigi Vulcano dalle Padua* <sup>107</sup>  
Georgians, Armenians, Chaldaeans, Syrians, Medians, Persians, Indians, Ethiopians, Nubians (probably Egyptians), Nestorians, Greeks and other nations.
- 1565 *Christophorus Fürer* <sup>108</sup>  
Latins, Armenians, Syrians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, Abyssinians, Maronites.
- 1573 *Leonhart Rauwolff* <sup>109</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Syrians, Georgians, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, called Golti (Copts) of whom some have assumed the order of St. Macharius, others that of St. Antony, Abyssinians, Maronites.
- 1579 *De Pinon* <sup>110</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Georgians, Armenians, Maronites, Jacobites, Nestorians.
- 1585 *Samuel Kiechel* <sup>111</sup>  
Franciscans, Greeks, Georgians, Armenians, Syrians, Copts (who are the Christians of the Girdle), Abyssinians.
- 1587 *Zuallardo* <sup>112</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Syrians, Georgians, and other schismatic Christians.
- 1592 *Trifone Korobejnikov* <sup>113</sup>  
Latins, Abyssinians, Copts, Nestorians, Armenians, Arians, Jacobites (Vikoti), Tetradites, Maronites.

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(107) Vulcano, *Vera et Nuova Descrittione*, 96.

(108) *Christophori Fühleri... Itinerarium Aegypti, Arabicae, Palaestinae, Syriac, etc.*, 62.

(109) Rauwolff, *Travels into the Eastern Countries*, in Ray, *A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*, 352.

(110) De Pinon, *Voyage en Orient*, 250.

(111) Hazler, *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel*, 316.

(112) Zuallardo, *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gierusalemme*, 174.

(113) Loparev, *Viaggio del mercante Trifone Korobejnikov*, 15.

1596 *Girolamo Dandini* <sup>114</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Georgians, Armenians, Abyssinians, Syrians, Copts.

In 1537, the Copts had a small chapel behind the *Kouvouklion* <sup>115</sup> which they still possess. As early as 1112, the Latins had there a parochial altar.<sup>116</sup> Friedrich Rehlinger explicitly states, that the Indians (Abyssinians), Arabians (probably Syrians), Moriscavians alias Ismaelittae and the Chaldaeans were not represented at the time of his pilgrimage in 1550.<sup>117</sup> One of the first pilgrims to refer to the Coptic Chapel and Altar in the Church of the Resurrection was an anonymous Spanish Franciscan pilgrim who visited the Holy Land in 1553.<sup>118</sup> By 1559 the Copts must have achieved some relative prosperity. For in 1559, Germanus, Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote to the Tsar Ivan the Terrible (1553-1584), complaining of his state of poverty, whereas the Armenians and the Copts celebrated the Liturgy in the Church of the Resurrection, wearing mitres, he, the Orthodox Patriarch, lacks a mitre.<sup>119</sup>

Rauwolff (1573) also mentions the Copts, who have their Chapel behind the Holy Sepulchre of Christ, and the Abyssinians, who live in the Temple of Mount Calvaria, just by the church door towards the left, and have through their lodging a peculiar way, so that, without hindrance, according to their pleasure, they may go in and out.<sup>120</sup>

De Pinon (1579) identifies the Copts with the Christians of the Girdle, and states that they possess some chapels in the

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(114) Dandini, *Missione Apostolica al Patriarca e Maroniti del monte Libano*, 197.

(115) Κουβούκλιον is the name given to the marble construction built over the Holy Sepulchre and the Chapel of the Angel. In the West it is called Aedicule.

(116) Vincent & Abel, *op. cit.*, II, 294 ; Hoade, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 149.

(117) Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 411.

(118) Luke, *A Spanish Franciscan's Narrative of a Journey to the Holy Land*, 28.

(119) Callinikou, Ο ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΝΑΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΤΕΛΟΥΜΕΝΑ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ, 621.

(120) Rauwolff, *op. cit.*, 352.

Church of the Resurrection,<sup>121</sup> while Jan van Cootwjk (1585) noticed the Chapel of the Copts, which adjoined that of the Syrians and the Jacobites.<sup>122</sup> The Codex of the Iberians (1585-86) states clearly, that the Copts, who profess the doctrine of Dioscorus, are behind the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>123</sup> Giovanni Zuallardo (1587) refers to an altar in the Church of the Resurrection used by the "Goffiti Indiani", a site which may have been used by both the Copts and the Abyssinians.<sup>124</sup>

In discussing the heretical doctrines of the schismatics, who have places in Jerusalem, De Villamont (1588) mentions the Copts or Goffites, who are a people of Egypt, and who still follow the old heresy of Arius, and in their ceremonies agree in some thing with the Abyssinians and Syrians and other Oriental Christians.<sup>125</sup> Bernardino Amico noticed, that the Chapel of the Opprobrium and two more dwelling places in the Church of the Resurrection belonged to the Abyssinians,<sup>126</sup> while the dwelling place west of the Holy Sepulchre was in the possession of the Copts.<sup>127</sup>

The pilgrims of the 17th century list the following Christian communities represented in the Church of the Resurrection :

1600 *Castela* <sup>128</sup>

Armenians, Copts, Syrians, Abyssinians, Georgians,  
Maronites, Greeks, Latins.

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(121) De Pinon, *op. cit.*, 250.

(122) Cootwjk, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, 184.

(123) Themelis, *op. cit.*, 46.

(124) Luke, "The Christian Communities in the Holy Sepulchre", in Ashbee, *Jerusalem 1920-1922*, 52.

(125) De Villamont, *Les Voyages*, 439.

(126) This is also confirmed by De Brèves (1605), Bénard (1616), Doubdan (1651), Thévenot (1657). The last also mentioned, that the Abyssinians possessed the Church of St. Mary of Egypt.

(127) Bernadino Amico, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*, 90.

(128) Castela, *Le Saint Voyage de Hierusalem et Mont Sinay, fait en l'an du grand Jubilé, 1600*, 217.

1601 *John Sanderson* <sup>129</sup>

Romans, Greeks, Cufties of Cairo, Georgians about the Black Sea, Armenians of Persia, Abbasies of Ethiopia, Nestorians of Bey datt, Jacobites of Alepo, Merdi (Mardin) and Babylon, Maronites of Mount Lebanon, Shemsi of Sirria and Celsia. <sup>130</sup>

1605 *De Brèves* <sup>131</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Ethiopians, Serbians, Syrians, Copts.

1610 *George Sandys* <sup>132</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Jacobites, Georgians, Maronites, Nestorians.

1612 *Giovanni Paolo Pesenti* <sup>133</sup>

Franks, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, Copts, who are Jacobites, Abyssinians.

1612 *William Lithgow* <sup>134</sup>

Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, Jacobites, a sort of circumcised Christians (Copts), Nestorians, Chelfaines of Mesopotamia.

1612 *Agostino Siciliano* <sup>135</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Abyssinians, Copts, Syrians, Nestorians, Georgians.

1616 *Pietro della Valle* <sup>136</sup>

Franks, Maronites, Greeks, Armenians, Abyssinians, Syrians, Copts called Egyptians, Georgians.

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(129) Foster, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant*, 108.

(130) Bey datt stands for Baghdad, the Shemsi for the Shāmī (Syrians).

(131) De Brèves, *Relation des Voyages*, 129.

(132) Sandys, *Travels*, III, 133.

(133) Pesenti, *Pellegrinaggio di Gerusalemme*, 51.

(134) Lithgow, *The Totall discours of the rare adventure and painful peregrinations...*, 239.

(135) Agostino Siciliano, *Peregrinaggio di Terra Santa*, 37.

(136) Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, 527.

- 1621 *Deshayes*<sup>137</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Armenians, Nestorians, Georgians, Maronites.
- 1633 *Jean van der Linden*<sup>138</sup>  
Latins, Armenians, Greeks, Copts, Syrians and others.
- 1635 *Albert Padioleau*<sup>139</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, Maronites.
- 1644 *Bernard Surius*<sup>140</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Georgians, Nestorians, Abyssinians, Copts, Maronites.
- 1647 *Monconys*<sup>141</sup>  
Romans, Greeks, Copts, Jacobites, Armenians, Abyssinians.
- 1651 *Doubdan*<sup>142</sup>  
French, Spanish, Italians, Dutch, Germans, British, Polish, Maronites, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Indians.
- 1656 *Ignatius of Rheinfeld*<sup>143</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Maronites.
- 1662 *Laurentius Slisansky*<sup>144</sup>  
Franciscans, Oriental priests, Greeks, Armenians, those speaking Arabic.

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(137) Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, II, 220.

(138) Saint Génois, *Les Voyageurs Belges*, II, 132.

(139) Padioleau, *De l'Antiquité, fondation, nomination... de Jérusalem*, in Themelis, *op. cit.*, 51.

(140) Surius, *Den God Turuchtigen Pilgrim of te Jerusalemsche Reyse*, I, 582.

(141) Monconys, *Journal des voyages*, 322.

(142) Doubdan, *Le Voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, 47.

(143) Ignatius von Rheinfeld, *Neue Jerosolymitanische Bilgerfahrt*, 125.

(144) Slisansky, *Neue Reisebeschreibung*, 81.



- 1666 *Frantz Ferdinand of Troilo* <sup>145</sup>  
Maronites, Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, Syrians or Jacobites, Copts also called "Christen della Cinte, des Gürtels wegen", Georgians, Abyssinians.
- 1669 *Anonymous* <sup>146</sup>  
Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Copts, Syrians.
- 1671 *Du Clou* <sup>147</sup>  
Latins (12 priests), Greeks (12 priests), Armenians (9 priests), Copts (one priest), Syrians, Abyssinians, Nestorians (no priests).
- 1671 *Angelo Legrenzi* <sup>148</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, Georgians.
- 1674 *Corneille le Bruyn* <sup>149</sup>  
Latins (9 priests), Greeks (7 priests), Armenians (5 priests), Copts (one priest). There is not a person that resides besides them.
- 1691 *Argiumban* <sup>150</sup>  
Latins (7 priests, 3 laymen), Greeks (4 priests), Armenians (6 priests), Copts (one priest).
- 1697 *Maundrell* <sup>151</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts (one monk).

By the beginning of the 17th century, both Copts and Abyssinians were well established in the Holy City. Stefano Mantegazza (1600) refers to "Greek Copts" who took care of the

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(145) Troilo, *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung*, 186.

(146) T. B., *A Journey to Jerusalem or the Travels of Fourteen English Men to Jerusalem in the Year 1669*, 87.

(147) Du Clou, *Itinerarium...*, 220.

(148) Legrenzi, *Il pelegriano in Asia*, 99-100.

(149) Le Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant*, 214.

(150) Eyàn, *Espana en Tierra Santa*, 197.

(151) Maundrell, *Reisebeschreibung nach dem Gelobten Lande*, 95.

- 1666 *Frantz Ferdinand of Troilo* <sup>145</sup>  
Maronites, Greeks, Armenians, Nestorians, Syrians or Jacobites, Copts also called "Christen della Cinte, des Gürtels wegen", Georgians, Abyssinians.
- 1669 *Anonymous* <sup>146</sup>  
Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Copts, Syrians.
- 1671 *Du Clou* <sup>147</sup>  
Latins (12 priests), Greeks (12 priests), Armenians (9 priests), Copts (one priest), Syrians, Abyssinians, Nestorians (no priests).
- 1671 *Angelo Legrenzi* <sup>148</sup>  
Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, Abyssinians, Georgians.
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(145) Troilo, *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung*, 186.

(146) T. B., *A Journey to Jerusalem or the Travels of Fourteen English Men to Jerusalem in the Year 1669*, 87.

(147) Du Clou, *Itinerarium...*, 220.

(148) Legrenzi, *Il pelegrino in Asia*, 99-100.

(149) Le Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant*, 214.

(150) Eyàn, *Espana en Tierra Santa*, 197.

(151) Maundrell, *Reisebeschreibung nach dem Gelobten Lande*, 95.

place, where Abraham sacrificed the ram instead of his son,<sup>152</sup> whereas François Armand (1602) mentions a very nice Chapel of the Abyssinians, which commemorates the site where Abraham intended to sacrifice his son Isaac.<sup>153</sup> Castela, visiting Jerusalem in 1600, states : "The Copts do quite the same (celebrating the Divine Liturgy) — as I very diligently observed — while noticing the different manners of the ones and the others, because they do not all celebrate their offices at the same time, but successively, and by this means, there never ceases to be praise and prayer in the Holy Temple."<sup>154</sup> Martinus Seusenius (1602), who wrongly identified the Copts with the followers of Arius, speaks of several chapels which belong to the Syrians, Copts, Armenians, Jacobites and Georgians,<sup>155</sup> while De Beauveau (1605) correctly noticed the small chapel behind the *Kouvouklion* as belonging to the Goffites (Copts).<sup>156</sup>

During the 17th century, the various Christian communities in the Church of the Resurrection suffered somewhat severely from the heavy taxes which they had to pay to their Muslim rulers. Francesco Verniore (1631) records that both the Abyssinians and the Copts have a monastery in the vicinity of the Church of the Resurrection, and that every month they had to pay some moneys to the Turks, and that every Easter, they had to apply for permission to make wine.<sup>157</sup> Poverty and pressure were conducive to ecclesiastical irregularities, and a firman, attributed to the Sultan Murad IV (1634) explicitly refers to violations of the Abyssinian properties by the Armenians. It appears that the Armenians persisted in their violations until they gained possession of the Abyssinian properties, but the Greeks succeeded later on in restoring the properties of the

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(152) Mantegazza, *Relazione, etc.*, 267. Abyssinians at Jerusalem were called "Greek Copts," presumably because they were Copts by faith and considered dependents of the Greek Community.

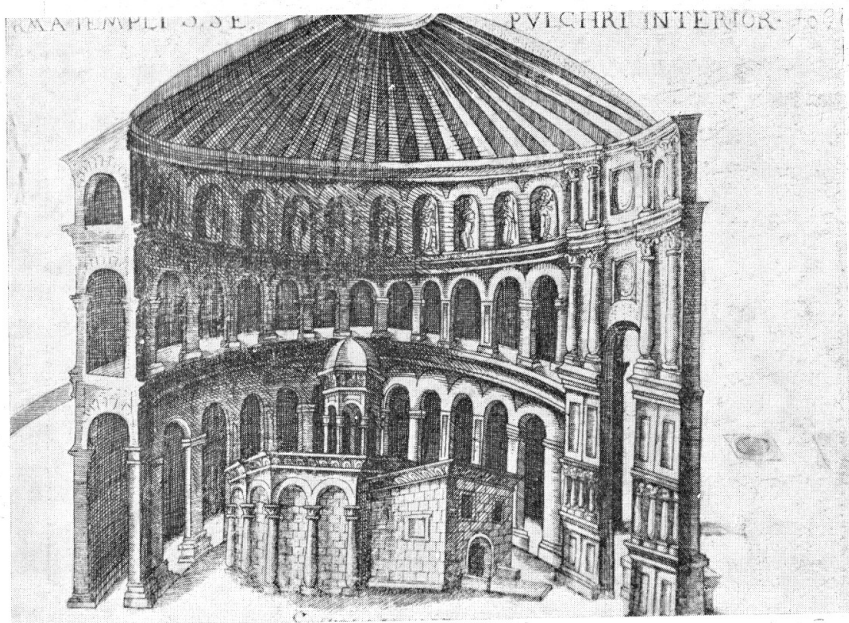
(153) Omont, "Voyage à Athènes," in *Constantinople et Jérusalem de François Armand*, 477.

(154) Castela, *Le Saint Voyage de Hierusalem*, 219.

(155) Mühlau, "Marinus Seusenius' Reise in das hl. Land," *ZDPV*, XXVI, (1903), 43, 59.

(156) De Beauveau, *Relation Journalière du Voyage*, 125.

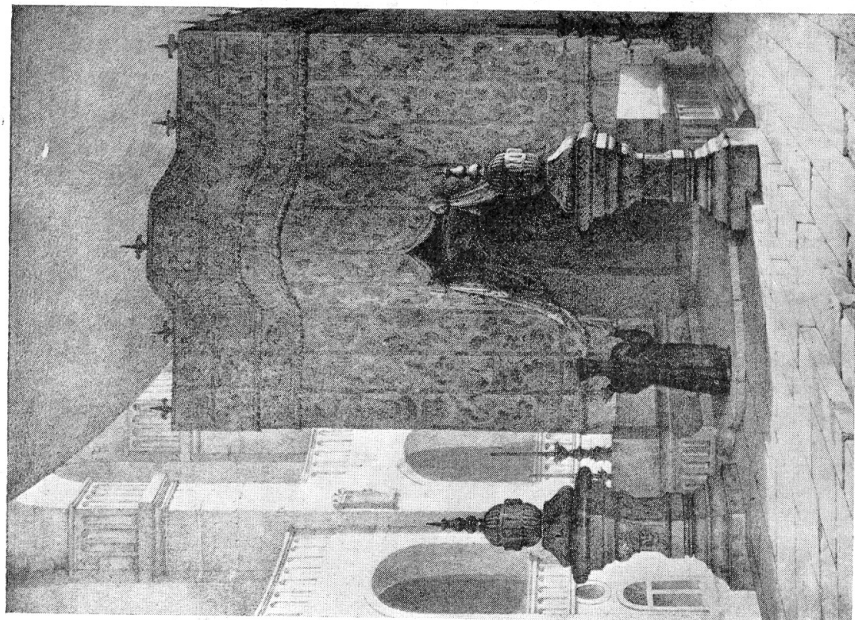
(157) Verniore, *Croniche ovvero Annali di Terra Santa*, 125.



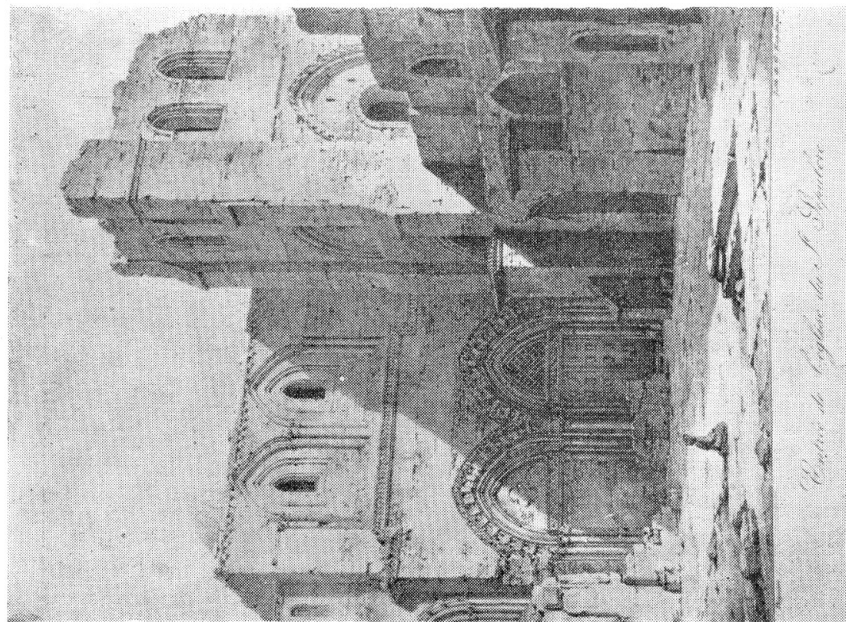
14. The Rotunda and Kouvouklion in 1565.



15. The Ceremony of the Holy Fire in 1658.



16. The *Kouroukion* in 1819.

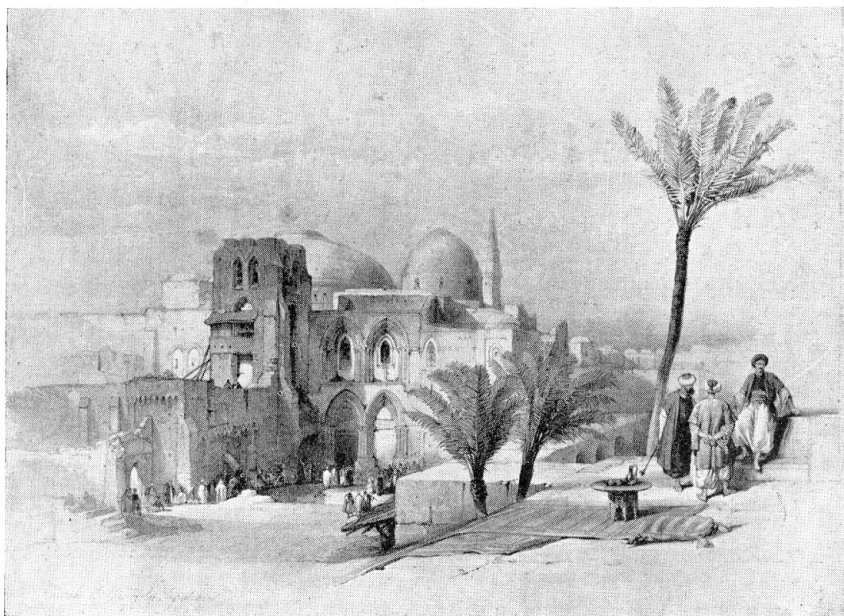


17. The Church of the Resurrection in 1819.

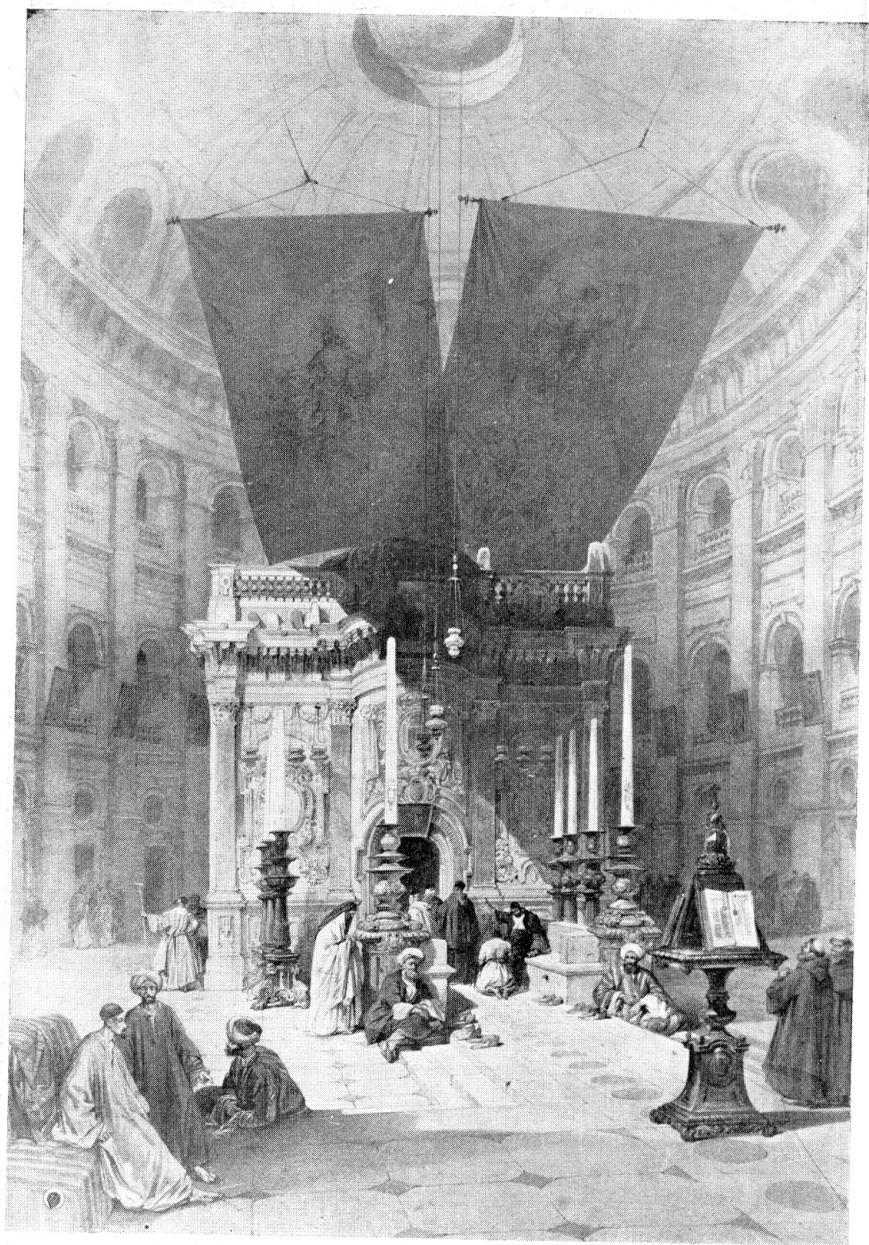




18. Jerusalem from the Valley of Josaphat.



19. The Church of the Resurrection in 1839.



20. The Kourouklion in 1839.

Abyssinians, yet the Abyssinians were the least in number in the Holy Land.<sup>158</sup>

In 1647, Roger observed the Coptic monks in Jerusalem and says, that all monks and priests, when they perform their prayers cover their shoulders and their arms with a veil in the form of a black shawl,<sup>159</sup> and the Chevalier d'Arvieux (1660) saw the Copts participating in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire.<sup>160</sup>

The second part of the 17th century proved to be one of the most difficult periods for some Christian communities in Jerusalem. In 1664, the Georgians were evicted from their sites in the Church of the Resurrection, owing to being too poor to pay the necessary dues, and the same fate befell the Abyssinians in 1668.<sup>161</sup> At the same time, the Armenians increased and the Greeks regained their holdings.

About the middle of the 17th century, Abû Dakn, known as the Father of the Beard, wrote a small book in which he mentioned that every Coptic pilgrim going to Jerusalem had to pay two taxes to the Turks, one of eight crowns, and a second, probably on entering the Holy City, of four crowns.

There is no doubt, that the general penury among the Copts in Jerusalem in the 17th century was a reflection of the terrible socio-economic situation in Egypt. In 1694, the Nile did not rise, and the consequent dearth found the country wholly unprepared to meet it. For some months, the famine grew worse and worse, the starving mob surrounded the citadel, howling for bread, and as no notice was taken of them, they began to throw stones. The magazines were cleared out, but the relief was only temporary, and the famine grew so sore that it is said, that some kept themselves alive by feeding on the bodies of the dead. Pestilence succeeded famine, and the people died about the streets in heaps.<sup>162</sup>

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(158) Nolde, "Consultation concerning the Rights of the Abyssinian Community," 2 ; Khourî, *Khulâsat târikh Kanissât Urshalim al-urthuduksiah*, 150.

(159) Roger, *La Terre Sainte ou Description topographique...*, 417.

(160) Labat, *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, II, 13, 146.

(161) Harvey, *op. cit.*, xii. In 1671, the Abyssinians were forced to retreat to the roof of the Church of St. Helena, where they remain to the present day. Cf. Luke, "Christian Communities...", 54.

(162) Butcher, *The Story of the Church of Egypt*, II, 283.

Though the Copts were able to maintain their holdings, we hear from Frantz Ferdinand of Troilo (1666), that they were very poor.<sup>163</sup> In 1668, according to Michael Nau, the Copts had only one priest in the Church of the Resurrection "who prays alone and lights the lamps."<sup>164</sup>

"The Coptic bishop, when there is one, as well as other priests, come and join him on those days, when everyone is permitted to go to the Church, and then they celebrate the Divine Liturgy in their way." On the other hand, Nau explicitly states, that the "nearest door of the Chapel of Calvary of the Holy Virgin leads into a church of the Copts, where they offer every day the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass." Speaking of the Church of the Apostles, Nau mentions, that at one time the site was in the possession of the Abyssinians, but that the site was taken over by the Greeks, since the Abyssinians could no longer pay the necessary moneys.<sup>165</sup>

Two years later, Goujon (1670) confirms the impression of Nau. "There is only one Copt, whose dwelling place is quite near the door."<sup>166</sup> Yet, in spite of poverty, the Copts preserved their holy places, for Goujon speaks of the apartment of the Copts just outside the Church of the Resurrection. Dapper (1688) observed the Copts as being one of the nations who participated in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire,<sup>167</sup> and Maundrell (1697) states, that only the Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Cophtities keep their footing well, yet the Copts have only one monk representing their nation,<sup>168</sup> and this fact is substantiated by Felix Beaugrand (1699?). At the time of his pilgrimage, the Copts still held their services in the small chapel behind the *Kouvouklion*, though they had only one representative.<sup>169</sup>

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(163) Troilo, *Orientalische Reisebeschreibung*, 186.

(164) The fact that Nau observed only one Coptic priest in the Church of the Resurrection does not necessarily infer that he was the only resident Coptic priest in Jerusalem.

(165) Nau, *Voyage Nouveau de la Terra Santa*, 176, 145.

(166) Goujon, *Histoire et Voyage de la Terre-Sainte...*, 169, 175.

(167) Dapper, *Asia, oder eine genaue und gründliche Beschreibung des gantzten Syrien und Palestine*, 328.

(168) Maundrell, *Reisebeschreibung nach dem Gelobten Lande*, 95.

(169) Beaugrand, *Relation nouvelle et très fidèle du voyage de la Terre Sainte*, II, 76.

The pilgrims to Jerusalem during the 18th century list the following Christian communities as seen in the Church of the Resurrection :

1704 *A. Morison* <sup>170</sup>

Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Abyssinians, Syrians, Copts.

1721 *Charles de St. Maure* <sup>171</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Maronites, Abyssinians, Nestorians.

1731 *Thompson* <sup>172</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians.

1738 *Elizeario Horn* <sup>173</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts.

1760 *Mariti* <sup>174</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Copts, Abyssinians, and others.

1760 *The Custodian of the Terra Sancta* <sup>175</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Copts, Abyssinians.

Between 1700 and 1709, von Egmont visited the Church of the Resurrection and noticed the Chapel of the Copts, situated directly behind the *Kouvouklion*, the ornamentation of which, however, was rather poor. At the same time, he mentions another Coptic Chapel near Mount Calvary.<sup>176</sup> Myller (1725),<sup>177</sup>

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(170) Themelis, *op. cit.*, 555. (Morrison, *Relation historique d'un voyage*).

(171) Charles de St. Maure, *A Journey through Greece, Aegypt, Palestine, etc.*, 97, 109.

(172) Thompson, *The Travels*, III, 128.

(173) Golubovich, *Iconographia locorum et monumentorum veterum Terrae Sanctae*, 41.

(174) Mariti, *Reisen durch die Insel Cypern, durch Syrien und durch Palästina*, 378.

(175) Golubovich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica di Terra Santa*, N. S., II, 178.

(176) Egmont, *Travels*, I, 306, 321.

(177) Myller, *Peregrinus in Jerusalem*, 167.

Pococke (1737),<sup>178</sup> and Horn (1738)<sup>179</sup> merely refer to the small Coptic Chapel contiguous to the Holy Sepulchre.

Thompson (1731) states, that whereas previously there were many nations represented in the Church of the Resurrection, at the time of his pilgrimage only "three sorts" remained, namely, the Latins, Greeks, and Armenians, "all the rest having forsaken their apartment, not being able to bear the excessive rents and extortions imposed upon them by their landlords."<sup>180</sup> However, it is unlikely that Thompson was correct in his observation in omitting the Copts. During the Ottoman Rule no community was ever able to regain those sites, which had been forsaken, either temporarily or definitely. In such cases, the community in question was replaced by those who were able and prepared to pay the rent. It would have been impossible for the Copts to regain any site in the Church of the Resurrection in the 18th century.

According to the observations of Elzeario Horn (1738), only the Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Copts had monks living within the Church of the Resurrection. Horn also noticed the Coptic Chapel behind the Holy Sepulchre as well as "some obscure cells beneath the lower porticule of the Temple which belonged to the Copts."<sup>181</sup>

In 1741, Pope Benedict XIV consecrated the first Coptic Catholic Metropolitan who possessed any real jurisdiction in Egypt. This man was a Copt by the name of Athanasius who resided in Jerusalem. Athanasius, however, continued his residence in Jerusalem, and appointed a priest named Yustus Maraglic as his Vicar General in Egypt.<sup>182</sup>

By 1744, Catherine II of Russia was regarded as the protectress of all the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire, though it was not until 1844, that a representative of the Russian Church arrived in Jerusalem.<sup>183</sup>

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(178) Pococke, *A Description of the East*, II, 17.

(179) Golubovich, *loc. cit.*

(180) Thompson, *loc. cit.*

(181) Golubovich, *loc. cit.*

(182) Attwater, *The Catholic Eastern Churches*, 135-149 ; Butcher, *op. cit.*, II, 315.

(183) Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem*, 89.



When Hasselquist (1751) visited the Church of the Resurrection, he observed the Copts participating in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire,<sup>184</sup> while Schulz (1752) was the first pilgrim who was told by the Copts that they possessed the holiest part of the Church, because their altar directly abuts on the Holy Sepulchre,<sup>185</sup> and De Binos (1777) heard the chant of the Greeks, the Armenians and the Copts night and day at fixed hours.<sup>186</sup>

Although the Copts had maintained their holdings in the Church of the Resurrection, they did not regain their prestige in Jerusalem until the latter part of the 19th century. Francesco-René de Chateaubriand (1806) merely saw "one Coptic monk and an Abyssinian bishop,"<sup>187</sup> and Light (1814) commented that "the Copts are so very poor, I could not learn what number of monks they kept for the service of their chapel."<sup>188</sup>

In 1808, the Church of the Resurrection, except the eastern portion, was almost entirely destroyed by fire, the dome fell in, crushing the *Kouvouklion*, the marble columns of the Rotunda were cracked and calcined, altars and icons were consumed in the general conflagration, and the mass of ruin extended from the Chapel of St. Helena to the rock-hewn tomb of Joseph of Arimathea.

In the intrigues which followed at Jerusalem and Constantinople in connection with the rebuilding of the Church, the Greeks secured for themselves the greater portion of the building.

The Copts, however, retained their sites, and Turner (1815) speaks of the Coptic Chapel in the Church of the Resurrection

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(184) Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant, etc.*, 136.

(185) Schulz, *Reise durch einen Theil von Vorderasien, Aegypten, und besonders durch Syrien*, in Paulus, *Sammlung*, VI, 302. Visiting the Coptic community in 1960, I was told the same story by the Coptic monks in the Church of the Resurrection.

(186) De Binos, *Voyage par l'Italie, en Egypte, etc.*, II, 289, 292.

(187) Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, 251. There was never any Ethiopian Bishop of Jerusalem until the time of Anbâ Mattâûs who visited Jerusalem in 1902. Filûâtâûs 'Awad, *op. cit.*, 165 n.

(188) Light, *Travels in Egypt, Nubia, the Holy Land, etc.*, 183.

which was tawdrily adorned in the manner of the Greeks.<sup>189</sup> It is very likely, that after the fire in 1808, the Greeks had supplied the Copts with icons.

An interesting survey of the foreign constituency of Jerusalem in 1817 is provided by Joliffe, who speaks of 800 Latins, 2,000 Greeks, 400 Armenians and 50 Copts, who lived in the Holy City.<sup>190</sup> During the Easter celebrations, these numbers increased, so that Augustin Scholz estimated at the time of his visit, Easter 1820, 1400 Armenians, 1200 Greeks, 30 Georgians, 300 Moscovites, 60 Copts, 15 Syrians, one Abyssinian, 20 Oriental Catholics of the Greek and Armenian rite, 4 Maronites, and 15 Franks.<sup>191</sup>

Some of the communities which were evicted during the latter part of the 17th century had returned to the Holy Land, though it is questionable whether they regained their holdings in the Church of the Resurrection. De Forbin (1818) mentions the Latins, Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Armenians, Nestorians or Jacobites, Georgians, and Maronites as being represented in Jerusalem,<sup>192</sup> while Borsum (1823) lists only the Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Copts as having sites in the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>193</sup> Madden, visiting Jerusalem in 1826, counted 15 Latins, 15 Greeks, 12 Armenians, 6 Copts, and 4 Syrians in the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>194</sup>

De Geramb (1831) states in his description of the Holy Places that the Catholics, the Greeks, and the Armenians were each in possession of their own church. The Copts had an oratory backing onto the Holy Sepulchre, and the Nestorians or Jacobites of Chaldaea and of Syria, as well as the Maronites of Mount Lebanon possessed only an altar.<sup>195</sup> This representation of the Christian communities in the Church of the Resurrection is also

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(189) Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, II, 167, 177.

(190) Joliffe, *Lettres sur la Palestine, la Syrie et l'Égypte*, 101.

(191) Scholz, *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parätonium*, etc., 230.

(192) De Forbin, *Travels in Egypt*, 86.

(193) Borsum, *Reise nach Constantinopel, Palästina und Egypten*, 133.

(194) Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine*, II, 131.

(195) De Geramb, *Pèlerinage à Jérusalem*, I, 101.

affirmed by Stephens (1835), who speaks of the Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Copts, and Maronites.<sup>196</sup>

Though the Abyssinians were no longer represented in the Church of the Resurrection, Döbel (1834) points out, that "the Abyssinians in union with the Copts possessed a small chapel on the western side of the Holy Sepulchre."<sup>197</sup> This, however, seems highly improbable, for, at this time, there was great discord between the Abyssinians and the Copts. It is more likely, that the Abyssinians attended the celebrations of the Coptic Divine Liturgy.

From the days of the capture of Jerusalem by the Turks until 1834, the Easter celebrations were moderately attended. In 1834, however, 15,000 people of all nations, as well as Ibrahim Pasha with his officers and many soldiers, participated in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire. Also the Coptic Patriarch with one of his bishops had come to Jerusalem, and according to the *Annals of Palestine 1821-1841*,<sup>198</sup> 6,000 Armenians, Syrians and Copts pressed into the overcrowded Church of the Resurrection. As soon as the Holy Fire appeared, those who were inside rushed to the doors, and those outside tried to enter the church. In the rush, those who had fainted were trampled to death, others, in an attempt to escape, tripped over the wounded and dead bodies. Several hundred pilgrims were killed during the Ceremony of the Holy Fire.<sup>199</sup>

Yet, in spite of the increasing number of pilgrims who annually flocked to the Holy City, the permanent Coptic representation in Jerusalem remained relatively small. Gotthilf von Schubert (1836) saw two Copts who lived at the western side of the Church of the Resurrection, near the Sepulchre of Nicodemus,<sup>200</sup> and Salzbacher (1837) referred merely to one Copt who resided in the Church.<sup>201</sup> There is no doubt, that other Coptic monks inhabited the monastery.

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(196) Stephens, *Incidents of Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea and the Holy Land*, 109.

(197) Döbel, *Wanderungen im Morgenlande*, 266.

(198) Neophytos, *Annals of Palestine 1821-1841*, 71.

(199) For a detailed description of this tragic event, cf. Curzon, *Visits to the Monasteries in the Levant*, 230.

(200) Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland*, II, 533.

(201) Salzbacher, *Erinnerungen aus meiner Pilgerreise*, II, 77.

In June 1837, the cholera epidemic broke out in Jerusalem during which seven Copts died, while of the twenty-four Abyssinians only one remained.<sup>202</sup>

In spite of cholera and pestilence, the Copts maintained their properties in the Holy Places, as pointed out by Damer (1839)<sup>203</sup> and Pfeiffer (1842).<sup>204</sup>

As in the 17th century, so in the second half of the 19th century, the situation of the Copts in Jerusalem was a reflection of the social and economic difficulties of the Christians in their homeland. In 1843, Egypt was visited by a terrible outbreak of cattle-plague. It became almost impossible to obtain draught-animals for the most necessary agricultural operations, though the horses of the army were pressed into the service. In many villages the peasants harnessed themselves to the plough, for in the same year the flood had lasted longer than usual. The year 1844 was marked by a plague of locusts, and cholera also raged during the winter and spring. The population of Egypt became yearly more and more impoverished as forced labour was habitually demanded from them for the costly works of the ruling class.<sup>205</sup>

When Konstantin von Tischendorf entered the Church of the Resurrection in 1844, he remarked about "the solitary Copts who wandered about...., with suffering expressed in their physiognomy, as if performing an incessant act of penitence."<sup>206</sup> The financial situation of the Egyptians in Jerusalem must have been rather pitiful during the middle of the 19th century, for both Francesco Cassini (1846)<sup>207</sup> and Karl Graul (1849)<sup>208</sup> speak of the poor Copts in the Church of the Resurrection.

In 1853, Louis Enault estimated the foreign Christian population and gave the following numbers : 2,000 Greeks, 900

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(202) Neophytos, *op. cit.*, 125-128.

(203) Damer, *Diary of a Tour in Greece, Turkey, Egypt and the Holy Land*, I, 284.

(204) Pfeiffer, *Visit to the Holy Land*, 114.

(205) Butcher, *op. cit.*, II, 376.

(206) Tischendorf, *Travels in the East*, 180.

(207) Cassini, *La Terra Santa*, II, 133.

(208) Graul, *Reise nach Ostindien*, I, 196.

Catholics, 350 Armenians, 100 Copts, 20 Syrians, and 20 Abyssinians.<sup>209</sup>

Barclay (1857) writes, that in the rear of the Sanctuary (the *Kouvouklion*) is the joint shrine of the Copts, Abyssinians and Syrians.<sup>210</sup> Taking into consideration, however, that since 1820 the Copts and the Abyssinians in Jerusalem have lived in discord with each other, and that the Syrians were in no need to share with the Copts their Chapel, as they always maintained their own, no credit can be given to this observation of Barclay.

The number of Copts in Jerusalem remained very small, and it is likely, that some of them resided in the Monastery of St. George, though of course continuing their celebrations in the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>211</sup> Noroff (1861) observed, that at the foot of Golgotha, the Copts maintained "to the Glory of the Father of Mankind<sup>212</sup> a continuously burning lamp."<sup>213</sup>

The poverty of the Copts in Jerusalem was also reflected in the meagre way in which they were able to take care of their altars, for Wolff (1869),<sup>214</sup> Gatt (1875),<sup>215</sup> and Neumann (1877)<sup>216</sup> unanimously speak of the indigent Copts and their plain chapel in the Church of the Resurrection.

Laurent de Saint-Aignon (1861) provides us with a more detailed account of the Copts. The Copts, whose number is one hundred, have a bishop in Jerusalem. They have a church which is subject to the Patriarch, who is chosen from the monks of the Monastery of the St. Macarius.... They have no bells, and they announce their Divine Office by beating a stick on a piece of wood.<sup>217</sup> In 1862, three of them joined the Latin Church.<sup>218</sup>

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(209) Enault, *La Terre Sainte, Voyage des Quarante Pèlerins*, 150-151.

(210) Barclay, *The City of the Great King*, 236.

(211) Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, I, 237.

(212) I.e. Adam whose skull the waters of the Flood rolled to the site, where, in after times the Cross was set up, and the redeeming Blood of the Saviour dripped upon it. Thus our forefather shared in the Redemption of mankind.

(213) Noroff, *Meine Reise nach Palästina*, 155-156.

(214) Wolff, *Jerusalem*, 73.

(215) Gatt, *Beschreibung über Jerusalem*, 285.

(216) Neumann, *Die Heilige Stadt*, 281.

(217) Here the author apparently confuses the Copts with the Armenians.

(218) Laurent de St. Aignon, *La Terre Sainte*, 128-129.

Richard Burton (1871) makes no mention of any other community using the Coptic Chapel behind the *Kouvouklion* except the Copts. On the contrary, he points to the fact that the Abyssinians possessed the Church of St. Helena, which they used together with the Armenians, while the Church of St. Michael belonged to the Copts.<sup>219</sup>

By 1875, some of the pilgrims to the Holy Land list six communities in Jerusalem, though not necessarily in the Church of the Resurrection.

1874 *Bost* <sup>220</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Nubians, Abyssinians.

1875 *De Vogue* <sup>221</sup>

Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Jacobites.

The listing of communities as represented in the Church of the Resurrection is important in so far as the Treaty of Berlin of July 13th, 1878 stipulated in Article 62, that the *status quo* in the Holy Places was to be maintained.<sup>222</sup>

One of the few sketches of the Coptic Chapel behind the *Kouvouklion* is found in Götz's *Eine Orientreise* (1878).<sup>223</sup> From this sketch we see, that no major alterations of the altar have taken place since that date.

Both Delmas (1894),<sup>224</sup> and Deschamps (1895),<sup>225</sup> refer briefly to the Copts, without adding anything new, however, to our knowledge.

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(219) Burton, *The inner Life of Syria, Palestine, and the Holy Land*, II, 62. The Abyssinian ownership of the Chapel of St. Helena is also affirmed by Verdy du Vernois, *Die Frage der Heiligen Stätten*. Du Vernois states, that they (the Abyssinians) gave it up to the Armenians a long time ago. The Coptic ownership of the Chapel of St. Michael is affirmed by Wilson (1881), *Picturesque Palestine*, I, 17, and by Beth, *Die Orientalische Christenheit der Mittelmeerländer*, 167.

(220) Bost, *Souvenirs d'Orient*, 225.

(221) De Vogue, *Syrie, Palestine, Mont Athos*, 233.

(222) Young, *Corps du droit Ottoman*, II, 3.

(223) Götz, *op. cit.*, 218.

(224) Delmas, *Egypte et Palestine*, 349.

(225) Deschamps, *A Travers l'Egypte, le Nil, la Palestine, etc.*, 195.



Goodrich-Freer informs us that in 1904 the Coptic Bishop generally lived in Jaffa, possibly because the Copts possessed but scanty accommodation in Jerusalem.<sup>226</sup> The Copts maintained a large monastery at Jaffa, which was primarily intended for the accommodation of Coptic pilgrims from Egypt.<sup>227</sup>

The Coptic Chapel in the Church of the Resurrection, which is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, is considered by the Copts to be the holiest of all the Sacred Sites, for the Coptic altar is believed to be erected against the place where Christ's head rested at the time of His Burial.

The chapel was redecorated by Anbâ Timûthâûs in 1901, and the icons from north to south represent the Crucifixion, Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, the Resurrection, the Blessed Virgin Mary (centre), the Resurrection, the Mystical Supper, and Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. Above the centre icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary there is another icon of the Resurrection.

There are twenty-four lamps suspended from the ceiling in this chapel.

The Copts recite the Canonical Hours and perform the Service of the Evening Offering of Incense in the chapel on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays from 1 p.m. to 3 p.m. and they recite the remaining Canonical Hours and perform the Service of the Morning Offering of Incense and the Divine Liturgy from 4 a.m. to 7 a.m. on Wednesdays and Fridays and on Sundays from 4 a.m. to 8.45 a.m.

The cells of the Copts in the Church of the Resurrection are situated between the columns 9, 10, and 11 of the Rotunda. The doors west of the *Kouvouklion* lead to these lodgings, which occupy the first and the second floor. Here the monks have their beds and their cupboards. Generally, four to five Coptic monks keep vigil in the Church of the Resurrection, though sometimes, during the feasts, this number increases to twelve.

Another lodging of the Copts is situated immediately west of the main entrance to the Church of the Resurrection. This comprises two storeys, which means, that the second storey is on the same level as Calvary, which can be seen through openings

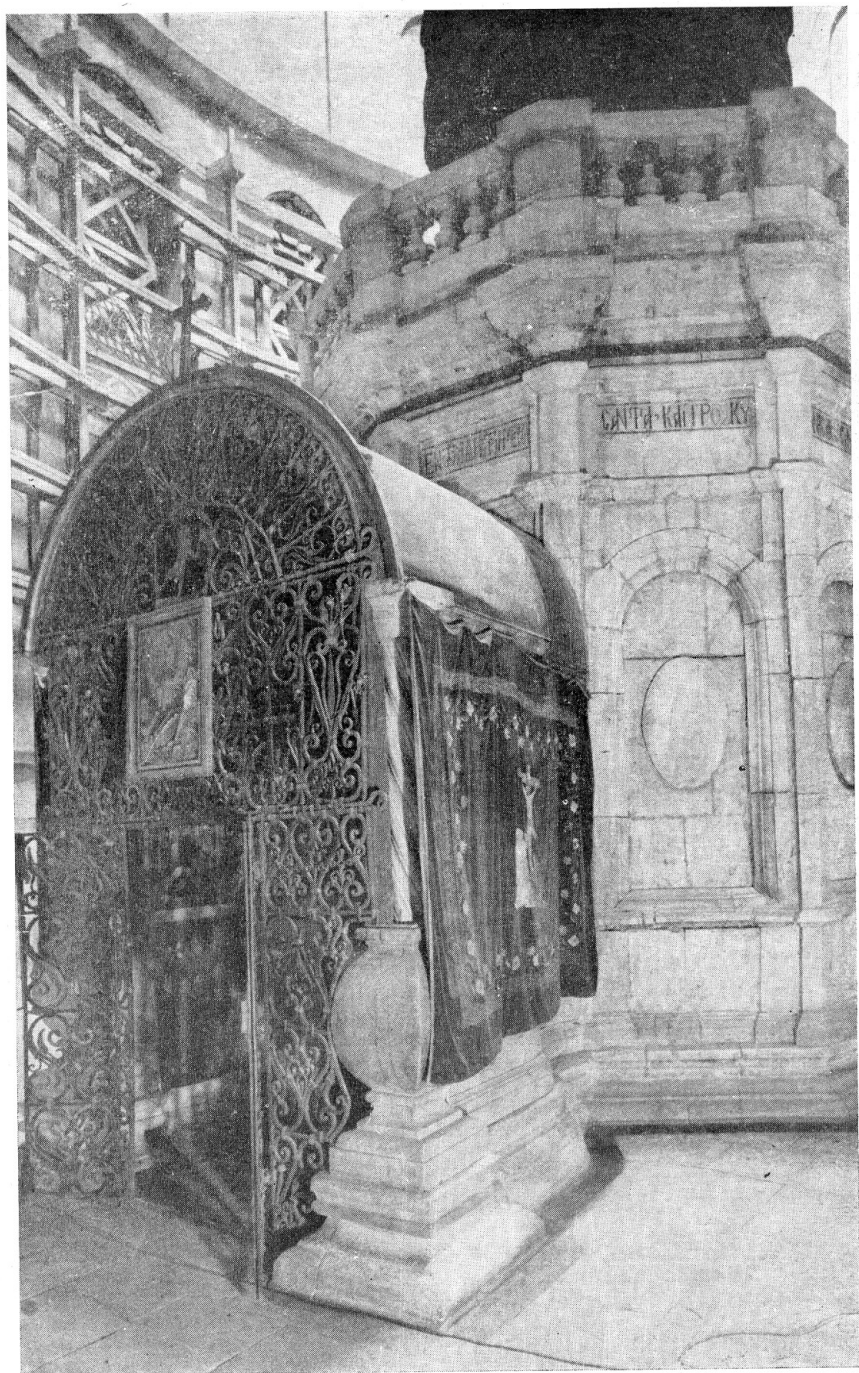
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(226) Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem*, 123.

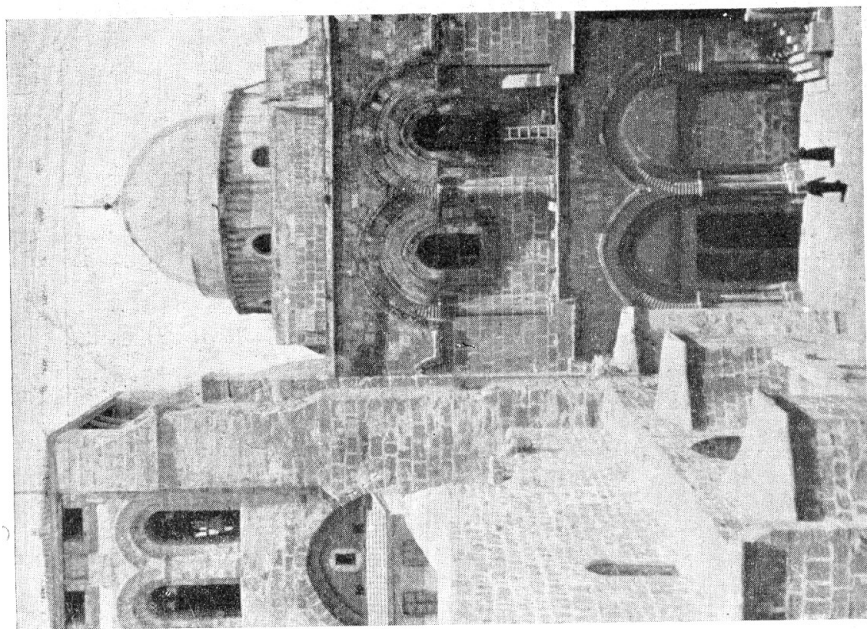
(227) Luke and Roach, *Handbook of Palestine*, 45.

in the eastern wall. As in the case of the cells west of the *Kouvouklion*, these lodgings are furnished with beds, chairs, tables and cupboards. Close to the door leading to this site is a rope for three small bells which the Copts possess.

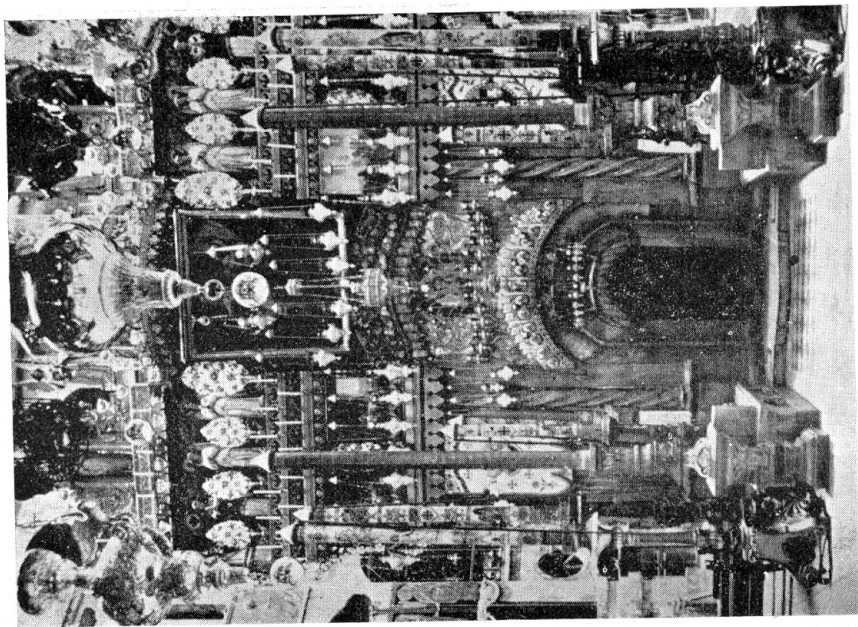
At present, the state of the Coptic sites in the Church of the Resurrection compares favourably with those held by the other Christian communities. The same could be said about the number of Coptic pilgrims to Jerusalem which numbered 1300 for the Easter celebrations in 1960.



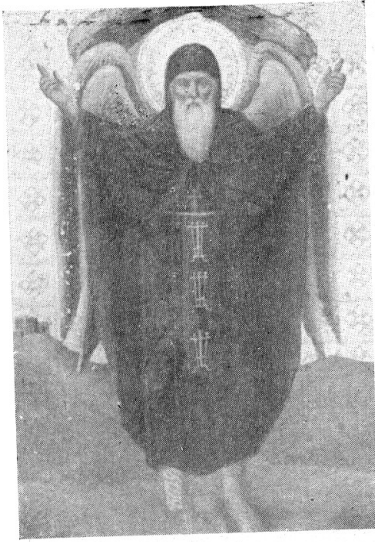
21. The Coptic Chapel in the Church of the Resurrection.



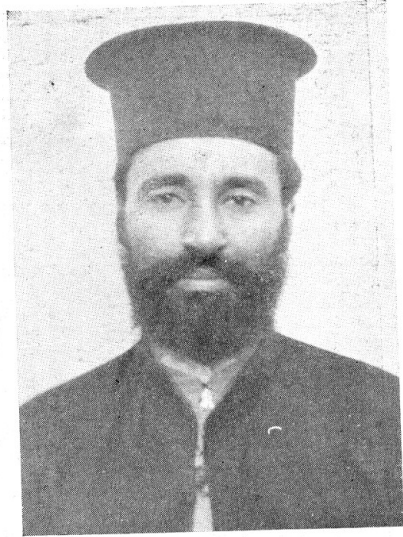
22. The Church of the Resurrection.



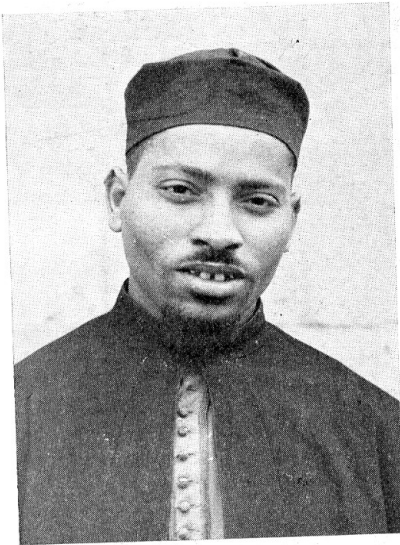
23. The Kourouklion.



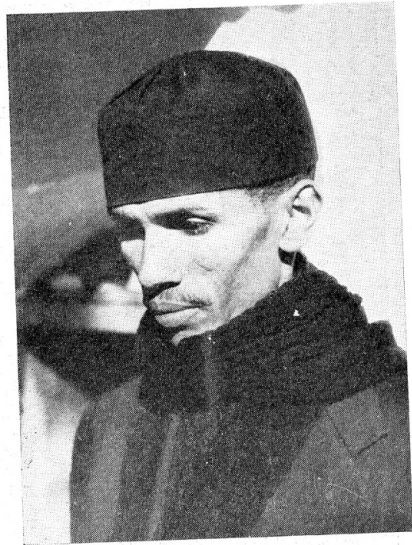
24. St. Takla Haymanot.



25. Abûnâ Gabre Mariam  
Haile Mariam al-Habashî.

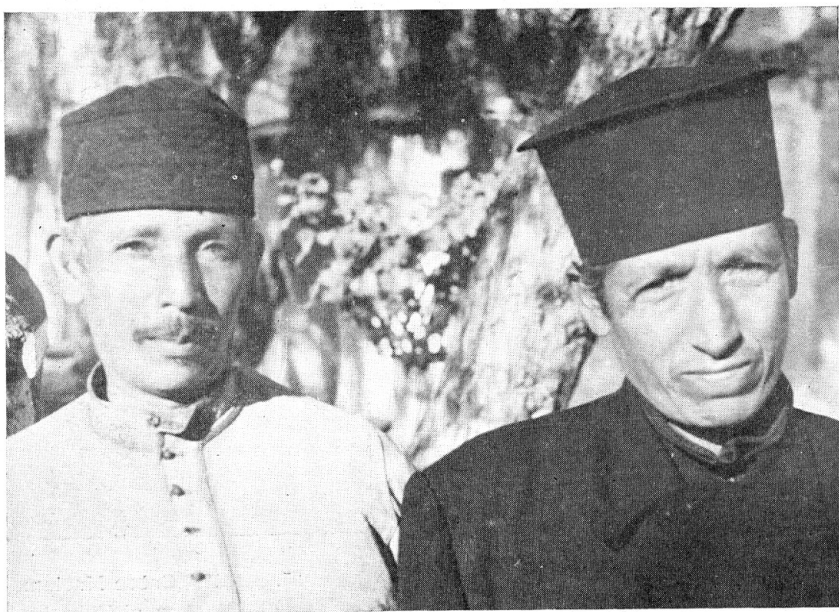


26. Abûnâ Ishete Haile  
Mariam al-Habashî.



27. Abûnâ Gabre Medhin  
al-Habashî.





28. Left : Abûnâ Gabre Mikhâîl al-Habashî.  
Right: Abûnâ Takla Mariam al-Habashî.



29. Cells of the Ethiopian Monks.



## 2. Dair as-Sultân (The Monastery of the Sultan)

THE history of the Dair as-Sultân contains unfortunately one of the many unpleasant stories which reflect the arguments, violations, and acts of violence perpetrated by the representatives of the various Christian communities in Jerusalem. In this case, the Copts and the Abyssinians have argued, claimed and fought for this site.

When Williams visited the Dair as-Sultân in 1842, the hegoumenos of the monastery told him, that the Coptic secretary to one of the Mamluke Sultans was offered any reward he chose for his long and faithful services. He refused to accept any remuneration for himself, but humbly prayed, that his master would repair this ruined convent at Jerusalem, that it might be useful to his brethren. The Sultan consented and the memory of this event is still preserved not only in the name of the Monastery, Dair as-Sultân, but in a heavy iron chain fastened in the wall by the door as a perpetual memorial of the Sultan's bounty, and as a witness to all, that the monastery was under his special protection, and the significant token has hitherto preserved to them the possession of this important building.<sup>1</sup>

According to Williams, the story of the Coptic hegoumenos belongs to the ten years preceding the fall of the Mamluke dynasty in 1517. This means, that the Copts maintained this ruined site for a considerable time prior to the repairs mentioned above.

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(1) Williams, *The Holy City*, II, 564-565. According to De Saulcy (1882), the Dair as-Sultân, at one time being the Hospital of St. Helena, was founded by the famous Khurrem Sultana, Roxelana, the daughter of a Russian priest and the wife of Sulaiman I, the Magnificent (1520-1566). Cf. De Saulcy, *Jérusalem*, 321.

Dair as-Sultân  
Church of the Resurrection

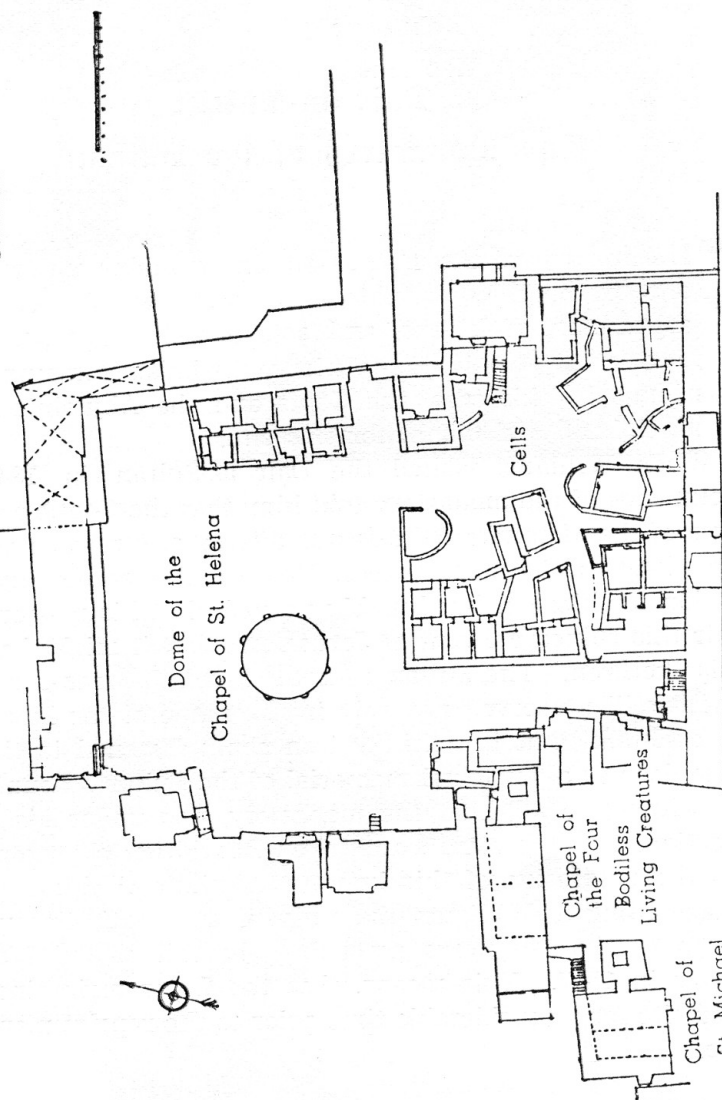
Dair Mâr Antûnûs

Dome of the  
Chapel of St. Helena

Cells

Chapel of  
the Four  
Bodiless  
Living Creatures

Chapel of  
St. Michael



One of the major difficulties with regard to the Dair as-Sultân is to determine the extent of its boundaries. If we mean by the Dair as-Sultân the site on the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena with the extensions to the east and the south which, at present, is inhabited by the Abyssinians, the Chapel of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures, the Chapel of the Angel, both of which are closed at present, and the passage leading from the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena through the two aforementioned chapels to the parvis of the Church of the Resurrection, then it would seem, that, in previous centuries, a much larger area was included; presumably that which is now known as the Dair Mâr Antûniûs.<sup>2</sup>

This supposition is confirmed by a careful study of a title deed of August 22nd, 1688 with regard to certain repairs of the Dair as-Sultân which were carried out by Mu'allim Salîm al-Banna, the administrator of the Coptic waqfs in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

Since the latter part of the 17th century, the Abyssinians have lived on the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena, after having been evicted from the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>4</sup>

Then, in October 1820, the Abyssinians were expelled from the Dair as-Sultân, and their furniture was handed over to them, while the key to the site was given to Mu'allim Habib, who was a Copt.<sup>5</sup> Augustin Scholz, visiting Jerusalem in 1820, states that the Copts have their monastery behind the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Church of the Angel Gabriel belongs to it.<sup>6</sup> There also lives the *reis* with some monks.<sup>7</sup>

On December 10th, 1820, the Coptic community in Jerusalem requested the execution of certain repairs which included the

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(2) For the precise limitations, demarcations and boundaries, Cf. *Procès verbal* of the Maglis Millis on Aug. 1, 1924, Filûtâûs 'Awad, *op. cit.*, 148-150.

(3) For a detailed list of repairs, cf. Timoteos, *Translation of Documents bearing on the Rights of the Copts over the Sultan's Monastery*, 10.

(4) Luke, "Christian Communities...", 54; Harvey, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, xii.

(5) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 12-13.

(6) This is the Church of St. Michael the Archangel.

(7) Scholz, *Reise in die Gegend zwischen Alexandrien und Parätonium, etc.*, 275.

Dair as-Sultân and the building adjacent to it and the Monastery of St. George, all of which were in the possession of the Copts.<sup>8</sup>

Though evicted from the Dair as-Sultân, the Abyssinians are reported (1822) "to have shared the Monastery of the Copts, and saying their Mass in the churches of the Copts and Armenians, by whom they were for the most part supported."<sup>9</sup> It is more likely, however, that this fellowship of Abyssinians and Copts prevailed prior to 1820, as since that year, the two communions have lived in estranged relations.

In a letter of December 9th, 1850 by the British Consul Finn to Viscount Palmerston, Finn mentions the plague of 1837, during which all the Abyssinians died, whereupon the Turkish authorities, at the instigation of the Armenians, burnt all the Abyssinian books and documents, "under the danger of infection."<sup>10</sup> In 1837, Finn continues, the Copts got possession of the keys of the monastery and of the two churches.<sup>11</sup> By 1838, according to Robinson, the Dair as-Sultân was inhabited by Coptic Christians who consist only of monks,<sup>12</sup> and Tattam (1839) visiting the Coptic Monastery remarked: "It is small and poor, but they are now building a new one, at some distance from the site of the present." Tattam noticed one Abyssinian priest living with the Copts,<sup>13</sup> and by 1842, Copts and Abyssinians joined in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire.<sup>14</sup> The Abyssinians participated in the Ceremony probably informally.

At this time (1842), "the Monastery of the Sultan was presided over by a married priest — a singular anomaly — and it is inhabited by a few Copts and a few Abyssinians."<sup>15</sup> The

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(8) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 14.

(9) *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, (1882) in Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem*, 122.

(10) The Copts, however, deny that such documents have ever existed on the ground that neither the authorities in Jerusalem nor in Constantinople had any knowledge of such documents.

(11) Finn to Palmerston, Dec. 9, 1850. Finn, for political and other reasons, should not be considered as an impartial authority on this subject. He aimed for Abyssinian submission to the British protection in the Holy Land.

(12) Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, etc.*, I, 488; II, 91.

(13) Platt, *Journal of a Tour through Egypt*, II, 331.

(14) Bartlett, *Walks about the City and Environs of Jerusalem*, 182.

(15) Williams, *op. cit.*, II, 567.

relatively small Coptic community in Jerusalem depended for its support mainly on the rent of six small houses, which yielded but a very scanty return.<sup>16</sup>

Tobler in his celebrated *Topographie von Jerusalem* speaks of the land and the buildings of the Dair as-Sultân, which belonged to the Copts, who, in 1846, let a number of rooms, so that the building was used as a khan.<sup>17</sup>

In 1848, the Abyssinians were subjected to serious pressure from the Armenians, who went out to beat them and to chain an iron collar round their necks, with a screw to tighten the collar.<sup>18</sup>

Willis (1849), describing the architectural history of the Church of the Resurrection mentions the Coptic Monastery in connection with their (Copts) court which is formed upon the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena.<sup>19</sup>

These ecclesiastical intrigues increased as time went on, and the Anglican Bishop, Samuel Gobat,<sup>20</sup> representing the interests of the Abyssinians, accused both the Copts and the Armenians of ill-treating the Abyssinians,<sup>21</sup> whilst the Armenians, hoping to profit by the Coptic-Abyssinian disputes, endeavoured to deprive the Copts of their church and their monastery adjoining the Church of the Resurrection.<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to ascertain who during this time possessed the keys, for a letter of the Consul Finn to Viscount Palmerston mentions that the Armenians had for some years been in possession of the keys of the little church attached to the Abyssinian Monastery (this would be Dair as-Sultân which the Abyssinians claimed to be their monastery).<sup>23</sup>

In November 1850, upon the advice of Bishop Gobat, the Abyssinians seized the key from the Armenians immediately

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(16) *Ibid.*, II, 564-5.

(17) Tobler, *op. cit.*, 371.

(18) Finn to Palmerston, Nov. 30, 1850.

(19) Willis, *The Architectural History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, 96.

(20) Gobat, *Evangelischer Bischof in Jerusalem*, 443.

(21) Bishop Gobat to Earl of Malmesbury, June 19, 1852.

(22) Consultation with Bishop Gobat, Oct. 10, 1850.

(23) Finn to Palmerston, Nov. 30, 1850.

after the Divine Liturgy, while a Coptic deacon was looking in another direction. The object aimed at was not only to get possession of the key, but to throw upon the Copts and the Armenians the burden of proving their right to regain it.<sup>24</sup>

In December 1850, the Abyssinians laid claim not only to both churches (the Church of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures and the Church of the Angel) and the Coptic Monastery, but also to a small Armenian monastery.<sup>25</sup>

Throughout this turbulent period, the Abyssinians continued to reside on the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena,<sup>26</sup> being assisted by Bishop Gobat and the British Consul, who provided legal counsel in their struggle against the Armenians and the Copts.<sup>27</sup> The assistance which the Abyssinians received from the British was so great, that the latter were afraid of being accused of using this indirect method to gain certain sites in the Church of the Resurrection for the Protestants.<sup>28</sup>

The interest of the British in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Abyssinians in Jerusalem merely reflected the peculiar political relations which Great Britain had with Abyssinia.<sup>29</sup> For, among other things, it occurred during these years, that the Abyssinian Emperor Theodore wrote to Queen Victoria, offering her a treaty of friendship and commerce, and soliciting her hand in marriage. The Queen's silence, however, which the Emperor took for a refusal, offended him deeply,<sup>30</sup> and by 1867, the British concern for the Abyssinians in Jerusalem had diminished on account of the British expedition against the Abyssinians.<sup>31</sup>

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(24) *Ibid.* A title-deed of 1850 explicitly states, that the key was in the possession of the Copts, and that it was taken from their hands by force. Cf. Timoteos, *op. cit.* 18.

(25) Finn to Palmerston, Dec. 9, 1850.

(26) Schulz, *Reise in das gelobte Land im Jahre 1851*, 222.

(27) Finn to Palmerston, Dec. 9, 1850 ; Gobat to Earl of Malmesbury, June 29, 1852.

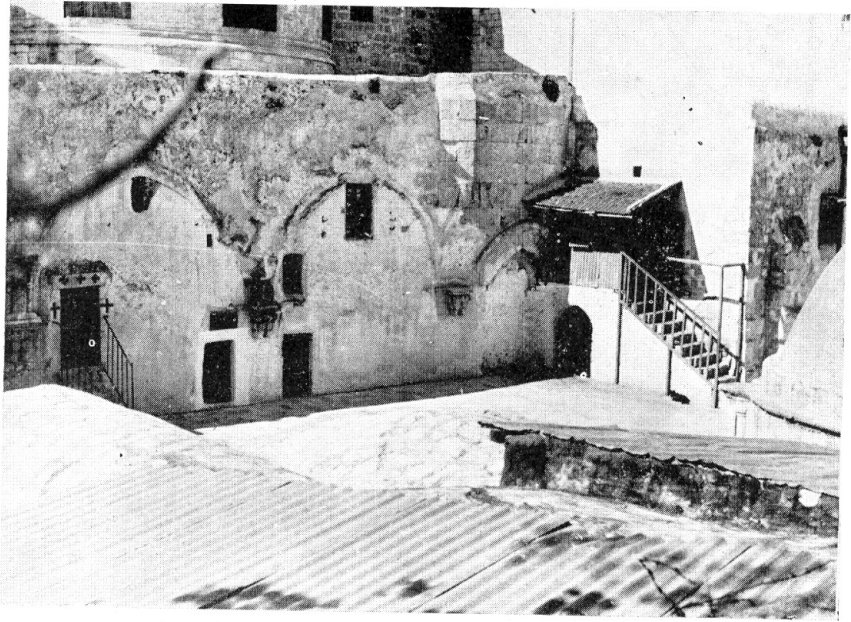
(28) Finn to Earl of Malmesbury, August 17, 1852.

(29) Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*, 49-137.

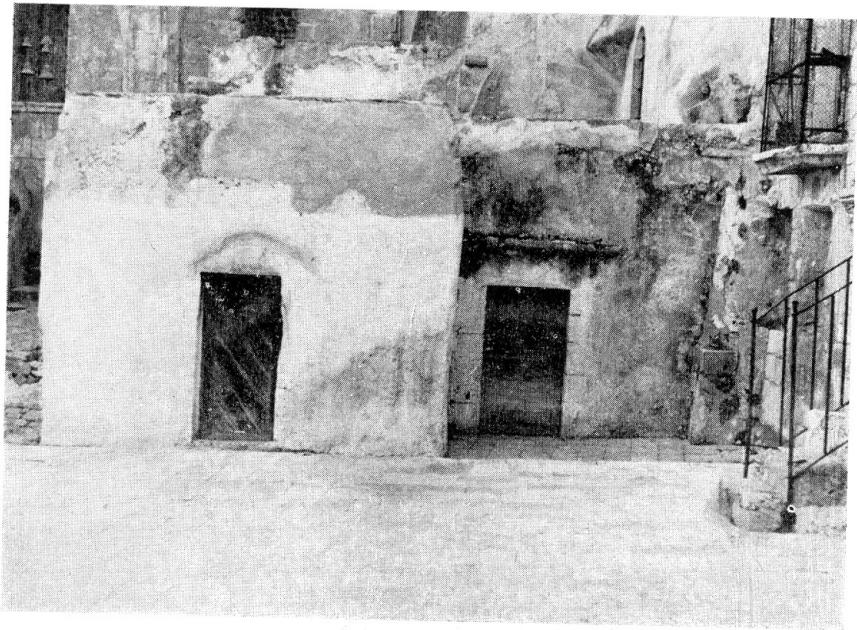
(30) Hartlmaier, *Golden Lion*, 101.

(31) Cf. Holland and Hozier, *Record of the Expedition to Abyssinia*. 2 vols.





30. Dair as-Sultân, left : Stairs leading to Ethiopian Church of the Saviour ; right : Stairs leading to Cell of Ethiopian Princess.



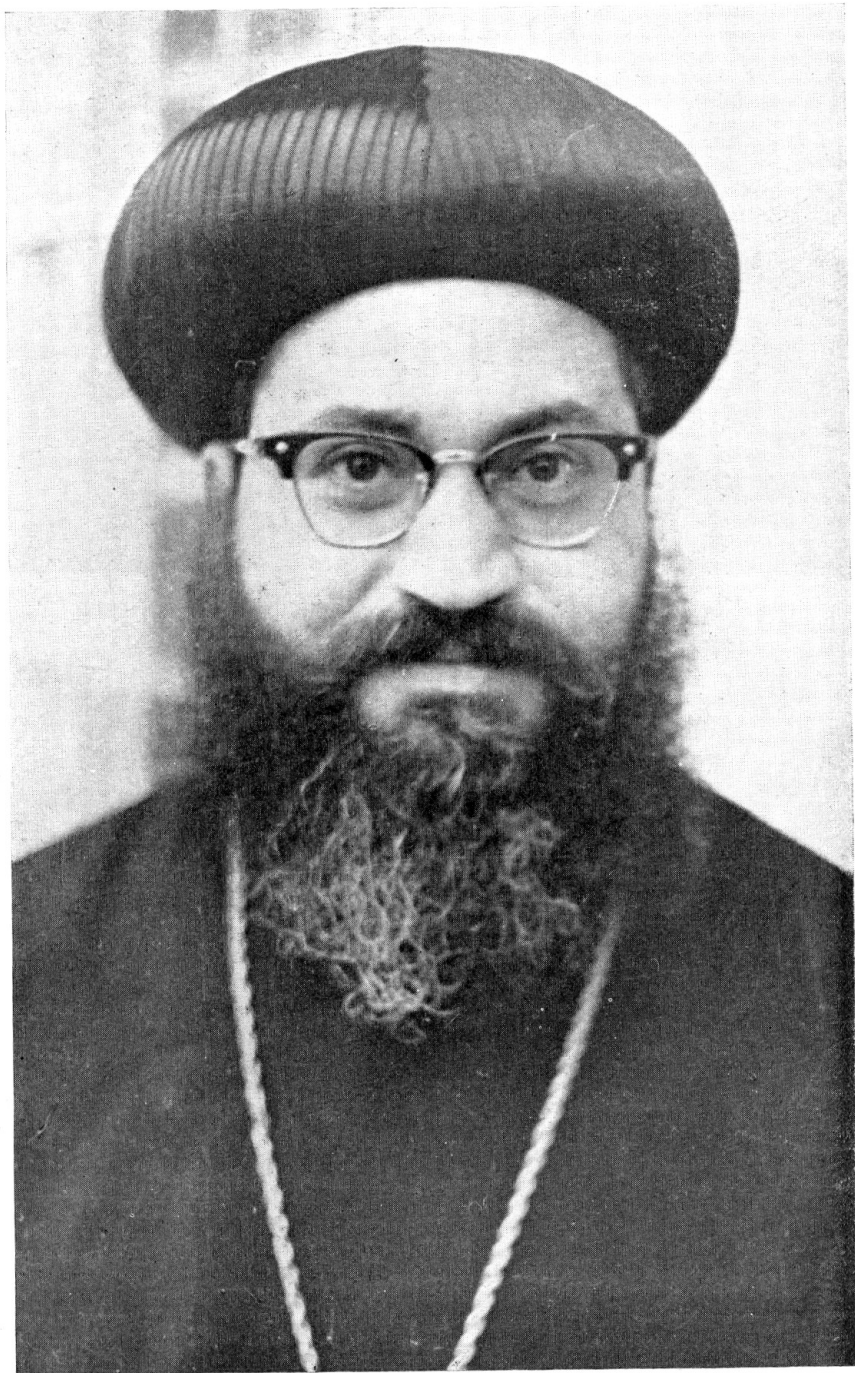
31. Dair as-Sultân, left : Doors to Qurban Bakery, right : Door to Chapel of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures.



32. Entrance to Coptic Patriarchate.



33. Dair as-Sultân, background : Cells and door to Qurban Bakery ;  
foreground : Dome of the Chapel of St. Helena.



34. Anbâ Bâsilîûs IV,  
Archbishop of Jerusalem and Doctor of Philosophy.



35. Anbâ Timûthâûs  
(1899-1925)



36. Anbâ Bâsilîûs III.  
(1925-1935)



37. Anbâ Tawffîlus.  
(1935-1945)



38. Anbâ Yaqûbûs.  
(1946-1956)





39. Anbā Kīrillus IV.  
116th Patriarch  
(1852-1861)



40. Anbā Bāsīlīfūs II.  
(the Great)  
(1856-1899)



41. The Dair Anbā Antūnīfūs, Wādī Arabah, Egypt, which traditionally  
supplies the Archbishops and Monks for the See of Jerusalem.

In 1863, Anbâ Bâsiliûs II, Coptic Archbishop of Jerusalem, presented a petition to the High Council of Jerusalem requesting them to issue orders for the restoration of the keys of the church situated inside the monastery and adjacent to the Church of the Resurrection, which had been taken by force by the Abyssinians. The Abyssinians, it was decided, should restore the keys, and, in case they refused to do so, it was provided, that the locks should be removed and replaced by new ones, and the keys of the latter should be handed over to the Copts.<sup>39</sup>

On June 13th, 1863, Bishop Gobat addressed a letter to the Emperor Theodore in which he stated : "Your Majesty will be grieved to hear of all the wrong that is done to your subjects, the Abyssinian priests and pilgrims in Jerusalem. The Copts and the Armenians have already taken the Chapel belonging to your Majesty, and now they want to take the whole convent by force..."<sup>40</sup>

After the Copts had regained the key to the chapel, they discovered that many things belonging to the sanctuary had been removed by the Abyssinians, articles, which the members of the High Council of Jerusalem found in the rooms of the Abyssinians.<sup>41</sup> In September 1863, a new dispute arose between the Copts and the Abyssinians, the settlement of which was still further complicated by the fact that the Turkish authorities did not recognize the British representation on behalf of the Abyssinians.<sup>42</sup> In 1868, the British Government published a "White Paper" on "The Abyssinians at Jerusalem 1850-1867", in which the Dair as-Sultân and the Chapel of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures are assigned to the Abyssinians, and the Chapel of the Angel to the Copts.<sup>43</sup>

Apparently, the Abyssinians continued to use the Chapel of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures. Burton (1871) states : "On the other side of the enclosure of the Great Court of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the Chapel of the Copts, called St.

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(39) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 5.

(40) Gobat, *loc. cit.*; Goodrich-Freer, *op. cit.*, 122.

(41) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 5.

(42) Moore to Sir H. Bulver, Sept. 28, 1863.

(43) Devine, *Abyssinia, Her History and Claims to the Holy Places of Jerusalem*, 23.



Michael, and one for the Armenians and the Abyssinians, dedicated to St. John.”<sup>44</sup>

Gatt (1875) pointed out, that the Copts in Jerusalem possessed a large monastery, which they let, and a smaller one, in which they and their bishop reside. They possessed also a church next to their monastery. The number of Copts in Jerusalem may have been one hundred, and their clergy was quite numerous.<sup>45</sup> Neumann (1877) also referred to the large Coptic monastery which was supervised by a married hegoumenos, while the Abyssinian Christians were exclusively monks, who lived in the Coptic monastery.<sup>46</sup>

In 1879, the frictions between the Copts and the Abyssinians were resumed, and the Copts accused the Abyssinians of causing scandals on the premises of the Dair as-Sultân.<sup>47</sup> In 1890, the Copts attempted to demolish the north wall of the Dair as-Sultân, so as to open a direct entry to the neighbouring Dair Mâr Antûniûs. The first attempt did not succeed on account of the Greek Patriarch in Jerusalem.<sup>48</sup> Then, in 1891, with the permission of the Government, the Copts enlarged the gate to the Dair as-Sultân.<sup>49</sup>

On November 22nd, 1891, a report was sent by the Executive Council of Jerusalem to the Ministry of Justice and Religion at Constantinople, stating that the Copts requested the expulsion of the Abyssinians from the Dair as-Sultân, since they had committed new scandals in the monastery.<sup>50</sup> The Abyssinians, however, did not obey the request, for a letter by Anbâ Bâsiliûs II, Archbishop of Jerusalem, to Anbâ Kîrillus V, Patriarch of Alexandria, in 1895, states, that the Abyssinians in Jerusalem had complained to the Emperor Menelik (1889-1913), because they had been evicted from the Dair as-Sultân. The Abyssinians

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(44) Burton, *op. cit.*, II, 66. The attachment of St. John's name to the Chapel was probably suggested by the account of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures in the *Apocalypse* 4:7.

(45) Gatt, *Beschreibung über Jerusalem*, 285.

(46) Neumann, *Die Heilige Stadt*, 281-282.

(47) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 22-23.

(48) Nolde, *op. cit.*, 6.

(49) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 23.

(50) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 24-26.

continued to occupy the Dair as-Sultân, rebelling and using every means available to them to annoy the Copts, even though the Copts treated them very nicely by giving them food, drink and clothing as well as pocket-money. The letter further states, that, if the Emperor Menelik knew of their insulting behaviour, he would certainly not approve of it. When the Copts repaired some of the old buildings, the Abyssinians intervened and opposed this, and when the Copts enlarged the doors, the workers were hit by stones thrown by the Abyssinians and some of them were badly hurt. The Abyssinians even attempted to kill the Copts. Once they came by night, but it so happened that a man from Bethlehem chanced to be sleeping in front of the door. When the Abyssinians attempted to enter the monastery, he tried to stop them and was stabbed with a knife. Had it not been for this man, the Abyssinians would have cut Anbâ Bâ-sîlîûs' throat.

In 1896, H.E. Lioneff, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople accompanied by an Abyssinian delegate and the Grand Vizier, requested a new inquiry into the matter of the possession of the keys, which at that time were in the hands of the Copts.<sup>51</sup>

On May 13th, 1902, Anbâ Mattâûs, Archbishop of Abyssinia, Anbâ Yûânnis, Archbishop of Bahairah-Minûfiyah, and Anbâ Murqus, Archbishop of Esnah and Luxor, submitted a report to Anbâ Kirillus V, Patriarch of Alexandria, with regard to the property-question of the Dair as-Sultân. The three Archbishops had travelled to Jerusalem in the endeavour to arrange the affair in a way which would ensure the brotherly relations between the Coptic and the Abyssinian Churches.<sup>52</sup> Mr. Carletti, the Italian Consul at Jerusalem, presented a letter by the Emperor of Abyssinia to the Archbishops with the request that the keys be given to the Abyssinians.<sup>53</sup>

In 1904, the Emperor Menelik broke off relations with the Coptic Patriarch, claiming the Dair as-Sultân on the ground that it was given to the Abyssinians by St. Helena. At that time, the Turks promised to see that the monastery was given to the

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(51) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 6.

(52) *Ibid.*

(53) *Ibid.*

Abyssinians, and the Russians were also favourable, but the *status quo* was supported by the British, and in the end, Turkey was compelled to do nothing in this matter.<sup>54</sup>

During these turbulent years, Anbâ Timûthâûs, Archbishop of Jerusalem lived mostly in Jaffa. Goodrich-Freer, writing in 1904, mentioned, that the Coptic bishop lived at Jaffa, possibly, because the Copts possessed but scanty accommodations in Jerusalem. The Copts have a monastery, a hospice, and a chapel within the Courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but all poor.<sup>55</sup>

In 1905, the Abyssinian Menelik Commission to Jerusalem approached the various heads of the Christian communities in Jerusalem with the request to state their judgment on the ownership of the Dair as-Sultân. The following statements are excerpts of the testimonies which were received by the Imperial Commission : H.B. Joachim Toymayan, Patriarcal Vicar of the Armenian Catholics (Aug. 23rd, 1905) states that the Dair as-Sultân belongs to the Abyssinians. "I have also seen, that the Abyssinians always celebrate their religious offices in their two chapels, one of St. Michael, and the other of the Forty Martyrs,<sup>56</sup> which are situated in the passage by which one descends from the Monastery of the Sultan to the atrium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre."<sup>57</sup> Mgr. G. Al-Mu'allam, Chorepiscopus of Jerusalem and Patriarcal Vicar of the Maronite Church (Aug. 25, 1905) states categorically, that the Dair as-Sultân is the property of the Abyssinians.<sup>58</sup> H.B. Damianos, Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem (Sept. 7th, 1905) states, that the Abyssinians had dwelt in the Dair as-Sultân from time immemorial, and that the monastery is known to the Greeks to be the property of the Abyssinians. Furthermore, the Greek Patriarch mentions, that a Coptic priest lives among the Abyssinians, and that the religious services in the two chapels have been interrupted.<sup>59</sup> H. B. Elias, Syrian Patriarch of Jerusalem (Sept. 14th, 1905)

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(54) King, *The Rites of Eastern Christendom*, I, 537.

(55) Goodrich-Freer, *op. cit.*, 123.

(56) This can be only the Church of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures.

(57) Nolde, *op. cit.*, 8.

(58) *Ibid.*, 7.

(59) *Ibid.*, 6.

wrote, that the Abyssinians dwelt in this monastery (Dair as-Sultân) since remote times.<sup>60</sup> H. B. Artian, Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem (n.d., 1905) testified, that the Abyssinians dwelt from time immemorial in the Monastery called the Dair as-Sultân, although the key of this monastery is in the hands of the Copts.<sup>61</sup> The Capitulary Vicar and Administrator of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Louis Piccardo, stated, that on the evidence of the elders of the Latin population, the Monastery of the Abyssinians has been *ab antiquo* at the disposal of, and, in consequence, in the possession of the Abyssinians.<sup>62</sup>

Following a petition submitted by the Abyssinian Delegation at Constantinople, an Imperial Decree was issued to reconsider the question of the Sultan's Monastery, in order to win the good will of the Abyssinians towards the Ottoman Government. On December 27th, 1907, the High Council at Jerusalem, in reply to a memorandum by the Grand Vizier, stated among other things : "Although the Abyssinians took on some occasions the key of the Sultan's Monastery, yet as a result of the protests of the Copts a searching inquiry into the matter was started by the Governorate in 1218 A.H., which proved that the Copts were the rightful owners of the said monastery. The dispute was consequently settled on this basis, and the key of the new lock was delivered to the Copts and is still in their hands. Several years ago, the Copts wanted to repair the Monastery and widen its gate, but the Abyssinians meanwhile disrespectfully treated the Coptic Archbishop with the result, that the Copts have prevented the Abyssinians from saying their prayers in the upper-chapel in the Sultan's Monastery, and for the last seventeen years the Abyssinians have never been allowed to enter the Chapel." The High Council went on to say that the firmans referred to in the petition of the Abyssinian Delegation stated only that the Abyssinians, the Georgians, and the Serbians are under the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch, that in the firmans in connection with the *status quo*, however, no allusion is made to the Abyssinians, and that the *status quo* of the said monastery

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(60) *Ibid.*, 7.

(61) *Ibid.*, 7.

(62) *Ibid.*, 8.

is based on a firman issued in this respect and is being carried out ever since, as it is confirmed by official documents.<sup>63</sup>

On April 6th, 1908, Elias 'Awad Bey, Murqus Hannâ Bey, and Sidarûs Bisharah Bey submitted the report on their findings which was based on an investigation undertaken in Jerusalem. This report, among other things, confirmed that the Sublime Porte recognized the Coptic ownership of the Dair as-Sultân, that the Abyssinians had attacked the Copts on more than one occasion, and that, thereupon, the Copts discontinued to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in the Chapel of the Angel. The report also included the demand of the Abyssinians, that the keys be delivered to the Greek Patriarchate. This, however, was considered to be merely a trick to obtain the possession of the same. The Copts, according to the report, agreed to offer to the Abyssinians 240 square metres in order to build a church, and to accord to them the right to celebrate in the Church of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures, but the Abyssinians refused to accept this offer.

In 1924, Ras Tafari attempted to obtain the possession of the Dair as-Sultân, but failed.<sup>64</sup> On May 4, 1924, the Maglis Milli and Ras Tafari met in conference at Cairo, and Murqus Simaika impressed upon those present the views of the Coptic Church, that the Dair as-Sultân belonged to the Copts, and that the Copts were in possession of legal documents to substantiate their claim, and furthermore, that the Courts at Constantinople had proven the Coptic ownership of the Dair as-Sultân. In June, 1924, the Maglis Milli asked for a meeting of the General Assembly of the Copts, at which the Copts reaffirmed their decision not to grant any rights to the Abyssinians with regard to the property-question of the Dair as-Sultân.

At present, the *status quo* with regard to the Dair as-Sultân is maintained, and any interference by either party concerned is strongly rebuked by the Government. In April 1939, the Copts wished to carry out certain repairs at the Dair as-Sultân, but the Government refused to grant a permit for this on the grounds that the right to carry out repairs was disputed by another

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(63) Timoteos, *op. cit.*, 31.

(64) King, *op. cit.*, I, 537.

community. However, in accordance with the established practice, the Government would undertake the necessary maintenance without prejudice to any existing rights or claims which might be associated with the building. In June 1945, the Abyssinians were warned by the District Commissioner's Office in Jerusalem, about their having carried out some work of redecoration in the Chapel situated on the western side of the roof of St. Helena's Chapel.<sup>65</sup> It was pointed out, that this action constituted a contravention of the *status quo* in that neither the one nor the other community was allowed to do anything which might prejudice their mutual claims and rights to the monastery.

In 1950, Anbâ Yaqûbûs, the Coptic Archbishop of Jerusalem, received a letter from the Governor of Jerusalem informing him, that the Abyssinian monks had removed two blocks of wood from one of the cells in the Dair as-Sultân, but that the Department of Public Works would replace them in their original position, so as not to violate the *status quo*. In 1952, the Abyssinians were reprimanded by the Government for violating the *status quo* by opening certain doors of the Dair as-Sultân for their Easter celebrations, and for appointing a caretaker for the monastery.

On February 27th, 1959, Anbâ Filîbûs (Philip), the Abyssinian Bishop in Jerusalem, requested the Governor of Jerusalem to restore to them the state of property-rights which they enjoyed when the *status quo* Imperial Decree of 1834 was published.<sup>66</sup>

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(65) This is the Abyssinian Chapel of the Saviour.

(66) For a thorough study of the property rights and claims with regard to the Dair as-Sultân, the reader should consult the following works. *Abyssinian sources* : Nolde, "Consultation concerning the Rights of the Abyssinian Community in Palestine." Devine, *Abyssinia, Her History and Claims to the Holy Places of Jerusalem*. Philippus, *The Rights of the Abyssinians in the Holy Places. Correspondence Respecting the Abyssinians in Jerusalem 1850-1867, Presented to the House of Commons, December 5, 1867, with further papers presented by command of Her Majesty in 1868*. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, 2 vols. *Coptic Sources* : Timoteos, *Translation of Documents bearing on the Rights of the Copts over the Sultan's Monastery*. Filûtaûs 'Awad, *Dair as-Sultân milik al-Qibt la al-Habesh*. Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem, *Musaqarah bimilkiat Dair as Sultân bil Quds lil abqât al-Urthuduks (Statement of the Coptic property-rights to the Sultan's Monastery at Jerusalem)*.



In January 1960, there were twenty separate cells on the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena, which were occupied by eighteen Ethiopian monks and one Coptic monk, Abûnâ Butrus al-Bârâmûsî, who lives among the Ethiopians to safeguard the Coptic property-claims.

The Ethiopian hegoumenos is Abûnâ Gabre Mariam Haile Mariam, who from 1951 to 1954 lived in the Dair as-Suriân in the Wâdî 'n-Natrûn. Another monk, who used to live in Egypt, is Abûnâ Gabre Kidan of the Dair al-Muharraq. In addition to the Ethiopian monks, two Ethiopian nuns live in the Dair as-Sultân, Walata Jesus, and Wezorah Amarg, an Ethiopian princess. Furthermore, Brother Cameron, a Christian mystic of the Island of St. Vincent, B.W.I., has stayed for several years with the Abyssinians on the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena.

The Abyssinians worship in the small Chapel of the Saviour, which is situated west of the Dome of the Chapel of St. Helena. The Chapel is so small, however, that only one priest at a time has room to perform the service.

The Church of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures is surrounded by an iron fence. The church has one haikal, and the wooden haikal screen bears the date of 1103 A. H. (1692) written in Arabic. Above the haikal screen there are three badly damaged icons. On the southern wall there are the following icons: St. Michael, Christ and the Four Bodiless Living Creatures, the Blessed Virgin Mary. On the eastern wall there is an icon which portrays Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac. The southern wall has numerous Arabic graffiti of the following years: 1925, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1935, 1936.

In the western wall of the church there is a door to a passage leading to the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross. No services are conducted in this church. The key to this church is in the possession of the Copts.

West of the Church of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures is the Church of the Angel. This church has one haikal. The icons which are attached to the wooden haikal screen are, from north to south: St. Antony and St. Paul, St. Theodore the General, two icons of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Crucifixion, Christ, and St. Michael. On the southern wall there are two badly damaged icons portraying the contention of the Angel with

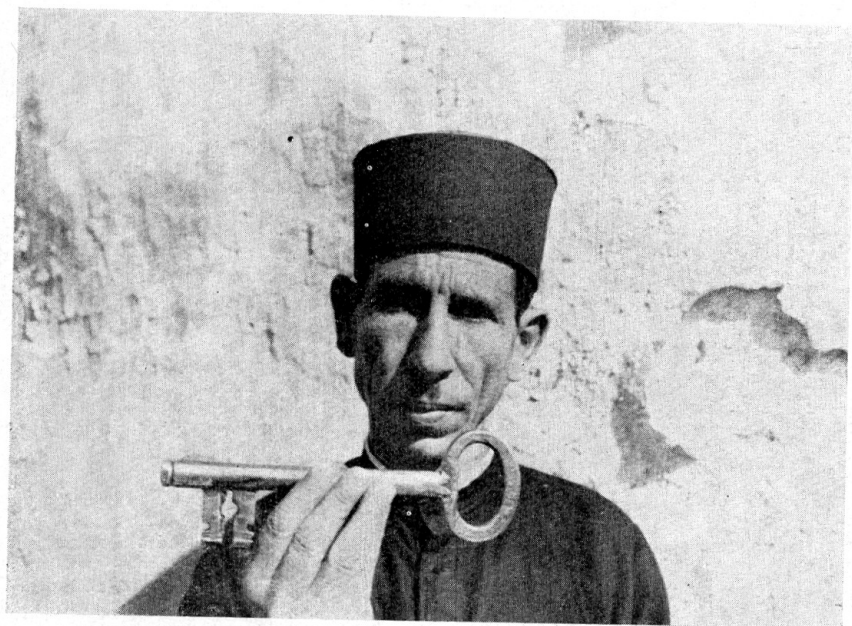
Satan. No services are held in this church. The key to this church is in the possession of the Copts.

The passage leading from the roof of the Chapel of St. Helena passes through the two above mentioned churches to the parvis of the Church of the Resurrection.

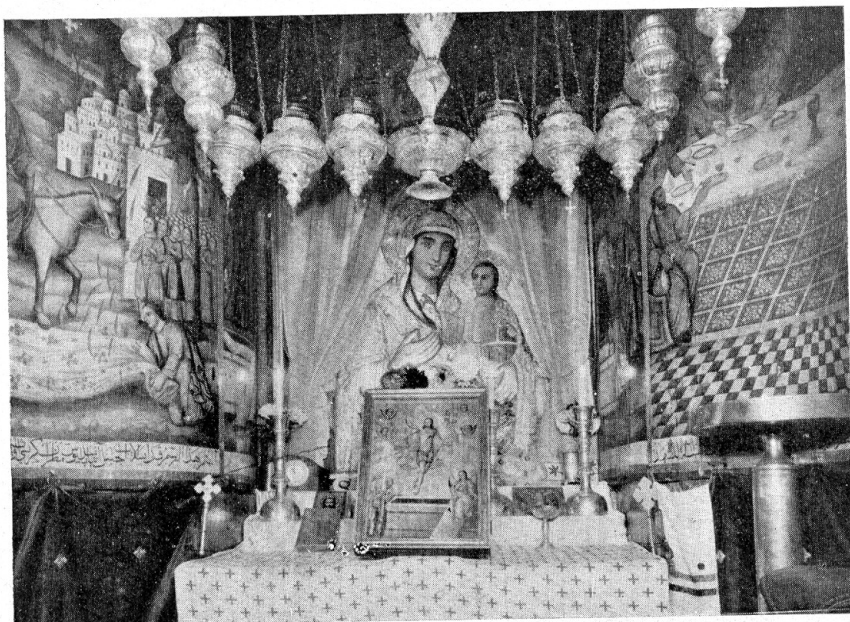
The Abyssinians, who at present inhabit the Dair as-Sultân, possess also the Monastery of Takla Haymanot, where Anbâ Filibûs (Philip) resides. The Church of Takla Haymanot is decorated with modern wall paintings showing, from the north to the south, St. Phillipus and the Ethiopian (*Acts 8:27*), the Baptism of the Ethiopian (*Acts 8:38*), the Nativity of Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Christ.



46. Deacon Riad Shehata with Chain of St. George.



47. Deacon Riad Shehata with Key to the Chapel  
of the Four Bodiless Living Creatures.



48. Altar of Coptic Chapel in the Church of the Resurrection.

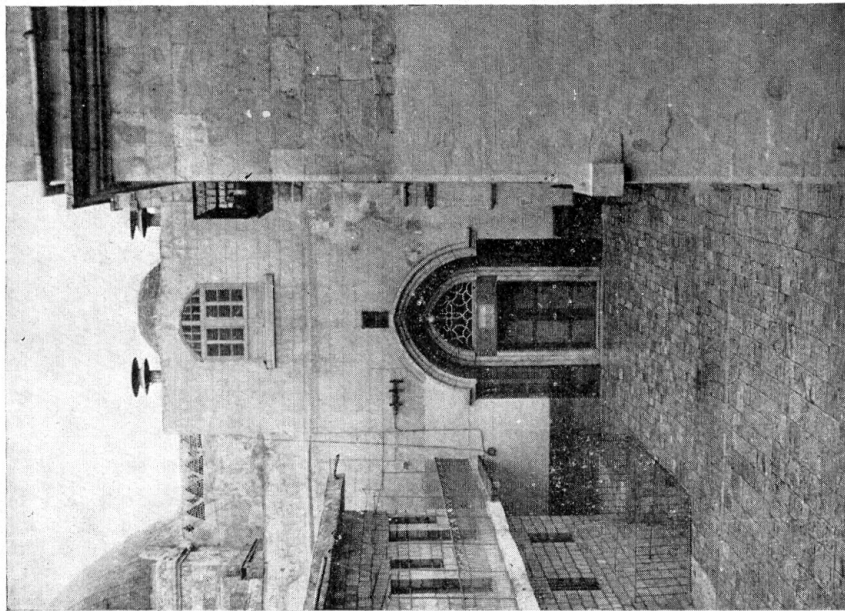


49. Deacon Murqus Bulus Girgis.

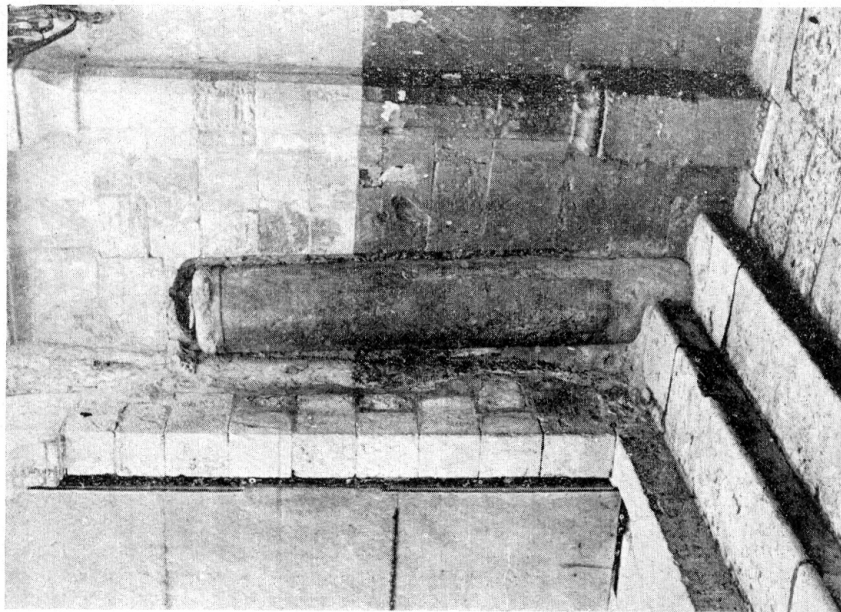


50. Brother Cameron  
of St. Vincent B.W.I.





51. Dair Mār Antōnūs  
The Church of St. Antony ;  
left : The College of St. Antony.



52. Dair Mār Antōnūs.  
The Ninth Station, where Christ fell the third time.



53. Letterhead of the Coptic  
Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem.



54. Letterhead of the Coptic  
Orthodox League of Jerusalem, Cairo.



### 3. Dair Mâr Antûniûs (The Monastery of St. Antony)

THE Coptic Monastery of St. Antony in Jerusalem is situated north of the Chapel of St. Helena. This monastery, which in previous centuries was considered to be part of the Dair as-Sultân, was repaired in 1875, with funds provided by wealthy Copts in Egypt.<sup>1</sup> In 1907, the Monastery was rebuilt,<sup>2</sup> and Baedeker (1912) states "that the Monastery of the Copts has been fitted up as an episcopal residence, and contains cells for the accommodation of the pilgrims. The Church, the foundations of which are old, has been entirely restored."<sup>3</sup> Luke and Roach (1922),<sup>4</sup> Hanauer (1926)<sup>5</sup> and Elston (1929)<sup>6</sup> refer to the Coptic Monastery on account of its interesting Cistern of St. Helena. A winding staircase of 51 steps (not 43 as stated by Baedeker), some of which are in bad condition, descends to the cistern. The entrance to the staircase is from the Coptic Chapel of St. Helena on the first floor of the Dair Mâr Antûniûs.

The Dair Mâr Antûniûs has three churches. On the first storey is the Coptic Chapel of St. Helena, on the second storey, the Church of St. Antony, on the third storey, the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. On the fourth storey is the episcopal residence with the reception hall.

The Coptic Chapel of St. Helena has one haikal. The icons on the northern wall portray St. George, the Annunciation, and

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(1) Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, I, 119.

(2) Jeffery, *A Brief Description of the Holy Sepulchre*, 58.

(3) Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, 48. The church, which Baedeker mentions, must be the Coptic Chapel of St. Helena.

(4) Luke and Roach, *Handbook of Palestine*, 45.

(5) Hanauer, *Walks in and around Jerusalem*, 97.

(6) Elston, *The Traveller's Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, 142.

a warrior-saint; the icons on the southern wall portray the Nativity and St. George. The eastern wall is adorned by an icon of Christ bearing His Cross. The Coptic Chapel of St. Helena is used every Thursday morning for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. About six metres south-west of the entrance to the Coptic Chapel of St. Helena there is the Ninth Station of the Cross, which marks the spot where Christ fell for the third time.<sup>7</sup>

The Church of St. Antony, which is the principal church of the monastery, adjoins the northern wall of the Church of the Resurrection. The church was built by Anbâ Bâsiliûs II, and was dedicated by Anbâ Timûthâûs in 1903. It has one haikal with a Byzantine iconostasis containing the following icons, from north to south : St. Mark, Sitt Dimiânah, the Blessed Virgin Mary, Christ, St. Antony and his monks, and St. John the Baptist. At the top of the screen are the icons of the Twelve Apostles. The episcopal throne is placed on the northern side of the aisle, and the pulpit is attached to the western wall. On the western wall there are also icons of St. Basil and St. Peter, and on the southern wall, the icons of St. Macarius and St. Antony.

The church is decorated with numerous wall-paintings, many of which, however, have been damaged by moisture. North wall : The Mystic Supper, the Stilling of the Storm. South wall : The Nativity, the Baptism, the Annunciation, the Ascension. West wall : Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the Via Dolorosa. Northern pillar : St. Timothy. Southern pillar : St. Elias and St. Michael.

The third church is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary in commemoration of her apparition to the students of the Coptic School in 1954. According to the students,<sup>8</sup> the Blessed Virgin Mary with the Infant Christ, St. Joseph and two Angels appeared for seven consecutive Mondays at 11:30 a.m. in the study of Dr. Shâkar. Out of gratitude for this event, Anbâ Yâqûbûs, Archbishop of Jerusalem, had this room, where the apparitions had occurred, converted into a church. The Church of the Blessed

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(7) For a photograph of the Ninth Station and the Coptic monastery in 1930, cf. Gadala, *Egypte-Palestine, du Sphinx à la Croix*, 154.

(8) Abûnâ Butrus al-Barâmûsî informed me, that the apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary was also seen by some Latins and Armenians.

Virgin Mary has one haikal, though without a haikal screen. The church is decorated with modern wall-paintings and a Byzantine icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In commemoration of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Coptic monks celebrate the Divine Liturgy in this church every Monday morning.

The hegoumenos of the Dair Mâr Antûniûs is Qummus Aqlâdiûs al-Antûnî. At present, eleven monks inhabit the monastery, of whom nine have come from the Dair Anbâ Antûniûs, and two monks from the Dair as-Suriân.

#### 4. Dair Mârî Girgis (The Monastery of St. George)

IT is not easy to determine the exact date, when the Copts acquired the property of Dair Mârî Girgis. We know for certain, however, that by 1720 the monastery was situated in the same locality as to-day. Furthermore, the monastery possessed the following relics : The arm of St. George and part of the chain which was used to torture the Saint, relics, which were of great interest to the pilgrims.<sup>1</sup>

In 1806, Ulrich Seetzen visited the Holy Land, and mentioned in his description the Copts who have an unattractive and poor monastery called *Mar Dschürdschus* (Mârî Girgis), and furthermore, they possess in the Dair as-Sultân a courtyard next to the Church of the Resurrection, where several married priests live.<sup>2</sup>

In a legal document of December 10th, 1820, it is stated among other things, that St. George's Monastery belongs to the Copts.<sup>3</sup> In 1782, the Copts had already enlarged their holdings in Jerusalem by buying some houses from al-Hagg 'Abd-allah Effendi, but it was not until 1837, however, that the Copts obtained the permission to build the large Coptic Khan or caravansery in the immediate vicinity of the Monastery of St. George. The site for the buildings was bought by the Copts for 8.000 piastres. The building of this Khan, which lasted for more than a year, amounted to 500.000 piastres, though most of the work was done by Copts who gave their service free.

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(1) Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, 371.

(2) Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palaestina, Phönizien, etc.*, II, 20-21.

(3) Timoteos, *Translation of Documents Bearing on the Rights over the Sultan's Monastery and other Places at Jerusalem*, 13-14.

Hanauer points out, that the Coptic Khan was built in 1838 inside the northern part of the great pool, Birkit Hammam al-Batrak (Pool of the Patriarch's Bath), traditionally called the Pool of Hezekiah.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, the Pasha's secretaries, who were Arab Greek Catholics, bought some houses near the Coptic Monastery of St. George on the way to David's Gate, and built there a residence, where they planted their Catholic monks with their Kalamaphions (Kalemankhion).<sup>5</sup>

Robinson, who wrote in 1838, apparently confused the Monastery of St. George with the Dair as-Sultân. "The Coptic Christians consist only of monks in their Convent of as-Sultân, situated on the north-side of the Pool of Hezekiah.<sup>6</sup> At the time of our visit, it had just been rebuilt."<sup>7</sup> On account of the departure of Ibrâhîm Pasha, the building programme of the Copts had to be abandoned. The large caravansery served its purpose for only a very short period, for Williams, reporting in 1842, states that this extensive building had lately been appropriated by the Government as barracks.<sup>8</sup>

The first authentic description of the Monastery of St. George is provided by Tobler in 1853. In his *Topographie* he refers to the Monastery of St. George which is situated in the vicinity of the Monastery of St. Demetrius, west of the Pool of the Patriarchs. The monastery is not very large, and the rather dark church is poorly decorated. On the south-side of the Church, the arm of St. George is kept in a red feretory, though it is not shown. Four pillars divide the church into three naves. The people in the monastery are very few. The monastery depends mostly upon the gifts of the pilgrims, which vary from 3.000 to 5.000 piastres a year. The number of pilgrims visiting the

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(4) Hanauer, *Walks in and around Jerusalem*, 50-52.

(5) Neophytos, *Annals of Palestine 1821-1841*, 122.

(6) Cf. *II Kings* 20:20; *II Chron.* 32:30; *Sirach* 47:17.

(7) Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine, etc.*, I, 488, II, 91. Murray (1857) copies the error when he says, "The Copts and the Abyssinians possess two convents, one called Dair as-Sultân, on the north side of the Pool of Hezekiah, the other on the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." A *Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine*, I, 84.

(8) Williams, *The Holy City*, II, 567; Tobler, *op. cit.*, 371.

monastery annually has been estimated between 50 and 60, in exceptional years it may even be 300.

Near the church was the cell for the idiots. Here one could see a chain, to which the unfortunate person was tied. In former times it was believed that when the sick person improved, St. George would release him without anybody even opening the locks of the chain. The cell has room only for one person.<sup>9</sup> Lorenzen (1858),<sup>10</sup> Petermann (1860),<sup>11</sup> and Gatt (1875)<sup>12</sup> mention the small monastery which is inhabited by only a few Coptic monks throughout the year. According to Gatt, the Coptic bishop resides in the smaller monastery, no doubt, Dair Mârî Girgis.

Georgi, writing in 1910, refers also to the Church of St. George, which was poorly decorated. He also mentions the cell of the idiots, of which Tobler had written.<sup>13</sup>

The testimony of Georgi, however, seems unreliable on account of the fact that Anbâ Bâsiliûs II renovated and redecorated almost all Coptic buildings. Thus we notice, that the Byzantine haikal screen in the Church of St. George bears the date of 1882.

In 1960, the Dair Mârî Girgis comprises the Church of St. George, and the Primary and Secondary Girls' School of Sitt Dimiânâh, which is attended by 250 children.

The Church of St. George has one haikal. The icons on the south wall portray St. John the Baptist, St. George (modern), St. George, and St. Mercurius. The relic of the right arm of the Saint is kept under the second icon of St. George. The icons on the west wall portray St. George, St. Antony and St. Paul, and the Resurrection. The Baptismal-font is situated in the south-west corner of the church, where I also discovered the "miraculous chain" of St. George, which as I was told, served as harness for the horse of the Saint.<sup>14</sup> The chain was used to

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(9) Tobler, *op. cit.*, 370.

(10) Lorenzen, *Jerusalem*, 178.

(11) Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, I, 227.

(12) Gatt, *Beschreibung über Jerusalem*, 285.

(13) Georgi, *Die Heiligen Stätten*, 61.

(14) I enquired about the cell for the idiots, but there was nobody who remembered its existence.



heal divers diseases. The sick placed the chain three times around their neck, and the pain disappeared.<sup>15</sup>

Only one monk, Abûnâ Butrus al-Barâmûsî stays at Dair Mârî Girgis throughout the day. The Divine Liturgy is celebrated at the Church of St. George once a week every Thursday.

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(15) The same therapeutic quality is attributed to the Chain of St. George in the Greek Monastery of St. George at Old Cairo.

## 5. The Holy Places in Jerusalem which the Coptic Church shares with the other Churches

**I**T is important to remember, that, apart from the Holy Places which belong exclusively to the one or the other of the Churches in Jerusalem, there are certain Holy Places which are shared by all the Churches. This means, that there are sites common to the five communions (Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Copts, Syrians), e.g. the passages, vestibules, lateral nave, the circular dome, the stairways leading to the Church of St. Helena and the Chapel of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and sites which are common to four communions (Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Copts), e.g. the Stone of Unction, and the *Kouvouklion*.

### A. — The Church of the Resurrection

Though the Copts have not the right to celebrate the Divine Liturgy in the Holy Sepulchre itself (the Greeks, Latins and Armenians alone have this right), they own four sanctuary lamps<sup>1</sup> which hang in the second row from the east. The other lamps at the Holy Sepulchre belong to the Greeks (13), Latins (13) and Armenians (13).

In the Chapel of the Angel, which is situated east of the Holy Sepulchre, the Copts own one lamp, which hangs on the south of the eastern row.

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(1) The base of a sanctuary lamp consists of a more or less oval-shaped receptacle, the lower part of which tapers to a point. The upper part of this receptacle which may be in silver or some other metal, chased or plain, has a cavity into which is inserted a glass, white or coloured. Into this glass there is put olive-oil together with a float and wick. When the latter is lighted it gives forth a soft glowing light. The sanctuary lamp is suspended by one, three or four chains.

Above the Stone of Unction<sup>2</sup> there are eight lamps. The third lamp from the left belongs to the Copts.

For many centuries, the Copts have had the right to lamps in these three Holy Places. An anonymous Greek-Arabic Itinerary of the 16th century informs us, that sometime after 1552 there were 44 lamps in the Holy Sepulchre, of which the Greeks owned 16, the Latins 13, the Armenians 3, the Syrians 3, the Ethiopians 5 and the Copts 4. The same author mentions 32 sanctuary lamps in the Church of the Angel, of which 17 were owned by the Greeks, 5 by the Latins, 5 by the Armenians, 2 by the Syrians, 2 by the Ethiopians and one by the Copts. Of the eight lamps above the Stone of Unction, the Copts owned one.<sup>3</sup>

An anonymous Greek Itinerary of the first part of the 17th century (1608-1634) verifies the number of lamps belonging to the Copts in the above mentioned Holy Places.<sup>4</sup> A second anonymous Greek Itinerary of the 17th century provides us with some minor changes. In the Holy Sepulchre, the pilgrim noticed only three Coptic lamps, whereas, in the Chapel of the Angel he attributed two lamps to the Copts.<sup>5</sup>

The Russian pilgrim John the Little, who visited the Holy Land in 1651, noticed only seven lamps hanging above the Stone of Unction, of which two belonged to the Greeks, and one to the Latins, Armenians, Abyssinians, Copts and Syrians.<sup>6</sup> An anonymous Serbian pilgrim, writing about the same time, noticed forty-four lamps in the Holy Sepulchre, of which sixteen were owned by the Greeks, thirteen by the Latins, three by the Armenians, four by the Copts, three by the Syrians and five by the Abyssinians.<sup>7</sup>

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(2) The Stone of Antointing or of Unction is situated just inside the entrance to the Church of the Resurrection.

(3) Baumstark, "Eine Arabische Palästinabeschreibung," *Oriens Christ.* VI, 1906, 252-264.

(4) Papadopoulos Keraméus, *Itinéraire de Jérusalem*, in *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskij Sbornik*, XVII, fasc. 53, 3-16.

(5) Bezovrazov, *Itinéraire*, in *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskij Sbornik*, XVIII, fasc. 54, 3-8.

(6) Dolgov, "Itinery of John the Little," *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskij Sbornik*, XIV, 37.

(7) "Serbakos opisanie avjatykh mest pervoj poloviny XVII veka" in *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskij Sbornik*, V, 3.

Jean de Thévenot, who visited the Holy Land in 1657, lists the various Churches which have lamps above the Stone of Unction. There are the Latins, the Greeks, the Abyssinians, the Copts, the Armenians, the Nestorians, the Jacobites.<sup>8</sup>

By 1674, the property rights of the sanctuary lamps in the Holy Places had changed considerably. Corneille Le Bruyn mentions that of the 42 lamps in the Holy Sepulchre, the Latins owned 13, the Greeks 21, the Armenians 4 and the Egyptians 4, whilst the 24 lamps in the Chapel of the Angel were divided into Latins 4, Greeks 15, Armenians 4, Egyptians 1.<sup>9</sup>

At the time of Turner's visit in 1815, the Copts had four lamps in the Holy Sepulchre and one lamp in the Chapel of the Angel, which means that, as also stated by Lycklama a Nijeholt (1868)<sup>10</sup> and Oliphant (1890)<sup>11</sup> the *status quo* with regard to the sanctuary lamps has been maintained from the beginning of the 19th century.

The Copts have four processions around the *Kouvouklion* annually. On Palm Sunday, after the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, the Copts join the Greeks, Armenians and Syrians in a procession three times around the Holy Sepulchre.

In 1700, Egmont van der Nyenburger saw the Palm Sunday procession, and remarked that the Greeks and Armenians were followed by the Copts, of whom there were but very few, who walked with great order and gravity. The Copts had only one priest, before whom was carried a large book. Lastly came the Syrians (Soriani).<sup>12</sup>

On Good Friday between 5 p.m. and 7 p.m., only the Copts make a procession through the whole Church of the Resurrection, offering prayers at every altar (Greek, Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Syrian). That this is a relatively new departure is testified by Beaufort, who in 1859 saw the Good Friday Procession and mentioned the Greek Bishops and clergy, who were followed by a number of Copts. Then the Copts entered the little chapel

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(8) Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, 383.

(9) Le Bruyn, *A Voyage to the Levant*, 210-211.

(10) Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russe ... la Palestine, etc*, IV, 515.

(11) Oliphant, *Notes of a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land*, 34.

(12) Egmont, *Travels through Part of Europe, Asia Minor 1700-1709, 1720*, I, 325.

which belongs to them on the north side of the square in the south wall of the Church.<sup>13</sup>

On the Eve of Easter, about 1:30 p.m., the Greek Orthodox Patriarch accompanied by a deacon enters the Holy Sepulchre for the Ceremony of the Holy Fire.<sup>14</sup> From the Chapel of the Angel the Holy Fire is passed out through the southern and northern openings to the pilgrims. The Copts receive the Holy Fire through the southern opening and through the entrance to the Chapel of the Angel. Then, the Holy Fire is taken to the Coptic Archbishop, who during the Ceremony has remained in the Coptic Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary west of the *Kouvouklion*. After having received the Holy Fire, the Coptic Archbishop gives the Holy Fire to the Coptic pilgrims. Then the Greeks, Armenians, Copts and Syrians make a procession three times around the *Kouvouklion*. The procession is repeated on Easter Sunday morning, when at 4 a.m. the Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Copts and Syrians make a procession three times around the *Kouvouklion*.

The Copts have participated in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire for many centuries. An anonymous Greek Itinerary of the beginning of the 15th century refers to the Armenians, Jacobites, Indians (Abyssinians) and Nestorians who participated in the celebration.<sup>15</sup> And Basil Posniakov, visiting the Holy Places between 1550 and 1561, saw that Greeks, Franks, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Maronites, Arians, Nestorians and other heretics took part in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire.<sup>16</sup>

Aquilante Rochetta, who visited the Holy Land in 1599, states, that after the Great Procession (Greek), the other nations started to have their processions, the Armenians, Jacobites, Georgians, Abyssinians and others.<sup>17</sup> Antonio de Castillo (1626) speaks of the Greek Patriarch, the Bishop of the Armenians and

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(13) Beaufort, *Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines*, II, 247.

(14) The Ceremony of the Holy Fire at Easter is first mentioned by Bernhard of Mount St. Michael in 867 A.D. Cf. "The Voyage of Bernard the Wise" in Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine*, 27.

(15) *Pat. Graec.*, CXXXIII., Ἀπόδειξεις περὶ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων.

(16) Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, I, i, 315.

(17) Rocchetta, *Peregrinatione, etc.*, III, 150.

an Ethiopian priest who entered the Holy Sepulchre to obtain the Holy Fire.<sup>18</sup>

Eugène Roger (1632), while speaking of the Ceremony of the Holy Fire, mentions, that after the distribution of the same to the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians or Nestorians, the Copts and the Abyssinians make a procession with their candles.<sup>19</sup> A more detailed description of the Ceremony is provided by the Chevalier d'Arvieux (1660) : "A Coptic Bishop then came with his clergy. After this long procession had gone around the Holy Sepulchre three times, a Greek Bishop, an Armenian Bishop and a Coptic Bishop entered the Holy Sepulchre to draw down the fire with which they were provided. Then the Armenian and the Coptic Bishops came out from the Holy Sepulchre some moments after the Greek Bishop, but as they had fewer people to content, they were less in danger of being suffocated."<sup>20</sup> Brémond, also visiting Jerusalem in 1660, saw four bishops wearing their mitres in the "Latin style" go to the Holy Sepulchre, while, in front of them, went a priest, ordinarily an Abyssinian or Copt holding in his hand a lamp filled with oil and a taper ready to be lit. He alone goes into the Sepulchre, where the fire is made from which he lights the lamp, after which he announces to the Patriarch and others that the fire has been received. Then the Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Syrians and Abyssinians join in the procession.<sup>21</sup> Dapper, writing in 1688, specifically speaks of the Armenians, Coptists, Syrians and Abyssinians who participate with the Greeks in the Ceremony of the Holy Fire.<sup>22</sup>

Hasselquist, who visited Jerusalem in 1751, mentions in connection with the Holy Fire, that one priest of each sect goes down into the Holy Sepulchre at 2 o'clock. The Greek priest

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(18) Antonio de Castillo, *El devoto peregrino de Tierra Santa*, 247.

(19) Roger, *La Terre Sainte ou Description topographique très particulière des Saints Lieux* ..., 393.

(20) Labat, *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux*, II, 143, 146.

(21) Brémond, *Viaggi*, IV, 364-5.

(22) Dapper, *Asia, oder eine genau und gründliche Beschreibung des gantzen Syrien und Palestins*, 328.





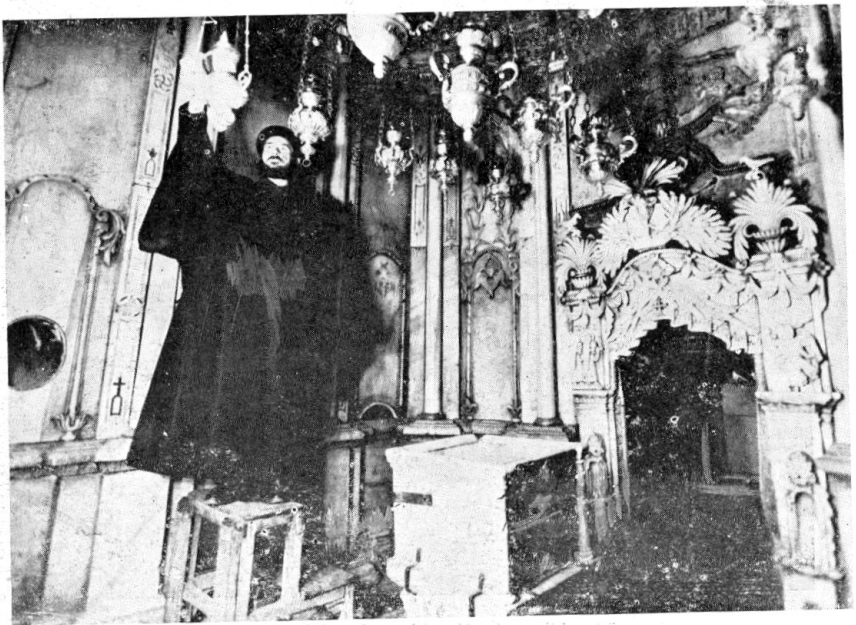
55. The Coptic Lamp above the Stone of Uncion.



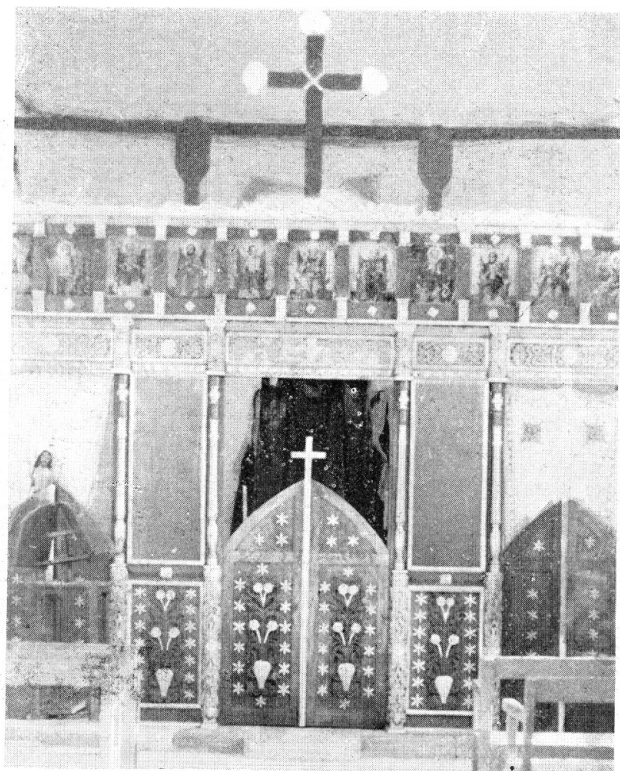
56. The Coptic Chapel with Sanctuary Lamps in the Church of the Resurrection.



57. The Coptic Sanctuary Lamp in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre.



58. The Coptic Sanctuary Lamp in the Chapel of the Angel.



59. Dair Anbā Antūnīūs, Jericho.  
Haikal Screen of Church of St. Antony.



60. Dair Anbā Antūnīūs, Jericho.  
The Church of St. Antony from the south-west.



61. The Dair Anbâ Antûniûs, Jericho.



62. The Gate of the Coptic Monastery at the River Jordan.

goes into the innermost apartment, and the others into another chapel, behind that apartment belonging to the Coptities.<sup>23</sup>

In 1817, Richardson witnessed the Ceremony of the Holy Fire and noticed the procession of the Greeks three times around the *Kouvouklion* followed by the Armenians, Copts and Syrians.<sup>24</sup> Bartlett, writing in 1842, refers to the 'holy' confusion that took place at the Ceremony of the Holy Fire, where people leaped on each other's backs, tore down each other's dresses, and with their cheeks burning, and their eyes glaring with excitement, called out for the fire to descend.... Then they (presumably the Greeks) were joined by the Copts, who were received with shouts, and soon followed by the drums and cymbals of the Abyssinians.<sup>25</sup>

In 1874, Henry N. Courtney wrote that after the Greek Ceremony of the Holy Fire, the people began to disperse, but before many had gone, the Copts, Abyssinians and Armenians, had each a procession winding round the Holy Sepulchre, chanting as they went.<sup>26</sup>

#### B. — The Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary

The Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Brook of Cedron belongs to the Greeks and the Armenians. At one time, it was in the possession of the Latins. In 1757, the Church passed into Greek hands.

The Russian Archimandrite Grethenios, who visited the Holy Land in 1400, mentioned in his Itinerary, that the Armenians, Jacobites and Abyssinians had their altars in this church.<sup>27</sup>

In 1593, the Copts had an altar to the north, in the Chapel of SS. Joachim and Anne, while the altar to the east belonged to the Georgians,<sup>28</sup> and Nau, writing in 1668, states that the

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(23) Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, 136.

(24) Richardson, *Travels along the Mediterranean*, II, 331.

(25) Bartlett, *Walks about the City, etc.*, 182.

(26) Courtney, *Journal of a Tour in Egypt and Syria*, 99.

(27) Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, I, i, 178.

(28) Bernardino Amico, *Plans of the Sacred Edifices of the Holy Land*,



altar of the Georgians is at the base of the stairs, that of the Abyssinians opposite to the north, and that of the Copts in the same nave facing the Holy Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>29</sup>

The altar, used at present by the Copts is situated west of the well, which in turn is west of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>30</sup> This altar was formerly used by the Abyssinians.<sup>31</sup> It is apparent, that many changes as to the property-rights of the 'places' in this church have taken place.

In 1867, the question as to the property- rights with regard to the altars in this church came up again, and the Coptic Archbishop of Jerusalem sent a letter on June 1st, 1867 to H.B. the Greek Patriarch Cyril, requesting him to state his view about the altar west of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In his answer on June 20th, 1867, the Patriarch said, that during his forty years of office at Gethsemane, he had never seen the Armenians in possession of the Choir situated to the west of the cave, facing St. Mary's tomb, and that he had always noticed that the Copts were the only owners of the Choir, and that at the end of the service the Copts used to keep the articles used for their service in the same place without any opposition from the Armenians. As to the things recently created by the Armenians in that place, they are entirely new, and he had never seen them there before.<sup>32</sup>

When I visited the Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1960, I noticed on the front of the altar some Armenian inscriptions, which had been recently added to support the Armenian property-claims to the altar. At one time, the altar was decorated with a Coptic icon, which was removed by the Armenians and replaced by an Armenian icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary, SS. Joachim and Anna and the Highpriest. On the altar, there stands a Latin crucifix. The western rotunda is decorated with eighteen modern Armenian wall-paintings.

The Copts celebrate the Divine Liturgy every Wednesday

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(29) Nau, *Voyage Nouveau*, 237.

(30) The northern part of the Sepulchre is Armenian, the southern part is Greek.

(31) Bernardino Amico, *op. cit.*, 124.

(32) Timoteos, *Translation of Documents bearing on the Rights of the Copts over the Sultan's Monastery and Other Places at Jerusalem*, 36-38.



and Friday throughout the year in the Church of the Sepulchre of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and daily during the fifteen days of the Fast before the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *i.e.* from August 7th to August 22nd, as well as on the Saturday of Lazarus, which is the day preceding Palm Sunday.

**C. — The Church of the Nativity of Our Lord, Bethlehem**

Every year, on January 5th, 6th and 7th, the Copts celebrate the Divine Liturgy in the Church of the Nativity of our Lord at Bethlehem. The Copts use the Armenian altar in the northern transept, which is known as the Altar of the Three Kings, because here, according to tradition, the Three Magi dismounted. In return for this privilege the Armenians celebrate the Divine Liturgy once a year on the Feast of St. George (September 24) <sup>33</sup> in the Coptic Church of St. George in Jerusalem.

The Copts have celebrated the Divine Liturgy in the Church of the Nativity of Our Lord at least from the 14th century onwards. In August 1335, Jacques de Vêrone took part in the feast held in memory of the pilgrimage made by the Blessed Virgin Mary to the Grotto three days before her Assumption. At that time, more than 5.000 people from Palestine, Syria and Egypt were present. In the south transept there was the altar under which the Twenty-four of the traditional fourteen thousand Holy Innocents are buried, and where the Jacobites celebrated the Divine Liturgy, whilst the Abyssinians had an altar in the north transept of the church.<sup>34</sup>

In 1514, Barboni Morosini states that the Armenians celebrated the Divine Liturgy at the Altar of the Three Magi, whilst the Jacobites (Copts) celebrated at another altar near to it,<sup>35</sup> and Cerulli points out, that the altar which in 1335 belonged to the Nubians was in the hands of the Copts by 1514.<sup>36</sup>

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(33) September 24th according to the Julian Calendar which is observed by the Armenians in Jerusalem. This date, according to the Gregorian Calendar, is October 7th.

(34) Harvey, *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem*, xi, xii; Röhricht, "Le pèlerinage du moine augustin Jacques de Vêrone," in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, III, 1895, 219.

(35) Barbon, Moresini, "Peregrinatio etc.," MS. Italiani, classe VI, n. 6. Provenienza : Amedeo Svajer, II, f. 16 v.

(36) Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina*, I, 374 f.

#### **D. — The Church of the Ascension**

The Church of the Ascension was erected by a pious lady, called Pomenia (378 A.D.) on the summit of the Mount of Olives, which is believed to be the place where Christ ascended into heaven. The polygonal building, which was preserved in the reconstruction by the Crusaders was transformed in 1187 into a mosque.

To-day, the Church of the Ascension, on the Mount of Olives, is a small octagonal chapel, surmounted by a circular dome, standing in the centre of a paved court. On the Eve of Ascension Day, from 2:30 p.m. to 5:00 p.m., the Copts have a Service there which includes a procession around the Octagonal Dome. On Ascension Day, the Divine Liturgy is celebrated from 7:30 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. at the end of which there is a procession around the Dome.

For these Services, a special tent is erected against the eastern side of the enclosure wall in which the Copts celebrate the Divine Liturgy on an altar-board (al-Lawh), which is placed over a permanent stone construction.

On Ascension Day, Services are also held by the Armenian, Syrian and Greek Churches. The first two erect their tents along the east wall, north of the Coptic site, while the Greeks erect their tent south of the Coptic site.

## 6. The Coptic Sites in Jericho

**I**N addition to its buildings and sites in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the Coptic Church possesses one small monastery and a church in Jericho and another building at the River Jordan.

The Dair Anbâ Antûniûs in Jericho consists of a one-storeyed building, east of which is the Church of St. Antony. Both buildings are situated in a lovely garden.

The site was acquired by Anbâ Bâsiliûs II. The building of the church was begun in 1922 and completed in 1924 under the supervision of Abûnâ Filibûs al-Maqârî.<sup>1</sup> The church was consecrated by Anbâ Timûthâus (Timothy). In 1933, Anbâ Bâsiliûs III donated the iron cross which is above the entrance to the church.

The church has one haikal. The icons on the northern wall portray St. Marina and St. Mercurius, those north and south of the wooden haikal screen, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael, and those on the southern wall, St. Theodore the General and St. George. A large icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary is placed on the east wall of the haikal.

It is difficult to ascertain, when the Copts established themselves in Jericho. Irby, visiting the Holy Land in 1818, noticed among the many pilgrims to the River Jordan "Christians from all quarters, Greeks, the Copts of Egypt, the Abyssinians of Ethiopia, some of the pilgrims on camels, others on mules, horses

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(1) Abûnâ Filibûs (Philip) is now residing in a building in the western part of Jericho. The site of this building may have been a fourth century church, since ancient mosaics have been discovered in the floor. This site does not yet belong to the Coptic Patriarchate.

and asses, in all about five thousand.”<sup>2</sup> It is probable, that in the beginning of the 19th century, if not even earlier, the Copts possessed some sites either at the River Jordan or in Jericho.

The Church of St. Antony in Jericho was erected to provide the Coptic pilgrims to the River Jordan with a place of worship. For several years, Abûna Athânâsiûs al-Antûnî has been in charge of the Church.

The Dair at the River Jordan, about two kilometres south of the Greek Monastery of St. John the Baptist, is situated between the Monastery of the Syrians and the Monastery of the Abyssinians. It comprises two buildings. The main building has several rooms, though it is without a church. In the past, a portable altar was used for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. The second building is used as a store-house and it also contains the well. On the steps leading to the well, there is inscribed the year 1929.

Ten metres south of the store-house there is the tomb of ‘Awad Ghali ‘Abd al-Malik (1891-1954), who was a pilgrim, and who died in Jerusalem. There are two more tombs, namely those of Abûnâ Daûd al-Antûnî (d. 1958) and Amin Nassar of Jaffa (d. 1956), though neither of these tombs has yet a tombstone.

The buildings were erected by Anbâ Yâqûbûs, and Abûnâ Iskhîrûn al-Antûnî used to stay here to take care of both the buildings and the thirty feddâns of fertile land on the banks of the River Jordan. Since the death of Anbâ Yâqûbûs in 1956, the Dair has remained uninhabited.

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(2) Irby, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land*, 100.

## 7. List of Coptic Archbishops of Jerusalem

Bâsiliûs I (Basil)	1236-1260
Butrus I (Peter)	1271-1306
Mikhâil (Michael)	1310-1324
Yûânnes (John)	1326-1340
Butrus II (Peter)	1341-1362
Zakhariâh (Zachariah)	1575-1600
Ya'qûb (James)	1604-1628
Akhristûdulûs I (Christodoulus)	1630-1648
Ghabriâl (Gabriel)	1680-1705
Akhristûdulûs II (Christodoulus)	1720-1724
Athânâsiûs (Athanasius)	1725-1766
Yûsâb (Joseph)	1770-1796
Akhristûdulûs III (Christodoulus)	1797-1819
Abrâm (Ephraem)	1820-1854
Bâsiliûs II (Basil)	1856-1899
Timûthâûs (Timothy)	1899-1925
Bâsiliûs III (Basil)	1925-1935
Tawfilus (Theophilus)	1935-1945
Yaqûbûs (James)	1946-1956
Bâsiliûs IV (Basil)	1959-

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## CORRIGENDA

Page	9, l. 13	<i>for courtesan, read courtesan</i>
	12, l. 2	<i>for of himself, read to himself</i>
	19, l. 27	<i>for waistes, read waists</i>
	21, l. 9	<i>for 1442, read 1421</i>
	22, l. 34	<i>for Brocquiere, read Brocquierre</i>
	23, l. 28	<i>for üher, read über</i>
	25, l. 9	<i>for 15 century, read 15th century</i>
	27, l. 31	<i>for Hiersolymitana, read Hierosolymitana</i>
	30, l. 33	<i>for Bernadino, read Bernardino</i>
	34, l. 6	<i>for Litury, read Liturgy</i>
	34, l. 36	<i>for Marinus, read Martinus</i>
	37, l. 23	<i>for Morrison, read Morison</i>
	50, l. 29	<i>for 1882, read 1822</i>
	59, l. 21	<i>for conferene, read conference</i>
	62, l. 10	<i>for Phillipus, read Philipus</i>
	71, l. 30	<i>for antointing, read anointing</i>
	76, l. 4	<i>delete comma</i>
	83, l. 8	<i>for vol., read vols.</i>
	89, l. 13	<i>for vol., read vols.</i>
	97, l. 8	<i>for Hierusalem, read Hierusalem</i>