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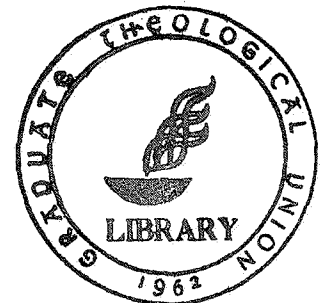
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THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION
OF THE CHURCH OF THE EAST,
1318-1913

BY

DAVID WILMSHURST

LOVANI
IN AEDIBUS PEETERS
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is a significantly expanded version of a doctoral thesis of the same title which I completed in 1998 as a research student at Oxford University. It includes sections on several peripheral communities omitted in the thesis for reasons of space, and also contains a long appendix giving details of more than 2,450 East Syrian manuscript colophons used in the thesis. As far as I am aware, I am the first student of East Syrian Christianity to have systematically analysed the East Syrian colophons on such a scale, and I know that other researchers will appreciate a convenient summary of their contents.

While I hope that this book will appeal to general readers, I am acutely aware that some aspects, particularly the enumeration of hundreds of long-dead East Syrian scribes and clerics, will not be to everybody's taste. I can only say that, in many cases, the name of a priest or deacon is the only evidence for Christian activity in a particular village. These citations also give at least an impression of the vigour of East Syrian Christianity at periods for which there is little other evidence, and perhaps rebut claims that the Church of the East after 1318 was 'in decline', whatever that phrase means.

By its nature, a work of this kind will begin to date soon after it is published. Many readers will be aware of manuscript colophons which I have overlooked, and older readers may be able to localise a number of villages whose precise whereabouts have eluded me. I would love to hear from readers who have additional information of this kind. I hope that it will be possible to publish a revised edition of this book in due course, but if not I would hope to publish articles dealing with significant advances in our knowledge.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank several individuals and institutions who have helped me during the last few years with advice, encouragement, and support. My most obvious practical debt is to the British Academy, which funded this study. Competition for grants is keen, and I am most grateful for its decision to support my research on such a specialised topic. Without its generous financial support neither my doctoral thesis nor this book would have been written.

Several of my old friends in Hong Kong deserve thanks. I first became interested in the history of the Church of the East in 1987, when I was

working as an administrator in the Hong Kong Government, after reading an article on the East Syrian mission to Tang China and the Xian Tablet. My early interest was nourished by my friend and colleague Phillip Bruce, a local Hong Kong historian, and other friends and colleagues in the Hong Kong Government (Peter Bourton, Mike Arnold, Kim Salkeld, Alasdair Sinclair, and above all Henry Lau) were happy (or at least prepared) to discuss problems of interpretation with me and help to direct my growing enthusiasm. My departmental head in the Industry Department, Jiji Barma, turned a blind eye when I included a trip to view East Syrian tombstones from the Mongol period in Quanzhou on the itinerary of an official visit to Fujian Province, and also allowed me to extend another visit to Beijing to make a side trip to Xian to see the famous eighth-century Christian tablet for myself. A friend from my undergraduate days, Howard Cookes, accompanied me on three memorable and most enjoyable holidays in eastern Turkey in 1989, northern Cyprus in 1990, and Syria in 1991, and generously allowed me to include several East and West Syrian churches and villages in our itinerary. Warm thanks are also due to my sister Janice, who noticed a reference which put me on the track of the fourteenth-century East Syrian church in Famagusta during a holiday in Cyprus in 1989, and who shared an arduous excursion to photograph frescoes of the Council of Ephesus in the remote church of Galata in the Troodos mountains. I also spoke in July 1991 to several Iraqi Chaldean Christians who had fled from Mosul and Baghdad to sanctuary in Syria during the Gulf War. Although I will not mention their names, I would like to record their astonishing kindness to Howard and myself so soon after the end of the war.

While preparing this thesis at Oxford, I have of course benefited from the advice and insights of many enthusiasts carrying out related research at the Oriental Institute and elsewhere. I would like especially to mention discussions with Chase Robinson, Andrew Palmer, Alison Salvesen, Chip Coakley, and Joel Walker, and correspondence with Heleen Murre-van den Berg. I am also grateful to Donald Richards and Penelope Johnstone, who assisted me with various sources in Arabic, and to the staff of the Bodleian Library, who seemed to relish the professional challenge of tracing several very obscure sources for me. Among visitors to the Oriental Institute I would like to thank especially Mar Aprem, metropolitan of Trichur, who gave up several hours of his time during a short visit to Oxford to discuss the recent history of the Assyrian Church of the East with me. Above all others, I would like to express my deep appreciation

to my supervisor Sebastian Brock, who guided my research, gave me both constant encouragement and excellent advice, and had an uncanny knack for supplying me with fascinating pieces of information just when they were needed.

One man, sadly, I am no longer in a position to thank. I owe my inspiration for this thesis largely to the wonderful work already done in this field by the late Jean-Maurice Fiey, and I greatly regret not having had the opportunity to meet him before his death in 1995. I have lived closely with his work for the last six years, and my respect for his erudition and esteem for the warmth of his personality have grown steadily since I first enjoyed the delights of his *Assyrie chrétienne* in the autumn of 1993. I would dearly love to have known him, both as a scholar and as a person. His guidance would certainly have improved my work at many points, and I would like, most respectfully, to dedicate this book to his memory.

David WILMSHURST
Worcester College, Oxford
30th April 1999

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(iii) Periodicals and Collections

- AB* = *Analecta Bollandiana*
- APF* = *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*
- BJRL* = *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
- CSCO* = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
- DHGE* = *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*
- DTC* = *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*
- JA* = *Journal Asiatique*
- JAAS* = *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society*
- JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JRAS* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JRGS* = *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*
- JSA* = *Journal of the Syriac Academy*
- JSS* = *Journal of Semitic Studies*
- LM* = *Le Muséon*
- OC* = *Oriens Christianus*
- OCA* = *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
- OCP* = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- OS* = *L'Orient Syrien*
- PO* = *Parole de l'Orient*
- POC* = *Proche-Orient Chrétien*
- ROC* = *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*

List of Periodicals

Analecta Bollandiana
Angelicum
Annales de la Propagation de la Foi
Annuaire Pontifical Catholique
Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Christian Orient
Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques
Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique
Echoes d'Orient
Journal Asiatique
Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society
Journal of the American Oriental Society
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
Journal of the Syriac Academy
Journal of Semitic Studies
Le Muséon
Nineveh
Oriens Christianus
Orientalia Christiana Analecta
Orientalia Christiana Periodica
L'Orient Syrien
Parole de l'Orient
Proche-Orient Chrétien
Revue de l'Orient Chrétien
Revue des bibliothèques

This careful and scholarly study assembles and discusses the available evidence for the ecclesiastical organisation of the Church of the East (the so-called 'Nestorian' church) in the Middle East between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries. The author has built on the work of the late J. M. Fiey, but has covered a wider geographical area and used a much wider range of sources. Besides drawing on the memoirs of European and American missionaries and other literary sources, the author has consulted a large number of manuscript catalogues, many of which are only accessible in Arabic sources, and has analysed the evidence of more than 2,500 East Syrian manuscript colophons to establish the dioceses of the Church of the East at different periods, to identify its ecclesiastical elites (patriarchs, bishops, priests, deacons and scribes), and to analyse the rivalry between the church's traditionalist and Catholic wings after the schism of 1552. The study contains a number of detailed maps, which localise hundreds of East Syrian villages in Kurdistan, and will be an indispensable reference tool for scholars of the Church of the East.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND SOURCES

(I) GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Students of the Church of the East have understandably tended to concentrate on its history before 1318. The history of the growth of the church under the Sassanians, its rapid expansion in the first two centuries after the Arab conquests, its missions to Central Asia, India and China, its consolidation under the 'Abbasids, and its short-lived revival under the Mongols in the second half of the thirteenth century, is full of incident, and has an obvious fascination. The East Syrian mission to T'ang China, perhaps the best-known and most romantic fact about the Church of the East, took place between the seventh and tenth centuries. Most of the great literature of the Church of the East was written before the fourteenth century. Finally, a plentiful variety of narratives and other primary sources exists for this period, making it relatively accessible to the student.

The subject of this book is the history of the Church of the East between 1318 and 1914, a period less well-documented but with an interest of its own. In 1318 the Church of the East was still extended through much of Mesopotamia, and across Asia to China. Very little is known of its history in the following century and a half, but by the beginning of the sixteenth century it was practically confined to the plain of the Tigris north of Mosul, the mountains of Bohtān and Hakkārī, and the Ūrmī region of Persia. Of the once-flourishing 'provinces of the exterior', only the East Syrian communities on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India remained. Any historical narratives written between 1318 and 1552 have not survived, giving this period the fascination of a dark age. After 1552, when a new Catholic 'Chaldean' church was formed after a permanent schism in the Church of the East, the sources for the historian become more plentiful. Nevertheless, narrative history remains scarce, particularly for the eighteenth century, and the sources available (correspondence in the Vatican archives, reports of travellers and missionaries, occasional brief narratives, and inscriptions and manuscript colophons), are scattered, often difficult to find, and frequently partial.

This study has attempted to reconstruct, from a variety of sources, the ecclesiastical organisation of the Church of the East between 1318 and 1914 in its heartland in northern Mesopotamia. On the eve of the First World War there were slightly under a quarter of a million East Syrian Christians in this region, not only in Mosul and several other large towns, but also in over a thousand villages scattered between the Tigris, the Great Zāb, Lake Vān and Lake Ūrmī, many of which had been Christian for several hundred years previously. There were also, at different periods, smaller peripheral communities in southern Iraq, Jerusalem, and elsewhere in the Middle East, which are also mentioned in general terms, but have not (except for Jerusalem) been studied in detail. The study is greatly indebted to the researches of the late J. M. Fiey, particularly for east Syrian settlements in northern Iraq, but has drawn on a wider range of sources (particularly manuscript catalogues) than Fiey had at his disposal, and has included several regions (Āmid, Mardīn, Hakkārī, and Ūrmī) which Fiey was unable to treat as fully as he would have wished.

Catholicism gained a permanent foothold in the Church of the East after the schism of 1552, and by 1913 just under half the East Syrian population of Kurdistan were Catholics. The process of conversion of East Syrian villages to Catholicism, involving the provision of Catholic priests, service-books and church implements, was slow and laborious, achieved village by village by foreign missionaries working in partnership with Catholic clerics of the Church of the East, often against fierce opposition, and with occasional reverses. It is important not to confuse the allegiance of a particular bishop with the sympathies of the priests and villagers in his diocese, and an attempt has been made to distinguish, where known, between these different levels of conversion.

The study has attempted to determine the diocesan structure of the Church of the East between 1318 and 1552 and, after the schism of 1552, the diocesan structure of the rival patriarchates, identifying where possible the allegiance of individual bishops. It has also explored the size, influence, and relative resources of the Mosul, Āmid and Qūdshānīs patriarchates at different periods and shifts within particular regions. The vitality of each patriarchate depended not only on the quality of its patriarchs, but also on the number and quality of its bishops, priests, deacons and scribes. The Church of the East had few printed books until the nineteenth century, and even then most of its literature and service books were only available in the form of handwritten manuscripts. It was common in the East Syrian church for the clerical and scribal professions, which usu-

ally demanded a reasonable degree of literacy, to be family concerns, and where possible family links have been illustrated. Attention has also been given to other distinctive institutions such as the hereditary succession of patriarchs and bishops within the Mosul and Qūdshānīs patriarchates.

The patriarchal succession in the Church of the East remains problematic for much of the period studied. The most recent scholarly list of East Syriac patriarchs, given by Fiey, contains at least three patriarchs ('Shem'ōn III', 'Shem'ōn VIII Denhā' and 'Eliyā VI') who probably never existed, and several others whose reign-dates are either uncertain or wrong¹. However, although Fiey's list can be improved, it is still not possible to establish the patriarchal succession on a firm basis, and for the sake of convenience his conventional patriarchal numbering, unsatisfactory but widely-used, has been retained. Uncertainties are signalled in the text whenever necessary, and the problem is discussed in greater detail in the final chapter.

The study ends, deliberately, on the eve of the First World War. The centuries-old pattern of East Syrian settlement in Kurdistan was destroyed between 1915 and 1918, and the traditional rivalry between the two branches of the Church of the East and between Catholic, Protestant and Russian Orthodox missionaries also came to an abrupt end at this time. The genocide of the Armenians in 1915 was accompanied by a massacre of thousands of Chaldean Christians by the Turkish army and its Kurdish auxiliaries in the Āmid, Gāzartā and Seert regions and the destruction of their historic East Syrian dioceses. The East Syrians of the Hakkārī region, angered by a number of attacks by Kurdish irregular troops, revolted against the Turks in 1915. They were immediately attacked by a large Turkish force, and retreated across the Persian border to Ūrmī, where they stabilised a front against the Turks for two years with Russian help. The Russian military collapse in 1917 enabled the Turkish army to break through to Ūrmī in 1918, and after a savage campaign marked by atrocities on both sides, the Christian population of the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions fled to Iraq in the autumn of 1918 to seek shelter with the advancing British forces. Tens of thousands died during the flight, and few of the resentful survivors, consigned to refugee camps, resettled among the Chaldean villages of northern Iraq, or emigrating where possible, ever returned to their old homes. The his-

¹ Fiey, *POCN*, 20-41.

tory of the East Syrian church in Iraq in the 1920s and 1930s, dominated by the development of a common Assyrian identity, the frustrated struggle for an Assyrian homeland, and the rejection of further help from western missions, is of a fundamentally different character from its pre-war history. A number of interesting accounts of this tragic period in the history of the Church of the East have been given by modern Assyrian writers².

The terminology used in this study deserves a word of explanation. Until recently the Church of the East was usually called the 'Nestorian' church, and East Syrian Christians were either 'Nestorians' or (for the Catholic group after the schism of 1552) 'Chaldeans'. During the period covered in this study the word 'Nestorian' was used both as a term of abuse by those who disapproved of the traditional East Syrian theology, as a term of pride by many of its defenders (including 'Abdīshō' of Nisibis in 1318, the Mosul patriarch Eliyā X Yōhannān Mārōgin in 1672, and the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham in 1842), and as a neutral and convenient descriptive term by others. Nowadays it is generally felt that the term carries a stigma, and students of the Church of the East are advised to avoid its use. In this thesis the theologically neutral adjective 'East Syrian' has been used wherever possible, and the term 'traditionalist' to distinguish the non-Catholic branch of the Church of the East after the schism of 1552. The modern term 'Assyrian', often used in the same sense, was unknown for most of the period covered in this study, and has been avoided. The term 'Chaldean', first applied by the Vatican in the fifteenth century to distinguish Catholic converts from the Church of the East in Cyprus, and occasionally used by the Catholic patriarchs of Āmid in the eighteenth century, only came into common currency after the union of the Mosul and Āmid patriarchates in 1828, and has been avoided for earlier centuries in favour of 'Catholic'.

A word is also required on transliteration of proper names from Syriac and Arabic. As a rule, the Syriac form of a name has been given where it differs from the Arabic, reflecting the predominantly Syriac sources consulted (particularly manuscript colophons), and names have been transliterated to reflect their spelling, even if this differs from modern Syriac pronunciation (thus 'Denḥā', not 'Dinkhā').

² Yonan, *Ein vergessener Holocaust: Die Vernichtung der christlichen Assyrer in der Türkei*; Joseph, *The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbours*; and Alichoran, 'Assyro-Chaldeans in the 20th Century: From Genocide to Diaspora', *JAAAS*, 8, 2 (1994), 45-79.

(II) NARRATIVE SOURCES

Two useful narrative sources have survived for the early years of the fourteenth century: the *History of Rabban Šawmā and Marqos*, covering the reign of Yahballāhā III (1281-1317), and the acts of Timothy II's synod in 1318. Thereafter there are few further references to the Church of the East before 1552. Sources used include a long colophon describing a persecution of Christians in the 1330s, a few references in the continuation of Bar Hebraeus's *Ecclesiastical History* to the patriarch Denḥā II in the 1350s and 1360s, a colophon mentioning a period of consolidation for the East Syrian church in the 1480s, an account of the consecration by the patriarchs Shem'ōn IV and Eliyā V of five bishops for the East Syrians of India at the end of the fifteenth century, and two contemporary descriptions of the effects of warfare on the East Syrians of the Mosul and Gāzartā regions in the early years of the sixteenth century.

After the schism of 1552 there was frequent correspondence between the Vatican and the rival East Syrian patriarchs, and much useful information can be found in this correspondence, though principally on the Mosul and Āmid patriarchates. An excellent collection of letters and reports in the Vatican archives, covering its relations with the Church of the East between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, was published in 1902 by Samuel Giamil (*Genuine Relationes*). This collection is particularly useful for the early Catholic patriarchs and for the career of the Āmid patriarch Joseph III. Since then further material has been found in the Vatican, and published in a number of articles by Ḥabbi and others. This material is complemented by several other sources, including an account of the schism of 1552 by Assemani, several historical poems of the patriarch 'Abdīshō' IV, a near-contemporary life of the Āmid patriarch Joseph I, the diary and letters of the eighteenth-century Catholic priest Khidr of Mosul, and a little-known description of Mardīn in the early years of the eighteenth century by the Syrian Catholic priest Eliyā ibn al-Qsir. Useful information has also been preserved in the diaries of several European travellers in the Middle East, including Pietro della Valle, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Jean Thévenot, Carsten Niehbur and Guillaume-Antoine Olivier.

The available source material for the Chaldean church becomes more plentiful in the nineteenth century. For the first half of the nineteenth cen-

tury, a number of sources detail the turbulent reign of Yōhannān VIII Hormizd. Yōhannān's own account is given in Badger's *Nestorians*, and can be usefully studied in connection with a history of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during the lifetime of Gabriel Dambō by his successor Elisha' of Dohuk (published by Brière), and with an excellent account of the relations between the Vatican and the Chaldean church in the first half of the nineteenth century by Stephen Bello, which exploited a large number of hitherto-unknown Vatican documents. His treatment of the reign of Yōhannān's successor Nicholas I Zay'ā is complemented by a useful (though partial) account by Badger.

Apart from what can be deduced from occasional letters to and from its patriarchs preserved in the Vatican, little is known about the history of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate before the 1830s, but thereafter its affairs are known in some detail from descriptions given in the publications of a number of missionaries, travellers, and other observers, primarily English and American. The most important English sources used include Sheil's *Journey through Kurdistan* (1838), Ainsworth's *Visit to the Chaldeans* (1841), Badger's *Nestorians* (1852), Cutts's *Christians under the Crescent in Asia* (1877), Riley's *Narrative* (1888) and *Progress and Prospects* (1889), Bird's *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan* (1891), Maclean and Browne's *The Catholicos of the East and his People* (1892), and Wigram's *Cradle of Mankind* (1914). American sources used include Smith's *Researches* (1840), Grant's *Nestorians* (1841), and Perkins's *Residence* (1843).

The most important secondary sources used were Coakley's *The Church of the East and the Church of England*, Tisserant's *Église nestorienne*, John Joseph's *The Nestorians and Their Muslim Neighbours*, most of the works of the late J.M. Fiey (particularly the full-length studies *Assyrie chrétienne*, *Mossoul chrétienne*, *Nisibe*, and *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus*, and shorter studies on the Şapnā valley, Be'Arabāye, and the Hakkārī region), and Chevalier's magnificent *Les montagnards chrétiens du Hakkari et du Kurdistan septentrional*, a splendid synthesis of a very wide range of sources, accompanied by an excellent bibliography. Occasional references in this thesis to East Syrian bishops and dioceses before 1318 have not normally been footnoted, and Fiey's *Pour un Oriens Christianus novus*, which lists most known East Syrian bishops and dioceses and indicates where a fuller discussion of the relevant sources can be found, is recommended as an initial source of further information.

(III) TOPOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION AND POPULATION STATISTICS

Several of the sources mentioned above provide details of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church of the East at different periods and, from the eighteenth century onwards, population statistics. As these details will be frequently cited their source references are given here to avoid repetition later. A number of extracts from several important letters in the Vatican collection have also been collected for convenience in Appendix Three.

The record of the synod of Timothy II in 1318 includes a list of eleven bishops present at his consecration³. No further information of this kind is available until after the schism of 1552. For the second half of the sixteenth century use has been made of letters from 'Abdīshō' IV to pope Pius IV in 1562, Shem'on IX Denhā to pope Gregory XIII in 1580, and Eliyā VII to pope Sixtus V in 1586, which list their respective hierarchies, and a letter from the papal envoy Leonard Abel to pope Sixtus V in 1587, which lists 'the most cultivated men in the Nestorian nation'⁴. In the early seventeenth century use has been made of two excellent reports to pope Paul V in 1607 and 1610 by Eliyā VIII, which list the hierarchies of both patriarchates and also their surviving 'monasteries' (some of which are mere churches), the profession of faith of Eliyā IX in 1617, which lists his hierarchy, and a letter of 1653 of Shem'on XI Īshō'yahb, listing the districts under his authority⁵. The eighteenth century, when neither of the two main patriarchates was regularly in contact with the Vatican, is unfortunately devoid of detailed information of this kind, and an intriguing list of bishops in the Mosul patriarchate in a letter of 1779 from the Mosul patriarch Eliyā XIII Īshō'yahb to his Qūdshānīs rival Shem'on XV, none of whom is mentioned elsewhere, is unlikely to be genuine⁶.

Several important reports were compiled during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by members of the various missions to the Church of the East. Population statistics for the Chaldean church were provided by Badger in 1850, Martin in 1867, Chabot in 1896, and Tfinkdji in 1913⁷. Population statistics for the Qūdshānīs patriarchate

³ Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, x. 262.

⁴ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 61-76, 90-97, and 115-22; and MS Vat Ar (Mai) 141.

⁵ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 108-15, 164-87, and 511-20; and Assemani, *BO*, iii. 622.

⁶ Babakhan, 'Deux lettres d'Élie XI, patriarche de Babylone', *ROC*, 5 (1900), 481-91.

⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 174-5; Martin, *La Chaldée*, 205-12; Chabot, 'État religieux des diocèses formant le patriarcat chaldéen de Babylone au 1er janvier 1896', *ROC*, 1 (1898), 433-53; and Tfinkdji, *EC*, 476-520.

were provided by Badger in 1850 and Cutts in 1877, and (for the Ūrmī region only) by the Russian archimandrite Sophoniah in 1862⁸. Lists of the bishops in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate were given by Riley in 1884 and 1888, and Maclean and Browne in 1892⁹. While these statistics must be treated with caution, they nevertheless give at least an indication of the East Syrian population of a particular town or village at a particular period. For Mosul and other large towns, enough estimates exist to enable the changing proportions of its Christian and Moslem communities and the relative strengths of its individual Christian communities to be assessed with some accuracy over three centuries.

The book is illustrated with several maps which cover the densest areas of East Syrian settlement (the Seert, Gāzartā, 'Amādiyā, Berwārī, 'Aqrā, Mosul, Hakkārī, and Ūrmī regions). The details given in these maps have been taken from the 1921 British G.S.G.S map series (1 inch to 3.95 miles), revised from an earlier I.D.W.O map series of 1916, which has recently been used as the basis for an atlas of East Syrian settlement in Kurdistan¹⁰. While the series is reasonably accurate for sites in Turkey, and may also be consulted for the few East Syrian villages in the Nisibis, Āmid, and Mardīn regions, it is less reliable for the Ūrmī region, for which several better maps exist¹¹. For the sake of clarity, only Christian villages have been marked on the maps, and readers who are interested in the Moslem villages which existed alongside them in most of the districts covered in this study are referred to the 1921 G.S.G.S series. Many smaller East Syrian villages, particularly in the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions, are not marked on these or other maps, and their precise locations must for the present remain uncertain.

(IV) INSCRIPTIONS AND MANUSCRIPT COLOPHONS

The unevenness of the narrative sources has been partially redressed by information supplied by inscriptions and manuscript colophons. A number of inscriptions have survived in the monasteries of Rabban Hormizd

⁸ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 392-400; Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent in Asia*, 353-8; and Sado, 'Nestorians of Urmia in the early 1860s', *JAAS*, 6, 2 (1992), 49-59.

⁹ Maclean and Browne, *The Catholics of the East and his People*, 195-6; and Riley, *Narrative*, 12, and *Progress and Prospects*, 41.

¹⁰ Sanders, *Assyro-Chaltese Christenen in Oost-Turkije en Iran*.

¹¹ Coakley, 'A List of Assyrian Villages in Persia, August 1893', *JAAS*, 7, 2 (1993), 42-3.

and Notre Dame des Semences near Alqōsh, and from a number of East Syrian churches in the Mosul and Āmid regions and the Salmas district. The most important source for additional historical references, however, are the *siqōme*, colophons to manuscripts written in this period, and an important claim of this study to originality lies in its abundant use of colophons hitherto rarely noticed. Most undamaged East Syrian manuscripts have colophons, normally at the end of the manuscript, which typically give the scribe's name, the manuscript's date and place of composition, the name of the person who commissioned it, and the individual, church, or monastery for which it was copied. East Syrian colophons tend to be fuller than the colophons of West Syrian and Maronite scribes, and often give the scribe's genealogy in several generations. Many colophons name the reigning patriarch and the local bishop or metropolitan. Chaldean colophons tend also to mention the name of the reigning pope and, if copied in a monastery, the name of its superior. Information of this kind is often the only evidence available for the ecclesiastical structure of the Church of the East at a particular period and, after the schism of 1552, for the allegiances of individual villages. Colophons occasionally mention events both of local and of wider significance, and are sometimes the only evidence for particular incidents in the history of the East Syrian church and (at least before the nineteenth century) for East Syrian activity in a particular village.

The majority of the surviving East Syrian manuscripts were copied by members of the clergy (bishops, priests, deacons and monks), and the scribal profession was often handed down within a particular clerical family over several generations. The celebrated Shikwānā and Naṣrō families of Alqōsh, whose members were responsible for most of the East Syrian manuscripts copied in Alqōsh during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, are the best-known examples of this phenomenon, but they were by no means unique. The scribes Yōnān and Denḥā of Āshūtā, who flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century, were the son and grandson respectively of Abraham of Āshūtā, the secretary and archdeacon of the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham, whose acquaintance was made by Badger in 1842. Other examples from both the Mosul and Qūdshānīs patriarchates could also be cited.

The surviving East Syrian manuscripts are also evidence of a level of intellectual activity in the Church of the East often overlooked by European observers. The Chaldean village of Telkepe in the Mosul plain, for example, was dismissed by Badger in 1850 in a few sentences:

At 1 P.M. we passed the Chaldean village of Telkêf containing a population of 400 families, who are engaged principally in agricultural pursuits. There are now but two churches in the village, one of which though small contains no less than four confessionals, and the walls are covered with clumsy pictures of saints dressed in the most gaudy apparel. Two priests and two monks from Rabban Hormuzd minister to the spiritual necessities of the people, who are strongly attached to all the superstitions of the church of Rome¹².

It would be difficult to guess from this description that Telkepe in the nineteenth century was an East Syrian scribal centre surpassed only by Alqōsh. No fewer than 129 nineteenth-century manuscripts have survived from Telkepe, and their colophons identify nearly two dozen separate scribes working in the village at this period.

The largest British manuscript collection consulted was that of the British Museum. There were a number of useful colophons among the manuscripts listed in the 1838 Rosen-Forshall catalogue of the British Museum collection. Wright's 1872 catalogue was disappointing, as most of the manuscripts acquired since 1838 came from the West Syrian monastery of Saint Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert, and there were few East Syrian manuscripts among them. Margoliouth's later catalogue gave the dates of manuscripts acquired since 1872, but gave no indication of their colophons. A few colophons from this collection have been used, from manuscripts seen by S. P. Brock. The Oxford Bodleian Library collection was also disappointing, consisting almost entirely of West Syrian and Maronite manuscripts. The Cambridge collection of Wright and Cook, on the other hand, had many interesting manuscripts. The Cambridge collection of 36 manuscripts made by David Jenks of the Anglican mission consisted mainly of manuscripts copied for Jenks in the 1890s by scribes working with the Anglican mission, but also contained a few earlier manuscripts. Other British collections consulted were the large Mingana collection in Birmingham, the smaller collection in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, recently catalogued by J.F. Coakley, and the small Leeds collection of manuscripts acquired by E.A. Wallis Budge.

The Vatican has the largest European manuscript collection, and the numerous sources in this collection, catalogued by Assemani, Maius, Van Lantschoot, and Scher, yielded many useful colophons. Many colophons have also been used from manuscripts in the Paris collection, catalogued

¹² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 197.

by Zotenberg and Nau, the German collections of Eduard Sachau and Julius Assfalg, and other minor collections held in Paderborn, Louvain, Munich, Athens, and Leningrad.

The catalogues of several American collections were consulted. A collection of manuscripts from the Ūrmī region made by the American missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century was lost during the First World War, but was fortunately catalogued in 1898 by William Shedd and the deacon Ōsh'anā Sarau, and articles on individual manuscripts in this collection have provided additional information in some cases. Many other manuscripts acquired by the American missionaries in the Ūrmī region are now in the possession of Harvard University. Goshen-Gottstein's 1979 catalogue omitted details of their colophons for reasons of space, but an unpublished catalogue of the collection by L. H. Titterton has provided fuller information. Several colophons have been used from the New York Union Theological Seminary collection, the New Haven collection, and two manuscripts (cited as 'Karam Syr') discussed in a recent article in the journal of Chicago's Ashurbanipal Library.

Many Syriac manuscripts remain in the hands of the Church of the East, mostly in the Middle East but also in India. Before the First World War the important manuscript collections of the Chaldean church in Diyārbakr, Mardīn, Seert, and the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences near Alqōsh were catalogued by the Chaldean archbishop Addai Scher, and these catalogues give details of several hundred manuscripts. Eighteen manuscripts in the Mardīn collection were donated to the Vatican in the 1930s, and are cited under their present Vatican catalogue numbers. Scher's work was timely, as the Seert collection (with the exception of several manuscripts previously donated to the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris) was destroyed during the First World War. After the First World War Scher's work was continued by J.M. Vosté, who published between 1924 and 1939 catalogues of several hundred manuscripts from the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, the 'Aqrā region, and the Kirkūk region. A number of manuscripts, cited by Fiey, were also collected by the Dominican mission at Mār Ya'qōb. The small collections in Jerusalem (mostly manuscripts from its old East Syrian monastery of Mart Maryam) and in the metropolitan palace in Trichur in India have also been consulted.

One of the most important sources of manuscripts was the Chaldean patriarchate, which was located in Mosul before the First World War.

Part of its collection (116 Syriac manuscripts) was catalogued by Scher in 1907. The bulk of the collection was transferred to Baghdad in 1960. Another catalogue of manuscripts in the Chaldean patriarchate, which included far more manuscripts than Scher had seen, was made after the Second World War by the metropolitan of 'Amādiyā (now Chaldean patriarch) Rufā'īl Bīdāwīd. Unfortunately, it was never published, and was lost, together with a large collection of manuscripts from the 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā regions, when the episcopal residence at 'Amādiyā was destroyed by the Iraqi army during military operations against Kurdish guerillas in 1961. Fortunately, Fiey was able to consult Bīdāwīd's catalogue and the 'Amādiyā collection of manuscripts before their destruction, and cited more than 70 manuscripts from both sources in *Assyrie chrétienne* and other works.

The largest catalogue consulted was Ḥaddād's excellent 1988 Arabic catalogue of 988 Syriac and 199 Arabic manuscripts presently held in the Chaldean monastery of Dawrā in Baghdad. The bulk of the manuscripts in this collection are from the Chaldean monasteries of Rabban Hormizd and Notre Dame des Semences, most of which were copied in the nineteenth or twentieth century, though there are some interesting earlier manuscripts and also a small number of non-Catholic manuscripts copied in the Hakkārī region. The collection includes 291 of the 331 manuscripts of the Notre Dame des Semences collection catalogued by J. M. Vosté in 1924, which itself contained 146 manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences first catalogued in 1906 by Addaī Scher. About fifty manuscripts listed by Scher and Vosté do not feature in Ḥaddād's catalogue, and the original catalogue numbers are given where they are cited. Elsewhere Ḥaddād's more recent catalogue number is given. A concordance is provided in Appendix One.

The Syriac Academy has recently published the first two volumes of a new catalogue of Syriac manuscripts in Iraq, which give details of nearly 550 East Syrian manuscripts presently held in the premises of the Chaldean archdiocese in Mosul, the Mosul plain villages of Telkepe, Tel Isqōf, Bāṭnāyā, Karamlish, and Alqōsh, and the towns of 'Aqrā and Dohuk. These manuscripts were catalogued by Michael Magdasi, Joseph Ḥabbi, Ḥannā Jajeeka, Peter Ḥaddād, and Hormizd Ṣana. Their catalogue partially overlaps with Scher's 1906 catalogue of manuscripts from Mosul and Vosté's 1939 catalogue of manuscripts from 'Aqrā, with Bīdāwīd's unpublished catalogue of manuscripts of the Chaldean patriarchate, and with two unpublished catalogues by Vosté of manuscripts

from Dohuk and Telkepe, several of which were cited by Fiey in *Assyrie chrétienne* with Vosté's catalogue numbers. Manuscripts which do not appear in the Syriac Academy catalogue are cited with their original catalogue numbers, and others with their new catalogue numbers. The necessary concordances are provided in Appendix One.

The major East Syrian manuscript collections contain a number of West Syrian and Maronite manuscripts, and East Syrian manuscripts are also occasionally found in West Syrian and Maronite collections. The catalogues of the Florence collection (all West Syrian or Maronite manuscripts), the Damascus collection, the Milan fragment collection (numerous fragments, the majority of which originated in Egypt), Paul Sbath's Aleppo collection, and the Münster collection contained nothing of relevance, but a number of East Syrian manuscripts with useful colophons were found in the predominantly West Syrian and Maronite manuscript collection of Beirut's University of Saint Joseph and in the collection of the Syrian Orthodox monastery of St Mark's in Jerusalem, catalogued by Philoxenus Dolabani.

These collections contained altogether 2,456 inscriptions and manuscript colophons with useable historical information, most of which (excluding a few earlier than 1318 and about 200 later than 1913) have been used in this study. As the analysis in Table 1 demonstrates, just under half were copied in Alqōsh or the nearby monasteries of Rabban Hormizd and Notre Dame des Semences, and far more manuscripts were copied in the Āmid and Mosul patriarchates than in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate. The western regions dominated in the sixteenth century and earlier, but were eclipsed by Alqōsh in the seventeenth century.

This striking imbalance deserves some consideration. It is likely that a higher proportion of manuscripts have survived from the Chaldean regions than from the Qūdshānīs patriarchate (though the Chaldean church, if Wallis Budge can be believed, suffered a catastrophic loss of over a thousand manuscripts from the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1850, which may partly account for the small number of early manuscripts from Alqōsh)¹³. The majority of the surviving manuscripts from the Chaldean regions were copied for villages in the Mosul, 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā regions in northern Iraq, which were unaffected by the First World War and still have East Syrian communities today. The Kirkūk, Āmid, and Mardīn collections were also unaffected, and the Seert collec-

¹³ Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, 10.

tion was, most fortunately, catalogued before its destruction in the First World War.

Table 1: *Distribution of East Syrian Inscriptions and Colophons*

<i>Copied in</i>	<i>Pre-1200</i>	<i>13th c.</i>	<i>14th c.</i>	<i>15th c.</i>	<i>16th c.</i>	<i>17th c.</i>	<i>18th c.</i>	<i>19th c.</i>	<i>20th c.</i>	<i>Total</i>
Nisibis Region	4	5	1	3	15	0	0	1	0	29
Āmid Region	0	1	1	3	12	40	15	7	0	79
Mardīn Region	0	0	0	0	12	4	9	11	0	36
Seert Region	1	0	0	5	17	23	8	12	1	67
Gāzartā Region	0	0	0	2	69	25	6	10	1	113
ʿAmādiyā Region	0	2	0	0	2	4	4	33	2	47
Berwārī Region	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	7
ʿAqrā Region	0	4	0	0	0	0	4	38	1	47
Erbil Region	1	4	1	3	0	0	5	12	3	29
Kirkūk Region	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	14	1	26
Mosul City	1	1	3	5	0	15	25	91	4	145
Telkepe	0	0	0	1	0	7	18	130	10	166
Alqōsh	0	0	0	0	4	108	213	220	124	669
Rabban Hormizd	1	6	0	2	12	14	8	148	9	200
Notre Dame	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	117	145	262
Mosul Region	2	3	2	4	7	4	14	22	15	73
Hakkārī Region	0	3	0	4	6	15	55	45	5	133
Ūrmī Region	3	1	1	0	6	9	12	97	2	131
Others	1	6	3	0	16	23	40	9	9	107
Not known	0	5	1	1	16	13	17	33	4	90
Total	14	42	13	33	195	305	466	1,052	336	2,456

Most of the known manuscripts from the Qūdshānīs patriarchate originate from the Ūrmī region and the Tergāwār district, where western missions were active, and were catalogued before the First World War. The relatively few manuscripts which have survived from the more remote districts in the Hakkārī region mostly originate from a handful of large villages in the Lower Ṭiyārī and Ṭhūmā districts. More than two hundred other East Syrian villages in the Hakkārī region have left no trace of their existence except for their brief appearances in the statistical tables made by Badger in 1850 and Cutts in 1877. The lack of manuscripts from these villages may have several causes. Many of the smaller and poorer villages had no churches or priests of their own, and were therefore largely

excluded from the literate milieu in which manuscripts circulated. Many villages in the Hakkārī region which had a church and a priest may simply have been too poor to afford the luxury of service-books, such as the Lower Ṭiyārī village of Mātā d'Qaşrā, whose population in 1850 'seemed hardly to possess the necessaries of life'¹⁴. Several other villages may have had a certain number of uncatalogued manuscripts in their possession, which were either destroyed during the First World War or have been preserved in private collections.

Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for these accidents of historical survival, the overwhelming dominance of Alqōsh as a copying centre, and also the superiority of the resources of the Mosul patriarchate from the seventeenth century onwards to its rivals, cannot seriously be doubted. This study has identified about 400 East Syrian scribes, of whom more than 250 originated from the Mosul region, about 80 from the other Chaldean regions, and only about 70 from the towns and villages of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate.

¹⁴ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 387.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHURCH OF THE EAST, 1318-1913:
A HISTORICAL OUTLINE

At the end of the ninth century, according to a well-known list compiled by the metropolitan Eliyā of Damascus, the Church of the East had just under thirty metropolitan provinces, stretching across Asia from Syria and Palestine, through Iraq, Persia, Central Asia, and India, to the borders of China¹. Four centuries later, a beneficiary of the brief period of stability which followed the Mongol conquest of Asia in the early and middle decades of the thirteenth century, the East Syrian church was still more widely extended: East Syrian Christians returned to China in significant numbers after its conquest by the Mongols, and by 1281 the Church of the East had two new metropolitan provinces in the north of China, Tangūt and 'Kaṭai and Ōng'². The consecration of the East Syrian patriarch Yahballāhā III in Baghdad in 1281 was attended by over twenty bishops, including the metropolitans of Jerusalem and Tangūt and a bishop from the island of Soqōtrā³.

The destruction of the 'Abbasid caliphate by the Mongols in 1259 was followed by three decades of relative security under Mongol rule for the East Syrian and other Eastern churches. Several East Syrian churches and monasteries were built or restored during this period (including the patriarchal residence in Baghdad, the monastery of Mār Awgin near Nisibis, and the churches of Mār Shallīṭā and Mār Mārī and Mār Gīwārgīs in Marāghā), and the patriarch Yahballāhā III built an imposing new monastery of Saint John the Baptist near Marāghā, lovingly described in his biography⁴. Although the Mongol advance was checked by the Mamluks at 'Ain Jalūt in 1261, the ease of the Mongol victory over the 'Abbasid caliphate encouraged many Christians to believe that the Moslem world had been fatally weakened, and the Church of the East

¹ Assemani, *BO*, ii. 458-9.

² Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical Chronicle*, ii. 450; and *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 148.

³ Assemani, *BO*, ii. 456.

⁴ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 1, Seert (Scher) 59, and *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 165, 203, 208, and 243-8.

worked for some years, particularly during the reign of the sympathetic il-khan Arghun (1284-1291), to encourage a Mongol-Christian alliance against the Mamluks which would restore Christianity to its old primacy in the Middle East. The embassy of Yahballāhā's friend Rabban Ṣawmā to Constantinople, Rome, and other western courts in 1284 and 1285 is perhaps the best known Mongol initiative towards the Christian powers⁵.

Appearances were deceptive, however. Although the Church of the East reached its widest extension during the reign of Yahballāhā III with its return to China, its core territory in Iraq and Persia had contracted considerably during the four preceding centuries. At the end of the ninth century there were at least twenty-five East Syrian dioceses in southern and central Iraq (the ecclesiastical provinces of Beṭ Garmaī, Beṭ Aramāye and Maishān) and a further twenty-nine dioceses in southern, central and eastern Persia (Fārs, Media, Ṭabaristān, Khorāsān and Segestān)⁶. Only four of these dioceses, all well to the north of Baghdad, certainly existed in 1318⁷. Although isolated East Syrian communities persisted in the 'Īlām region of Persia and in the towns of Marāghā, Hamadān and Tabrīz, the heartland of the Church of the East during the reign of Yahballāhā III consisted of the Tigris plain north of Mosul, the mountains of Bohtān and Hakkārī, and the 'Ūrmī region of Persia: precisely those regions in which East Syrian Christianity survived up to the First World War, and which are the subject of this study⁸.

The prosperity of the East Syrian church during the early years of the reign of Yahballāhā III was also short-lived. The Mamluk victory at 'Ain Jalūt marked the beginning of a strong Moslem recovery, dramatised by the expulsion of the Crusaders from their last footholds in Palestine in 1291. The experience of the Crusades had soured relations between Moslems and Christians, and the excesses committed by some Christians in Iraq in the wake of the Mongol victories of 1259 and 1260 further embittered Moslem opinion against the Christian minority. The resurgence of Islam was therefore accompanied by reprisals against some Christian communities in Iraq and Iran. The succession of the Moslem il-khan Ghazan in 1295 was accompanied by a brief persecution, chiefly directed at the Christians of Baghdad, Erbil, Mosul, Marāghā, Tabrīz and

⁵ *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 223-4.

⁶ Fiey, *Communautés syriaques*, 75-104, 177-219, and 357-84; and *AC*, iii. 54-146, 151-262, and 272-82.

⁷ Assemani, *BO*, iii. i. 567-80.

⁸ *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 142-3.

Hamadān⁹. There were further disturbances at Marāghā in 1296, at Erbil in 1297, at Tabriz in 1303, and above all at Erbil in 1310, when a force of irregular Christian cavalry in the Mongol service was besieged in the citadel of Erbil by an armed Moslem mob and eventually massacred. During this siege, in which the patriarch Yahballāhā III tried without success to negotiate between the contending parties, many innocent Christian civilians were also killed and four churches were destroyed¹⁰.

Yahballāhā III, deeply discouraged by the tragedy at Erbil, died in 1317 and was succeeded in February 1318 by Timothy II, who was consecrated in the traditional manner in the church of Kōkhe near Baghdad and held a synod immediately afterwards, the last East Syrian synod before the nineteenth century whose acts have survived¹¹. The synod concentrated on the reform of the clergy, and the provisions of several of its canons suggest that many East Syrian priests at this period were either illiterate or corrupt, perhaps because Yahballāhā III, who knew little Syriac himself, had been unable to control his bishops and visitors effectively. The early years of Timothy's reign appear to have been peaceful, but after the death in 1327 of the humane emir Choban, who was an important moderating influence on the il-khan Abū Sa'īd (1316-1335), conditions for the Christians of the il-khanate seem to have deteriorated. At some point during Timothy's reign Yahballāhā III's monastery of Saint John the Baptist near Marāghā was 'conquered and occupied' by Moslems and the body of its founder transferred to the monastery of Mār Mīkhā'īl of Tar'īl, probably used by Timothy as his patriarchal residence¹².

The death of Abū Sa'īd in 1335, shortly after Timothy's own death, was followed by a destabilising succession struggle among his emirs. According to a contemporary East Syrian colophon the governor of Baghdad, 'Alī Pādshāh, enjoyed a brief ascendancy during which he ordered several churches to be closed or destroyed, before he was killed in July 1336 by the Christian emir Haggi Togai (a supporter of the Jalayirid emir Hasan-i-Buzurg), who restored the confiscated churches to their former owners and also 'sponsored' the consecration of Timothy's successor Denhā II (1336-1381) in the following year in Baghdad¹³.

⁹ *History of Rabban Šawmā and Marqos*, 165-97.

¹⁰ *History of Rabban Šawmā and Marqos*, 261-302.

¹¹ Assemani, *BO*, iii. i. 567-80.

¹² Gismondī, *Maris Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, ii. 97-9.

¹³ Note in MS Mingana Syr 561C.

Denhā II resided in the village of Karamlish in the Mosul plain, where his ceremonial contacts with leaders of the West Syrian church between 1358 and 1364 are mentioned on three occasions by a West Syrian chronicler¹⁴. Denhā's own existence may have been peaceful enough, but during his long reign East Syrian Christianity was extinguished in Central Asia and China. Apart from an exceptional merchant community at Timur Leng's capital Samarqand in 1406, East Syrian Christians are last mentioned in Central Asia in the 1340s¹⁵. All foreign Christians seem to have been expelled from China immediately after the overthrow of the detested Mongol Yüan dynasty in 1368¹⁶. The Church of the East came under further pressure shortly after Denhā's death, as a result of the destructive campaigns of Timur Leng in the final years of the fourteenth century. The West Syrian centre of Tagrūt in the Tīrhān district was sacked by Timur, and it is very probable that neighbouring East Syrian communities in Tīrhān, Beṭ Garmāi, and 'Īlām, attested earlier in the century but not mentioned again, also came to an end at this period¹⁷.

Little is known about the history of the church of the East in the fifteenth century, but around 1450 one of its patriarchs, probably Fiey's 'Shem'on IV', became notorious in the eyes of future generations for attempting to reserve the patriarchal office for members of his own family¹⁸. As only metropolitan bishops enjoyed the right of consecrating a new patriarch, he effectively achieved this aim by consecrating metropolitans solely from among the members of his own family. One of these metropolitans, usually but not invariably a nephew of the patriarch, would eventually be styled *nāṭar kursyā*, 'guardian of the throne', hither to an administrative office held during the brief interregnum between the death of a patriarch and the election of his successor, but now a title designating its holder as the patriarch's chosen successor.

During the second half of the fifteenth century Persia and northern Iraq were conquered by the Āq Quyūnlū, under the leadership of Uzun Ḥassan. His successor Ya'qōb adopted a benign policy towards the Christians of his empire, perhaps because he was being courted by Venice and the Papacy as an ally against the Ottoman Turks. A colophon

¹⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 508-26.

¹⁵ Nau, 'Les pierres tombales nestoriennes du musée Guimet', *ROC*, 18 (1913), 3-35.

¹⁶ Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550*, 216-40.

¹⁷ Fiey, *Communautés syriaques*, 289-342.

¹⁸ Assemani, *BO*, i. 526; and Van Gulik, 'Die Konsistorialakten über die Begründung des uniert-chaldäischen Patriarchates von Mosul unter Papst Julius III', *OC*, 4 (1904), 261-277.

written in Mosul in 1484 by Shem'ōn IV's archdeacon ʾIshō' gives a rare glimpse of the Church of the East during this peaceful interlude:

The church was at peace, the convents and the brothers enjoyed freedom, the ruined monasteries were restored, the degrees of priests and levites multiplied, and the faithful were blessed by the intercession of Ya'qōb, king of Media, Persia, Armenia, Babel, the Euphrates and the Tigris, who rules widely and is crowned with victory and empire¹⁹.

Traces of this period of consolidation for the eastern churches have survived. A considerable number of West Syrian monasteries are known to have been restored during this period, and there is also evidence, though less direct, for the restoration of East Syrian monasteries also. Early in the sixteenth century the East Syrian liturgy was revised, probably on the initiative of the patriarch Shem'ōn VI; a number of traditional saints and martyrs were no longer commemorated, and were replaced by others, of whom a strikingly large number were founders of monasteries. It has been persuasively argued that these liturgical changes reflect a resurgence of pilgrimage to newly-restored monasteries, creating a demand for details of the lives of their founders. Most of the founders now commemorated were connected with monasteries in the Gāzartā region, and it appears that at least ten monasteries in the Gāzartā region were restored during Ya'qōb's reign, including the monasteries of Mār Yōḥannān the Egyptian and Mār Aḥḥā, and possibly also the monastery of Beṭ Qōqā in the Erbil region²⁰.

Between 1490 and 1503 the Church of the East is again glimpsed in the accounts of a mission from the East Syrian Christians of India. In 1490 two Christians from Malabar arrived in Gāzartā to petition the patriarch Shem'ōn IV to consecrate a bishop for their church. Two monks of the monastery of Mār Awgin were consecrated bishops and sent to India. Shem'ōn IV died in 1497, to be succeeded by Shem'ōn V, who died in 1502. His successor Eliyā V (1502-1503) consecrated three more bishops from the monastery of Mār Awgin for India in April 1503, who sent a report to the patriarch from India in 1504, describing the condition of the East Syrian church in India and reporting the recent arrival of the Portuguese. This letter was received by Eliyā's successor, Shem'ōn VI (1504-1538)²¹. It is not clear whether the five bishops were members of the patriarchal family; possibly not, as they were not expected to return from India.

¹⁹ MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 33.

²⁰ Fiey, 'Une page oubliée de l'histoire des églises syriaques à la fin du XV - début du XVI siècle', *LM*, 107 (1994), 124-33.

²¹ MSS Vat Syr 204a and Paris BN Syr 25.

The peace enjoyed under the reign of the Āq Quyūnlū did not last. The first decade of the sixteenth century was dominated by a war between the Ottoman empire and the Safavid dynasty of Persia, whose founder Ismā'īl I conquered Iran and Mesopotamia, bringing the western frontier of the Safavid state to the Euphrates. The conquest of Kurdistan was carried out by Ismā'īl's brother-in-law Muḥammad, who devastated numerous East Syrian villages, stealing flocks, killing the inhabitants, and burning churches. Detailed accounts have survived in long contemporary Syriac poems of the ravaging of the Mosul plain and the pillage of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Alqōsh in 1508, and atrocities around Gāzartā in 1510 and 1515²².

The practice of confining the metropolitanate to members of the patriarchal family introduced by Shem'ōn IV eventually led to a schism in the Church of the East. Shem'ōn VI died in 1538, and was succeeded by his brother the metropolitan ʾIshō'yahb Bar Māmā early in 1539. At this period several dioceses were vacant, because there were not enough suitable family members available to fill them, and Shem'ōn VII ʾIshō'yahb was obliged to consecrate a twelve-year-old nephew as metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā*, an act which caused great offence and 'invited the excommunication of his bishops'. Some years later he consecrated a second nephew, aged fifteen, an act which led soon afterwards to a rebellion against his authority. Besides making these two provocative appointments, he was also accused by his opponents of permitting concubinage, selling clerical posts, and living intemperately²³.

A number of colophons from the reign of Shem'ōn VII enable the background to the schism of 1552 to be better understood. The first metropolitan to be consecrated was Ḥnānīshō', mentioned as metropolitan (initially of Mosul, subsequently of Gāzartā) and *nāṭar kursyā* in several colophons, the earliest of which dates from 1539 (the first year of Shem'ōn's reign) and the latest from 1545²⁴. He is not mentioned after 1545, and in the same year his younger brother Eliyā (the future patriarch Eliyā VII) was consecrated a metropolitan (according to his epitaph in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd), to be subsequently mentioned as metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* in a series of colophons from 1550 onwards²⁵. It

²² Scher, *Épisodes*, 120-26.

²³ Van Gulik, 'Die Konsistorialakten über die Begründung des uniert-chaldäischen Patriarchates von Mosul unter Papst Julius III', *OC*, 4 (1904), 261-277.

²⁴ MSS Vat Syr 339 and BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 34.

²⁵ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 288-90; and MSS Mosul (Scher) 80, Diyārbakr (Scher) 53, and Mardīn (Scher) 38.

seems likely that Ḥnānīshō' died in 1545 and that the consecration of Eliyā, forced upon Shem'ōn VII by this unfortunate turn of events, precipitated the schism.

By 1552 Shem'ōn VII ʾIshō'yahb had become so unpopular that his opponents, principally from the Āmid and Seert regions, took the grave step of rebelling against his authority. They met at Mosul with the clergy, the monks, and three or four lay delegates from each of ten regions, and elected as patriarch a monk named Yōḥannān Sulāqā, superior of the convent of Rabban Hormizd. As no bishop of metropolitan rank (as canonically required) was available to consecrate him, they took the decisive step of seeking his consecration by pope Julius III, deceiving the Vatican into believing that the iniquitous 'Shem'ōn Bar Māmā' had died in 1551 and that Sulāqā's election had been legitimate. Sulāqā was accompanied to Jerusalem by his supporters and from there went on to Rome, where he made a Catholic profession of faith. On 28 April 1553, by the bull *Divina disponente clementia*, he was confirmed as 'patriarch of Mosul' at a secret consistory in the Vatican. This creation of a uniate East Syrian patriarchate permanently divided the Church of the East into Catholic and non-Catholic sections²⁶.

Sulāqā returned to Mesopotamia towards the end of 1553, established himself in Āmid, and immediately began to strengthen his position. In December 1553 he obtained documents from the Turkish authorities recognising him as head of 'the Chaldean nation after the example of all the patriarchs', and during a stay of five months in Āmid consecrated metropolitans for Gāzartā and Ḥesnā d'Kifā and for three new dioceses, Āmid, Mardīn, and Seert²⁷. Shem'ōn VII responded by consecrating metropolitans for Nisibis and Gāzartā in 1554 (both probably young relatives), and also won over the governor of 'Amādiyā, who invited Sulāqā to 'Amādiyā, imprisoned him for four months, and finally put him to death in January 1555²⁸. Shem'ōn VII died himself shortly afterwards, in 1558, and was succeeded by his nephew and *nāṭar kursyā* Eliyā VII (1558-1591)²⁹.

The five bishops consecrated by Sulāqā elected as his successor 'Abdīshō' Mārōn, metropolitan of Gāzartā, who took the title 'Abdīshō'

²⁶ Ḥabbi, 'Signification de l'union chaldéenne de Mar Sulaqa avec Rome en 1553', *OS*, 9 (1966), 112-3.

²⁷ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 92.

²⁸ MSS Jerusalem Syr 8 and Mardīn (Scher) 66; and Ḥabbi, 'Signification de l'union chaldéenne de Mar Sulaqa avec Rome en 1553', *OS*, 9 (1966), 114-5.

²⁹ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 286 and 288-90.

IV. 'Abdīshō' did not immediately seek confirmation of his election by the Vatican, but finally left for Rome in 1561, where his election was confirmed by Pius IV on 17 April 1562³⁰. He returned to Kurdistan immediately thereafter and established himself in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse near Seert, where he remained until his death in 1570. According to the Vatican sources, he was succeeded by a monk called Yahballāhā (listed as 'Yahballāhā V' by Fiey), 'an old man of holy life', almost certainly to be identified with an otherwise unknown patriarch named Shem'ōn, mentioned in four colophons of the 1570s from the Āmid and Mardīn regions³¹. The adoption of the traditional name Shem'ōn suggests that the Catholic party was by now anxious to stress the legitimacy of its patriarchal line, and the name was taken by all Yahballāhā's successors until the election of the present patriarch Ḥnānyā IV Denḥā in 1976 put an end to the traditional succession to the patriarchate.

Shem'ōn VIII Yahballāhā (as he should perhaps be styled) died in 1580 without seeking confirmation of his election, and was succeeded by Shem'ōn IX Denḥā, previously metropolitan of Salmas, Seert and Jīlū, who had been converted to Catholicism by Sulāqā's friend the metropolitan Eliyā Asmar of Āmid. He was elected patriarch in the 'monastery' of Mār Yōḥannān near Salmas in 1580 by four metropolitans and five bishops, with the consent in writing of other bishops unable to attend³². Peter Strozza, writing in 1617, commented that 'neither his old age nor his religious convictions fitted him for so great a privilege'³³. According to Eliyā Asmar, he resided throughout his reign in the Salmas district, because the influence of the patriarch Eliyā VII, evidently more appealing to traditionalists than his unsavoury uncle Shem'ōn VII, made it impossible for him to reside in Āmid. He sent a profession of faith signed by ten metropolitans and two bishops to Rome shortly after his election³⁴. A letter from the Vatican confirming his election was brought to Aleppo in 1584 by the papal envoy Leonard Abel, and delivered to the patriarch in 1585 by an intermediary.

Shem'ōn IX's move to the Salmas district made contact with the Vatican and with the Catholic communities in Āmid and Mardīn much

³⁰ Assemani, *BO*, i. 538.

³¹ Assemani, *BO*, iii. 621; and MSS Vat Syr 472, Diyārbakr (Scher) 88, Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 30, and Karam 331.

³² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 93.

³³ Assemani, *BO*, i. 538.

³⁴ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 88-90.

more difficult, and in the seventeenth century his successors, residing either in the Salmas district or in the remote Hakkārī village of Qūdshānīs, gradually returned to the traditional worship of the Church of the East, thereby losing the allegiance of the western regions. At the same time the successors of Shem'ōn VII, who normally resided in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Alqōsh, were exposed to strong influence from Catholic missions active in Jerusalem, Āmid and Mosul, who were able to make a large number of Catholic converts among the villages of the Mosul patriarchate.

Elīyā VII's successor Elīyā VIII (1591-1617), possibly influenced by the conversion to Catholicism of numerous East Syrian pilgrims visiting Jerusalem, sent delegations to Rome in 1605 and 1610 which promised obedience to the Vatican while also defending the traditional East Syrian christological formula. His envoy in 1610, the monk and archdeacon Adam, was initially welcomed but later treated with some reserve as a suspected 'Nestorian', and was obliged to receive regular instruction in the Catholic faith before his hosts permitted him to return to Mesopotamia in 1614. He was accompanied by two Jesuit envoys, who had two disappointing meetings with Elīyā VIII and returned to Rome to report that there was little hope of achieving a genuine reconciliation. By the time the Vatican received this negative report, contact between Elīyā VIII and the Vatican had been re-opened by the Franciscan monk Thomas Obicini of Novara, who went to Āmid in 1615 in response to a letter to the Vatican written by Elīyā some months earlier. He seems to have impressed the patriarch, who held a synod at Āmid in 1616, attended by the bishops of the western regions and Salmas, which affirmed the Catholic christological formula. In the same year the Salmas patriarch Shem'ōn X, perhaps alarmed by the defection of the western bishops, sent a traditional profession of faith to Rome. As a result of these overtures Thomas was again sent to Kurdistan to invite both patriarchs to sign a profession of faith which had been drafted in the Vatican. He arrived at Alqōsh shortly after the death of Elīyā VIII on 26 May 1617, and on 20 June his successor Elīyā IX Shem'ōn (1617-1660) signed the profession of faith with his bishops, but qualified his assent with a refusal to remove the name of Nestorius from the service-books. Thomas travelled on to Salmas with this unsatisfactory response, where he delivered a courteous letter rejecting Shem'ōn X's profession of faith, and in 1619 Shem'ōn X also signed the profession of faith for him to take back to Rome. In an accompanying letter he

promised to come to Rome in the following year to make his submission in person, but does not seem to have done so³⁵.

One or more of his seventeenth-century successors (it is difficult to distinguish one Qūdshānīs patriarch from another at this period) also corresponded with the Vatican. A patriarch named Shem'ōn (Fiey's 'Shem'ōn XI') sent a Catholic profession of faith to the Vatican in 1653 from the Salmas village of Khosrōwā, in return receiving the pallium³⁶. The same patriarch, or perhaps his successor 'Shem'ōn XII', sent a profession of faith to pope Alexander VII in 1658 and signed, together with a number of his bishops, an agreement with the Vatican³⁷. He seems to have been deposed by his bishops for his Catholic sympathies shortly afterwards, as Alexander VII wrote to Shah Abbas II in 1661 asking him to restore Shem'ōn to his throne, from which he had been expelled by 'schismatics'³⁸. Finally, a patriarch named Shem'ōn (Fiey's 'Shem'ōn XIII Denḥā') replied to an approach from the Vatican in 1670, explaining that the customs of the Church of the East were difficult to change and seeking the protection of the Roman church on the basis of the status quo³⁹. In the light of this response, it is unlikely that the Vatican took any further action at this period to win over the East Syrians of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, and if there was any further correspondence between the Vatican and the Shem'ōn line in the seventeenth century, it does not seem to have survived.

Although the missionary work of the Catholic church continued in Mosul and the western regions without interruption, formal links between the Vatican and the Mosul patriarchate were broken during the reign of Elīyā IX Shem'ōn. After asserting the traditional respect of the East Syrian church for Nestorius in 1617 he frankly defended the traditional East Syrian christology to two Franciscan monks in 1629 and doubted the sincerity of many recent converts to Catholicism. He does not seem to have been approached by the Vatican again, and his successor Elīyā X Yōhannān Mārōgin (1660-1700) was also a vigorous defender of the traditional faith⁴⁰.

Both patriarchates therefore had traditionalist patriarchs in the second half of the seventeenth century, and by the 1660s the former Catholic

³⁵ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 233-7.

³⁶ Assemani, *BO*, iii, i. 622.

³⁷ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, xxxvii.

³⁸ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 193-5.

³⁹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 197-203.

⁴⁰ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 237-8.

stronghold of Āmid had a non-Catholic metropolitan named Joseph dependent on the patriarch Elyā X. In 1667 the Capuchin missionary Jean-Baptiste de St-Aignan founded a mission there and before long made a substantial number of converts, including the metropolitan Joseph himself. Elyā X put great pressure on Joseph to return to his allegiance, and made a rare excursion from his seat in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd to travel to Mardīn and Āmid, where he repossessed their East Syrian churches and removed signs of Catholic influence from them. As a result of his intervention Joseph was twice imprisoned, but in 1677 was recognised by the civil authorities as an independent archbishop with jurisdiction over Āmid and Mardīn. The Vatican, hoping eventually to regain the allegiance of the Mosul 'patriarchs of Babylon', confirmed him as 'patriarch of the Chaldean nation deprived of its patriarch' at Rome in May 1681. He returned to Āmid and carried out his patriarchal duties until 1693 when, old and in ill health, he retired to Rome, where he died in 1707⁴¹.

He was succeeded by his disciple Šlībā Mār'ūf of Telkepe, metropolitan of Āmid, who was confirmed with the title of Joseph II by the Vatican in 1696. Joseph II also had to face severe opposition from the traditionalists, but worked hard to spread the Catholic faith in his patriarchate. In 1708 a serious plague broke out in Āmid and persisted for several years, and Joseph was among its victims. He died in Āmid in 1713, shortly after receiving permission to retire to Rome. His successor Timothy Mārōge was confirmed by the Vatican in 1714, also taking the name Joseph. Although his two predecessors had found great difficulty in simply maintaining the Catholic faith in Āmid and Mardīn, Joseph III presided over a period of significant success for the Catholic cause, not only among the western regions but also in the territories of the Mosul patriarchate. Joseph himself set an excellent example, but at the local level the Catholic achievement was due to the enthusiasm of Latin missionaries working in Mosul and among the villages of the Mosul plain. Their success, though not without setbacks, so shook the confidence of the patriarch Elyā XII Denhā (1722-1778) that neither of his two immediate successors, Elyā XIII Īshō'yahb and Yōhannān VIII Hormizd, could have become patriarch without professing the Catholic faith⁴².

Joseph visited Mosul in 1723, where he made 3,000 Catholic converts among its East Syrian community by his powerful speeches. The recent-

⁴¹ Chabot, *Joseph I*, 66-90; De Vries, 'La S. Sede ed i patriarchati cattolici d'Oriente', *OCP*, 27 (1961), 313-61; and Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 238-9.

⁴² Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 240.

ly-consecrated Elyā XII Denhā reacted vigorously, persecuting the Catholics of Āmid and Mosul and using his influence with the civil authorities to have Joseph imprisoned several times. Eventually the Turkish authorities intervened, and assigned Mosul and Aleppo to the traditionalists, and Āmid and Mardīn to the Catholics. Joseph III was released from prison in 1731, and left Āmid for Rome shortly afterwards, hoping to recover the money he had spent on conciliating the civil authorities. Before his departure he consecrated two bishops, Basil Hestrō for Mardīn, and Shem'on Kemō for Seert, hitherto loyal to the Elyā line. After visiting several Catholic courts and meeting an indifferent response he returned to Rome in 1735 and remained there until 1741. During his absence Elyā XII recovered several villages in the Seert region and the Catholic metropolitan Basil Hestrō of Mardīn died at the end of 1738. In 1739 Joseph's patriarchal administrator Shem'on Kemō wrote to him several times to plead for his return, and in 1741 Joseph finally returned to Āmid, where he resumed his patriarchal duties for a further sixteen years. He died suddenly in Āmid in January 1757 and was succeeded in the same year by the metropolitan of Āmid La'zar Hindi, who took the title Joseph IV⁴³.

Joseph IV faced similar problems to those of his three predecessors. The Turkish authorities exacted money from his churches on a variety of dubious pretexts, and during the 1770s he spent several years travelling in Europe attempting to raise funds to meet his debts. Discouraged, he resigned in 1780, but was persuaded to accept the interim appointment of patriarchal administrator. After a brief period of imprisonment in 1789 he withdrew to Rome in 1791, where he remained until his death in 1796⁴⁴.

His nephew Augustine Hindi, metropolitan of Āmid since 1777, succeeded him in 1802 as patriarchal administrator. He was not given the title of patriarch because the Vatican was considering the possibility of uniting the Mosul and Āmid patriarchates under the leadership of the metropolitan Yōhannān Hormizd of Mosul, a Catholic convert from the old patriarchal family. Relations between Yōhannān Hormizd and the Vatican quickly deteriorated, however, and in 1812 he was suspended for several years from his functions as patriarchal administrator. In this crisis Augustine Hindi was appointed apostolic delegate for the Mosul patriarchate and until his death in 1827 effectively governed both patriarchates.

⁴³ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 241-2; and Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 328-31, 357-67, and 375-85.

⁴⁴ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 242; and Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 6-8.

In 1818 his service was rewarded with the pallium, which he chose to interpret as a recognition of his patriarchal status, and for the rest of his life he used the title Joseph V⁴⁵. By 1827 Yōhannān Hormizd had made his peace with the Vatican, and after Augustine Hindi's death the Āmid patriarchate, which had existed independently for 146 years, was at last united with the Mosul patriarchate.

With the defection of the Catholics of Āmid and Mardīn in the 1670s, the Mosul patriarchate lost much of its influence in the western regions, but because it retained the prestigious monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Alqōsh and its patriarchs were descended from the old patriarchal line, it had a legitimacy in the eyes of many East Syrians that the newly-created Āmid patriarchate could never have. So long as the patriarchs of the Elīyā line remained loyal to their traditional faith, the Vatican naturally supported the Āmid patriarchs as defenders of its Catholic bridgehead in the East Syrian church, but the Āmid patriarchate was always regarded by the Vatican as a means to an end. This end, to which the Vatican devoted considerable time and effort in the eighteenth century, was the conversion of a patriarch of the Elīyā line. It was finally achieved early in the nineteenth century, in the person of the patriarch Yōhannān VIII Hormizd (1830-1838), after a bitter power struggle which reflected little credit on any of the parties involved.

The Mosul patriarch Elīyā X Yōhannān Mārōgin died in 1700, and was succeeded by Elīyā XI Mārōgin (1700-1722), about whose reign little is known. His successor Elīyā XII Denḥā (1722-1778) faced a growing challenge from the activities of Catholic missionaries in the Mosul patriarchate, supported by the Chaldean patriarch Joseph III at Āmid. An important figure at this period was the Mosul priest Khidr, son of Hormizd, who converted to Catholicism with a number of companions in 1719. Largely due to the demands of this group of converts a group of Capuchins established a mission in the city of Mosul, followed by an Italian Dominican mission. Strenuous efforts were made by Khidr and the Catholic missionaries to evangelise the surrounding country, and by the end of the century nearly all the East Syrians of the Mosul region had converted to Catholicism⁴⁶.

Elīyā XII realised that the growing strength of the Catholic movement in the Mosul region could not be ignored, and wrote to pope Clement XII in 1735 expressing a desire for union. Joseph III was then in Rome, and

⁴⁵ Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 9-10.

⁴⁶ Vosfé, 'Qas Khedr de Mossoul', *OCP*, 10 (1944), 45-90.

may have persuaded the Vatican to ignore this overture. Further unsuccessful overtures were made by Elīyā XII in 1749 and 1756, and in 1771 both the patriarch and his nephew and *nāṭar kursyā* Īshō'yahb made acceptable professions of faith. Elīyā quarrelled with Īshō'yahb not long afterwards, however, perhaps fearing that the Vatican planned to depose him in favour of his nephew, and in 1776 replaced him as *nāṭar kursyā* with another nephew, Yōhannān Hormizd. Two years later he fell victim to a plague which swept through the Mosul region, and died in Alqōsh on 29 April 1778⁴⁷.

While the Mosul and Āmid patriarchates were preoccupied with the growing Catholic movement throughout the eighteenth century, the remote Qūdshānīs patriarchate remained relatively isolated, though the few facts known about its history suggest that there were a significant number of Catholic sympathisers there also. Khidr of Mosul promised Elīyā XII in 1734 that the bishops of the Qūdshānīs patriarch Mār Shem'ōn (Fiey's 'Shem'ōn XIV Shlemūn') would gradually come over to him if he restored the union with Rome. Another Qūdshānīs patriarch named Shem'ōn (Fiey's 'Shem'ōn XV Mikhā'il Muḥtas') is said to have been elected by four metropolitans 'in consequence of disputes between the Catholics and the Nestorians at Alqōsh, Mosul and Āmid', perhaps implying that he was elected because he had Catholic sympathies⁴⁸. In 1769 and 1770 this patriarch attempted unsuccessfully to persuade the Georgian king Irakli II to invade Kurdistan to liberate his people, promising to assist the Georgians with 20,000 tribesmen⁴⁹. In 1771 he wrote to pope Clement XIV expressing a desire to adopt the Catholic faith and restore the union with Rome, but an encouraging reply in 1772 does not seem to have been followed up⁵⁰. No further contacts are known to have taken place in the remainder of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century, during which another patriarch named Shem'ōn (Fiey's 'Shem'ōn XVI Yōhannān') seems to have reigned.

Elīyā XII was succeeded in 1778 not by the young *nāṭar kursyā* Yōhannān Hormizd, but by Īshō'yahb, who immediately made a Catholic profession of faith to win the support of the Latin missionaries. Once firmly in power the new patriarch, who took the title Elīyā XIII

⁴⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 151; and Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 11.

⁴⁸ Fiey, 'Sur un "Traité arabe sur les patriarches nestoriens"', *OCP*, 41 (1975), 57-75.

⁴⁹ Tsereteli, 'Assyrians in the Correspondence of Irakli II, King of Georgia', *JAAS*, 8, 2 (1994), 4-11.

⁵⁰ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 386-8.

Īshō'yahb, abandoned his Catholic profession of faith in May 1779, and his opponents turned to Yōhannān Hormizd, who had demonstrated his zeal for the Catholic cause by converting a number of traditionalist villages in the Erbil region. His election in 1780 was irregular, and the Vatican, while confirming him as metropolitan of Mosul and patriarchal administrator, declined to recognise him as patriarch. Īshō'yahb continued to assert his own claim to the patriarchal title, and withdrew to 'Amādiyā, where he consecrated his nephew Ḥnānīshō' metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* in 1784. An inconclusive struggle for influence followed, in which Yōhannān Hormizd was supported by the governor of Mosul and Īshō'yahb by the governor of 'Amādiyā. Īshō'yahb eventually died, unreconciled with his cousin, in 1804, and was buried in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, the last of the long series of traditionalist patriarchs of the Elīyā line⁵¹.

For several years after his appointment as patriarchal administrator Yōhannān Hormizd lived on amicable terms with the Catholic missionaries, and converted a number of villages in the 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā regions to Catholicism. The high point of this honeymoon period came in February 1791, when the Vatican appointed him patriarchal administrator of the Āmid patriarchate, recalling the patriarchal administrator La'zar Hindi to Rome to leave him a free hand. His appointment was strenuously opposed by La'zar Hindi and many other Chaldeans, who did not trust the sincerity of his conversion, and on 3 February 1793 was rescinded. At about the same time the Mosul missionaries began to report disquieting rumours about the performance of his duties. For his part, Yōhannān accused the missionaries of arrogance and mischief-making.⁵²

Yōhannān's precarious relations with the Vatican survived a further test in 1801, only to sink further in 1802. In 1798 he consecrated a bishop for the Malabar Christians before receiving the Vatican's consent for the appointment, but was able to satisfy the Vatican in 1801 that he had acted in good faith⁵³. In a general consistory of 23 September 1801 the possibility of appointing him patriarch of Babylon was considered. His position however was immediately undermined by renewed complaints from his opponents in 1802, supported by the Latin missionaries, who

⁵¹ Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 11-14; Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 152-60; and Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 297.

⁵² Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 12-13; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 155.

⁵³ Pulurumpil, *A Period of Jurisdictional Conflict in the Suriani Church of India*, 2-50.

impugned his orthodoxy and accused him of embezzling monastic property. The complaints do not seem to have produced any immediate effect, but probably added to the concern in the Vatican about his reliability⁵⁴.

Some years later Yōhannān Hormizd faced another challenge to his authority from the visionary Gabriel Dambō of Mardīn, who revived monasticism in the Chaldean church by establishing a seminary in the deserted monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1808. Before long he antagonised Yōhannān Hormizd by claiming certain properties belonging to the patriarchal family, arguing that they had originally been owned by the monastery. The new seminary had tended to attract men who disliked Yōhannān Hormizd, and they were soon joined by the Catholic missionaries, who shared their admiration for Gabriel, and by a number of influential priests. In 1811 the quarrel came to a head. Yōhannān Hormizd's opponents were able to have him imprisoned, and consecrated the priest Shem'ōn Sayyegh bishop of Mosul in his stead, an act immediately repudiated by the Vatican. Yōhannān Hormizd was released shortly afterwards, and had several of his opponents imprisoned in turn. On 15 February 1812 he was suspended by the Vatican, which appointed Augustine Hindi 'apostolic delegate for the affairs of the patriarchate of Babylon', a decision which temporarily united the two Catholic patriarchates⁵⁵.

Yōhannān Hormizd's suspension lasted for six years. At a meeting held on 20 February 1818 in Alqōsh he came to terms with his opponents, but the Vatican, ignorant of this *rapprochement*, renewed his suspension on 24 May 1818. He refused to accept the validity of the sentence, and for the next few years continued to assert his authority wherever he could, abetted by the civil authorities at 'Amādiyā. Augustine Hindi responded by consecrating five monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd metropolitans between 1824 and 1826: Lawrent Shō'ā for Kirkūk, Basil Asmar for 'Amādiyā, Joseph Audō for Mosul, Mikhā'il Kattūlā for Seert, and Ignatius Dashtō for Mardīn. Instead of proceeding to their dioceses, the first three men returned to their home villages in the Mosul plain, where they began to ordain priests and deacons in a direct challenge to Yōhannān's authority⁵⁶.

Yōhannān Hormizd fought back against his opponents. In 1827, during the absence of the superior Gabriel Dambō in Rome, a number of monks

⁵⁴ Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 14-15; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 155.

⁵⁵ Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 16-18.

⁵⁶ Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 18, and 66-9; and Badger, *Nestorians*, 163.

in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd rebelled against its administrator Yōḥannān Gwerā, who enjoyed the support of the metropolitan Joseph Audō. Yōḥannān Hormizd upheld the rebels, and was able to have both Gwerā and Audō imprisoned and maltreated for several months. He also had Basil Asmar expelled from Telkepe, forcing him to take refuge in Āmid. Audō secured a measure of revenge by intriguing in his turn, and as a result Yōḥannān was imprisoned for a third time by the Ottoman authorities, for four months⁵⁷. After his release the charges made by his opponents were investigated by the vicar apostolic Pierre-Alexander Couperie in 1828, and again in 1829 by his successor Lawrent Trioche, both of whom took his part, and reinstated him. Gabriel Dambō visited Rome to argue strenuously against any leniency, but the Vatican seems to have been impressed by the reports of its vicars-apostolic, and Yōḥannān Hormizd was finally confirmed as patriarch on 5 July 1830, fifty years after his original election⁵⁸.

In 1832 Alqōsh was attacked by Kōr Muḥammad, chief of the Soran Kurds of Rāwandūz. Gabriel Dambō was among the hundreds of East Syrians killed by the Kurds. He was succeeded as superior of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd by Yōḥannān Gwerā, who continued to quarrel with the patriarch throughout the 1830s. Gwerā and others complained to the Vatican on more than one occasion, but Yōḥannān Hormizd continued to enjoy the support of the vicar-apostolic Trioche, and his position remained secure⁵⁹.

In 1834 Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd attempted to preserve the patriarchal succession in his family by sending his nephew Maṣṣūr Sefārō to the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham, who consecrated him at Ūrmī as a metropolitan for the traditionalist villages in the 'Aqrā region, giving him the traditional patriarchal name of Elīyā⁶⁰. He no doubt hoped that Elīyā might one day enjoy sufficient support to become patriarch, but the stratagem was detected, and Elīyā was disciplined by the Vatican. To prevent further trouble of this kind the Vatican appointed Nicholas Zay'ā, metropolitan of Salmas, Yōḥannān's coadjutor with the right of succession⁶¹. Yōḥannān Hormizd died on 16 August 1838, and Nicholas Zay'ā succeeded him without an election⁶².

⁵⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, 163-4.

⁵⁸ Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 22.

⁵⁹ Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 122-39.

⁶⁰ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 167-8.

⁶¹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 400-01.

⁶² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 168.

The triumph of Catholicism in the Mosul patriarchate in the 1830s was largely due to the work of French and Italian missionaries. Hitherto they had faced little competition in the mission field, but in the 1820s and 1830s American and English protestant missionaries began work in the Ūrmī and Hakkārī regions, among the East Syrians of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate. The Anglican priest George Percy Badger witnessed the most traumatic event in the history of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate before the outbreak of the First World War, an attack by the Kurds in 1843 on the East Syrian villages of the Ṭiyārī and Dez districts. In the 1830s the tribal chieftains of Kurdistan were able to carve out a virtually independent Kurdish confederacy under the leadership of the emir Badr Khan of Bohtān. The patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham (c.1820-1861) was correctly suspected by Badr Khan of trying to preserve a degree of independence for his people by intriguing with the Ottoman government against the Kurdish emirs, and these suspicions came to a head when he refused to contribute troops to a Kurdish expedition against 'Amādiyā in 1842 and indeed warned the governor of Mosul of the plans of the Kurdish leaders⁶³.

Badr Khan and his principal ally, the emir Nūrallāh of Hakkārī, took their revenge by attacking the Ṭiyārī and Dez districts in 1843. About 10,000 men out of a total population of about 50,000 in the districts attacked were estimated to have been killed, and many women and children were carried off by the Kurds as captives. Those who survived, including the patriarch, fled to Mosul. In October 1846 a further attack was made on the Ṭhūmā district, again with considerable loss of life and mistreatment of women and children. The attack provoked a strong protest from Britain, and the Turkish government responded by despatching an army to Kurdistan which suppressed the Kurdish emirates and established direct Ottoman rule in Kurdistan⁶⁴.

In Mosul, the succession of Nicholas I Zay'ā was resented by most of the Chaldean hierarchy, and he had to deal with opposition from several bishops, particularly Joseph Audō. He was able to weaken Audō's support by removing 45 elderly monks from the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, but in 1843 an unpopular attempt to reform the church calendar provoked a movement to depose him in favour of Elīyā Sefārō, while another party urged the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham, then a refugee in Mosul, to lay claim to the patriarchate himself. Nicholas

⁶³ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 265.

⁶⁴ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 270-71, and 369-74.

I Zay'ā was upheld by the Turkish civil authorities, but the intrigues continued, and he was eventually summoned to Rome to answer mischievous allegations that he had misused church funds. He retired instead to his native village of Khosrōwā and resigned in 1846, remaining there until his death in 1855⁶⁵.

He was succeeded in 1848 by the energetic and combative Joseph Audō, whose reign is probably best remembered for his frequent clashes with the Vatican whenever he felt that the traditions of the Chaldean church were being slighted, particularly his attempts to assert its right to send bishops to the Malabar Christians. He consecrated three metropolitans for India in defiance of the Vatican, Thomas Rōkōs in 1860, Yōhannān Elīyā Mellus in 1874, and Philip Ya'qōb Abraham in 1875. On the first occasion he withdrew Rōkōs and apologised, but in the second crisis only recalled his bishops under threat of excommunication. He also protested vehemently to the Vatican in 1870 that his traditional rights had been infringed after the Propaganda invoked an old privilege and nominated bishops for the vacant dioceses of Āmid and Mardīn. His protests were ignored, and he was summoned to Rome and directed to consecrate the Vatican's nominees, Peter Timothy 'Attar for Āmid and Gabriel Farsō for Mardīn. He responded to this slight by opposing a number of disciplinary reforms proposed at the First Vatican Council in 1870, and refusing to apply them to the Chaldean church until forced to do so in 1872⁶⁶. In the long run, his assertiveness gave the Chaldean church a valuable *esprit de corps*, but its immediate effect was to create bitter divisions within its ranks. It also distracted attention from Audō's real achievement as an administrator, who laid the foundations for the Chaldean church to grow and flourish remarkably in the decades before the First World War.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the clergy of the Chaldean church was, in general, indifferently educated, though of a higher calibre than the clergy of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate. Some of the Chaldean bishops had studied at the College of the Propaganda in Rome, but most Chaldean priests were given only a rudimentary education by their bishops. Gabriel Dambō's revival of monasticism in 1808 had been partly intended to supply the church with a well-educated and disciplined clergy. In the 1820s several monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd became bishops, including Audō himself, and others were sent out as

⁶⁵ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 168-72.

⁶⁶ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 245-6.

priests and deacons to the Chaldean villages in the Mosul and 'Amādiyā regions. As metropolitan of 'Amādiyā in the 1830s, Audō converted the villages of the Ṣapnā valley to Catholicism, but only after personally educating his priests in the mission field. This experience convinced him that the Catholic faith could only be consolidated and spread by educated priests, and one of his greatest achievements as patriarch was to reduce the Chaldean church's dependence on Rome for the education of its bishops, and to ensure that it was able to train and educate its own priests⁶⁷.

In 1859, with financial assistance from the Vatican, a new monastery of Notre Dame des Semences near Alqōsh was completed, which quickly replaced the monastery of Rabban Hormizd as the principal seminary of the Chaldean church. Audō also established two other important centres for the education of Chaldean clergy in Mosul, the patriarchal seminary of St Peter in 1866, and the Syro-Chaldean seminary of St John, completed shortly after his death in 1878. The Syro-Chaldean seminary, which trained priests for both the Chaldean and Syrian Catholic churches, was under the direction of the Dominicans, while the patriarchal seminary was directed entirely by Chaldean clergy. Although a number of Chaldean priests continued to be trained at Rome or elsewhere, most of the bishops and priests of the Chaldean church in the decades before the First World War came from one or other of these three centres founded in Audō's reign⁶⁸.

Audō was succeeded by Elīyā XII 'Abūlyōnān (1879-1894), who spent much of his time repairing relations with Rome and restoring harmony within the Chaldean church after the excitements of his predecessor's reign. During his reign the Syro-Chaldean seminary of St John and the patriarchal seminary, closed during the Malabar dispute, were reopened. The short reign of 'Abdīshō' V Ḥayyāt (1894-1899) was followed by the long reign of Joseph Emmanuel II, who was unanimously elected patriarch on 9 July 1900 and who remained patriarch of Babylon until his death in 1947⁶⁹.

In the early years of Emmanuel's reign the Chaldean church made a determined effort to win over the clergy and laity of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate to the Catholic faith, aided by Nimrod, the ambitious brother of the patriarch Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil (1861-1903), who allowed his own village of Ḥānānīs to be used as a base for the Catholic missionary effort.

⁶⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 176; and Fiey, *AC*, i. 169-70.

⁶⁸ Fiey, *AC*, ii. 549; and Tfinkdji, *EC*, 479-80.

⁶⁹ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 247.

The Catholic effort reached its peak on 31 March 1903, when Nimrod, the bishop Īshō'yahb of Berwārī, and several other influential figures were received into the Chaldean church in a well-publicised ceremony in Mosul, followed shortly afterwards by the patriarch's *nāṭar kursyā* Abraham Shem'ōnāyā. A reaction followed immediately. Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil had died two days earlier, and a conservative group in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate (encouraged by the Russian Orthodox and Anglican missions) took advantage of Abraham's absence in Mosul to rally support for another nephew, the young and recently-consecrated Benjamin, who was elected patriarch in his place on 12 April. Abraham subsequently became a Chaldean bishop, but his failure to secure the succession in 1903 put an end to hopes that the East Syrians of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate might be persuaded to convert *en masse* to Catholicism⁷⁰. Although Catholic mission work in the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions continued until the outbreak of the First World War, conversions were on a rather smaller scale than had been hoped for. In 1913 the Chaldean church estimated that there were only about 4,000 Catholics in the Hakkārī region, and slightly under 8,000 in the Ūrmī region⁷¹.

Although it was able to contain the challenge from the Chaldean church, the Qūdshānīs patriarchate lost much of its influence in the Ūrmī region to the Russian Orthodox church in the two decades before the outbreak of the First World War. A Russian Orthodox delegation was sent to Ūrmī in 1897 in response to an overture from the bishop Yōnān of Supūrghān, and was welcomed, greatly to its surprise, by a crowd of 10,000 East Syrians eager to convert, principally in the belief that the Russians could offer them better protection than the English, French and American missionaries. Yōnān was admitted into the Russian Orthodox church, and an Orthodox mission was sent to Ūrmī in the autumn of 1898. By 1900 the mission had built an Orthodox church at Ūrmī and set up a system of parishes and schools. Although initially the Russian penetration was confined to the diocese of Supūrghān, shortly afterwards a second Orthodox bishop was consecrated for the district of Tergāwār. Russian prestige was temporarily eclipsed in 1905, but revived with their occupation of the Ūrmī region in 1908, and by 1914 Russian Orthodox missionaries were active in the Tergāwār, Sulduz and Salmas districts and a majority of the East Syrians in these districts had joined the Russian church⁷².

⁷⁰ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 257-62.

⁷¹ Tinkdjī, *EC*, 517.

⁷² Coakley, *Church of the East*, 216-34, 242-3, 318, and 329.

The disastrous consequences of the First World War for the Church of the East have already been mentioned. It is interesting to speculate how the long rivalry between the Chaldean church and the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, complicated by the success of the Russian Orthodox mission in the Ūrmī region and by the proliferation of smaller missions, might have been resolved in different circumstances. In the event the defeat of Russia in 1917 destroyed the influence of the Russian Orthodox church. The territories of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate were overrun by the Turkish army and its people forced to flee to Iraq at the end of the war. Thereafter the patriarchate ceased to exist as a territorial unit. Although several of the larger villages in the Ūrmī region were eventually resettled (but not on the same scale as before the war), the disputed Hakkārī region was awarded to Turkey in 1924, and its former occupiers were not permitted to return to their old homes. The Chaldean dioceses of Āmid, Seert and Gāzartā were ruined during the war (the metropolitans Addai Scher of Seert and Philip Ya'qōb Abraham of Gāzartā were both killed in 1915, along with thousands of other Chaldeans in these three dioceses), but the Mosul region and other Chaldean regions were not affected, and the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences continued to be the principal Chaldean seminary and centre for the copying of manuscripts after the war.

During the 1920s and 1930s 'Assyrian' refugees from the Hakkārī region settled in several Chaldean villages in the 'Amādiyā, 'Aqrā and Mosul regions, living alongside their Catholic neighbours. Others remained in refugee camps in Iraq, or migrated to Syria, or emigrated to North America, Europe or Australia, or took service with the Assyrian Levies and other units raised to support the British mandate in Iraq. Their history since 1918, initially dominated by the frustrated search for an Assyrian homeland, more recently by the struggle to combine their distinct Christian identity with the demands of citizenship in the distracted states of Iraq and Iran, is beyond the scope of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE WESTERN REGIONS

(I) INTRODUCTION

Most of the regions covered in this chapter belonged before the fourteenth century to the important East Syrian metropolitan province of Nisibis. The other four 'interior' provinces of the Church of the East established in 410 were rooted firmly in Persian territory, but many of the regions which constituted the province of Nisibis were originally Roman. While the region of Beṭ 'Arabāye (the desert region between Mosul and Nisibis) had always been in Persian territory, the Nisibis region itself, the Gāzartā region (then known as Beṭ Zabdaī and Qardū) and the Seert region (then known as Arzun) were in Roman territory until the middle of the fourth century, and the Āmid and Mardīn regions remained Roman until the Arab conquest.

In 363, following the defeat of Julian's invasion, Nisibis and several neighbouring frontier regions were surrendered to the Persians, and were organised into the East Syrian metropolitan province of Nisibis at the synod of Isaac in 410. The Nisibis region remained in Persian hands until the Arab conquest in the seventh century, and in the sixth and seventh centuries the Roman-Persian frontier also became a frontier between the Church of the East and the West Syrian church, by then dominant in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire. Most of the villages on the Roman side of the border were West Syrian by the seventh century and many of them remain so to this day, notably in the Ṭūr 'Abdīn plateau. The region was the home of a number of important monasteries, most notably the East Syrian monasteries of Mār Abraham of Kashkar and Mār Awgin on Mount Izlā, and the West Syrian monasteries of Qartmīn in the Ṭūr 'Abdīn and Deir Za'farān near Mardīn.

After the Arab conquest East Syrians were free to settle in what was formerly Roman territory, and from about the tenth century onwards East Syrian communities are found in the cities of Āmid, Mardīn, Maiperqāt and Ḥesnā d'Kifā. Although there were a few East Syrian villages and monasteries near these cities, the Church of the East never established

itself in the surrounding countryside as it had in the regions surrendered in 363. The East Syrian communities west of the old Roman-Persian frontier, despite their later importance in the history of the Church of the East, remained isolated enclaves in a region where West Syrians, Greek Orthodox and Armenians were the dominant Christian groups.

As elsewhere, little is known of the history of the region between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, but it appears that most of the East Syrian settlements around Nisibis and in the Beṭ 'Arabāye region, with the exception of the monastery of Mār Awgin, became either West Syrian (under the influence of the monastic centres of the nearby Ṭūr 'Abdīn) or Moslem during this period. By 1551 the diocese of Nisibis had lost most of its former importance, and the future of East Syrian Christianity in the region lay with the communities at Āmid, Mardīn, Seert and Gāzartā.

After the schism of 1552 Gāzartā remained loyal to the traditionalist patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb and his successors, but the other western regions, some of which were given Catholic bishops by Sulāqā and his successors, tended to attach themselves to whichever patriarchate favoured restoring the union with Rome. They transferred their loyalty to the conciliatory Eliyā VIII early in the seventeenth century, and in the 1650s the metropolitan Shem'ōn of Āmid was dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XI (1638-56), who sent a Catholic profession of faith to Rome in 1653. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century both the Mosul and Qūdshānīs patriarchates had traditionalist patriarchs, but the Catholic mission in Āmid succeeded in converting its East Syrian bishop Joseph, and a Catholic line of patriarchs was founded in Āmid. At first the authority of this line was confined to Āmid and Mardīn, but in the eighteenth century Joseph III consecrated a Catholic bishop for Seert, Shem'ōn Kemō, who was able to win over most of the region. Traditionalist bishops persisted in the Gāzartā region throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a stable Catholic diocese was only established with the consecration of Gīwārgīs Peter di Natale in 1833.

The Āmid patriarchate lost its significance after the conversion to Catholicism of the Mosul patriarch Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd and the consequent triumph of the Catholic cause in most of the villages of his patriarchate. After the death of the Āmid patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi in 1827 the Mosul and Āmid patriarchates were reunited and the Vatican recognised Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd as patriarch of a unified Chaldean Catholic church, governed from Mosul. By the end of the nineteenth century most of the 18,000 or so East Syrian Christians living in

the western dioceses were Chaldeans. In the Āmid and Mardīn regions they numbered a little under 6,000, compared with about 30,000 West Syrians living in the nearby Ṭūr 'Abdīn. The majority (just under 12,000 in 1913) lived in the villages of the Seert and Gāzartā regions, many of them continuously inhabited by East Syrian Christians since before the Arab conquest.

This chapter also contains a brief account of the small East Syrian communities in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Cilicia and Cyprus, with particular reference to the communities in Cyprus and Jerusalem, which survived into the eighteenth century. The Cyprus community, probably established around the end of the thirteenth century, was in continuous contact with the Latin West, and eventually converted to Catholicism. One of its bishops became a 'Chaldean' in 1445 (a century before Sulāqā's conversion), and it is last mentioned as a distinctive community in the sixteenth century. Jerusalem was the seat of an East Syrian metropolitan until the end of the thirteenth century, and there are numerous references to a continuing East Syrian presence in the city between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries, often in connection with visits by East Syrian pilgrims from Alqōsh, Gāzartā and elsewhere.

(II) NISIBIS AND BET 'ARABĀYE

(a) Ecclesiastical History

The East Syrian metropolitan province of Nisibis was one of the five provinces established at the synod of Isaac in 410, and ranked second after the province of 'Īlām. Its jurisdiction was initially confined to the five regions surrendered by Jovian in 363 (Arzun, Qardū, Bet Zabdaī, Bet Rahimāī, and Bet Moksāye), and there was a regular succession of bishops for the dioceses of Arzun, Gāzartā, and Qardū (renamed Ṭamānōn in the tenth century) between the fifth and thirteenth centuries. By the thirteenth century the name of the metropolitan province included Armenia, and its suffragan dioceses probably included Armenia (Ḥalāt), Arzun, Gāzartā, Ḥesnā d'Kifā, Balad, Maiperqāt, Sinjār and Bet 'Arabāye, and Ṭamānōn¹.

The diocese of Balad was still in existence in 1318, when its bishop Shem'ōn was present at the synod of Timothy II, and may have persisted

¹ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 110.

for several decades longer, as five bishops of Balad (Yōḥannān, Šlībā, Joseph, Yōḥannān, and Ahrōn) are named after Shem'ōn in a list of bishops of Balad apparently compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century². If this document is genuine, the diocese may have come to an end during Timūr's campaigns in the 1390s.

The bishop Yōḥannān of Sinjār and Bet 'Arabāye was also present at the synod of Timothy II in 1318, and the diocese of Sinjār may have persisted for several more decades. The Sinjār region may have had a small East Syrian community up to the seventeenth century, and may even have had a bishop from time to time. A metropolitan 'Glanan Imech' (possibly Māran'emneh), of 'Sciugar' is mentioned in the report of 1607, and may have been a bishop of Sinjār. According to a Yezidi tradition, the last East Syrian 'metropolitan' of Sinjār died around 1660, and the region's few remaining East Syrian Christians are said to have become Yezidis³. It is difficult to say whether there is any truth in this tradition.

The Diocese of Nisibis

[Fiey, *Nisibe*, 16-114; *POCN*, 116-8]

It is clear from a number of surviving lists of its metropolitans, supported by numerous references in the literary sources, that Nisibis remained an East Syrian metropolitan province without interruption between the fifth and fourteenth centuries. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the metropolitan of Nisibis was the famous East Syrian writer 'Abdīshō' Bar Brīkhā, previously bishop of Sinjār and Bet 'Arabāye, who became metropolitan of Nisibis between 1285 and 1291 and who was present at the synod of Timothy II in 1318. The date of his death is not known, but a list of metropolitans of Nisibis compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century mentions his immediate successors Mikhā'il, 'Abdīshō', Yahballāhā, and Īshō'yahb (another list mentions only Mikhā'il and Yahballāhā)⁴.

Three metropolitans of Nisibis are known from the fifteenth century. A metropolitan named Timothy is mentioned in a colophon of 1429/30⁵. A metropolitan named 'Abdīshō' donated a manuscript to the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid in May 1458⁶. A metropolitan of 'Nisibis, Armenia, Mardīn, Āmid, Seert and Ḥesnā d'Kifā' named Eliyā is mentioned in the dating formulas of several manuscripts copied between 1477 and 1483⁷.

² MS Mingana Syr 564I.

³ Guest, *Yezidis*, 52.

⁴ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 109-10.

⁵ MS Paris BN Syr 184.

⁶ MS Jerusalem Syr 12.

⁷ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 39, Diyārbakr (Scher) 73, and Mardīn (Scher) 43.

The diocese of Nisibis may well have been vacant during the first half of the sixteenth century, but a metropolitan of Nisibis named ʾIshōʾyahb, son of the priest Samuel of Mosul, is mentioned in a series of colophons from 1554 to 1575, associated with the traditionalist patriarch Shemʾōn VII ʾIshōʾyahb and his successor Eliyā VII⁸. Besides Nisibis and Armenia, his title also included Āmid and Mardīn, both of which had Catholic bishops consecrated by Sulāqā, and he was probably consecrated by Shemʾōn VII ʾIshōʾyahb in response to Sulāqā's challenge in the western regions. Other details confirm his dependence on the Mosul patriarchate. He was the scribe of a manuscript of 1558, which he began to copy in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, Shemʾōn VII's patriarchal seat, and completed in the monastery of Mār Awgin⁹. His brother Shlemūn of Beṭ Arijai was responsible for renovation work at the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1559¹⁰, while he himself rebuilt the church of Mār Yaʾqōb at Nisibis in 1562, endowed it with the revenue from some property, vineyards and land, and began to rebuild its liturgical library¹¹. He seems also to have inaugurated a fashion for using the era of the Ascension alongside the Greek era in the dating formulas of East Syrian manuscripts, a practice followed by the traditionalist scribe ʾAṭyā of Alqōsh among others¹².

The last metropolitan of Nisibis, also responsible for Mardīn after the death of the metropolitan Ḥnānīshōʾ of Mardīn, seems to have been Yaʾqōb, who is first mentioned in a colophon of 1581 from the Mardīn village of Ḥarab Olmā¹³. He was the archbishop ʾYaʾqōb of Mār Awgin' praised by Leonard Abel in 1587 as among the most cultivated of the East Syrian clergy¹⁴. He was mentioned in the report of 1607 as metropolitan of Mardīn and in the report of 1610 as metropolitan of Nisibis, dependent on Eliyā VIII, and was one of a number of bishops addressed by Peter Strozza in a letter of 1614¹⁵.

⁸ MSS Vat Syr 184 and 567, Diyārbakr (Scher) 44 and 84, Jerusalem Syr 8, and Cambridge Add. 1988.

⁹ MS Cambridge Add. 1988.

¹⁰ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 271.

¹¹ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 10.

¹² Vosté, 'L'ère de l'Ascension de Notre-Seigneur dans les manuscrits nestoriens', *OCP*, 7 (1941), 233-50.

¹³ MS Dawrā Syr 492.

¹⁴ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121-2.

¹⁵ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 129.

The diocese of Nisibis was formally abolished at the synod of Āmid in 1616, and its East Syrian community was transferred to the diocese of Āmid, and later to Mardīn. Nisibis was included in the title of Timothy, metropolitan of Āmid between 1615 and his death in 1621/2, and was in the diocese of Mardīn by 1913¹⁶.

(b) *Topographical Survey*

In the seventh century the southern scarp of the Ṭūr ʾAbdīn, known by the East Syrians as Mount Izlā or the 'mountain of Nisibis', was a Persian border region, and possessed at least four East Syrian monasteries just across the frontier from the West Syrian strongholds in the Ṭūr ʾAbdīn. Three of these monasteries (Mār Awgin, Mār Malke, and Mār Samuel) are traditionally believed to have been founded in the fourth century, and the fourth, the influential monastery of Mār Abraham of Kashkar (also known as the 'Great Monastery'), was founded in the second half of the sixth century. A monastery of Rabban Saprā was founded at the beginning of the eighth century, and Arab sources mention the East Syrian monasteries of Mār Yāreṭ, Mār Khudāhwī, Zaʾfarān (saffron) and Mār Yōḥannān the Arab, founded at unknown dates.

By the end of the thirteenth century some of these monasteries had been abandoned or were in West Syrian hands, but a historical note describing the renovation of the church of the monastery of Mār Awgin in 1271 mentions that there were at that time 'many monks' in the monasteries of Mār Yōḥannān the Arab and Mār Awgin, and a manuscript was copied in the monastery of Mār Khudāhwī in 1501¹⁷. The report of 1607 mentioned the monasteries of Mār Awgin, Mār Khudāhwī, Mār Yōḥannān, and Mār Abraham of Kashkar in the Nisibis region. The report of 1610 mentioned the monasteries of Mār Awgin and Mār Yōḥannān and an otherwise unknown 'monastery' of Mār Yaʾqōb in the Nisibis region, almost certainly the celebrated church of that name in Nisibis, and commented that in former times 40,000 solitaries used to live on Mount Izlā, 'but today, because of our poverty, very few monks live there'. No contemporary seventeenth-century manuscripts have survived from the monasteries of Mār Khudāhwī, Mār Yōḥannān, and Mār Abraham of Kashkar, but the monastery of Mār Awgin was still functioning, at least intermittently, as late as 1838, though it seems to have

¹⁶ Note in MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 56.

¹⁷ Notes in MSS Mingana Syr 166 and Seert (Scher) 59, and MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 77.

been taken over by the West Syrian church shortly afterwards. The other monasteries are not mentioned after 1610. They were also acquired by the West Syrians, perhaps also in the nineteenth century, and by 1914 all the monastic sites on Mount Izlā were in West Syrian hands.

Several references in colophons and inscriptions from the Nisibis region and other sources mention East Syrian communities between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries in the villages of Barmōn, Bōtrā, Tel Maḥmad, Gaṣlōnā, Ma'arrīn, Zubayrīyā, and, intriguingly, the village of Kfarbūrān in the Ṭūr 'Abdīn, later a purely West Syrian village. The villages of Barmōn, Bōtrā, and Tel Maḥmad have not been localised, but seem to have been in the Nisibis region. The towns of Sinjār and Balad in the region of Beṭ 'Arabāye evidently still had East Syrian communities in the fourteenth century, as they remained the seats of East Syrian bishops, but there is no evidence for East Syrian settlement elsewhere in the region at this period.

Nisibis

[Fiey, *Nisibe*, 16-133]

Nisibis, also known as Ṣōbā by the East Syrians, was the seat of an East Syrian metropolitan between the fifth and seventeenth centuries, and doubtless had an East Syrian community throughout this period. Little is known of this community for most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but it was sufficiently powerful to prevent Ignatius Sābā, the West Syrian patriarch of the Ṭūr 'Abdīn, from rebuilding the old West Syrian churches of Mār Ya'qōb and Mār Domitius in the 1480s¹⁸.

A manuscript was copied in 1552 in the nearby monastery of Mār Awgin for the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Yōnān, son of the priest Īshō', of Nisibis, and two manuscripts were copied in 1569 and 1575 at Nisibis by the priest Yōḥannān, son of the priest Bairam, son of Barhaimshāh, of Erbil¹⁹. A note in the 1569 manuscript, which was donated to the church of Mār Ya'qōb by a woman named Dormlik, daughter of Harūn, 'on behalf of her late husband Darwīsh', mentioned that the church of Mār Ya'qōb in Nisibis was rebuilt in 1562 with the help of local donations by the metropolitan Īshō'yahb, who endowed it with property, vineyards and land.

Although Nisibis still had an East Syrian community as late as 1644, the accounts of European travellers between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, most of whom were interested in viewing the historic

¹⁸ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 111.

¹⁹ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 10 and Diyārbakr (Scher) 53 and 84.

church of Mār Ya'qōb, give greater prominence to its Armenian and West Syrian communities. In 1644 Tavernier mentioned that 'the town is only a shadow of the Nisibis of antiquity, and is now no more than a large village, most of whose inhabitants are Armenian and Nestorian Christians'. The church of Mār Ya'qōb was by then in the hands of the Armenians, whose bishop and priests conducted him around its remains²⁰. In 1656 Thévenot mentioned that services were still held in the church by the 'Syrians' and Armenians²¹. Niehbur in 1766 and Olivier in 1791 mentioned small communities of Armenians and West Syrians, but no East Syrians²². In 1828 Coupperie visited Nisibis, then inhabited by a small Moslem community, and reported that 'there is now no Christian or Jewish community; there is not even a Mohammedan mosque'²³. Badger, who visited the town in 1842, mentioned 4 Jewish families and 12 families of 'Jacobites' and Armenians, without a church or a priest, out of a total population of 300 families, but was not aware of any East Syrians²⁴.

These references suggest that for more than two centuries after 1644 Nisibis had either a very small East Syrian community or none at all. However, a modest Chaldean community is recorded in the town in the final decades before the First World War, and was included in the diocese of Mardīn. In 1891 Cuinet mentioned that Nisibis had 1,000 Chaldeans, with a church, 2,000 Orthodox Armenians, 500 Armenian Catholics, 1,000 Syrian Orthodox, and 500 Protestants²⁵. Tfinkdji mentioned only 160 Chaldeans in Nisibis in 1913, and Cuinet's figures may well be exaggerated.

Most of the adult Christian population of Nisibis, then estimated at about 400 persons, was put to death in June 1915, and Ḥannā Shūhā, its Chaldean priest since 1910, was arrested in March 1915 and died soon afterwards in prison in Āmid (Fiey).

The Monastery of Mār Awgin

[Fiey, *Nisibe*, 134-41]

The celebrated monastery of Mār Awgin was founded in the fourth century, but little is known of its early history. Two fragmentary inscriptions from the twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries have survived from the

²⁰ Tavernier, *Voyages*, i. 235-7.

²¹ Thévenot, *Suite du voyage du Levant*, 92.

²² Niehbur, *Voyages en Arabie*, ii. 307-9; and Olivier, *Voyages*, iv. 247-50.

²³ *APF*, 4 (1831), 27.

²⁴ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 66-8.

²⁵ Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, ii. 508-11.

monastery, one of which commemorates the death of the metropolitan Sabrīshō' of Nisibis c.1115, and a manuscript was copied in the monastery in 1186 by the monk Šlibā for the church of the Nisibis village of Tel Maḥmad.²⁶ According to a historical note by the sixteenth-century monk Abraham of Kirkūk, the church of the monastery was rebuilt in 1271 on the initiative of the East Syrian metropolitan of Nisibis, 'Abdīshō' Bar Mshak of Gašlōnā²⁷. Its text was published in 1981, and describes how the restoration was carried out by the monks of the monasteries of Mār Awgin and Mār Yōḥannān, helped by the men of the nearby East Syrian village of Ma'arrīn, under the supervision of the architect Raḥmūn, who accepted only a robe from the metropolitan for his services²⁸.

A manuscript was copied in the monastery by the priest and monk Joseph in 1287, and an undated manuscript note written during the reign of the patriarch Yahballāhā III (1281-1317) gives a list of forty-four books in the monastery's library, twenty-two of which were donated by the thirteenth-century metropolitan 'Abdīshō' of Nisibis²⁹. The monastery is not again mentioned until the middle of the fifteenth century, when a series of East Syrian manuscripts copied in the monastery between 1448 and 1599 suggests that it was continuously occupied during this period. Manuscripts were copied in the monastery in 1448 by the priest Nīsān of Erbil; in 1486 by the monk Shem'ōn; in 1501 by the priest and monk David; in 1505 by the monk Abraham, who noted that his manuscript had been commissioned for the monastery by the monk 'Abd Allāh of Nisibis, who had also had five other manuscripts copied for the monastery; in 1526 by the monk Abraham of Kirkūk; and in 1530 by another Abraham, priest of the church of Mār Giwārgīs in Gāzartā³⁰. A manuscript was also copied in the monastery at an unknown date, probably in the fifteenth century, which contains a later note recording the arrival of the monk Abraham (probably Abraham of Kirkūk) in the monastery in August 1512³¹.

The monastery remained loyal to the patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb after the schism of 1552, and was probably the residence of the traditionalist

²⁶ Brock, 'Notes on Some Monasteries on Mount Izla', *Abr-Nahrain*, 19 (1980/1), 1-3; and MS Mosul (Scher) 12.

²⁷ Notes in MSS Seert (Scher) 59 and Mingana Syr 166.

²⁸ Brock, 'Notes on Some Monasteries on Mount Izla', *Abr-Nahrain*, 19 (1980/1), 3-4.

²⁹ MSS Mārdīn (Scher) 9 and 22.

³⁰ MS Vat Syr 91, Diyārbakr (Scher) 54 and 102, Mārdīn (Scher) 1 and 30, and a note in Paris BN Syr 314.

³¹ MS Jerusalem Syr 31.

metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Nisibis. Four manuscripts were copied in the monastery between 1552 and 1554, three by the priest and monk Shem'ōn, son of Ḥōshābā, son of the priest Mubārakshāh, son of 'Azīz, of the Bākhshō family of Mosul, and the fourth by an unknown scribe, whose colophons mention the patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb and the *nāṭar kursyā* Mār Eliyā³². A manuscript was completed in the monastery in 1558 by the metropolitan Īshō'yahb, assisted by the priest Shlemūn of Tel Isqōf and Rabban 'Abd al-Masīḥ³³. In 1599 a traditionalist liturgy was completed in the monastery by the monk Gabriel, nephew of the monk Abraham of Kirkūk³⁴.

The monastery of Mār Awgin is mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610, and its superior Hormizd accompanied two Franciscan monks who visited Eliyā IX Shem'ōn at Alqōsh in 1629. It is not mentioned again until 1739, when a *Life* of Mār Awgin was commissioned from Alqōsh by the deaconess Maryam of the monastery of Mār Awgin and the layman Ḥōshābā³⁵.

The monastery may have been abandoned later in the eighteenth century, as it is not again mentioned until the 1830s. An East Syrian inscription of 1838 in the monastery refers to its superior Joseph 'the Antonian', presumably a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, perhaps sent by the Chaldean church to the monastery of Mār Awgin to revive monastic life there and prevent it from being taken over by the West Syrians³⁶. If so, the attempt was unsuccessful: in 1842/3, only a few years later, a manuscript was copied in the monastery by the Syrian Orthodox bishop Malke of Enḥel, and the monastery remained in West Syrian hands thereafter until the outbreak of the First World War³⁷.

Ma'arrīn

[Fiey, *Nisibe*, 259-61]

Ma'arrīn (or Ma'arre) seems originally to have been an East Syrian village, with a church dedicated to the Beni Shmūni, which acquired a West Syrian community and a bishop (of 'Ma'arre, Nisibis and Gāzartā of Qardū') in the first half of the fourteenth century. Several members of its East Syrian community are known from a number of surviving twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions³⁸. In 1271 seventy of its inhabitants

³² MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 50 and 53, Ūrmī 168, and Mārdīn (Scher) 38.

³³ MS Cambridge Add. 1988.

³⁴ MS Paris BN Syr 314.

³⁵ MS Mingana Syr 166.

³⁶ Brock, 'Notes on Some Monasteries on Mount Izla', *Abr-Nahrain*, 19 (1980/1), 2.

³⁷ MS Mingana Syr 496.

³⁸ Brock, 'Notes on Some Monasteries on Mount Izla', *Abr-Nahrain*, 19 (1980/1), 4-6.

worked on the restoration of the church of the nearby monastery of Mār Awgin together with the monks of the monasteries of Mār Awgin and Mār Yōhannān, and in the final week of the restoration 'the whole of Ma'arre came', led by the village's chief Ḥusain³⁹. A manuscript copied in the monastery of Mār Awgin in 1552 was sold by Īshō' of Ma'arrīn in 1555 to Abraham of 'Ain Tannūr, in the presence of the priest Ḥannā of Nisibis; the chief Mārōge of Ma'arrīn, son of Ṭūrān; and the chief Ya'qōb and the priest Ya'qōb of Ma'arrīn. By 1766 all Ma'arrīn's Christians were West Syrians (Niehbur).

Other Villages in the Nisibis Region

Besides Ma'arrīn, several other East Syrian villages in the Nisibis region are mentioned at different periods. East Syrian manuscripts were copied in 1186 in the monastery of Mār Awgin for the church of Mart Shmūni and the Beni Shmūni in the village of Tel Maḥmad in the diocese of 'Qartā', at the expense of Ṣlibā and his brother Ya'qōb; and in Kfarbūrān in 1429/30 by the scribe Mas'ūd⁴⁰. A manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1208 was later donated to the monastery of Mār Awgin by Rabban Gīwārgīs, son of Jem'ā, from the village of Barmōn⁴¹. An inscription of 1218 from the village of Ma'arrīn mentions an East Syrian Christian named Bar Ḥaḍbshabbā, of the village of Bōtrā⁴². The thirteenth-century East Syrian metropolitan of Nisibis 'Abdīshō' Bar Mshak was a native of the Nisibis village of Gaṣlōnā, whose name also appeared in the title of the bishop of Balad in 1281, and a manuscript copied in 1540 belonged shortly afterwards to Abraham, son of 'Abd Allāh, an East Syrian priest of Mardīn who originated from Gaṣlōnā⁴³. A West Syrian manuscript was rebound by the deacon Najmō, son of Ashtar, of Gaṣlōnā in 1385/6, suggesting that the village also had a West Syrian community at that period⁴⁴. The East Syrian patriarch Bar Ṣawmā (1134-1136) was a native of the Nisibis village of Zubayrīyā, and a thirteenth-century East Syrian metropolitan of Nisibis named 'Abdīshō', also a native of Zubayrīyā, donated a number of books to the monastery of Mār Awgin⁴⁵.

³⁹ Notes in MSS Seert (Scher) 59 and Mingana Syr 166.

⁴⁰ MSS Mosul (Scher) 12 and Paris BN Syr 184.

⁴¹ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 10.

⁴² Brock, 'Notes on Some Monasteries on Mount Izla', *Abr-Nahrain*, 19 (1980/1), 5-6.

⁴³ MS Mardīn (Scher) 21.

⁴⁴ MS Berlin Syr 14.

⁴⁵ Ṣlibā, 104 (Arabic), 60 (Latin); and a note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 9.

Monasteries and Villages in Beṭ 'Arabāye

The region of Beṭ 'Arabāye lay to the south-east of the Nisibis region between Mosul and Nisibis. Its main centres were the towns of Balad (modern Eski Mosul) and Sinjār, both of which had East Syrian bishops, and therefore presumably East Syrian communities, as late as 1318. At an earlier period there were East Syrian communities in the villages of Kfar Zamre (the seat of an East Syrian bishop in 790), Awānā (home of the monk Ahrōn, founder of an eighth-century monastery near Balad), and Beṭ Ushnāyā (mentioned by 'Amr as the scene of a miracle in 1201); there was an East Syrian monastery of Bā'ūt not far from Kfar Zamre (mentioned also by 'Amr in 1201); and there were several East Syrian monasteries in the immediate vicinity of Balad, including the sixth-century monasteries of Mār Īshō'zhā (mentioned in the *History of Rabban Bar 'Idtā*) and Mār Denḥā (mentioned by 'Amr), the monasteries of Mār Peṭiōn, Rabban Ahrōn, and Rabban Joseph (mentioned around the end of the eighth century in Thomas of Margā's *Book of Governors*), and a nunnery in Balad itself (mentioned in the tenth century in the *Life of Rabban Joseph Busnāyā*)⁴⁶. There are no references to any of these communities after the beginning of the thirteenth century, and it is not known whether they survived into the fourteenth century. Only one manuscript has survived from the region, copied in 894 in the monastery of Rabban Joseph near Awānā, on the east bank of the Tigris opposite Balad, by the scribe Ṣlibā-zḥā⁴⁷.

(III) THE ĀMID REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

The Dioceses of Maiperqāṭ and Āmid [Tfinkdji, *EC*, 486-90; Fiey, *POCN*, 49-50]

Five East Syrian bishops of Maiperqāṭ are recorded between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the last of whom, Īshō'dnaḥ, was present at the consecrations of Denḥā I in 1265 and Yahballāhā III in 1281⁴⁸. Although their titles sometimes also included Āmid and Mardīn, Maiperqāṭ was normally given precedence, and they probably sat at Maiperqāṭ rather than either Āmid or Mardīn.

⁴⁶ Fiey, 'Balad et le Béth 'Arabayé irakien', *OS*, 9 (1964), 443-72.

⁴⁷ MS Paris BN Syr 342.

⁴⁸ Fiey, *Martyropolis syriaque*, 20-21.

The names of seven purported fourteenth- and fifteenth-century bishops of 'Āmid and Maiperqāṭ' are listed in a manuscript in the Berlin collection, but the list is unlikely to be genuine⁴⁹. Āmid appears in the title of the metropolitan Elyā of Nisibis between 1477 and 1483, and in the title of the metropolitan Elyā of Gāzartā in 1504, and seems not yet to have been a separate diocese.

An East Syrian diocese specifically for Āmid appears to have been founded shortly after the schism of 1552. The monk Hormizd Ḥabīb Asmar of Āmid was consecrated as metropolitan of Āmid by Sulāqā on 19 November 1553, taking the name Elyā⁵⁰. He was sent to India with Sulāqā's brother Joseph in 1555 by 'Abdīshō' IV, returning to Mesopotamia early in 1561⁵¹. Thereafter he is mentioned as metropolitan of Āmid, dependent on the Catholic patriarchs 'Abdīshō' IV and his successor Shem'ōn 'VIII', in a series of colophons from 1562 to 1579⁵². He was able to convert the patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denhā to Catholicism, and was appointed procurator by a synod of East Syrian bishops in 1580 and sent on a mission to Rome to seek the patriarch's confirmation by the Vatican⁵³. He died in Lebanon in 1582, on his return from Rome. He seems to have been succeeded by a metropolitan of Āmid named Joseph Elyā, mentioned by Leonard Abel in 1583 and 1587⁵⁴.

The metropolitan Elyā Bar Tappe, dependent on the patriarch Elyā VIII, is mentioned under a variety of titles in the colophons of manuscripts copied in the Āmid, Seert and Gāzartā regions between 1599 and 1618, most frequently simply as 'metropolitan' or 'metropolitan of Āmid, Gāzartā and Seert', once as 'metropolitan of Āmid, Seert, Gāzartā and the Bokhtāye', and once as 'metropolitan of Āmid, Gāzartā, Seert, Ṭanze, Ḥezzō and the Gordlāye'⁵⁵. Although normally resident in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb in the Seert region, he clearly also had responsibilities for Āmid for much of his reign, and is mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610 as metropolitan of Āmid⁵⁶.

⁴⁹ MS Berlin Syr 14, folio 187b.

⁵⁰ MS Borgia (Scher) 21.

⁵¹ MS Seert (Scher) 73.

⁵² MSS Vat Syr 149 and 472, Seert (Scher) 73 and 116, Diyārbakr (Scher) 74, 88, and 111, Mosul (Scher) 106, Mardīn (Scher) 37, and Borgia (Scher) 169.

⁵³ Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 89.

⁵⁴ Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 118, 120, and 121.

⁵⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 41, Seert (Scher) 4, 20, 21, 34, 40, 54, 56, 84, 87, 90, and 109, Diyārbakr (Scher) 21, 49, and 108, Borgia (Scher) 12, and Vat Syr 572 and 609.

⁵⁶ Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 114 and 514-5.

In 1615, after his return from his mission in Rome, Elyā VIII's archdeacon Adam was consecrated metropolitan of Āmid. He took the name Timothy, after the disciple of the apostle Paul, in compliment to pope Paul V⁵⁷. He was present at the synod of Āmid in 1616, and signed its acts as 'metropolitan of Jerusalem and Āmid'. He signed the profession of faith of Elyā IX in 1617 as 'archbishop of Jerusalem'. He is mentioned in the dating formula of a manuscript of 1619⁵⁸, and is said to have died during a plague in 1621 or 1622⁵⁹. The note recording his death styled him 'metropolitan of Āmid, Nisibis, Mardīn, Ḥesnā, and Jerusalem'.

After Timothy's death Iṣhō'yahb, nephew and *nāṭar kursyā* of Elyā Bar Tappe and metropolitan of Seert since 1617, seems to have been responsible for Āmid also until his death in 1628. Āmid is included in his title in a colophon of 1625, and a metropolitan named Joseph Iṣhō'yahb, probably the same man, is mentioned in a colophon of 1626 from Aleppo, then probably under the jurisdiction of the metropolitans of Āmid⁶⁰.

Thereafter the diocese of Āmid seems to have been vacant for ten years until it was filled by the metropolitan Shem'ōn, who was the scribe of manuscripts of 1637 and 1638 and is also mentioned in a series of colophons from 1651 to 1657⁶¹. He is associated in these manuscripts with the patriarch Shem'ōn XI, probably because of his Catholic sympathies.

A metropolitan of Āmid named 'Abdīshō' was one of the signatories of a letter of 1669 from the patriarch Elyā X to pope Clement IX⁶². He was succeeded very soon afterwards by Joseph, the future Āmid patriarch Joseph I, who was also initially dependent on the Elyā line. In 1672, not long after his consecration, Joseph became a Catholic, and was recognised as an independent archbishop of Āmid and Mardīn by the Turkish authorities in the face of strenuous opposition from the traditionalist patriarch Elyā X. Not all Āmid's East Syrians followed him, however, and a group loyal to Elyā X put forward one of their number, a man named David, who was consecrated by Elyā X in opposition to Joseph in 1673. David seems to have resided in Āmid for only four years, and on Joseph's return from Rome in 1677 'fled to Egypt, where he has not been heard of since'⁶³. He

⁵⁷ Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 145.

⁵⁸ MS Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 29.

⁵⁹ Note in MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 56.

⁶⁰ MSS Seert (Scher) 6 and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 81.

⁶¹ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 6, 32, 35, and 47, Jerusalem Syr 22 and 50, Mingana Syr 121M, and Berlin Syr 30.

⁶² Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 540.

⁶³ Chabot, *Joseph I*, 86.

was probably the metropolitan David who bought back at an unknown date an East Syrian manuscript previously sold to an Armenian bishop and restored it to the 'church of the Nestorians' in Āmid⁶⁴.

Joseph became the first patriarch of the Āmid Chaldeans in 1681. His health began to deteriorate soon afterwards, and he chose as his successor the Catholic poet Ṣībā Mā'rūf of Telkepe, whom he consecrated as metropolitan of Āmid in 1691, also under the name Joseph. Joseph I left Āmid again in August 1694 for Rome, where he remained until his death in 1707, and in 1696 the metropolitan Joseph of Āmid succeeded him as the second patriarch of the Āmid Chaldeans. Thereafter, the diocese of Āmid appears to have remained vacant for nine years.

Timothy Mārōge of Baghdad was consecrated metropolitan of Āmid by Joseph II in 1705, with responsibility also for Mardīn, and was working among the Chaldeans of Mardīn when he was recalled to Āmid on the outbreak of a plague in 1708⁶⁵. According to the narrative of the Syrian Catholic priest Eliyā ibn al-Qsir, he was the only Chaldean bishop to have survived the plague. He was elected as the third patriarch of the Āmid Chaldeans in 1713, a few months after the death of Joseph II earlier in the same year.

Between 1717 and 1728 the metropolitan of Āmid was 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Garabet, of 'Aīn Tannūr, author of the *Life of Joseph I*, who took the name Basil after his consecration. He was consecrated by Joseph III in 'Aīn Tannūr on Sunday, 5 November 1717, and died on 3 January 1728⁶⁶.

He was succeeded by Timothy Masāji, who was also consecrated by Joseph III (presumably before his departure for Rome in 1731), and seems to have been metropolitan of Āmid for nearly thirty years. According to one source, he died on 31 December 1756, but Tfinkdji states that he died on 1 January 1757, 'poisoned by the heretics, it is said'⁶⁷.

Timothy Masāji was succeeded in 1757 by La'zar Hindi, a pupil of the Propaganda. La'zar Hindi, who also took the name Timothy, was consecrated on 8 February 1757 by Basil, metropolitan of Mardīn, shortly after the death of the patriarch Joseph III in January 1757⁶⁸. He succeeded Joseph III as the fourth Āmid patriarch shortly afterwards, and his trans-

⁶⁴ MS Jerusalem Syr 3.

⁶⁵ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 317.

⁶⁶ Notes in MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 140 and 155.

⁶⁷ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 155; and Tfinkdji, *EC*, 488.

⁶⁸ Propaganda, *Acta*, 127, folio 361.

fer from the diocese of Āmid and appointment as patriarch was confirmed by the Vatican on 25 March 1759⁶⁹.

The succession of metropolitans of Āmid thereafter is relatively well documented. Yōḥannān al-Akkari was consecrated for Āmid by the patriarch Joseph IV in 1760, and died in 1777. He was succeeded by Joseph IV's nephew Augustine Hindi, who remained metropolitan of Āmid (or, in his own eyes, patriarch of Āmid from 1818) until his death in 1827.

Basil Asmar, metropolitan of 'Amādiyā since 1824, fled to Āmid in 1827 and was consecrated metropolitan of Āmid in 1828. On his death in 1842 he was succeeded by Gīwārgīs Peter di Natale, Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd's coadjutor, who died in 1867. Peter Timothy 'Attar was consecrated for Āmid in Rome on 30 January 1870, but because of his unpopularity was transferred to Mardīn in 1873, and replaced by 'Abdīshō' Gīwārgīs Ḥayyāṭ in 1874. After he became patriarch in 1894 Shlemūn Mūshe al-Sabbagh of Mosul was consecrated for Āmid in 1897. The diocese was ruined during the First World War and lapsed after his death in 1923⁷⁰.

The Chaldean diocese of Āmid contained 5,000 believers, with 3 churches, in 1757 (Hindi); 150 Chaldean families, with 4 priests and 2 churches, in 1850 (Badger); 2,000 Chaldeans, with 6 priests, in 1867 (Martin); 3,000 Chaldeans in 1896 (Chabot); and 4,180 Chaldeans, with 12 priests and 5 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji).

Table 2: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Āmid, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Āmid	2,500	6	1	Navdasht	100	0	0
Maiperqāt	500	1	1	Zere	120	1	0
Sharūkhīyā	150	1	1	Hattāḥ	30	0	0
'Aīn Tannūr	80	0	1	Urfa	200	2	1
Bōshat	500	1	0	Total	4,180	12	5

(b) Topographical Survey

The Āmid region was principally a centre of West Syrian and Armenian Christianity, but East Syrian Christians settled in Āmid and elsewhere in the region after the Arab conquest. Āmid and Maiperqāt are first mentioned in the title of an East Syrian bishop in the twelfth centu-

⁶⁹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 375-85.

⁷⁰ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 488-9; and Fiey, *POCN*, 49-50.

ry, and Maiperqāt had an East Syrian community between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, about which a certain amount is known. Its members included the writers Eliyā Bar Shināyā (buried in the East Syrian church in the town after his death in 1046), and Abū Ḥalīm (patriarch under the name Eliyā III from 1179 to 1190); and there was an East Syrian monastery of Mār Qawmā just outside Maiperqāt, which was seized and converted into a mosque in 1087⁷¹. Very little is known of the history of the Āmid region in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries the only known East Syrian communities in the region were in Āmid itself, and in the neighbouring villages of ‘Ain Tannūr and Sharūkhīyā. Badger, as late as 1850, refers only to these three communities, and the other Chaldean communities mentioned by Tfinkdji seem to date from the second half of the nineteenth century. The relatively large Chaldean communities at Bōshat and Maiperqāt are first recorded by Chabot in 1896, who mentioned that a Chaldean church of Mār Joseph had recently been built in Maiperqāt. In 1877 Cutts also mentioned the East Syrian village of Jīzā in the Āmid region, whose inhabitants had resisted conversion to Catholicism⁷².

Āmid

Most of the estimates made by nineteenth-century travellers gave the city of Āmid (Diyārbakr) a population of between 30,000 and 40,000, about two-thirds of whom were Moslems and the majority of the remainder Christians, with a small Jewish community⁷³. The Christian population of Āmid at this period was predominantly Armenian, but there were also significant Syrian Orthodox and Chaldean communities, and rather smaller Armenian Catholic, Syrian Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant communities. In 1892 Cuinet estimated the Christian population of Āmid as about 20,000, consisting of 8,500 Armenians, 900 Armenian Catholics, 950 ‘Jacobites’, 400 Syrian Catholics, 1,000 Chaldeans, 960 Greek Orthodox Christians, and 900 Protestants. Figures for the East Syrian population of Āmid vary widely at different periods. Tavernier mentioned 6,000 ‘Nestorians’ in Āmid in 1664, a figure which seems far too high. Āmid had a community of 120 Chaldean families, with a church and a priest, in 1850 (Badger); 1,200 Chaldeans in 1876 (Otts); 1,600 Chaldeans in 1888 (Moysse d’Orléans); 1,000 Chaldeans in

⁷¹ Fiey, ‘Martyropolis syriacque’, *LM*, 89 (1976), 5-38.

⁷² Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 106.

⁷³ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 279.

1892 (Cuinet); and 2,500 Chaldeans, with 6 priests and a church, in 1913 (Tfinkdji).

Āmid seems to have had an East Syrian community as early as the eleventh century when its name first appears in the title of the bishops of Maiperqāt. The earliest surviving manuscripts from this community were copied in 1240 by the priest Malkīshō’, in 1371 by the scribe Abraham, son of Thomas, of Āmid, in 1468 by the priest Eliyā of Āmid, in 1477 in Seert by the deacon Ḥabīb of Āmid, and in 1480 by an unknown scribe for the scholar Ḥabīb, probably of Āmid⁷⁴. A manuscript was donated to the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid in 1458 by the metropolitan ‘Abdīshō’ of Nisibis⁷⁵.

Āmid had more than a dozen East Syrian priests at the time of the schism of 1552. A manuscript was bought for its church of Mār Peṭiōn in 1546 by the priests Īshō’, son of the priest Ḥassan, ‘Abd Allāh, son of Darwīsh, Ḥōshābā, son of Yaḥyā, Ḥōshābā, son of Ba’dad, Fakhr al-Dīn, son of the priest ‘Abd Masīḥ, Īshō’, son of the priest Safar, ‘Īsā, ‘Arab Ōghli, and ‘Abd Allāh, son of Naṣr al-Dīn; and by the notables Bairam, ‘sacristan of the sacristans and faithful servant of the king’, Hormizd, son of Dimashqi, Yōssephshāh, Qarājā, Shamsi, the venerable Salmān, and Ya’qōb Shāh, son of Shemeḥ⁷⁶. Ya’qōb Shāh is possibly to be identified with the notable Ya’qōb, of the Shāme family, of Āmid, for whose son the priest Abraham another manuscript was copied in the same year⁷⁷. In 1554 another manuscript was donated to the church of Mār Peṭiōn by the priest ‘Abd Allāh, son of the deacon Nāṣr al-Dīn, son of the priest Abraham, one of the priests associated with the donation of 1546⁷⁸. A manuscript was also copied in Āmid in 1560 by an unknown scribe⁷⁹.

After the schism of 1552 Āmid was for several years the centre of Sulāqā’s Catholic movement, and a number of manuscripts were copied in the city by three of the metropolitans he consecrated after his return from Rome in 1553. Two manuscripts were copied in Āmid in 1554 by the metropolitan ‘Abdīshō’ Mārōn of Gāzartā, and a third in 1564 by the metropolitan Ḥnānīshō’ of Mardīn⁸⁰. The energetic metropolitan Eliyā

⁷⁴ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 57 and 73, Paris BN Ar 206, Borgia (Scher) 52, and Kirkūk (Vosté) 39.

⁷⁵ MS Jerusalem Syr 12.

⁷⁶ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 38.

⁷⁷ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 76.

⁷⁸ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 130.

⁷⁹ MS Jerusalem Syr 3.

⁸⁰ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 130, Jerusalem (St Mark’s) 116, and Mosul (Scher) 65.

Asmar Ḥabīb of Āmid, who left his diocese for several years after Sulāqā's death to accompany the late patriarch's brother Joseph to India, returned to Āmid in 1561. After his return he copied several manuscripts in the city between 1562 and 1579, and donated two manuscripts to its church of Mār Peṭiōn⁸¹. The Catholic ascendancy in Āmid in the decades after the schism appears to have been almost complete. Leonard Abel remarked in 1587 that the richest and most powerful of the 'Eastern Chaldeans' lived in Āmid, and mentioned the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad of Āmid as one of the most educated Catholic converts at that period⁸².

In the 1570s Āmid was the scene of two events suggesting a period of anti-Christian feeling. In 1572 Yōḥannān, the East Syrian bishop of Ātel, was taken under unknown circumstances to Āmid, where he was stoned and burned to death. In 1576 the West Syrian patriarch Ignatius Ni'mat Allāh was intimidated into converting to Islam in Āmid, later fleeing to Rome where he was reconciled with pope Gregory XIII in 1583. Both events were commemorated in verses composed in 1578 by the East Syrian scribe 'Aṭāyā of Alqōsh, and also mentioned in manuscript notes by East Syrian scribes⁸³. Interestingly, Āmid had a Christian governor at the time of these events, or slightly later: a manuscript was bought from a Moslem soldier in 1592 and restored to 'its old monastery', probably the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid, by Abraham, son of Faraj, 'governor of the province of Āmid for the emir Haj Shakūni Beg'⁸⁴.

The church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid received two significant donations in the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1606 the deacon Gīwārgīs, son of the notable Salmān (possibly the Āmid notable of the same name mentioned in 1546), donated three pieces of land in the nearby village of Sharūkhīyā to the church, and also made provision for annual gifts of oil to the churches of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem and Mār Gīwārgīs in Ḥesnā d'Kifā and the monasteries of Mār Ya'qōb near Seert and Mār Peṭiōn near Mardīn⁸⁵. In 1615 Eliyā VIII's archdeacon Adam returned from Rome and in the following year was consecrated metropolitan of Āmid under the name Timothy. He brought with him a number of papal gifts, including 12,000 pieces of gold (doubtless to be used for work among the Catholic parishes), fifteen stoles and pallia, and two gold crowns. The stoles and

⁸¹ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 74, 88, 100, and 111, Jerusalem Syr 4, Borgia (Scher) 21, and Vat Syr 149.

⁸² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121.

⁸³ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 50, Seert (Scher) 83, and Dawrā Syr 370.

⁸⁴ MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 56.

⁸⁵ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 38.

crowns were deposited in the church of Mār Peṭiōn, and were still there in 1697/8, when they were seen by the patriarch Joseph II⁸⁶.

Three manuscripts were copied in Āmid in 1611, 1619, and 1632 by unnamed scribes (the last of which, interestingly, was a traditionalist liturgy); a fourth was restored in 1616 for the church of Mār Peṭiōn by the pilgrim Timothy; and a fifth was copied in the Āmid region, possibly in Āmid itself, in 1625 by the priest Benjamin, son of Bahdīn, of the Jamwān family⁸⁷. The priest 'Abd al-Karīm, son of Hindi, 'also known as Rabban Sehyōn of the Tomāne family', the secretary of the metropolitan Shem'ōn of Āmid, was the scribe of manuscripts of 1635 and 1655 copied for the church of Mār Peṭiōn⁸⁸. Manuscripts were also copied in Āmid in 1637 and 1638 by the metropolitan Shem'ōn; in 1645 by the priest Makabā, son of the priest 'Īsā; in 1651, 1652 and 1654 by unnamed scribes; in 1655 by the priest 'Abd al-Karīm, son of Īshō', of the Gāzartā village of Shāh; and in 1670 by the deacon Makbai, son of Kaskūn⁸⁹.

The traditionalist patriarch Eliyā X Yōḥannān Mārōgin reacted vigorously when he heard of the conversion to Catholicism in 1672 of the metropolitan Joseph of Āmid. He came in person to Āmid, temporarily repossessed the church of Mār Peṭiōn, and was generally believed to have resorted to bribery to have Joseph briefly imprisoned and tortured. He remained in Āmid for several months, during which he failed to persuade the civil authorities to compel Joseph to return to his former allegiance. After several hearings before the Moslem authorities, in which testimony was heard from the various Christian communities in the city, Joseph was recognised as an independent Catholic archbishop with jurisdiction over Āmid and Mardīn⁹⁰. Eliyā X returned to Alqōsh in failure, having (as a contemporary manuscript note mentioned) 'lost a lot of money'⁹¹. His rare appearance in the city had been an eagerly-awaited event, but his rustic ways and his delivery of a sermon in Syriac in the church of Mār Peṭiōn disappointed the urbane Christian society of Āmid:

The word went out through all the Armenian, Greek and Syrian provinces, that Mār Eliyā had come from the mountain like a new apostle, to evange-

⁸⁶ Note in MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 56.

⁸⁷ MSS Borgia (Scher) 12, Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 29, Vat Syr 84, Seert (Scher) 6, and Mardīn (Scher) 28.

⁸⁸ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 122 and Mingana Syr 121M.

⁸⁹ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 6, 32, 33, and 47, Jerusalem Syr 22, 48, and 50, Berlin Syr 30, and Mingana Syr 122B.

⁹⁰ Chabot, *Joseph I*, 72-3.

⁹¹ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 17.

lise the world. But after waiting for some time in the church they heard neither psalms, nor sermon, nor prayer, nor interpretation of the Gospel; for he had never been to school, and knew neither Arabic nor Turkish. On the other hand, none could match him at smoking or drinking strong liquor⁹².

Joseph I was himself a native of Āmid, and was educated by the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Ḥaleb⁹³. He was the scribe of manuscripts of 1674 (as metropolitan) and 1683 (as patriarch) at Āmid⁹⁴. A number of other Catholic manuscripts were copied by scribes in or from Āmid at this period: in 1686 by 'Abd al-Aḥad, 'pupil of the patriarch Gīwārgīs' (apparently a reference to Joseph I, also called Gīwārgīs in the manuscript's dating formula); in 1698 by the deacon Isha'yā, son of the priest Darwīsh; and in 1705 by the deacon Abraham⁹⁵. The patriarch Joseph II copied a number of manuscripts in Āmid between 1691 and 1706, and two manuscripts in Rome in 1701⁹⁶. 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of David, of Āmid (possibly the scribe of 1686) copied a number of manuscripts at Paris between 1692 and 1711⁹⁷. A manuscript was donated to the church of Mār Peṭiōn in 1698 by a certain 'Absaid, for the young priest Ṭalyā, son of Jem'ā, who had recently come to Āmid after a visit to Jerusalem in the previous year⁹⁸.

In 1708 there was a serious outbreak of plague in Āmid, which broke out first among the city's Moslems, then spread to the Christians. The patriarch Joseph II was one of the victims, and it fell to the metropolitan of Āmid Timothy Mārōge, his eventual successor, to minister to the Catholic community during this difficult time:

Day and night he would make an unending round of the houses of the Catholics, hearing confessions, delivering the viaticum, administering extreme unction, comforting the dying, and even accompanying the bodies for burial outside the city, as the custom of the country is. Burials were not infrequent, as seven or eight Catholics died every day. In the midst of such labours and dangers it pleased the Lord to preserve him unharmed, and free from all evil, to comfort the poor souls of his people⁹⁹.

A number of priests, deacons, and other Catholic notables from Āmid are known from the reign of Joseph III, chiefly from the surviving Italian

⁹² Chabot, *Joseph I*, 69-81.

⁹³ Chabot, *Joseph I*, 68.

⁹⁴ MSS Borgia (Scher) 37 and BM Syr (Wright) 305.

⁹⁵ MSS Vat Syr 491 and Diyārbakr (Scher) 104 and 114.

⁹⁶ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 26, 33, 104, and 140, Assfalg Syr 2, Vat Syr 43, 44, 63, and 181, Trichur 67, and Dawrā Syr 485.

⁹⁷ MSS Paris BN Syr 95, 96, 97, 99, 185, 188, and 200.

⁹⁸ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 95.

⁹⁹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 317.

translations of letters sent by the city's Chaldean community to Rome in 1733 and in 1739 pleading for his return. Unfortunately, several names have been deformed beyond recognition, but the letters mention the priest Mikhā'īl and five deacons ('Abdiroē, Ḥōshābā, Abraham, 'Dehua' and 'Abraie') in 1733; and five priests (Gīwārgīs, Thomas, Stephen, Daniel and Mikhā'īl) and five deacons (Ya'qōb, Mikhā'īl, Eliyā, Abraham, Peter and Ḥōshābā) in 1739, together with more than twenty named notables¹⁰⁰. A copy of Joseph II's *Book of the Pure Mirror* was also sent to Rome for the Vatican collection during the reign of Joseph III by the deacon Yōhannān, son of the deacon Iṣhō', of Āmid¹⁰¹.

Several monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd were ordained priests or consecrated bishops at Āmid by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi in the early 1820s, and copied manuscripts during their stay in the city. They include a manuscript copied partly in the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid and partly in the church of Mār Quriāqōs in 'Ain Tannūr in 1823 by the monks Stephen and Yōhannān Kattūlā shortly before their ordination, with the assistance of the priests Thomas and Andrew; a manuscript copied in Āmid in 1824 by the deacon Shem'ōn Asmar of Telkepe; and two manuscripts copied in 1825, the first by the deacon and monk Anselm and the monk Athanasius, both of Tel Isqōf, and the second by the same Anselm, now a priest, and Joseph Audō, recently consecrated metropolitan of 'Amādiyā¹⁰².

Several other nineteenth-century manuscripts have survived from Āmid. Manuscripts were copied in the church of Mār Peṭiōn in 1838 by the deacon Joseph, son of the deacon Ya'qōb, son of the priest Mikhā'īl Māwīnā, of 'Ain Tannūr; in 1851 by the scribe Anṭōn, son of Hannūsh; and in 1874 by the priest Hieronymus Joseph, son of 'Abd al-Masīḥ Baṣmāji, son of Ya'qōb Bakmaz Ōghli, son of Peter Qarbīnā Ōghli; and a manuscript was copied by the Alqōsh scribe 'Īsā of Eqrōr in 1890 for the archdeacon Peter 'Ābed of Āmid¹⁰³.

Considering its size and earlier importance as a Catholic centre, relatively few Chaldeans from Āmid rose to prominence in the Chaldean church in the nineteenth century. During the lifetime of Gabriel Dambō only two men from Āmid entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, the deacon Joseph in 1822 and the deacon Peṭiōn in 1827. Joseph, who was

¹⁰⁰ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 356 and 360.

¹⁰¹ MS Vat Syr 181.

¹⁰² MSS 'Aqra (Ḥabbi) 30 and Dawrā Syr 175, 180, and 757.

¹⁰³ MSS Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 33, and Mīngana Syr 571, 575B, and 587.

employed for several years in teaching the monks Syriac, later became a priest and the monastery's administrator, but left and returned to Āmid in 1827 after a disagreement with Gabriel Dambō¹⁰⁴. After the union of the Āmid and Mosul patriarchates in 1828 only two Chaldean bishops (Jerome Paul Hindi, nephew of the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi, and Peter Timothy 'Attar) originated from Āmid.

Sharūkhīyā

The village of Sharūkhīyā, just south of Āmid, is first mentioned in 1540, when a manuscript was copied for its church of Mart Shmūni¹⁰⁵. The village was listed as the seat of a bishop in 'Abdīshō' IV Mārōn's letter of 1562, and its Catholic community is also mentioned on several occasions in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. In 1606 the deacon Gīwārgīs, son of Salmān, donated three pieces of land in Sharūkhīyā to the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid¹⁰⁶. A manuscript from Gāzartā was bought in Sharūkhīyā in 1613 by the Catholic deacon Constans and his father Gīwārgīs, in the presence of the priests Gīwārgīs, Luke and Hormizd¹⁰⁷. Two later notes in the manuscript mention that Shazemānā, wife of Yazdān, donated a valuable golden cup and a house in Sharūkhīyā to the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid, 'partly for the priests of that church, and partly for the table of the bishop'; and that Dilengius the merchant gave some land 'next to the large field' in Sharūkhīyā to the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid. A manuscript was copied in 1647 for the church of Mart Shmūni in Sharūkhīyā, and in 1653 a manuscript was copied in the village by its priest Iyyūb¹⁰⁸. The priest 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Hormizd, of Sharūkhīyā, was the scribe of manuscripts of 1667, 1696, and 1697, and his grandson Mārōgin, son of Hasadō, copied a manuscript in 1723 in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in the village of Ḥarbā 'in the district of Parshīn'¹⁰⁹.

'Ain Tannūr

The village of 'Ain Tannūr, on the western outskirts of Āmid, is first mentioned in 1555, when a manuscript was sold at Ma'arrīn to Abraham of 'Ain Tannūr, for the use of his nephew the deacon Gīwārgīs, son of the

¹⁰⁴ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 116-7.

¹⁰⁵ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 52.

¹⁰⁶ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 38.

¹⁰⁷ MS Vat Syr 83.

¹⁰⁸ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 121 and 146.

¹⁰⁹ MSS Harvard Syr 142, Dawrā Syr 578, and Ūrmī 105, and a manuscript of 1723 seen by S.P. Brock.

deacon Darwīsh¹¹⁰. The village was listed as the seat of a bishop in 'Abdīshō' IV Mārōn's letter of 1562, and manuscripts were commissioned for its church of Mār Quriāqōs in 1568 by the priest Hormizd, son of 'Īsā, the priest Isaac, son of Shaylelā, and his son the priest 'Abdal; and in 1573 by 'Abd Allāh, son of Safar, and his son Jihanshāh¹¹¹. Three men from 'Ain Tannūr (Misrael, Isaac and Abraham) were among a group of East Syrian pilgrims who accompanied the metropolitan Ḥnān-īshō' of Mardīn to Jerusalem in 1582¹¹².

In 1661 a manuscript was donated to the church of Mār Quriāqōs by Gīwārgīs, son of Shāhīn¹¹³. In 1672 the patriarch Eliyā X Yōḥannān Mārōgin withdrew to 'Ain Tannūr after the Moslem authorities in Āmid recognised the metropolitan Joseph as an independent Catholic archbishop, and remained there for several weeks¹¹⁴. At this period most of the village's inhabitants were traditionalists, but several decades later the Catholics were in the majority. 'Ain Tannūr was among the villages whose Catholic communities were recognised at Constantinople in 1731, and its most notable son was the Catholic priest 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Garabet, who was metropolitan of Āmid from 1717 to 1728 under the name Basil. He was also the scribe of manuscripts of 1693, 1694, and 1702 (the earliest in Āmid and the other two in 'Ain Tannūr), and his *Life of Joseph I*, the main source for the career of the first Āmid patriarch, was completed on 23 May 1719¹¹⁵.

Several manuscripts were copied in 'Ain Tannūr in the eighteenth century, including a manuscript of 1707 by an unnamed scribe; five manuscripts between 1717 and 1765 by the deacon Mīkhā'īl, son of the metropolitan Basil (who also copied an undated manuscript at Āmid as the pupil of the patriarch Joseph III); and a manuscript of 1767 by the fifteen-year-old female scribe Teresa, 'daughter of the priest Ḥajadōr, son of the deacon 'Abd al-Karīm, son of the priest Bākōs, son of the priest Ḥajō, son of the priest Sabrīshō', of 'Ain Tannūr'¹¹⁶. A detailed note in the last of these manuscripts mentions that the priest Ḥajō died on 14

¹¹⁰ Note of 1555 in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 53.

¹¹¹ MSS Vat Syr 567 and Diyārbakr (Scher) 44.

¹¹² Note in MS Jerusalem Syr 3.

¹¹³ MS Mardīn (Scher) 19.

¹¹⁴ Chabot, *Joseph I*, 81.

¹¹⁵ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 120, Dawrā Syr 746, and Mardīn (Scher) 15; and Chabot, *Joseph I*, 90.

¹¹⁶ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 138, 155, and 156, Vat Syr 606, Berlin Syr 112, BM Syr 272, Mingana Syr 123, and Borgia (Scher) 32.

April 1692, the deacon 'Abd al-Karīm on 24 December 1719, and the priest Bākōs on 8 June 1725, and another note gives the dates of the deaths of several recent metropolitans of Āmid.

During the nineteenth century the Christians of 'Aīn Tannūr (by then renamed Ali Punar) were attacked on two occasions. In 1815 the village was raided by the Kurds, who killed most of its Chaldean inhabitants and forced the few survivors to take refuge in Āmid. In 1895 many members of the village's Armenian community were killed, and the church of Mār Quriāqōs and an Armenian church in the village were pillaged¹¹⁷. However, a small Chaldean community persisted in the village up to the outbreak of the First World War, mentioned by Badger in 1850 (who called the village 'Ali Pasha'), Chabot in 1892, and Třinkdji in 1913. A manuscript was partly copied in the church of Mār Quriāqōs in 'Aīn Tannūr in 1823 by the monks Stephen and Yōhannān Kattulā during their stay in Āmid to receive ordination, and the deacon Joseph, son of the deacon Ya'qōb, son of Mikhā'il Māwīnā, of 'Aīn Tannūr copied a manuscript in Āmid in 1838¹¹⁸.

(IV) EGYPT, SYRIA, PALESTINE, CILICIA AND CYPRUS

(a) Ecclesiastical History

There were several East Syrian dioceses in the eastern Mediterranean before the fourteenth century, the earliest of which seems to have been Damascus, first mentioned as a diocese in the metropolitan province of Nisibis in the seventh century by Thomas of Margā, and raised to the status of a metropolis during the reign of Timothy I (780-823). Several metropolitans of Damascus are mentioned between the eighth and eleventh centuries, the last of whom, Marqos, was appointed during the reign of the patriarch 'Abdīshō' II (1074-1090)¹¹⁹. It is not clear whether the diocese survived into the twelfth century, and it was not revived at a later date.

The province of Damascus had a number of suffragan dioceses at different periods. In 893, according to the metropolitan Elīyā of Damascus, its suffragan dioceses were Aleppo, Jerusalem, Mambeg, Mopsuestia, and Tarsus and Malatya¹²⁰. While the diocese of Jerusalem later became

¹¹⁷ Chabot, *Joseph I*, 82.

¹¹⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 180 and Mingana Syr 575B.

¹¹⁹ Fiey, *POCN*, 72.

¹²⁰ Assemani, *BO*, ii. 485-9.

a metropolis and survived into the thirteenth century, only one eleventh-century bishop of Aleppo is known, and no bishops are recorded from the other three dioceses¹²¹. The dioceses of Aleppo, Mambeg, Mopsuestia and Tarsus and Malatya probably came to an end well before the thirteenth century, and although the title of Tarsus was used by the East Syrian metropolitans of Cyprus in the fifteenth century, there is no evidence that Tarsus itself still had an East Syrian community at this period. An eleventh-century source also mentions Egypt as a suffragan diocese in the province of Damascus (together with Jerusalem and Aleppo), and a number of East Syrian bishops of Egypt are known between the eighth and eleventh centuries¹²². By the end of the eleventh century Egypt had become a metropolis, and Mārī mentions the metropolitans Yōhannān of Ḥadīṭā, consecrated for Egypt by the patriarch Sabrīshō' III in 1063/4, and Marqos, present at the consecration of the patriarch Makkīkhā I in 1092¹²³. It is doubtful whether the diocese survived into the thirteenth century.

By the second half of the thirteenth century Jerusalem was probably the only remaining East Syrian diocese in the eastern Mediterranean. Several bishops and metropolitans of Jerusalem are mentioned between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, the last of whom, Abraham, was present at the consecration of the patriarch Yahballāhā III in 1281¹²⁴. He was styled 'metropolitan of Jerusalem and Tripolis', and probably resided in Tripolis. The diocese of Jerusalem is not known to have persisted into the fourteenth century, and its metropolitan may have fled to Cyprus after the fall of Acre and the remaining Frankish footholds in Palestine in 1291.

Cyprus had a small East Syrian merchant community in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, probably established after the fall of Acre, with a metropolitan who seems to have inherited the title of Tarsus. In the middle of the fourteenth century this community came under considerable pressure to submit to the authority of Rome. In 1326 pope John XXII instructed the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem to extirpate the 'Jacobite and Nestorian heresies' in Cyprus by whatever means he chose, and in 1340 the East Syrian metropolitan Elīyā of Cyprus made a Catholic profession of faith¹²⁵. Despite his submission, a distinct East Syrian community was

¹²¹ Fiey, *POCN*, 48, 106, 112, and 138.

¹²² Fiey, *POCN*, 78.

¹²³ Mārī, 125 and 138 (Arabic), 110 and 118 (Latin).

¹²⁴ Fiey, *POCN*, 97-8.

¹²⁵ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 226.

still in existence in Cyprus a century later. In 1445 the East Syrian metropolitan Timothy 'of Tarsus' also made a Catholic profession of faith, and the East Syrians of Cyprus were renamed 'Chaldeans' by the Vatican, a term with a distinguished future ahead of it. Once again the metropolitan was unable to bring over all his congregation, and a brief prepared in 1450 by pope Nicholas V for the archbishop of Nicosia mentioned that many of the 'Chaldeans' had 'already returned to Nestorianism'¹²⁶. In 1472 a bull of pope Sixtus IV confined the jurisdiction of the East Syrian bishops to the towns in which they resided, enabling Catholic missionaries to work without hindrance among their congregations in the country villages¹²⁷. The Venetians, who succeeded the Lusignans as rulers of the island in 1489, applied a rigid policy of Latinisation on Cyprus, and many of the island's remaining East Syrians were probably assimilated into the Catholic church in the sixteenth century. Nevertheless, a distinct East Syrian community remained at Famagusta until its capture by the Turks in 1571, when it lost most of its possessions.

The small East Syrian communities in Jerusalem, Cyprus and Aleppo seem to have been under the jurisdiction of the metropolitans of Āmid for several decades after the schism of 1552. The metropolitan Eliyā Asmar Ḥabīb corresponded with Cardinal Caraffa in 1581 on the affairs of Cyprus and Jerusalem¹²⁸. Jerusalem was also included in the title of Timothy, metropolitan of Āmid, between 1615 and his death in 1621/2¹²⁹. The dating formula of a manuscript of 1626 copied in Aleppo by the deacon Maqbai, of the Tappe family (probably of Seert) mentions the patriarch Eliyā (Eliyā IX Shem'ōn) and the metropolitan Joseph Īshō'yahb, almost certainly the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Seert and Āmid mentioned elsewhere¹³⁰.

In the seventeenth century the East Syrians of Jerusalem were dependent on the Mosul patriarchate, and Aleppo also became dependent on the Mār Eliyā line after a jurisdictional dispute between the Āmid and Mosul patriarchates was settled in 1731 by the civil authorities, who awarded Āmid and Mardīn to Joseph III and Mosul and Aleppo to Eliyā XII¹³¹. Several cities in the eastern Mediterranean (Cairo, Alexandria,

¹²⁶ Hackett, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, 533.

¹²⁷ De Mas-Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 325-330.

¹²⁸ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 96-7.

¹²⁹ Note in MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 56.

¹³⁰ MS Alqōsh (Şana) 81.

¹³¹ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 241.

Damascus, Aleppo, Deir al-Zor, Adana and Urfa) had small Chaldean diaspora communities in the nineteenth century, and most of these communities had Chaldean patriarchal vicars by 1913.

(b) *Topographical Survey*

With the exception of Jerusalem, discussed in greater detail below, little is known of the small East Syrian communities in the eastern Mediterranean, most of which appear to have come to an end before the fourteenth century. Beyond the bare fact that they once had East Syrian bishops, no trace has survived of the communities in Tarsus, Malatya, and Mopsuestia, and the East Syrians of Damascus remain almost equally elusive¹³². A manuscript, later donated to the monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem, was copied in the monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs near Aleppo in 1261, probably an East Syrian church or monastery, and Aleppo also had an East Syrian community in 1731, when it was placed under the jurisdiction of the traditionalist patriarch Eliyā XII Denhā¹³³. In Egypt, an East Syrian monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs near Cairo is attested in the twelfth century, which was taken over by the Coptic church in 1181, 'because no Nestorians were left in Egypt, except one or two men'¹³⁴.

There were a number of East Syrian communities in Syria and Palestine at different times, which appear to have prospered under Frankish rule during the Crusades. The ruins of a small East Syrian monastery were discovered near Jericho in 1933, with a ninth-century inscription recording its foundation around the middle of the seventh century¹³⁵. An edict issued shortly after the capture of Acre in 1191 by the Franks confined Jews, Samaritans and 'Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Nestorians, Mosulites, Armenians and other Syrian languages' to the city's unfortified northern suburb of Mont Musard, and required them to trade at an 'upper market' in this suburb instead of at the 'lower market' in the city's old quarter.¹³⁶ In 1247 the patriarch Sabrīshō' V wrote to pope Innocent IV, commending to his care the East Syrian metropolitan of Jerusalem Īshō'yahb, and the East Syrians living under

¹³² Fiey, 'Les insaisissables nestoriens de Damas', *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*, 18 (1985), 167-80.

¹³³ MS Jerusalem Syr 9; and Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 241.

¹³⁴ Meinardus, *Nestorians in Egypt*, 119-20.

¹³⁵ Fiey, 'Rabban Būya de Shaqlāwā, et de Jéricho', *POC*, 33 (1983), 34-8.

¹³⁶ Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 259-62.

Frankish rule at Antioch, Tripolis, Acre and 'elsewhere' in the Latin east¹³⁷.

After the destruction of the Frankish kingdoms in Syria and Palestine in the 1290s, Cyprus became the forward base for crusading activity, and Famagusta, under the Lusignan dynasty founded by Peter I (1359-1369), soon replaced Acre as a centre for trade with the cities of northern Syria and Cilicia. Many of the East Syrian merchants who had previously enjoyed the security of Frankish rule in the coastal cities of Palestine probably transferred their activities to Famagusta, and a small East Syrian merchant community with a church of Mart Maryam is also mentioned in the Egyptian city of Damietta in 1346 by Niccolo of Poggibonsi¹³⁸. Famagusta certainly had an East Syrian community by 1335, when an Arabic manuscript was copied in 'Magūshā in the island of Cyprus' by the priest Ṣībā, son of Yōhannān, of Mosul (probably the famous fourteenth-century East Syrian historian)¹³⁹. James of Verona, presumably unable to distinguish between Greek and Syriac, also stated in 1335 that the island's 'Nestorians' celebrated their rites in Greek; and at a slightly later date Stephen of Lusignan saw the holy sacrament carried in a joint religious procession, in which 'the Nestorians were placed between the Jacobites and the Ethiopians'¹⁴⁰.

An attractive fourteenth-century East Syrian church, dedicated to Mart Maryam, still survives in Famagusta. It was built in the romanesque style in 1359 by the East Syrian merchant Francis Lakhas, remembered by his contemporaries for spending lavishly on entertainment and presents to ingratiate himself with Peter I and his nobles¹⁴¹. The East Syrian community in Famagusta, apparently still a distinct group, is last mentioned in a letter of the East Syrian metropolitan Eliyā Asmar Ḥabīb of Āmid to Cardinal Caraffa in 1581, seeking his assistance in recovering 'many robes, books, manuscripts and other church property' from the church of Mart Maryam in Famagusta, which had been taken to Italy by the Venetians after the city's capture by the Turks in 1571¹⁴².

¹³⁷ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 1-3.

¹³⁸ Meinardus, *Nestorians in Egypt*, 120.

¹³⁹ MS Paris BN Ar 204.

¹⁴⁰ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 226.

¹⁴¹ Jeffery, *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*, 103.

¹⁴² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 96.

Jerusalem

An East Syrian community in Jerusalem is first mentioned in the seventh century, in the letters of Īshō'yahb III, and the city was the seat of an East Syrian bishop (later a metropolitan) as late as the thirteenth century. Very little is known of the fortunes of this community during the Crusades, but it may well have moved temporarily, perhaps to Tripolis, around the middle of the thirteenth century, as Sabrīshō' V's letter of 1247 mentioned East Syrian communities in Acre and elsewhere in the Latin East, but not in Jerusalem itself. Such a move would not be surprising: after changing hands several times, Jerusalem finally fell to the Moslems in 1244, and by 1260 its fortifications were in ruins and its population had dwindled to 2,000, of whom only 300 were Christians¹⁴³.

Christians seem to have been able to return to Jerusalem after the destruction of the Latin Kingdom in 1291, and a number of European visitors to Jerusalem in the fourteenth century, including Guilielm de Boldensele (1336), Ludolph von Suchem (1348), and Philippe de Mézières (1384) mentioned Jerusalem's East Syrian community in general terms. Nicholas of Poggibonsi, writing in 1346, stated that the 'Nestorians' had a station behind the apse in the northern part of Jerusalem's Church of the Resurrection, and that on Olive Saturday they would congregate in front of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with the other Christian groups, 'on one side the Greeks, the Christians of the Girdle and the Nestorians, and on the other side the Nubians, the Jacobites, the Georgians and the Latins'¹⁴⁴.

Brief references by several European visitors confirm that an East Syrian community persisted in Jerusalem throughout the fifteenth century, but it seems to have lost its privileges by the early years of the sixteenth century, as in 1516 the pilgrim Francesco Suriano stated that 'the Nestorians have no monastery or any habitation in Jerusalem', and by the end of the sixteenth century the traditional East Syrian station in the Church of the Resurrection was in the hands of the Armenians¹⁴⁵. Their status was restored around the middle of the sixteenth century by the Catholic convert Eliyā Asmar Ḥabīb of Āmid, who mentioned in a petition to Cardinal Caraffa in 1581 that he had bought a hospice in Jerusalem for the use of East Syrian pilgrims shortly before his consecra-

¹⁴³ Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, 251-2.

¹⁴⁴ Meinardus, *Nestorians in Egypt*, 125-6.

¹⁴⁵ Meinardus, *Nestorians in Egypt*, 126.

tion as metropolitan of Āmid by Sulāqā early in 1554, and that he had persuaded the Turkish authorities to provide a chapel in the church of the Holy Sepulchre for the use of the Chaldeans, 'as his was the only nation not to have a residence in the city and a chapel within the Holy Sepulchre'¹⁴⁶.

The chapel, to the left of the Holy Sepulchre, is marked on a plan of the church made by Bernadino Amico in 1593, who stated that it was dedicated to Mary Magdalene, and is also mentioned in the report of 1610, where it is called the Chapel of the Crucifixion¹⁴⁷. The hospice is probably to be identified with the East Syrian monastery of Mart Maryam, first mentioned in 1576, and also described as a church, though it appears to have had resident monks. The monastery, which was later taken over by the traditionalists, remained the main East Syrian centre in Jerusalem into the eighteenth century. Over fifty of the ninety-five manuscripts in its library have been preserved in the collection of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Jerusalem, the West Syrian monastery of Saint Mark's in Jerusalem, and elsewhere, and their colophons, together with occasional references in the literary sources, supply a considerable amount of information on the East Syrian community in Jerusalem and visiting East Syrian pilgrims between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Elīyā Asmar Ḥabīb presumably intended the chapel and the hospice in Jerusalem for the use of Catholic converts, but neither site remained in Catholic hands for long. The monk Elīyā of Āmid (probably a Catholic) copied at least one, and perhaps two, manuscripts in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1570, and also copied a manuscript between June 1570 and July 1572 for the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Āmid¹⁴⁸. By 1610, however, the chapel in the church of the Holy Sepulchre was claimed by the traditionalist patriarch Elīyā VIII, whose recent contacts with the Vatican had won him special consideration from its representatives in Jerusalem:

We have a chapel in Jerusalem in the church of the Holy Sepulchre called the Chapel of the Crucifixion, where the Mass is celebrated in Syriac. We share this place with the Italian brothers, and every year we give them 400 flasks of oil towards its maintenance. We and the Maronites are the only nation permitted to accompany the Catholics in their processions, as we

¹⁴⁶ Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 96-7.

¹⁴⁷ Meinardus, *Nestorians in Egypt*, 126-7.

¹⁴⁸ MSS Vat Syr 84 and 90, and Seert (Scher) 62.

alone have always remained in a friendly union with the holy mother church¹⁴⁹.

The chapel must have been confiscated soon afterwards, as in 1614 pope Paul V, at the request of Elīyā VIII, ordered the custodian of the Holy Land to 'restore' it to the East Syrians¹⁵⁰. The chapel is not mentioned again, and in 1697 an English visitor to Jerusalem mentioned that the former 'Nestorian' station in the church had been abandoned¹⁵¹.

By 1581 the hospice had been appropriated by a rich East Syrian woman, probably a traditionalist, 'who had the ear of the Turk', and Elīyā Asmar Ḥabīb appealed for Cardinal Caraffa's help in recovering it¹⁵². If the hospice and the monastery of Mart Maryam are to be identified, the appropriation may have taken place around 1576, when a manuscript was commissioned by Elīyā Asmar Ḥabīb from Gāzartā (a traditionalist centre) for 'the church of the Nestorians (*sic*) in Jerusalem, situated near the church of the Franks, north of Christ's tomb'¹⁵³. Two monks of the monastery were active around the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the details of their activity make it unlikely that they were Catholics. In 1611 a manuscript copied in the monastery of Mār Yōḥannān the Egyptian in 1605 by the scribe Rabban Joseph was donated to the monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem by his uncle Rabban 'Abdā of Arāden¹⁵⁴. Rabban Joseph, who died in 1614, copied a manuscript in Jerusalem in 1613, and donated a manuscript copied in the monastery of Mār Yōḥannān the Egyptian in 1610 to the Jerusalem monastery¹⁵⁵. Notes of donations made to the monastery at this period also use the term 'Nestorian'. In 1606 the deacon Gīwārgīs of Āmid bequeathed two flasks of oil every year to 'the Nestorian church in Jerusalem'¹⁵⁶. In 1612 a manuscript copied at Āmid by the priest Isaac of Supūrghān was donated to 'the church of the Nestorians in Jerusalem'¹⁵⁷. In 1614 some of the monastery's books, a chalice, and a silver cross were entrusted to 'the Franks' in Jerusalem, 'because there was neither a priest nor a deacon in

¹⁴⁹ Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 519.

¹⁵⁰ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 234.

¹⁵¹ Meinardus, *Nestorians in Egypt*, 127.

¹⁵² Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 96-7.

¹⁵³ MS Borgia (Scher) 169.

¹⁵⁴ MS Jerusalem Syr 32.

¹⁵⁵ MSS Jerusalem Syr 23 and Vat Syr 151; and Vosté, 'Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbekir et autres localités d'Orient', *LM*, 50 (1937), 350.

¹⁵⁶ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 38.

¹⁵⁷ Note in MS Jerusalem Syr 17.

the monastery of the Chaldeans (*sic*) of Jerusalem; but if the priests and deacons return, these items will be restored to them'¹⁵⁸.

The rivalry between 'Chaldeans' and 'Nestorians' in Jerusalem after the schism of 1552 underlined the importance of the city as a place of pilgrimage. Notes have survived of the visit of two groups of East Syrian pilgrims in the second half of the sixteenth century, one of Catholic pilgrims loyal to Sulāqā and his successors, and another of traditionalists loyal to Elīyā VII. The metropolitan Sabrīshō' of Ḥesnā d'Kifā, dependent on Elīyā VII, led a party of East Syrian pilgrims to Jerusalem in 1572, which included the noted Gāzartā scribe 'Aṭāyā of Alqōsh (who mentioned the visit in a note of 1573), the deacon 'Īsā, son of the visitor Isaac, the deacon Thomas, son of Nāṣr, 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Tomānā, and his son the deacon Hendī, the monk La'zar of Peshābūr; Jem'ā and Gabrō from the Gāzartā region, Isaac of Ḥawṣar, the deacon 'Īsā of Seert, Shem'ōn of Mosul, and the West Syrian priest Īshō', son of the priest Salmān, of Gāzartā¹⁵⁹. The Feast of the Resurrection was celebrated in Jerusalem on 15 April 1582 by the Catholic metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of Mārdīn, who visited the city in the company of the priest Thomas and his son the priest 'Abdīshō', Shem'ōn of Mosul, Ya'qōb of Shōsh, and Misrael, Isaac and Abraham of 'Ain Tannūr¹⁶⁰. There were certainly other similar groups, as the custodian of the Holy Land, Father Manerba, reported in 1604 that 'many Nestorians' had recently converted to Catholicism during pilgrimages to Jerusalem, some of whom had promised to use their influence to win over the patriarch Elīyā VIII¹⁶¹.

The monastery of Mart Maryam clearly recovered from the crisis of 1614, as it acquired several manuscripts later in the seventeenth century from traditionalist donors. The priest 'Abdīshō', who became bishop of Ātel at an unknown date before 1644, visited Jerusalem on at least three occasions (in 1614, 1644, and 1651), accompanied on either the second or third visit by the bishop Athanasius of Gūgtāpāh in the Ūrmī region, and donated two manuscripts for the Jerusalem monastery in 1660 and 1665¹⁶². A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh for the monastery by an unknown donor in 1679¹⁶³. A manuscript of 1560, which had been

¹⁵⁸ Note in MS Jerusalem Syr 3.

¹⁵⁹ Fogg, *Manuscripts of the Christian East*, 57.

¹⁶⁰ Note in MS Jerusalem Syr 3.

¹⁶¹ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 232.

¹⁶² Notes in MSS Jerusalem (St Mark's) 181 and 200, and Jerusalem Syr 17, 19, and 27.

¹⁶³ MS Jerusalem Syr 1.

sold to an Armenian metropolitan some decades later, was bought back by the East Syrian metropolitan David (probably the traditionalist metropolitan of Āmid in the 1670s), and restored to 'the church of the Nestorians' in Jerusalem¹⁶⁴. A manuscript of 1593 bought by Rabban 'Abdā 'as a gift for his monastery' was later bought from him by the nun (*bart qyāmā*) Selṭānā, daughter of Belgānā, from the village of Bet Megālī in the Gāzartā region, who donated it to the 'monastery of the Nestorians' at Jerusalem¹⁶⁵.

The monastery's scribes and visitors at this period seem also to have been traditionalists. In 1644 or 1651 a manuscript was copied in 'the monastery of we Nestorians in Jerusalem' by the monk Hormizd, son of Haggai, of the village of Tel Sebīn (possibly Sheben), in the Gwerkel district¹⁶⁶. In 1655 the pilgrim Hormizd, possibly the same man, visited Jerusalem in the company of the priest Ṭalyā, from the village of Hakmīyā in the Gāzartā region and the deacon and pilgrim 'Abdeh d'Māryā from the Ṭhūmā district¹⁶⁷. In 1647 the monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem was visited by the priest Yar, son of Daniel, son of Yōḥannān, son of Abraham, and his companions, who rebound a number of its manuscripts¹⁶⁸. In 1657 the priest Bākōs, son of the priest Isaac of 'Bagūz', son of the priest Shem'ōn, copied a manuscript in Gāzartā which was later given to the church of Jerusalem¹⁶⁹. In 1669 he visited Jerusalem in the company of the deacon Īshō', son of Abraham, and an Indian servant, 'Anayeh, bringing with him a manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1662 whose contents included two hymns composed by him¹⁷⁰. In 1683 a priest named Bākōs, probably the same man, was 'rector of the church of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem'¹⁷¹.

The monastery seems to have enjoyed a final period of activity in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In 1709 a manuscript was donated to the monastery by the patriarch Elīyā XI¹⁷². In 1718 the monastery was restored by the priest Kānūn of Telkepe, who came to Jerusalem on the instructions of Elīyā XI and remained there for four years, during which

¹⁶⁴ MS Jerusalem Syr 3.

¹⁶⁵ MS Jerusalem Syr 15.

¹⁶⁶ MS Jerusalem (St Mark's) 200.

¹⁶⁷ Note in MS Jerusalem (St Mark's) 159.

¹⁶⁸ Note in MS Jerusalem Syr 39.

¹⁶⁹ MS Jerusalem Syr 18.

¹⁷⁰ MS Jerusalem Syr 2.

¹⁷¹ Note in MS Jerusalem Syr 36.

¹⁷² MS Jerusalem Syr 14.

he also catalogued the monastery's collection of ninety-five books, a full list of which has survived¹⁷³. Two manuscripts were rebound for the monastery in 1724 and 1725 by the priest and noted scribe Gīwārgīs, son of the priest Daniel, of Alqōsh, 'sacristan of Jerusalem'¹⁷⁴. The monastery is not mentioned again, and it is not clear when and why the East Syrian community in Jerusalem disappeared.

Besides Jerusalem, Bethlehem was also a centre of pilgrimage, and two manuscripts were copied in the village by East Syrian visitors or residents. A manuscript was copied at Bethlehem by the priest Joseph, son of the deacon Gīwō, of Arāden, in either 1724 or 1764, for Thomas, son of Dōshō, of Alqōsh, 'now living in the Promised Land'; and a manuscript was copied in Bethlehem in 1850 by the pilgrim Abraham, from the village of Beḡ Garde in the Shemsdīn district¹⁷⁵.

(V) THE MARDĪN REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

The Diocese of Mardīn [Tfinkdji, *EC*, 505-11; Fiey, *POCN*, 107-8]

Like Āmid, Mardīn became an East Syrian diocese after the schism of 1552. In 1913 Tfinkdji reproduced a list of sixteen purported East Syrian bishops of Mardīn between 1194 to 1512, all with precisely-dated reigns, which he claimed to have discovered in a manuscript of 1621, but it cannot be genuine¹⁷⁶. Some of the bishops have West Syrian names and towns or villages of origin, none is mentioned elsewhere, and there is other evidence that Mardīn was not yet a separate diocese at this period. The town appeared in the title of the bishops of Maiperqāt in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and colophons of 1502 and 1540/1 from Mardīn mention the metropolitans Eliyā of Gāzartā and Ḥnānīshō' of Mosul respectively¹⁷⁷.

After the schism of 1552 Mardīn was included in the title of the traditionalist metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Nisibis, but seems to have come

¹⁷³ Note in MS Jerusalem Syr 5; and Rucker, 'Ein alter Handschriftenkatalog des ehemaligen nestorianischen Klosters in Jerusalem', *OC*, 3, 6 (1931), 90-96.

¹⁷⁴ MSS Jerusalem Syr 7 and 27.

¹⁷⁵ MSS Berlin Syr 37 and Ūrmī 167.

¹⁷⁶ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 505-6; and Fiey, *POCN*, 107-8.

¹⁷⁷ MS Beirut (St Joseph's) 23 and a manuscript of 1540/1 (Rucker, *OC*, 9 [1920], 119-121).

quickly under Catholic influence. A Catholic metropolitan, Ḥnānīshō', from the Mardīn village of Ṭabyāṭā, was consecrated for Mardīn either by Sulāqā or his successor 'Abdīshō' IV, and copied seven manuscripts between 1564 and 1586, whose colophons mention either 'Abdīshō' IV or his successor Shem'ōn 'VIII'¹⁷⁸. He was one of the signatories of a letter of 1580 from the fourth Catholic patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denḥā to pope Gregory XIII. In 1582 he visited Jerusalem, where he celebrated the feast of the resurrection on 15 April¹⁷⁹. He is probably to be identified with the Catholic metropolitan Ḥnānīshō', 'from Seert', mentioned in Leonard Abel's 1587 list of the most educated Catholic converts, and must be distinguished from the contemporary traditionalist metropolitan Ḥnānīshō', the brother and *nāṭar kursyā* of the patriarch Eliyā VII, mentioned separately by Abel as 'archbishop' of the Gāzartā village of Maṣṣūrīyā.

Ḥnānīshō' is not mentioned after 1587, and in the early years of the seventeenth century Mardīn was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan Ya'qōb of Nisibis. Ya'qōb, first mentioned as metropolitan of Nisibis in 1581, was styled 'metropolitan of Mardīn' in the report of 1607 and 'metropolitan of Nisibis and Mardīn' in a letter of 1614, and may have taken over responsibility for Mardīn after Ḥnānīshō''s death¹⁸⁰.

According to Tfinkdji, the next three seventeenth-century metropolitans of Mardīn were Yōḥannān (1615-1641), Joseph (1641-1678), and Shem'ōn of Āmid (1682-1695). The source for some of these dates is not clear, and the evidence from manuscript colophons is contradictory. The title of Timothy, metropolitan of Āmid between 1615 and his death in 1621/2, also included Mardīn, suggesting that Yōḥannān's reign began in 1622 or later¹⁸¹. The metropolitan Yōḥannān of Mardīn, said by Tfinkdji to have died in Nisibis in 1641, is mentioned in the dating formulas of manuscripts of 1635 and 1645¹⁸². The name and (presumably incorrect) reign-dates of the metropolitan Joseph were found in a note in an East Syrian manuscript of 1679 seen by Tfinkdji in a West Syrian church. Shem'ōn of Āmid is said to have been consecrated by the Catholic patriarch Joseph I, and to have died at Mardīn in 1695.

The Catholic metropolitan Timothy Mārōge of Āmid (1705-1713) was also responsible for the Chaldeans of Mardīn, and Mardīn seems to have

¹⁷⁸ MSS Mosul (Scher) 65, Vat Syr 617, Mardīn (Scher) 16, 23, 37, and 42, and Paris BN Syr 370.

¹⁷⁹ Note in MS Jerusalem Syr 3.

¹⁸⁰ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 129.

¹⁸¹ Note in MS BM (Rosen-Forshall) 56.

¹⁸² MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 90 and Jerusalem Syr 6.

been without a bishop of its own between 1695 and 1728. The Catholic metropolitan Basil Hesrō of Mardīn was one of three metropolitans (with Basil of Āmid, consecrated in 1717, and Shem'ōn Kemō of Seert) consecrated by Joseph III before his departure for Rome in 1731. He must have been consecrated shortly after Basil of Āmid's death in 1728, as the two Basils were consecrated 'one after the death of the other'¹⁸³. According to a number of letters written by the Chaldeans of the Āmid patriarchate to Joseph III at Rome in March 1739, he died on 26 September 1738¹⁸⁴.

He was succeeded shortly after his death by the Catholic priest Yōhannān of Mardīn, who was consecrated by Joseph III after his return from Rome in 1741 and also took the name Basil in honour of his predecessor. He is probably to be identified with the 95 year-old metropolitan of Mardīn mentioned by Cardinal Tamburini at the beginning of 1757 as the sole surviving Catholic bishop in the Āmid patriarchate (following the recent deaths of the patriarch Joseph III and the metropolitan Timothy Masāji of Āmid)¹⁸⁵. He consecrated La'zar Hindi metropolitan of Āmid on 8 February 1857, and according to his epitaph he died shortly afterwards, on 25 February 1758¹⁸⁶.

He was succeeded by the metropolitan Shem'ōn of Āmid, apparently consecrated by Joseph III in 1758. In 1782 Shem'ōn intervened to secure protection for the Syrian Catholic patriarch Ignatius Mīkhā'il III Jarweh (1782-1800), who was persecuted by the Syrian Orthodox Christians of Mardīn after his conversion. According to his epitaph, in the church of Rabban Hormizd in Mardīn, he died on 19 November 1788.

Shem'ōn was succeeded in 1795 by the Catholic priest Mīkhā'il Shawrīz of Seert, whose brother Peter Shawrīz shortly afterwards became metropolitan of Seert. According to the patriarch Yōhannān VIII Hormizd, whose account is quoted by Badger, he was irregularly consecrated between November 1793 and 14 February 1794 by one of the metropolitans of the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVI, on the initiative of Augustine Hindi¹⁸⁷. Because of the irregularity of his consecration Mīkhā'il was excommunicated by the Vatican, but was absolved by Pius VI in 1795, and confirmed as metropolitan of Mardīn. Tfinkdji, followed by Fiey, gives the date of his death as 3 April 1810.

¹⁸³ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 318.

¹⁸⁴ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 357-67.

¹⁸⁵ MS Vat Lat 8063, folios 294-300.

¹⁸⁶ Propaganda, *Acta*, 127, folio 361.

¹⁸⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 158.

He was succeeded after an interval of several years by the monk Ignatius Dashtō of Alqōsh, who was consecrated by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi on 8 September 1826, a week before his fellow monk Mīkhā'il Kattūlā was consecrated metropolitan of Seert. Badger asserted, perhaps correctly, that Augustine Hindi consecrated both monks mainly in order to embarrass Yōhannān Hormizd, and the patriarchal administrator had in fact been instructed, in a decree of 4 July 1825, to consecrate no more bishops without the consent of the Vatican¹⁸⁸. The Vatican confirmed the consecrations in 1827, however, and Ignatius Dashtō remained metropolitan of Mardīn for over forty years until his death on 12 July 1868 at the age of 75¹⁸⁹. According to Tfinkdji he was responsible for enlarging the church of Rabban Hormizd in Mardīn and building an episcopal residence in the city.

Ignatius Dashtō was succeeded by the priest Gabriel Farsō of Mardīn, who was consecrated at Rome on 30 January 1870 by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō. He was metropolitan for only three years, and died prematurely on 27 June 1873 at the age of 43¹⁹⁰. He was succeeded by Peter Timothy 'Attar of Āmid, metropolitan of Āmid since 1870, who was transferred to Mardīn in 1873 after Farsō's premature death¹⁹¹. After the death of the patriarch Joseph VI Audō in 1879 he was appointed apostolic vicar, and resigned from his diocese in 1883, returning to Āmid where he died on 1 November 1891. The diocese of Mardīn remained vacant for seven years, until the appointment of Yōhannān Eliyā Mellus, formerly bishop of 'Aqrā. Mellus had been abusively consecrated for the Malabar Christians by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō and between 1874 and 1882 had been in India. He submitted to the Vatican in 1889 and was shortly afterwards transferred to the diocese of Mardīn in 1890. He remained metropolitan of Mardīn for eighteen years and died on 16 February 1908, at the age of 77.

The last Chaldean metropolitan of Mardīn, the priest Israel Audō of Alqōsh, was consecrated for Mardīn on 27 February 1910. He was obliged to go into hiding during the First World War and for some months afterwards was rumoured to have been killed, but returned to his diocese shortly after the end of the war. The diocese lapsed after his death in 1941.

¹⁸⁸ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 158; and Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 68-9.

¹⁸⁹ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 4.

¹⁹⁰ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 4.

¹⁹¹ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 4.

(b) *Topographical Survey*

The majority of the Christians of the Mardīn region were West Syrians and Armenians, but the region also had a significant East Syrian community by the middle of the twelfth century, when it began to appear in the title of the East Syrian bishops of Maiperqāt. In 1644 Tavernier mentioned that there were several 'Nestorian' villages to the south-west of Mardīn, and in 1663 Thévenot mentioned that there were a number of large 'Syrian' villages around the city¹⁹². However, only three East Syrian communities are mentioned in other sources, in the villages of Ḥarab Olmā and Ṭabyātā and in the 'monastery' of Mār Peṭiōn near Ḥarab Olmā.

The diocese of Mardīn contained 60 Chaldean families, with 4 priests, in 1850 (Badger); 1,000 Chaldeans, with 2 priests, in 1867 (Martin); 850 Chaldeans, with 3 priests, in 1896 (Chabot); and 1,670 Chaldeans, with 6 priests, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). According to Tfinkdji, himself a Chaldean priest in Mardīn, Midyāt and Nisibis only received Chaldean priests in 1910, and the Chaldean communities in Tel Armen, Viransehir and Derik were served by Armenian or Syrian Catholic priests.

Table 3: *East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Mardīn, 1913*

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Mardīn	1,100	4	1	Viransehir	90	0	0
Nisibis	160	1	0	Derik	40	0	0
Midyāt	180	1	0				
Tel Armen	100	0	0	Total	1,670	6	1

Mardīn

Most of the numerous estimates made by nineteenth-century travellers gave the town of Mardīn a population of about 20,000 at the beginning of the century, rising to between 30,000 and 50,000 by the end. Between a half and two-thirds of its inhabitants were Moslems and the majority of the remainder Christians, with a small Jewish community¹⁹³. No single Christian denomination predominated, but the Armenian Catholics and the Syrian Orthodox had the largest communities. There were also smaller Syrian Catholic, Chaldean, and Protestant

¹⁹² Tavernier, *Voyages*, i. 259; and Thévenot, *Suite du voyage du Levant*, 89 and 91.

¹⁹³ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 281.

communities. In 1913 Tfinkdji estimated the Christian population of Mardīn as about 20,000, consisting of 6,500 Armenian Catholics, 7,000 Syrian Orthodox, 1,750 Syrian Catholics, 1,100 Chaldeans, and 120 Protestants.

Mardīn had a community of 600 Chaldeans in 1838 (Southgate); 240 Chaldeans in 1841 (Southgate); 60 Chaldean families, with 4 priests and a church, in 1850 (Badger); 400 Chaldeans in 1865 (Petermann); 600 Chaldeans in 1874 (Rhétoré); 600 Chaldeans in 1887 (Moysse d'Orléans); 580 Chaldeans in 1892 (Cuinet); 1,100 Chaldeans in 1900 (Sykes); 1,200 Chaldeans in 1906 (Vannutelli); and 1,100 Chaldeans, with 4 priests and a church, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). The city was the seat of an East Syrian bishop from the middle of the sixteenth century onward, and its church was dedicated to Rabban Hormizd and Mār Gīwārgīs.

Several manuscripts were copied either in Mardīn or for its East Syrian community in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Manuscripts were copied in Mardīn by an unnamed scribe in 1502 and by the deacon David of Erbil in 1540/1, and a manuscript copied in Gāzartā in 1540 was donated to the church of Rabban Hormizd in Mardīn by the priest Abraham, son of 'Abd Allāh, of the Nisibis village of Gaṣlōnā, 'then living in Mardīn'¹⁹⁴. Two manuscripts were copied in Ṭabyātā in 1565 and in Mardīn in 1586 by the metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of Mardīn for the church of Rabban Hormizd; the first at the expense of Maḥbūb, son of Quriāqōs, of Mardīn, and the second at the expense of Maryam, daughter of Elizabeth and wife of Mārōge, of Nisibis¹⁹⁵. A note in the second manuscript mentions that Mardīn had four East Syrian priests in 1586, Hormizd, Marqos, Mār Aḥḥā and Joseph. A manuscript was copied in Ḥesnā d'Kifā in 1628 by the priest Bā'ūt for the church of Rabban Hormizd in Mardīn, and a manuscript was copied in Mardīn in 1635 by the monk Sehyōn, son of the deacon Hindi, of the Tomānā family, who later became a priest and the secretary of the metropolitan Shem'ōn of Āmid under the name 'Abd al-Karīm¹⁹⁶. In 1697 a manuscript was purchased at Alqōsh from Isaac, 'a Nestorian of Mardīn', by a West Syrian Christian, in the presence of the West Syrian metropolitan Gregory Shem'ōn of Jerusalem¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁴ MSS Beirut (St Joseph's) 23 and Mardīn (Scher) 21; and Rücker, 'Syr. Liederhs. der St. Josefuniversität in Beirut (Enthält Türgâmê und Sôgâthâ)', *OC*, 9 (1920), 119-121.

¹⁹⁵ MSS Vat Syr 617 and Mardīn (Scher) 42.

¹⁹⁶ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 86 and Diyārbakr (Scher) 90.

¹⁹⁷ MS Cambridge Add. 2001.

Interesting light is shed on the Chaldeans of Mardīn at the beginning of the eighteenth century by an incomplete narrative written around 1715 by the Syrian Catholic priest Eliyā ibn al-Qsir¹⁹⁸. Most of the events described in his narrative take place in Mardīn and his account gives a vivid impression of the often difficult relations between the Orthodox and Catholic Armenians, the Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholics, and the Chaldeans. Mardīn's Chaldeans are mentioned twice. In 1708 Āmid and Mardīn were ravaged by plague, and the Syrian Orthodox patriarch Ignatius Gīwārgīs II led a procession of Christians of various allegiances to the nearby monastery of Mār Ya'qōb to pray for deliverance. Ignoring the Chaldeans in his audience, he preached a sermon in which he asserted that the plague had been sent to punish those Christians who had converted to Catholicism. In the following year the Chaldean patriarch Joseph II ordained his nephew Quriāqōs a deacon in the church of Rabban Hormizd, and the ceremony was attended by the Syrian Orthodox patriarch and his retinue.

Five manuscripts were copied or restored in Mardīn in the first half of the eighteenth century: in 1703 by Ḥannā, son of the priest 'Abdīshō; in 1715 by the deacon Yōḥannān, son of the priest Eliyā, son of the deacon Mīkhā, of Mosul; in 1745 and 1746 for the patriarch Joseph III by his disciple the deacon Joseph, son of 'Abdīshō' Dadah, of Telkepe; and in 1746 by an unknown scribe¹⁹⁹. The deacon Mīkhā'īl, son of the metropolitan Basil of Āmid, copied a manuscript in 'Ain Tannūr in 1718 for the church of Rabban Hormizd in Mardīn at the request of its priest Mūsā, son of 'Abd al-Aḥad²⁰⁰. The priest Antony, son of Yōḥannān, of the Faṭō family of Mardīn, copied an Arabic manuscript in 1770 and a Syriac manuscript in 1820 in Mardīn, the earlier manuscript while still a deacon²⁰¹. He is probably to be distinguished from the scribe Antony, 'son of Ḥannā, of Shāpāt (Shemsdīn)', who copied four Arabic biblical commentaries between 1784 and 1788, later in the possession of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd²⁰².

Several other manuscripts were copied in Mardīn in the nineteenth century: in 1809, 1825, 1826 and at an unknown date by the priest 'Isā, son of the priest Quriāqōs, son of the priest Yōḥannān, of the village of

¹⁹⁸ Sheil, 'Une page de l'histoire de l'église de Mardin au commencement du XVIII^e siècle', *ROC*, 1 (1896), 43-87.

¹⁹⁹ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 97 and 99, Paris BN Ar 232, and Paris BN Syr 61 and 278.

²⁰⁰ MS Vat Syr 606.

²⁰¹ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 48 and 95.

²⁰² MSS Dawrā Ar 6, 15, 17, and 18.

Ḥdattā (or Ḥadīde) in the Seert region, 'then living in Mardīn'; in 1815 by Gabriel, son of Yōnān; in 1834 by the priest 'Isā's grandson the priest David, son of the priest Sem'an, 'then living in the church of Mār Hormizd, Mardīn'; in 1843 by the deacon Isaac, son of Ablahad, 'under the supervision of the priest Joseph of Alqōsh', for the metropolitan Ignatius Dashtō of Mardīn; in 1862 by the deacon Mīkhā'īl, son of Gabriel; and at an unknown date, probably around 1860, by the same scribe, for the priests Athanasius and Joseph²⁰³.

The priests Athanasius and Joseph, for whom the last of these manuscripts was copied, were doubtless Chaldean priests in Mardīn. Joseph seems to have been the priest Joseph of Alqōsh, previously mentioned in 1843 and also mentioned together with the priest Mīkhā'īl (perhaps the deacon of 1862) by Tfinkdji as two of Mardīn's priests in 1871. Athanasius Chazzā, son of Gīwārgīs, of Telkepe, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, was ordained a priest for Mardīn in 1826 and died at Mardīn in 1866²⁰⁴. Several other members of Mardīn's East Syrian clergy in the nineteenth century are also known. A copy of Elīsha' of Dohuk's history of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during the lifetime of Gabriel Dambō was completed in 1895 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences for the priest Louis Shō'ayā of Mardīn²⁰⁵. Joseph Tfinkdji himself was a Chaldean priest of Mardīn just before the First World War, and his father Yōḥannān, son of 'Abd al-Masīh, was ordained a deacon by the metropolitan Gabriel Farsō in 1871²⁰⁶.

Gabriel Dambō's great contribution to the work of the Chaldean church in the nineteenth century has already been mentioned. Although he was a native of Mardīn, only one other monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during his lifetime came from Mardīn, the monk Mīkhā'īl, who entered the monastery in 1827. Two Chaldean bishops in the nineteenth century were natives of Mardīn: Gabriel Farsō, metropolitan of Mardīn between 1870 and his death in 1873; and Yōḥannān Eliyā Mellus, bishop of 'Aqrā and later metropolitan of Mardīn between 1890 and his death in 1908.

A considerable number of manuscripts in the Mardīn collection were acquired by Yōḥannān Eliyā Mellus during his episcopate at 'Aqrā, his

²⁰³ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 76, Beirut (St Joseph's) 44, Paris BN Syr 314, and 353, Seert (Scher) 104, Dawrā Ar 33, 70, and 157, and Vat Syr 620; and a manuscript of 1862 from Mardīn (Dolabani, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 34).

²⁰⁴ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 488.

²⁰⁵ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 355.

²⁰⁶ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 509.

stay in India between 1874 and 1882, and his residence in Mosul between 1882 and 1890 before his appointment as metropolitan of Mardīn²⁰⁷. He was also the scribe of several manuscripts, including a manuscript of 1878 copied in Madras, ten manuscripts copied in Mosul between 1886 and 1887, and two manuscripts of 1890 copied in Mardīn²⁰⁸. Several manuscripts in the Mardīn collection, all but one either copied or acquired by Yōhannān Eliyā Mellus, were donated to the Vatican after the First World War by his successor Israel Audō²⁰⁹.

Ḥarab Olmā and the Monastery of Mār Peṭiōn

A number of references from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention the monastery of Mār Peṭiōn and the nearby village of Ḥarab Olmā. A manuscript was copied at an unknown date in the sixteenth century by the priest Daniel, son of the chief 'Aṭallāh, of Ḥarab Olmā²¹⁰. An East Syrian manuscript was copied in the monastery of Mār Peṭiōn in 1560 by the priest 'Abd Allāh, at the request of the monk Iṣhō', whose colophon mentions the traditionalist patriarch Eliyā VII and Iṣhō'yahb, metropolitan of Nisibis²¹¹. However, a number of references indicate that by 1568 the monastery was in the possession of the Catholics, and was probably the seat of the Catholic metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of Mardīn. A note in 'Abd Allāh's manuscript of 1560 mentions that it belonged to the Catholic patriarch 'Abdīshō' IV Mārōn in 1568. In the same year a manuscript was copied for the monastery in the village of Ṭabyātā by the metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of Mardīn, and he also copied two manuscripts in the monastery in 1568 and 1572²¹². The colophon of a manuscript copied in the monastery in 1571 by the priest and monk Quriāqōs mentioned the patriarch 'Abdīshō' IV, 'who has just died'²¹³.

The monastery is again mentioned in the early years of the seventeenth century. In 1606 the deacon Gīwārgīs of Āmid gave instructions for a flask of oil to be given every year to 'the monastery of Mār Peṭiōn, in the

²⁰⁷ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 24, 39, 47, 49, 50, 51, 54, 56-60, 62, 63, 68-71, 78, and 82, and Vat Syr 605.

²⁰⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 258, Mardīn (Scher) 54, 56-60, 63, 68, 71, and 82, and Leeds Syr 2 and 8.

²⁰⁹ MSS Vat Syr 598-605, and 610-619, formerly MSS Mardīn (Scher) 36, 39, 49, 50, 54, 56-60, 62-3, and 68-71. The only manuscript not associated with Yōhannān Eliyā Mellus is Vat Syr 617, formerly Mardīn (Scher) 64.

²¹⁰ MS Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 1003 (Fiey, *MC*, 113).

²¹¹ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 24 and 78, and Vat Syr 184, 598, 599, and 605.

²¹² MSS Mardīn (Scher) 16, 23, and 37.

²¹³ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 60.

mountain'²¹⁴. A manuscript was bought at the monastery of Mār Peṭiōn in 1610 by a certain Eliyā, who visited the monastery with his cousin the priest Mubārakshāh, who later became a monk there²¹⁵. The monastery is also mentioned in the report of 1610, though not in 1607. The patriarch Eliyā VIII met the papal envoys Giovanni Antonio Marietti and Peter Metochita, who accompanied the archdeacon Adam on his return from his mission to Rome, in the monastery of Mār Peṭiōn on 17 November 1615²¹⁶. The monastery is not mentioned after 1615, and it is not known when it ceased to function.

Ṭabyātā

The village of Ṭabyātā is first mentioned in the first half of the sixteenth century. Manuscripts were commissioned for its church of Mār Gīwārgīs in 1536 by the deacon Ḥabīb, son of the chief Shaddad; in 1541 by the priest Abraham, son of Hormizd Sabūnī, the deacon Tajdīn, son of the priest 'Abd Allāh, and the deacon 'Aṭallāh; and in 1543 by the priest Abraham, the deacons Tajdīn and Ḥabīb already mentioned, and the deacon Mārōge, son of Ḥusain²¹⁷. The Catholic metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of Mardīn copied two manuscripts in Ṭabyātā in 1565 and 1568²¹⁸. The priest Joseph, cousin of the priest 'Azīz of Ṭabyātā, copied a manuscript in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse near Seert in 1573²¹⁹.

The church of Mār Gīwārgīs may have been pillaged in the later years of the sixteenth century, as the manuscript donated to the church in 1541 had to be 'bought back' in 1610 by the deacon Gordji, and restored to the church²²⁰. In 1622 there was a plague in Ṭabyātā, in which the priest 'Askar and the deacon Eliyā died²²¹. A manuscript was copied in the village in 1647 by the priest Elīsha', son of the priest Ḥannā²²². In 1672 the church of Ṭabyātā probably had a Catholic priest, as the village was visited by the traditionalist patriarch Eliyā X Yōhannān Mārōgin during his expedition to Āmid, presumably with the intention of repossessing it²²³. The writer Nāḥūm of Ṭabyātā, who flourished at an unknown date before

²¹⁴ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 38.

²¹⁵ Note in MS Paris BN Syr 371.

²¹⁶ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 235.

²¹⁷ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 14, 17, and 41.

²¹⁸ MSS Vat Syr 617 and Mardīn (Scher) 23.

²¹⁹ MS Paris BN Syr 371.

²²⁰ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 41.

²²¹ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 14.

²²² MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 121.

²²³ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 17.

1695, was quoted in a short West Syrian history presented to Von Oppenheim in 1891²²⁴. In 1707 Ṭabyāṭā was again pillaged, and there are no further references to an East Syrian community in the village²²⁵.

(VI) THE SEERT REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

Before the fourteenth century the Seert region was part of the East Syrian diocese of Arzun. The Arzun region was among the territories ceded by Rome in 363 to Persia, and an East Syrian bishop of Arzun is first mentioned in the acts of the synod of Isaac in 410²²⁶. Several later bishops of Arzun are attested between the fifth and thirteenth centuries, the last of whom, Shem'ōn, was present at the consecration of Yahballāhā III in 1281²²⁷. By the twelfth century the full name of the diocese was 'Arzun and Beṭ Dīsh', suggesting that its bishops may at that period have resided at Bidlīs²²⁸.

Between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries the towns of Ātel and Ḥesnā d'Kifā were more important than Seert. An East Syrian diocese of Ḥesnā d'Kifā, whose bishop does not appear to have had any jurisdiction beyond the town itself, is attested between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the fifteenth century there was also a second diocese for Ātel and Bohtān. This large diocese, which included at least one village (Borb) to the west of Ḥesnā d'Kifā and may have included the other scattered East Syrian communities to the west and south-west of Seert, also disappeared in the second half of the seventeenth century. A Catholic diocese was established for Seert after the schism of 1552, but by the middle of the seventeenth century its bishops were traditionalists, dependent upon the Mosul patriarchs. The diocese was again given a Catholic bishop in 1730 by the Āmid patriarch Joseph III, and thereafter had a regular succession of Catholic bishops until 1915, when the Seert region was devastated in the First World War. These three dioceses are discussed in greater detail below.

Two ephemeral dioceses in the Seert region, 'Ungi' and 'Ḥezzō and the Gordlāye', are mentioned at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A 'bishop of Ātel' named Ephrem, dependent on the patriarch Eliyā

²²⁴ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 124.

²²⁵ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 14.

²²⁶ *Synodicon Orientale*, 272-3.

²²⁷ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 186-91.

²²⁸ MS Cambridge Add. 1988.

VIII, is mentioned in the report of 1607. He is probably to be identified with the bishop Ephrem of 'Ungi' (probably a diocese in the Seert region from its position) listed among the hierarchy of Eliyā VIII in the report of 1610. The bishop Īshō'yahb (or Isha'yā) 'of Ḥezzō and the Gordlāye' (a district to the west of Seert) or 'of Āmid and Seert', nephew and *nāṭar kursyā* of the metropolitan Eliyā Bar Tappe of Āmid and Seert, is mentioned together with his uncle in a colophon of 1606, and witnessed a number of bequests to churches and monasteries in the Āmid, Mardīn and Seert regions in the same year²²⁹. He is also mentioned as one of the bishops in the hierarchy of Eliyā VIII in the reports of 1607 and 1610, and was probably a suffragan bishop of his uncle Eliyā, who is styled 'metropolitan of Āmid, Gāzartā, Seert, Tanze, Ḥezzō and the Gordlāye' in a colophon of 1610²³⁰. He succeeded his uncle as metropolitan of Seert in 1617, and the diocese of Ḥezzō and the Gordlāye, probably created *ad personam*, is not mentioned again.

Although most of the East Syrians of the Seert region were Chaldeans by the beginning of the twentieth century, the growing dominance of the Chaldean church met with a certain amount of resistance during the nineteenth century. In the first half of the nineteenth century the Catholic movement in the neighbouring Gāzartā region was opposed by the traditionalist metropolitan Joseph of Gāzartā, dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham, who died in 1846²³¹. He had two suffragan bishops, responsible for about 220 traditionalist families in twenty-three villages in the Seert and Gāzartā regions²³². One of these bishops, Thomas, resided in the Seert village of Gweri Ātel. He is mentioned by Badger in 1850 and Martin in 1867, and appears to have died or retired shortly before 1877, when Cutts mentioned that his diocese was vacant²³³.

He seems to have been replaced shortly afterwards by another bishop named Thomas, also a member of the Qūdshānīs hierarchy, mentioned by Riley in 1884 as 'bishop of Ātel'²³⁴. This Thomas is almost certainly to be identified with a young bishop of the Qūdshānīs hierarchy named Joseph Thomas Kasristō, also resident at Gweri Ātel, who was converted to Catholicism in 1896 'with all his flock' by Joseph Emmanuel Thomas, the

²²⁹ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 38 and 108.

²³⁰ MS Seert (Scher) 54.

²³¹ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 69; 195-6; and 393.

²³² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 393.

²³³ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 393; Martin, *La Chaldée*, 47; and Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 204.

²³⁴ Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 287; Fiey, *Nisibe*, 258; and Riley, *Narrative*, 12.

Chaldean metropolitan of Seert. He was included in the hierarchy of the Chaldean church in 1913 by Tfinkdji, and was killed by the Turks in the massacres of 1915²³⁵. Cuinet also mentioned an unnamed 'Nestorian' bishop living in the large village of Zokait several miles to the west of Seert in 1891²³⁶.

It is difficult to assess how much influence these traditionalist bishops had, but it is clear that the dominance of the Chaldean church in the Seert region in 1913, despite the distinct progress made by its missionaries during the nineteenth century, was by no means complete. Chabot mentioned fifteen 'semi-Nestorian' villages in 1896; the last eleven villages in Tfinkdji's list of Chaldean villages in the diocese of Seert in 1913 (including the large villages of Şedūh, Mār Ya'qōb and Ḥadīde) were still 'semi-Nestorian'; and twelve villages were still without Catholic priests of their own.

The Diocese of Ḥesnā d'Kifā [Fiey, *Nisibe*, 241-4; *POCN*, 91]

The diocese of Ḥesnā d'Kifā appears to have been founded in the thirteenth century. Its earliest-known bishops, Eliyā and Emmanuel, were present at the consecrations of Makkīkhā II in 1257 and Yahballāhā III in 1281 respectively²³⁷. The diocese is not mentioned again until the end of the fifteenth century, and Ḥesnā d'Kifā was included in the title of the metropolitan Eliyā of Nisibis in colophons of 1477, 1480, and 1483²³⁸.

The metropolitan Sabrīshō' of Ḥesnā d'Kifā and 'Arzangan' (probably Arzun) is mentioned in a colophon of 1497²³⁹. In 1504 a manuscript was copied in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse by a monk named Gabriel²⁴⁰. According to Scher's note, he was later metropolitan of Ḥesnā d'Kifā, and was possibly one of the bishops consecrated by Sulāqā. In 'Abdīshō' IV's list of 1562 the diocese of 'Azzen', probably Ḥesnā d'Kifā, is mentioned as a diocese in the metropolitan province of Seert.

A metropolitan of Ḥesnā d'Kifā named Sabrīshō' led a party of East Syrian pilgrims to Jerusalem in 1572, was the scribe of a note of 1574, and is mentioned in a colophon of 1578²⁴¹.

A metropolitan Gabriel of Ḥesnā d'Kifā, dependent on the patriarch Eliyā VIII, is mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610. The report of

²³⁵ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 497 and 524; and *DHGE*, 15, 645-6.

²³⁶ Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 596-616.

²³⁷ Şībā, 120 and 124 (Arabic).

²³⁸ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 39, Diyārbakr (Scher) 73, and Mardīn (Scher) 43.

²³⁹ MS Paris BN Syr 369.

²⁴⁰ MS Seert (Scher) 46.

²⁴¹ Fogg, *Manuscripts of the Christian East*, 57; and MSS Mardīn (Scher) 19 and Mosul (Scher) 54.

1610 also mentions that Gabriel had some time earlier been thrown into a pit and left to starve for eighteen days before being ransomed by the faithful²⁴². He may have withdrawn to the relative safety of the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse after this experience, as a bishop 'Gupius', (probably Gabriel is meant) was resident in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb in 1610, and the metropolitans Gabriel and Eliyā Bar Tappe are jointly mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript copied in the monastery in 1612²⁴³. Gabriel was one of a number of bishops addressed by Peter Strozza in a letter of 1614, was present at the synod of Āmid in 1616, where he was the oldest metropolitan present and described as 'the foremost among the metropolitans', and composed a number of poems, including a patterned eulogy of pope Paul V²⁴⁴. He was from the same family as the monk Abraham of Kirkūk, active in the monastery of Mār Awgin a century earlier²⁴⁵.

Gabriel is the last-known bishop of Ḥesnā d'Kifā. After his death its East Syrian community seems to have come under the jurisdiction of the metropolitans of Āmid or Seert. Ḥesnā d'Kifā was included in the title of the metropolitans Timothy of Āmid in 1621, and Īshō'yahb of Seert in 1628²⁴⁶.

The Diocese of Ātel and Bohtān [Fiey, *Nisibe*, 229-31; *POCN*, 54-5]

A large East Syrian diocese of 'Ātel and Bohtān' is attested between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. The precise extent of the diocese is not known, but it included villages as far apart as Ūrīj in the eastern Bohtān valley and Borb in the Bshīr district, and probably covered not only the East Syrian villages of the Ātel district and the Bohtān valley, but also the outlying East Syrian communities to their west²⁴⁷.

The earliest-known bishop of Ātel, Quriāqōs, is mentioned in a colophon of 1437 copied in an unlocalised 'village of the Levites' (*qrītā d'Lewāye*) in the Ātel district²⁴⁸.

A metropolitan of Ātel named Yōhannān is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of 1497 copied in the Bohtān village of Ūrīj, and was probably the metropolitan Mār Yōhannān present five years later at the election of Eliya V in September 1502²⁴⁹. An elderly bishop named Yōhannān, perhaps also the same man, was killed at Ātel on 6 June 1512

²⁴² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 111.

²⁴³ MS Seert (Scher) 90.

²⁴⁴ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 110, 114, 129, 143, 146, 154-9, 187, 514, and 534.

²⁴⁵ Note in MS Seert (Scher) 129.

²⁴⁶ MSS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 56 and Mardīn (Scher) 86.

²⁴⁷ MSS Mosul (Scher) 15 and Paris BN Syr 345.

²⁴⁸ MS Seert (Scher) 119.

²⁴⁹ MSS Mosul (Scher) 15 and Paris BN Syr 25.

with 40 other persons, including priests and deacons, by the soldiers of Muḥammad Bek²⁵⁰.

Another bishop of Ātel named Yōḥannān is mentioned in three later colophons: as bishop of 'the Bokhtāye' in a manuscript copied in the Bohtān village of Eḥtas in 1521; as bishop of 'Ātel and the Bokhtāye' in a manuscript copied in the Bshīr village of Borb in 1526, and bishop of 'Ātel and Dīlān' in another manuscript copied in Borb in 1534²⁵¹. He is perhaps to be identified with the bishop Yōḥannān of 'the fortress of Ātel', who was stoned and burned at the stake at Āmid in 1572.

A metropolitan of Ātel named Yōḥannān was among the signatories of a letter of the patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denḥā to pope Gregory XIII in 1580, and is mentioned as 'metropolitan of Gāzartā' in a colophon of 1594²⁵². He is mentioned as bishop of Ātel in the report of 1610, dependent on the patriarch Elīyā VIII, and resided in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse together with the metropolitans Elīyā Bar Tappe of Āmid and Seert and Gabriel of Ḥesnā d'Kīfā. The loyalties of the Ātel district appear to have been divided at this period, as a bishop of Ātel named 'Abdīshō' is also mentioned in the report of 1610 as a member of the hierarchy of the patriarch Shem'ōn X. Neither bishop is mentioned again.

Another bishop named 'Abdīshō', a traditionalist bishop dependent on the patriarch Elīyā IX Shem'ōn, was metropolitan of Ātel in the middle decades of the seventeenth century²⁵³. According to notes in several surviving manuscripts from the monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem, he visited Jerusalem on at least three occasions: firstly as a priest in 1614; again as a metropolitan in 1644, when he composed several poems; and again in 1651²⁵⁴. He is last mentioned in 1660, when a manuscript was copied at Ātel on his instructions for the East Syrian community in Jerusalem²⁵⁵.

The diocese of Ātel is not mentioned again, and by the nineteenth century its villages were part of the Catholic diocese of Seert.

The Diocese of Seert [Tfinkdji, *EC*, 493-7; Fiey, *Nisibe*, 244-51;

POCN, 129]

There is no evidence for an East Syrian bishop or metropolitan of Seert before the schism of 1552. Seert was included in the title of the metro-

²⁵⁰ Scher, *Épisodes*, 124; and MS Seert (Scher) 55.

²⁵¹ MSS Mosul (Scher) 74 and Paris BN Syr 345, and a manuscript of 1534 from Zākhō (Fiey, *Nisibe*, 230).

²⁵² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90; and MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 17.

²⁵³ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 362.

²⁵⁴ Notes in MSS Jerusalem Syr 17 and 19 and Jerusalem (St Mark's) 159, 181 and 200.

²⁵⁵ MS Jerusalem Syr 19.

politan Elīyā of Nisibis in colophons of 1477, 1480, and 1483, and in the title of the metropolitan Elīyā of Gāzartā in a colophon of 1504²⁵⁶. According to Tfinkdji, followed by Fiey, the first bishop or metropolitan of Seert was Joseph, brother of the patriarch Yōḥannān Sulāqā, who would have been among the bishops consecrated by Sulāqā in 1554. In 1555 he was sent to India with Elīyā Asmar Ḥabīb by 'Abdīshō' IV and was there consecrated metropolitan of India. He did not return to Mesopotamia, and after struggling for several years to maintain his authority in the face of harassment by the Portuguese authorities, he died in 1569 in or on his way to Rome.

The monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse in the Seert region was the seat of the second Catholic patriarch 'Abdīshō' IV Mārōn (and perhaps also his successor Shem'ōn 'VIII'), and a number of manuscripts were copied there both by 'Abdīshō' IV himself and by the Catholic metropolitans Elīyā Asmar Ḥabīb of Āmid and Ḥnānīshō' of Mardīn. Seert was listed by 'Abdīshō' IV in 1562 as one of the metropolitan dioceses under his jurisdiction, and in the closing years of the seventeenth century the diocese had three more Catholic bishops. The Catholic patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denḥā was metropolitan of 'Salmas, Seert and Jīlū' before his election in 1580, and may have been consecrated by 'Abdīshō' IV shortly after Joseph Sulāqā's death in 1569²⁵⁷. Shem'ōn IX Denḥā in turn appears to have consecrated a bishop named Joseph for Seert, who was among the witnesses of his letter to pope Gregory XIII immediately after his election in 1580²⁵⁸. Although Joseph is not again mentioned, the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb was still in Catholic hands in 1587, when Leonard Abel mentioned its learned Catholic superior Ya'qōb, and the hierarchy of Elīyā VII in 1586 did not include a bishop or metropolitan of Seert²⁵⁹.

Matters changed with Shem'ōn IX's confinement in Salmas. The metropolitan Elīyā Bar Tappe, dependent on the patriarch Elīyā VIII, is mentioned under a variety of titles in a series of colophons from 1599 to 1618, most frequently as 'metropolitan of Āmid, Gāzartā and Seert'²⁶⁰. He resided at the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse near Seert throughout his episcopate, and was primarily responsible for the diocese of Seert, though he clearly had some sort of responsibility for Āmid and Gāzartā also, even though Gāzartā

²⁵⁶ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 39, Diyārbakr (Scher) 73, Mardīn (Scher) 43, and Seert (Scher) 46.

²⁵⁷ Assemani, *BO*, i. 538.

²⁵⁸ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90.

²⁵⁹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121.

²⁶⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 41, Seert (Scher) 4, 20, 21, 34, 40, 54, 56, 84, 87, 90, and 109, Diyārbakr (Scher) 21, 49, and 108, Borgia (Scher) 12, and Vat Syr 572 and 609.

had its own metropolitan, Joseph, at the same period. He is mentioned as metropolitan of Āmid in the report of 1607, but after the consecration of the metropolitan Timothy of Āmid in 1615 his responsibilities for Āmid lapsed. He was present at the synod of Āmid in 1616 with the metropolitans Timothy of Āmid and Joseph of Gāzartā, and was on that occasion styled simply metropolitan of Seert. He died on 1 March 1618 and was buried in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse.

Eliyā Bar Tappe's two immediate successors, both members of his family, would have been traditionalist in sympathy. He was succeeded as metropolitan a year before his death by his nephew and *nāṭar kursyā* Īshō'yahb, earlier attested as bishop of 'Hezzō and the Gordlāye', and first mentioned as metropolitan of Seert in Eliyā IX's rejected profession of faith in June 1617. Īshō'yahb's jurisdiction also seems to have been wider than Seert itself, and he is mentioned together with the patriarch Eliyā IX variously as metropolitan of Seert, metropolitan of Āmid, and metropolitan of Ḥesnā d'Kifā, in colophons from 1618 to 1628²⁶¹. He was in turn succeeded at an unknown date by a nephew named Eliyā, probably also a *nāṭar kursyā*, who died in 1660²⁶².

A 'metropolitan of Seert' named Yōhannān (he may deliberately have taken the traditional name of the metropolitans of Ātel) was one of the signatories of a letter of 1669 from Eliyā X Yōhannān Mārōgīn to pope Clement IX; and a manuscript was copied in 1702 for the metropolitan Shem'ōn Bar Tappe, 'living in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb', also dependent on the Eliyā line²⁶³. These men were probably both consecrated by Eliyā X, and like their two predecessors would have been traditionalist in sympathy.

In 1730, shortly before his departure for Rome, Joseph III consecrated a Catholic bishop for Seert, Shem'ōn Kemō, of the Seert village of Šedūh²⁶⁴. During his absence Shem'ōn acted as his patriarchal vicar at Āmid, and had to combat a fierce traditionalist reaction in his diocese in 1738, in which two villages were recovered from the Catholics by an unnamed 'heretic bishop' (perhaps Shem'ōn Bar Tappe if he was still alive)²⁶⁵. He is last mentioned as the scribe of a manuscript in 1746, but may have lived for several years longer, as he is said by Tfinkdji to have administered his diocese for forty years²⁶⁶.

²⁶¹ MSS Seert (Scher) 6 and 34 and Mardīn (Scher) 86.

²⁶² Note in MS Seert (Scher) 4.

²⁶³ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 540; and MS Seert (Scher) 47.

²⁶⁴ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 318.

²⁶⁵ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 362.

²⁶⁶ MS Seert (Scher) 34.

A stable Catholic hierarchy for the diocese of Seert was finally established at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Peter Shawrīz of Seert was consecrated metropolitan of Seert in 1801 by the metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* Hnānīshō'. He travelled to Rome in 1806 to secure the confirmation of his appointment, but was frustrated for several years by the French occupation. On his return from Rome he met Henry Leeves of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Constantinople in 1822, whom he encouraged to contact the East Syrians of the Hakkārī region. As a result he was deposed by the Vatican in 1823, and was thereafter employed by Leeves. He died at Khosrōwā in 1831²⁶⁷.

He was succeeded by Mīkhā'īl Kattūlā of Telkepe, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, who was consecrated on 15 September 1826 at Āmid by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi, a week after the consecration of Ignatius Dashtō for Mardīn²⁶⁸. He died in 1855 and was buried in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse.

Thereafter, accurate details of the succession of the Chaldean metropolitans of Seert have been given by Tfinkdji and Fiey²⁶⁹. Peter Mīkhā'īl Bartatar of Khosrōwā was consecrated for Seert in 1858. He retired to the monastery of Mār Gūrīyā in 1878 following a dispute with the newly-elected patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān, and died in the village of Pīrōz in 1884. He was succeeded in 1885 by Ya'qōb Mīkhā'īl Na'mō of Mosul, who resigned in 1888 and was shortly afterwards appointed patriarchal vicar of Basra.

He was succeeded after a vacancy of four years by Joseph Emmanuel Thomas of Alqōsh, elected for the diocese in September 1890 and consecrated in July 1892. After administering the diocese for eight years he became patriarch in 1900, and was succeeded by the scholar Addāi Scher of Shaqlāwā, consecrated for Seert on 30 November 1892. Addāi Scher, whose many achievements included cataloguing the East Syrian manuscript collections of Seert, Āmid, Mardīn, Mosul and Alqōsh, and publishing the *Chronicle of Seert*, an important historical source for early East Syrian Christianity, was metropolitan of Seert for twenty-three years. His distinguished career came to a tragic end shortly after the outbreak of the First World War. He was arrested shortly after the massacres of Chaldean Christians in the Seert region began early in 1915, and was shot in the village of Ṭanze on 20 June 1915. The massacres claimed the

²⁶⁷ Smith, *Researches*, ii, 189-90; Hornus, *Rapport*, 22, 298; and Coakley, *Church of the East*, 18-19, 26, and 368.

²⁶⁸ Badger, *Nestorians*, i, 158; and Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 68-9.

²⁶⁹ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 494-6; and Fiey, *POCN*, 129.

lives of several thousand other Chaldeans in the region, and the diocese of Seert was not revived after the First World War.

The Chaldean diocese of Seert had a population of 300 Chaldean families, with 9 priests and 12 churches, in 1850 (Badger); 1,865 Chaldeans in 1852 (Marchi); between 3,500 and 4,000 Chaldeans in 1888 (Müller-Simonis and Hyvernat); 2,600 Chaldeans in 1891 (Cuinet); 5,000 Chaldeans, with 17 priests and 21 churches, in 1896 (Chabot); and 5,430 Chaldeans, with 21 priests and 31 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). The last eleven villages in Tfinkdji's list for 1913 were still 'semi-Nestorian'.

Table 4: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Seert, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Seert	824	3	1	Tentas	80	1	0
Kitmis	326	1	1	Artūn (Upper)	310	1	1
Mār Gūrīyā	182	1	1	Artūn (Lower)	160	0	0
Gadyānis	55	1	1	Gurbatānes	75	0	1
Tel Imshar	290	1	1	Ṭāl	50	0	1
Bingov	110	1	1	Azar	50	1	1
Birkah	30	0	1	Gweri Ātel	100	0	1
Dohuk	146	1	1	Marānīsh	70	0	1
Ramūran	126	0	0	Mārshānis	60	0	1
Deir Rabban	142	0	0	Ṣedūh	230	1	1
Deir Mazzen	152	0	0	Mār Ya'qōb	200	1	1
Arjiqānis	45	0	1	Mart Shmūni	30	0	0
Korīj	100	1	1	Ḥadīde	200	1	1
Ūrīj	20	0	1	Birke	120	1	1
Borm	282	1	1	Bekinde	80	1	1
Ḥwītā	95	0	1	Deir Shemesh	40	0	1
Rawmā	110	0	1	Kīb	50	0	1
Hāh	70	0	1	Ejnit	120	1	0
Pirōz	300	1	1	Total	5,430	21	31

(b) Topographical Survey

The East Syrian presence in the Seert region probably goes back to the fourth century, when it formed part of the frontier region of Arzun, ceded to the Persians in 363. Few East Syrian monasteries and villages in the

Seert region are mentioned in the early literary sources, and fewer still seem to have survived into the fourteenth century. The monasteries of Rabban Yōzādāq (a few miles to the west of Deh) and Mār Shallīṭā (on the west bank of the Tigris near Kfarbūrān) are last mentioned in the eighth and eleventh centuries respectively, and the unlocalised monastery of Abbā Sahrowāi, founded in the sixth century, is not mentioned again²⁷⁰. A manuscript was copied in 1197 by the scribe Joseph, son of Kirōn, in the monastery of Bar Shemesh (probably near the modern Seert village of Deir Shemesh), with a colophon which mentions the patriarch Yahballāhā II and the metropolitan Emmanuel of Nisibis²⁷¹. This monastery also is not mentioned again.

Between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries Seert was a less important centre than the towns of Ātel in the Bohtān district (unlocalised by Fiey but probably to be identified with the large village of Deh or Eruh in the Zorāwā valley) and Ḥesnā d'Kifā on the Tigris. Both towns were the seats of East Syrian bishops before the eighteenth century, and scattered references to their East Syrian communities have survived. The metropolitan Yōhannān of Ātel was martyred at Ātel on 6 June 1512, together with forty other Christians, including deacons and priests, by the soldiers of Muḥammad Bek; the priest 'Abdīshō' of Ātel (later its metropolitan) visited Jerusalem in 1614; and a manuscript was copied at Ātel in 1660 by the priest Marqos, son of Isaac, son of the deacon Ephrem²⁷². Several manuscripts were also copied in Gāzartā between 1557 and 1618 by four members of a single family from Ātel: the deacon 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of 'Abdō, and his brother the priest 'Aṭāyā; and their nephews the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad and his brother Yōhannān, who both lived in Gāzartā along with their father the priest Joseph²⁷³. In 1552 delegates from Ḥesnā d'Kifā were among the group which elected Sulāqā patriarch. In 1606 the deacon Gīwārgīs, son of Salmān, of Āmid directed that a flask of oil should be given every year to the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Ḥesnā d'Kifā, and a manuscript was copied in Ḥesnā d'Kifā in 1628 for the church of Rabban Hormizd in Mardīn by the priest Bā'ūt²⁷⁴.

The reports of 1607 and 1610 mention the monasteries of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse and Mār Yōhannān Naḥlāyā in the Seert region. The seventh-

²⁷⁰ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 201-2, 212, and 214-5.

²⁷¹ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 13.

²⁷² Notes in MSS Seert (Scher) 55 and Jerusalem Syr 17; and Jerusalem Syr 19.

²⁷³ MSS Berlin Syr 35, Ernakulam L22, Dawrā Syr 41, Diyārbakr (Scher) 157, Vat Syr 572, Seert (Scher) 40, 58, and 83, and Mosul (Bidāwīd) 354 (Fiey, *Nisibe*, 237).

²⁷⁴ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 38; and MS Mardīn (Scher) 86.

century monastery of Mār Yōhannān Naḥlāyā near the village of Bekinde is again mentioned in 1629, in a manuscript note recording the recent death of a nun named Ḥātūn in the monastery, during the time of its priest Abraham, and according to Scher was acquired by the Syrian Orthodox church at the beginning of the nineteenth century²⁷⁵. The monastery of Mār Ya'qōb continued to function until the First World War. There was also a monastery of Mār Gūrīyā in the Seert region near the village of the same name, not mentioned in the reports. A manuscript was copied in the monastery in 1606 by the priest and monk La'zar, son of the priest Isaac, son of the priest Gīwārgīs, son of the deacon Ḥōshābā, of Gāzartā, and a nineteenth-century note mentions that the monastery was pillaged on 28 November 1818²⁷⁶. It was later restored, and was the residence of the Chaldean metropolitan Peter Mīkhā'īl Bartatar between 1878 and 1884²⁷⁷.

The Seert region, particularly the remote villages in the mountains to the south of the Bohtān river, was seldom visited by European travellers, and rather less is known about its East Syrian villages than of the other regions which had Chaldean bishops in the nineteenth century. Besides the thirty-three Chaldean and 'semi-Nestorian' villages listed by Tfinkdji in 1913 (most of which were also mentioned by Rhétoré during a visit to the diocese in 1881) there were also several traditionalist villages in the region without Chaldean communities, mentioned in various sources. Many of these villages were destroyed in the First World War and cannot now be readily localised. Nevertheless, it is clear that most of the East Syrian villages in the diocese of Seert were either in the immediate vicinity of Seert or to its east and south-east, in the Bohtān valley and in the Ātel district around the large village of Deh. Despite this concentration of villages, reflected in the name of the old East Syrian diocese of Ātel and Bohtān, the East Syrians of these districts were slightly outnumbered by their Armenian Christian neighbours. In the nineteenth century the Armenian diocese of Seert included about fifty villages in and around the Bohtān and Mūkūs valleys, and contained 6,250 families. The region also contained two isolated West Syrian villages, Semḥōr in the Bohtān valley and Kūfre several miles to the north of Seert²⁷⁸.

Besides the Bohtān and Ātel districts, the East Syrian diocese of Arzun also included the Garzan and Bshīr districts to the west of Seert, between

²⁷⁵ Note in MS Seert (Scher) 34; and Fiey, *Nisibe*, 212.

²⁷⁶ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 108 and Seert (Scher) 4.

²⁷⁷ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 225.

²⁷⁸ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 124 and 167.

the Bohtān and Garzan rivers and the Garzan and Batmān rivers respectively. Most of the Christians of these districts were either Armenian or West Syrian by the eighteenth century, with the West Syrians in the majority. There were two West Syrian bishops in these districts before the First World War, one for Bidlīs in the Garzan district and a second who resided in the monastery of Mār Quriāqōs near Zargel in the Bshīr district²⁷⁹. Nevertheless, the existence of the seventeenth-century East Syrian diocese of 'Hezzō and the Gordlāye' in the Bshīr district indicates that an East Syrian presence persisted in these districts, and there are a number of nineteenth-century references to small East Syrian communities, both Chaldean and traditionalist, in the towns of Raḍwān and Bidlīs, and in several villages in the Garzan and Bshīr districts.

Seert

Estimates made by nineteenth-century travellers gave Seert a population of about 6,000 at the beginning of the century (Sheil), rising to about 15,000 by the end (Cuinet, Nolde and Rhétoré)²⁸⁰. About three-quarters of the town's population were Moslems, and the remainder Christians. The Gregorian Armenians were the largest Christian denomination, but there were also significant Chaldean and West Syrian communities, with smaller groups of Armenian Catholics and Protestants. In 1890 Seert had a total population of 15,000, consisting of 9,700 Moslems, 2,800 Armenians, 500 Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholics, 1,500 Chaldeans, and 520 Protestants. Seert had a community of 600 Chaldeans in 1880 (Rhétoré); 500 Chaldeans in 1882 (Duval); 600 Chaldeans in 1888 (Müller-Simonis); 1,500 Chaldeans in 1890 (Cuinet); and 824 Chaldeans, with 3 priests and a church, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). The town had a single East Syrian church of Mār Gīwārgīs until 1895, when a second church, dedicated to the Holy Family, was built by the metropolitan Joseph Emmanuel Thomas²⁸¹.

Considering its relatively large East Syrian population, very few manuscripts have survived from Seert. Only three early manuscripts are known; one copied in Seert in 1477 by the deacon Ḥabīb of Āmid; a second copied in 1532 by the scribe Abraham of Seert; and a third (originally copied by a scribe of Ṭabyātā in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse in 1573) purchased at the monastery of Mār Peṭiōn near Ḥarab

²⁷⁹ Fiey, *POCN*, 181 and 281-2.

²⁸⁰ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 284.

²⁸¹ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 496.

Olmā in 1610 by Eliyā, cousin of the priest Mubārakshāh, and donated to the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Seert²⁸². A fourth manuscript, copied in 1746 by the priest Peter, son of the pilgrim Ghālū, originated in the Seert region (its dating formula mentions the patriarch Joseph III and the metropolitan Shem'ōn Kemō), but was not necessarily copied in Seert itself²⁸³.

The few other manuscripts known date from around the end of the nineteenth century. The deacon Sulaimān, son of Hannā, son of the deacon 'Abd al-Masīh, of the Adāmō family of Seert, copied a number of manuscripts in Seert between 1884 and 1903; and the priest Benjamin Auzō of Telkepe, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, copied a manuscript in Seert in 1887²⁸⁴.

Only one man from Seert entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during the lifetime of Gabriel Dambō (the monk Sem'an, in 1826), but three nineteenth-century Chaldean bishops originated from the town: the brothers Mīkhā'il Shawrīz (metropolitan of Mardīn 1795-1810) and Peter Shawrīz (metropolitan of Seert, 1810-1823), and Joseph Gabriel Adāmō (metropolitan of Kirkūk, 1883-1899).

The Monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse [Fiey, *Nisibe*, 205-10]

The monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse, several miles to the southwest of Seert near the East Syrian village of the same name, is first mentioned around the end of the ninth century. The monastery was an important East Syrian centre during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and remained intermittently occupied thereafter until its destruction in 1915.

One or two details of the monastery's early history have been given by Fiey, but as usual no trace of its history between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries has survived. The earliest surviving manuscript was copied in the monastery in 1504 by the monk Gabriel, later metropolitan of Ḥesnā d'Kifā²⁸⁵.

In the second half of the sixteenth century the monastery gained a new importance as the residence of the Catholic patriarch 'Abdishō' IV Mārōn, who died there on 11 September 1570, and perhaps also of his successor Shem'ōn 'VIII'²⁸⁶. It was probably at this point that its library

²⁸² MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 39, Seert (Scher) 79, and Paris BN Syr 371.

²⁸³ MS Dawrā Syr 522.

²⁸⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 72, 80, 99, 406, and 486.

²⁸⁵ MS Seert (Scher) 46.

²⁸⁶ Note in MS Mosul (Scher) 53.

was enriched with a number of old manuscripts, two of which were copied in the once-flourishing monastery of Beṭ Qōqā in the Erbil region²⁸⁷. Several manuscripts were copied in the monastery in the 1560s and 1570s: in 1562 by Eliyā Asmar Ḥabīb, metropolitan of Āmid; in 1565 by the monk 'Abd al-Masīh of Ṭabyātā; in 1569 by the metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of Mardīn; also in 1569 by the patriarch 'Abdishō' IV for Rabban Ya'qōb, superior of the monastery; in 1572 by the priest 'Abdō, son of Maqsūd; again in 1573 by the metropolitan Eliyā Asmar Ḥabīb; and in 1573 by the priest Joseph of Ṭabyātā, for the priest Ya'qōb²⁸⁸. The monastery's superior Rabban Ya'qōb and the monk 'Abd al-Masīh of Ṭabyātā were sent by the patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denḥā in 1583 to meet the papal envoy Leonard Abel in Aleppo, and were mentioned by him in 1587 as learned Catholic converts.

The monastery was again the scene of considerable activity during the reign of its superior Eliyā Bar Tappe, also metropolitan of Seert (1599-1618). In 1606 the deacon Gīwārgīs, son of Salmān, of Āmid gave instructions for a flask of oil to be given annually to the monastery²⁸⁹. In the same year a manuscript was sold to the monastery by the monk Gabriel of the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā the Egyptian²⁹⁰. The sale took place in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb, and was witnessed by the priest Quriāqōs, the priest 'Abd al-Khallāq, sacristan of the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Gāzartā, the deacon Qardāgh, and the notables Mūsā and Thomas. In 1606 and 1608 'Abd Allāh of Mardīn, a West Syrian monk in the monastery of Za'farān near Mardīn, was commissioned by the metropolitan Eliyā Bar Tappe to restore the monastery's book collection, rebinding more than a hundred books in 1606 and an even greater number in 1608²⁹¹. Manuscripts were copied in or for the monastery in 1605 by the monk Yōḥannān; in 1608 and 1609 by the deacon Thomas, son of the priest Joseph, of Gāzartā; in August 1608 by an unknown scribe; in 1609 by the monk 'Abd Allāh; and by several unknown scribes in the second decade of the seventeenth century²⁹². The monastery was mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610, and in 1610 was the residence of the bishops Eliyā Bar Tappe, Mār Yōḥannān (probably metropolitan of

²⁸⁷ Paris BN Syr 367 and Seert (Scher) 50.

²⁸⁸ MSS Seert (Scher) 15, 73, 84, 116, Paris BN Syr 370 and 371, and Vat Syr 472.

²⁸⁹ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 38.

²⁹⁰ Note in MS Seert (Scher) 84.

²⁹¹ Notes in MSS Seert (Scher) 11 and 56.

²⁹² MSS Jerusalem Syr 33, Seert (Scher) 34, 41, 54, 87, 90, 109, and 127, Diyārbakr (Scher) 21 and 49, and Vat Syr 609.

Ātel), and Mār 'Gupius' (probably the metropolitan Gabriel of Ḥesnā d'Kifā).

Eliyā Bar Tappe died on 1 March 1618, and was buried in the monastery, where he had been 'educated from his youth'. He was succeeded shortly before his death by his nephew Īshō'yahb, who built or restored the sanctuary door of the monastery²⁹³. In 1624 the lady Ahlijān, the great-niece of the metropolitan Eliyā Bar Tappe by his brother Ḥannā and nephew Na'mā, died and left in her will to the monastery two pairs of oxen, 'with land and appurtenances'²⁹⁴.

The monastery is next mentioned at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1702 a manuscript was copied at Seert by the scribe Abraham Kemō of Ṣedūḥ for the traditionalist East Syrian metropolitan Shem'ōn Bar Tappe, who resided in the monastery²⁹⁵. The monastery appears to have been acquired a little later, probably shortly after his consecration in 1730, by the Catholic metropolitan Shem'ōn Kemō. Two manuscripts were copied in the monastery around the middle of the century, one in 1746 and another at an unknown date, by Shem'ōn Kemō, who described himself as the monastery's superior; and a third was rebound in the monastery in 1754 by the priest 'Īsā²⁹⁶.

The monastery was the seat of the Chaldean metropolitan of Seert Mikhā'il Kattūlā (1826-1855), who persuaded ten monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd to accompany him there, only two of whom stayed more than a year²⁹⁷. It was reoccupied some years later, and two manuscripts were copied in the monastery towards the end of the nineteenth century, one in 1887 by the priest and monk Isaac and a second in 1897 by a certain Eliyā²⁹⁸. Some years previously, in 1884, its superior Stephen Yōhannān Qaynāyā (later bishop of Zākhō) visited the village of Pīrōz with the priest Paul al-Jādir of Seert and a detachment of Turkish soldiers to persuade the villagers to surrender the body of the bishop Peter Mikhā'il Bartatar for burial in Seert²⁹⁹.

In 1895, following the first Armenian massacres in the region, the monastery's library was transferred to Seert, and the last metropolitan of Seert, Addaī Scher, also resided in Seert. The monastery was destroyed

²⁹³ Notes in MS Seert (Scher) 34 and Vat Syr 609.

²⁹⁴ Note in MS Seert (Scher) 34.

²⁹⁵ MS Seert (Scher) 47.

²⁹⁶ MSS Seert (Scher) 34, 36, and 80.

²⁹⁷ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 249.

²⁹⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 62 and 577.

²⁹⁹ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 249.

during the First World War, and its valuable manuscript collection, with the exception of a number of manuscripts previously donated to the Vatican, is presumed to have perished as well.

Villages in the Seert Region

Several scribes are known from the Seert village of Ṣedūḥ. Manuscripts were copied in the village in 1610 for its church of Mār Gīwārgīs by an unnamed scribe, 'the son of the priest Abraham, son of the priest Gabriel, of the Kamyānō family'; in 1754 by the scribe Gūrīyā, son of Gīwārgīs; and in 1802 by the priest Shem'ōn, son of the priest Gīwārgīs, son of 'Abd Allāh³⁰⁰. In 1702 a manuscript was copied in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse by the scribe Abraham Kemō, who had fled from Ṣedūḥ 'to escape the oppression of the emir Sharaf'³⁰¹. Ṣedūḥ also played an important part in the conversion of the Seert region to Catholicism. Fiey records a local tradition that a child of the village became a Catholic in Rome, and returned to the region as 'bishop Chinian', converting Ṣedūḥ and several surrounding villages³⁰². Although this tradition is set in the seventeenth century, it clearly refers to the Catholic metropolitan Shem'ōn Kemō of Ṣedūḥ, consecrated for Seert by the Āmid patriarch Joseph III in 1730. Significantly, the Catholic bishop Īshō'yahb of Salmas fled to Ṣedūḥ in 1751 and 'stayed there for a long time, following the destruction of his diocese by Oz Bek'³⁰³.

A number of other East Syrian villages in the Seert region are mentioned in manuscript colophons. A manuscript was copied in 1437 in 'the village of the Levites' (*qrīṭā d'Lewāye*) in the Ātel district by an unnamed scribe³⁰⁴. A manuscript was copied in the Bohtān village of Ūrīj in 1497 by the scribe Abraham, son of Dādā³⁰⁵. A manuscript was copied in 1521 in the Bohtān village of Eḥṭas, 'in the country of the Sherwāye', by the priest Ephrem, son of the priest Ya'qōb, for his daughters Tamar and Shmūni³⁰⁶. Two manuscripts were copied in 1526 and 1534 in the church of Mart Shmūni in the village of Borb, in the Bshūr district, by the priest Emmanuel, son of the priest David, son of the priest Ahrōn, son of Bar

³⁰⁰ MSS Seert (Scher) 54, 75, and 136.

³⁰¹ MS Seert (Scher) 47.

³⁰² Fiey, *Nisibe*, 262-3.

³⁰³ Note in MS Seert (Scher) 54.

³⁰⁴ MS Seert (Scher) 119.

³⁰⁵ MS Mosul (Scher) 15.

³⁰⁶ MS Mosul (Scher) 74.

Ṣawmā³⁰⁷. A manuscript in the Seert collection was bought by the villagers of Nānib, probably a village in the Seert region, from the priest Sābā in 1570, in the presence of the priest Israel, the deacon Hornizd, and the chief Mārōge³⁰⁸. In 1701 the emir 'Abd Allāh of Gāzartā burned the villages of Tiran and Awānīs near Eruh, an incident recorded in two East Syrian manuscript notes, probably because both villages had East Syrian communities³⁰⁹. A manuscript was copied in 1777 by the deacon Ya'qōb, son of Gūrīyā, son of Harōnō, of Marshānīs 'in the Ātel district', for Abraham, son of the priest Mārōgin, of the village of Kafīf³¹⁰. The nineteenth-century Mardīn priest 'Īsā, son of the priest Quriāqōs, was from the Qaimar village of Ḥḍattā (probably Tfinkdji's Ḥadīde), which had a church dedicated to Mār Shem'ōn Bar Ṣabbā'e, and was near the village of Gadyānīs³¹¹.

Other Communities in the Seert Region

Several other East Syrian communities in the Seert region are mentioned in scattered references in nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources. Tfinkdji mentioned that most of the East Syrian inhabitants of the village of Kīb in the Bohtān valley, formerly an important Christian village, converted to Islam during the Armenian massacres in 1895³¹². Sheil mentioned a small Chaldean community in the town of Bidlīs in 1836, unremarked by later visitors³¹³. Several travellers noticed the Chaldean community in the town of Raḍwān (first mentioned in 1852 by Marchi and estimated at 7 or 8 families in the 1880s)³¹⁴. The large village of Deh had a mixed East Syrian and Armenian population of between 300 and 400 families in the 1870s, with two churches, dedicated to Mart Maryam and Mār Yōḥannān³¹⁵. The village of Azar is said to have had a church or 'monastery' of Rabban Mār Peter³¹⁶. The town of Shernakh had a traditionalist community of 30 families at the end of the nineteenth century, and there were also traditionalist communities in the large villages of Ma'dan (the seat of a West Syrian bishop between the fifteenth and

³⁰⁷ MS Paris BN Syr 345, and a manuscript from Zākhō (Fiey, *Nisibe*, 230).

³⁰⁸ Note in MS Seert (Scher) 32.

³⁰⁹ Notes in MSS Seert (Scher) 34 and 47.

³¹⁰ MS Mingana Syr 3161.

³¹¹ Notes in MSS Paris BN Syr 353 and Vat Syr 620.

³¹² Tfinkdji, *EC*, 497.

³¹³ Sheil, *Journey through Kurdistan*, 76.

³¹⁴ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 257.

³¹⁵ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 256-7.

³¹⁶ *DHGE*, 15, 645-6.

nineteenth centuries) and Zokait, several miles to the north-east and west of Seert respectively, and in seven villages in the Bshīr district, mentioned by Rhétoré in 1881; while the villages of Borm (perhaps to be identified with the sixteenth-century village of Borb) and Gerizlas in the Bshīr district were shared by Chaldeans and 'Nestorians' around the beginning of the nineteenth century³¹⁷.

A recently-published list of twenty-nine villages in the Seert region towards the end of the nineteenth century broadly agrees with Tfinkdji's list for 1913, and although it lists eight fewer villages, mentions East Syrian communities in Raḍwān and also in the villages of Artevin, 'Ain Dāre, Galwāye, Shamak, and Tel Nevrō, not mentioned by Tfinkdji³¹⁸. Although the population estimates in this list are wildly exaggerated (the total East Syrian population of the region was estimated at 18,900, over three times the figure given by Tfinkdji in 1913), it can perhaps be trusted as a guide to the villages in the region, and the villages absent from Tfinkdji's list may have been traditionalist villages without significant Chaldean communities.

Several of the more remote villages in the Bohtān district survived the First World War, and a number of villages were also settled after the war by Assyrian refugees, many of whom were West Syrians. Details of several villages in the Bohtān district (whose communities were forcibly relocated several years ago) have been given recently by Sanders, based on his own travels in the area in the 1950s and the recollections of villagers now living in Holland. There were Assyrian communities in the villages of Pīrōz and Tentas in the Bohtān valley, in seven villages in the Sarhal valley (Lower and Upper Artūn, Fakīrā, Rabanuk, Sarhal, Robarīyā, and Māghes), and in five villages further to the south (Hakkadānā, Keverūk, Ginne, Kilis, and Simānā). Before its abandonment in 1994 the Chaldean village of Upper Artūn had five churches (Mār Isha'yā, Mār Yōḥannān, Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Isaac, and Mār 'Abdā), Pīrōz had a church of Mart Shmūni, and Tentas had a church of Mār Domitius (presumably a West Syrian church built after 1918)³¹⁹. Most of these villages are not mentioned before the First World War, but it is possible that some or all of them had East Syrian communities before 1914, and that the two East Syrian churches mentioned in Pīrōz and Upper Artūn by Tfinkdji in 1913 are among the churches named by Sanders.

³¹⁷ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 36-7 and 121.

³¹⁸ Yonan, *Ein Vergessener Holocaust: Die Vernichtung der christlichen Assyrer in der Türkei*, 295.

³¹⁹ Sanders, *Assyro-Chaldese Christenen in Oost-Turkije en Iran*, 52-3.

(VII) THE GĀZARTĀ REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

Before the fourteenth century there appear to have been two East Syrian dioceses in the Gāzartā region. The region's principal diocese, Beṭ Zabdaī, later called Gāzartā, is attested between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries³²⁰. A number of East Syrian bishops are also recorded between the fifth and ninth centuries for the diocese of Qardū, which seems to have covered the hilly district to the north-east of Gāzartā³²¹. Between the ninth and eleventh century the bishops of Qardū moved from Penek to the town of Ṭamānōn (modern Dādār) on Jabal Jūdi. Five bishops of Ṭamānōn are recorded between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the last of whom, Brīkhīshō', was present at the consecration of Denḥā I in 1265³²². His title included not only Ṭamānōn but also Wasṭā, a large East Syrian village in the Khābūr valley. The diocese of Gāzartā persisted until 1918, and was dependent on the Mosul patriarchate after the schism of 1552.

Three other dioceses, perhaps ephemeral, are mentioned in the Gāzartā region between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The Gwerkel district was mentioned as a diocese in 'Abdīshō' IV's letter of 1562, and the reports of 1607 and 1610 mention a bishop of Gwerkel, dependent on Elīyā VIII, called 'Benakan' in 1607, and 'Epiphanius' in 1610, both names probably representing the Syriac name Denḥā. In 1733 another bishop named Denḥā from the Gwerkel district commissioned a manuscript from Alqōsh for the church of the Gwerkel village of Hōz³²³. Two metropolitans named Denḥā are mentioned in a letter of Shem'on IX Denḥā in 1580, and one of them may also have been a bishop of Gwerkel. A bishop named Yōḥannān, son of the priest Joseph, son of Šlībā, son of Ahrōn, from the Gwerkel village of Abnāye, was listed as a member of the hierarchy of the patriarch Elīyā VIII in 1607 and 1610, and also copied several manuscripts between 1588 and 1609³²⁴. The report of 1607 also mentioned a bishop Joseph of 'Narman' (probably the Gāzartā village of Nahrawān).

³²⁰ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 161-79 and 182-4; and *POCN*, 68-9 and 75-6.

³²¹ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 161-84; and *POCN*, 120.

³²² Fiey, *Nisibe*, 179-82; and *POCN*, 139.

³²³ MS seen by S.P. Brock.

³²⁴ MSS Mosul (Magdasi) 4, Manchester JRL Syr 19, Diyārbakr (Scher) 75, and Berlin Syr 31 (*Vorlage*).

For most of the seventeenth and eighteenth century the bishops of Gāzartā were loyal to the traditionalist Elīyā line, but the region came under Catholic influence towards the end of the eighteenth century, and was given a Catholic metropolitan early in the nineteenth century. In the 1850s the villages of the Khābūr valley were detached from the Chaldean diocese of Gāzartā and included in a new Chaldean diocese of Zākhō (which also included Dohuk and a number of nearby villages previously in the diocese of 'Amādiyā), and by 1913 most of the East Syrian communities in the Gāzartā region had been converted to Catholicism. There was resistance in the early nineteenth century from the last traditionalist metropolitan of Gāzartā, Joseph, and after his death in 1846 by at least four other bishops dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, but their influence was gradually restricted to the remote mountain villages in both the Gāzartā region and the neighbouring Seert region. The last-known traditionalist bishop in the region, Joseph Thomas Kasristō of Gweri Ātel, converted to Catholicism in 1896.

The Diocese of Gāzartā [Tfinkdji, *EC*, 502-5; Fiey, *Nisibe*, 182-4, 231-39; *POCN*, 75-6]

The diocese of Gāzartā was one of the oldest dioceses of the Church of the East, and under its earlier name of Beṭ Zabdaī was included in the province of Nisibis at the synod of Isaac in 410. One particular list of bishops of Gāzartā, discovered by the Anglican missionary Arthur Maclean and believed to be genuine by Fiey, includes the names of fifty-four bishops between the fourth and thirteenth centuries, many of whom are independently known from literary sources³²⁵. The last four bishops listed are Ḥnānīshō', executed by the Mongols in 1268, and his successors Mīkhā'īl, Joseph, and Yōḥannān, the last of whom seems to have been bishop of Gāzartā around 1364. Thereafter, no more bishops of Gāzartā are known for more than a century.

A metropolitan named Elīyā is mentioned in colophons of 1488 from Gāzartā and 1502 from Mardīn, and a metropolitan Elīyā of 'Āmid, Gāzartā and Seert' in a colophon of 1504 from the Seert region³²⁶. He is probably to be distinguished from the metropolitans Elīyā of Nisibis (c.1477-c.1483) and Elīyā of Mosul (c.1484-c.1493) and, in view of its prestige, probably resided in Gāzartā rather than either Āmid, Mardīn, or Seert.

³²⁵ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 173-84; and *POCN*, 68-9 and 75-6.

³²⁶ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 13, Beirut (St Joseph's) 23, and Seert (Scher) 46.

A metropolitan of Gāzartā named Gabriel is mentioned in the dating formulas of several manuscripts copied between 1529 and 1542³²⁷. A considerable number of manuscripts were copied in the Gāzartā region at this period, particularly in the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā the Egyptian, and he may well have encouraged this activity.

The *nāṭar kursyā* Ḥnānīshō', nephew of the patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb, is mentioned as metropolitan of Gāzartā in two colophons of 1545³²⁸. He probably died shortly afterwards, and the diocese seems to have been vacant in 1552.

The Catholic monk 'Abdīshō' Mārōn of Gāzartā was consecrated metropolitan of Gāzartā on the third Friday of Epiphany in 1554 by Sulāqā³²⁹. He became patriarch in the following year, and is unlikely to have exercised any effective control over his nominal diocese. According to Tfinkdji he was succeeded as metropolitan of Gāzartā by Yahballāhā, 'Abdīshō's successor as patriarch, but the evidence for this is not clear, and he is not mentioned as metropolitan of Gāzartā in any surviving colophons from this period³³⁰.

On the contrary, a traditionalist East Syrian metropolitan of Gāzartā named Joseph is mentioned in several colophons between 1555 and 1587, associated with the patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb in 1555, and from 1561 onwards with his successor Eliyā VII³³¹. He may also have been the metropolitan of Gāzartā whose name appears as 'Eusebius' in a letter of 1580 from the patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denḥā to pope Gregory XIII, though he is not elsewhere associated with this patriarch³³². It is probable that, like the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Nisibis, he was consecrated by Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb to counter the influence of the Catholics in the western regions.

A metropolitan of Gāzartā named Gabriel, also dependent on Eliyā VII, is mentioned in several colophons between 1569 and 1596³³³. He was consecrated bishop on Friday 11 March 1568, and metropolitan on

³²⁷ MSS Vat Syr 66 and 83, NDS (Scher) 91, Mardīn (Scher) 12, 17, 21, and 41, Diyārbakr (Scher) 15 and 38, and Dawrā Syr 39.

³²⁸ MSS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 34 and Vat Syr 66.

³²⁹ Note in MS Borgia (Scher) 21.

³³⁰ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 502.

³³¹ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 11 and 66, Berlin Syr 35, Seert (Scher) 20 and 59, Mosul (Scher) 55, a manuscript in the Mosul (Bīdāwīd) collection (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 60), Dawrā Syr 257 and 370, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 96, and Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 6 and 7.

³³² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90.

³³³ MSS BM (Rosen-Forshall) Syr 37, Diyārbakr (Scher) 59, Telkepe (Vosté) 37, a manuscript of 1590 (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 67), Diyārbakr (Scher) 16, Mardīn (Scher) 90, and Jerusalem Syr 46.

10 November 1570³³⁴. He was also the author of a treatise on the Moslem and Christian calendars, composed in 1585, and was among the witnesses of Eliyā VII's profession of faith in 1586³³⁵. He is included in Leonard Abel's 1587 list of the most literate men in the 'Nestorian nation'³³⁶. His dates overlap with Joseph's, and if Joseph was consecrated by Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb and Gabriel by his successor Eliyā VII, the two men were perhaps responsible for different parts of the diocese.

There seems also to have a third traditionalist metropolitan in the Gāzartā region at this period, Ḥnānīshō', mentioned in Leonard Abel's list of 1587 as 'archbishop of Maṣṣūrīyā', and to be distinguished from the contemporary Catholic metropolitan of Mardīn of the same name, listed separately by Abel. Maṣṣūrīyā, an important village in the Gāzartā region, was claimed by 'Abdīshō' IV Mārōn in 1562 (under the name 'Meschiara'), and also featured in the title of the traditionalist metropolitan Joseph of Gāzartā in a colophon of 1555³³⁷. A metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* named Ḥnānīshō', brother of the traditionalist patriarch Eliyā VII, is mentioned in several colophons between 1562 and 1588, and it is tempting to identify him with Abel's Ḥnānīshō'³³⁸. The success of the Catholic movement in the neighbouring Mardīn region may have obliged Eliyā VII to strengthen his hierarchy in Gāzartā and its villages, and perhaps also to suppress Catholic sympathies in Maṣṣūrīyā by sending his brother there.

A metropolitan of Gāzartā named Joseph is mentioned in several colophons between 1597 and 1618³³⁹. He was also mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610, dependent on the patriarch Eliyā VIII, and was one of a number of bishops addressed by Peter Strozza in a letter of 1614³⁴⁰. He was addressed together with the patriarch Eliyā in a letter of 1616 from pope Paul V, and signed the patriarch's reply³⁴¹. He was one of the bishops present at the synod of Āmid in 1616, and was one of the signatories of the profession of faith of Eliyā IX in 1617³⁴².

³³⁴ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 59.

³³⁵ MS Mingana Syr 51B.

³³⁶ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121-2.

³³⁷ MS Mardīn (Scher) 66.

³³⁸ MSS Berlin Syr 82, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 80, Seert (Scher) 53, Mosul (Scher) 55, Kirkūk (Vosté) 15, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 63, Cambridge Add. 1975, Jerusalem Syr 7, and Vat Ar (Mai) 141.

³³⁹ MSS Jerusalem Syr 23, 32, and 43, Seert (Scher) 43 and 58, Diyārbakr (Scher) 157, and Paris BN Syr 363.

³⁴⁰ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 129.

³⁴¹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 142-146; and Le Quien, *OC*, ii. 1206.

³⁴² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 144.

Joseph's dates overlap with those of Elīyā Bar Tappe, metropolitan of Seert, whose title often included both Āmid and Gāzartā also, and the technical relationship between the two metropolitans is not clear. However, whatever link existed between the dioceses of Seert and Gāzartā during the lifetime of Elīyā Bar Tappe was broken after his death. Āmid and Ḥesnā d'Kifā featured in the titles of his nephew Īshō'yahb, who succeeded him as metropolitan of Seert in 1617, but not Gāzartā.

The succession of metropolitans of Gāzartā for the remainder of the seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth century is quite uncertain. Tfinkdji placed Joseph's death in 1635, and listed four subsequent metropolitans of Gāzartā, only one of whom can be independently verified: Shem'ōn Joseph (1636-1672), attested in 1669 as a member of the hierarchy of the patriarch Elīyā X Yōḥannān Mārōgin; 'Abdīshō' (1672-1710), apparently mentioned in a contemporary colophon; Joseph (1711-1747), apparently mentioned in a letter written in 1746 by the patriarch Joseph III; and the Catholic bishop Yōḥannān (1747-1774), apparently consecrated by Joseph III, and said to have been killed by the Kurds during a pastoral visit to some of the villages in his diocese³⁴³. The metropolitan 'Shem'ōn Joseph' certainly existed, though his first name cannot be independently confirmed. A metropolitan named Joseph was one of the signatories of a letter of 22 November 1669 from the traditionalist patriarch Elīyā X Yōḥannān Mārōgin to pope Clement IX, as Tfinkdji correctly stated, and is also mentioned in the colophons of a manuscript of 1657 and two manuscripts of 1680, dependent on the patriarchs Elīyā IX and Elīyā X respectively³⁴⁴. It is impossible to say whether Tfinkdji's sources for his other statements were reliable, particularly regarding the reign-dates of all the bishops concerned; but it would be surprising to find Catholic bishops of Gāzartā at this period, and the date of death given for the last bishop, Yōḥannān, is suspiciously late.

According to Badger, writing in 1850, a metropolitan of Gāzartā named Joseph was consecrated 'about eighty years' earlier (that is, around 1760) by the Mosul patriarch Elīyā XII, who resisted the progress of the Catholic missionaries in his diocese and withdrew to the monastery of Mār Isaac of Nineveh near Shāḥ in the early years of the nineteenth century, where he remained effectively dependent on the Qūdshānīs

³⁴³ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 503.

³⁴⁴ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 540; and MSS Jerusalem Syr 18, NDS (Vosté) 325, and Berlin Syr 83.

patriarchate until his death in 1846³⁴⁵. He was the scribe of manuscripts of 1808 and 1826, and the recipient of a manuscript of 1822 copied by the Ṭhūmā scribe Haydeni of Gissā, whose dating formula mentions the patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham³⁴⁶. He had two suffragan bishops, Shem'ōn and Thomas, and the three men were responsible for about twenty-three East Syrian villages in the Bohtān and Khābūr valleys and the intervening hill country, containing 220 East Syrian families, with 16 priests and 23 churches (Badger). Shem'ōn and Thomas are probably to be identified with two bishops of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate residing in the Gāzartā village of Shāḥ and the Seert village of Gweri Ātel respectively in 1867, 'who looked more like bandit chiefs than shepherds of souls', and appear to have died or retired shortly afterwards³⁴⁷. In 1877 Cutts mentioned them as having 'formerly' been bishops, whose 'succession has not been filled up'³⁴⁸.

The influence of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate in the Gāzartā and Seert regions gradually dwindled in the second half of the nineteenth century. The metropolitan Joseph died in 1846, probably without a *nātar kursyā*, and in 1850 Shem'ōn XVII Abraham had not yet consecrated his successor (Badger). By 1877, however, he had been replaced by another metropolitan of the Qūdshānīs hierarchy named Joseph, who 'joined the American missionaries and married, and is disowned by the Nestorian church'³⁴⁹. Joseph is also mentioned in a letter of 1877 from the American mission at Ūrmī, which claimed as a convert the priest of the Gāzartā village of Ḥaṣṣen, 'formerly a bishop of the old Church'; by Rhétoré in 1881, who mentioned that Ḥaṣṣen had 25 Protestant families, who had converted along with their married bishop; and, as the bishop Joseph 'of Shāḥ', as a member of the Qūdshānīs hierarchy by Riley in 1884³⁵⁰. Riley also included the bishops Shem'ōn and Thomas 'of Ātel' in his 1884 list. The two men appear to have succeeded the bishops mentioned by Badger in 1850, and one of them is likely to have been the young traditionalist bishop Joseph Thomas Kasristō of Gweri Ātel, whose conversion to Catholicism in 1896 and death in 1915 have already been mentioned³⁵¹.

³⁴⁵ Badger, *Nestorians*, i, 69; 195-6; and 393.

³⁴⁶ MSS Berlin Syr 31, Assfalḡ Syr 1, and Mīngana Syr 31.

³⁴⁷ Martin, *La Chaldée*, 47.

³⁴⁸ Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 204.

³⁴⁹ Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 204.

³⁵⁰ Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 287; Fiery, *Nisibe*, 258; and Riley, *Narrative*, 12.

³⁵¹ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 524; and *DHGE*, 15, 645-6.

Tfinkdji wrongly states that the metropolitan Hnānīshō', consecrated for 'Amādiyā in 1784 by his uncle Eliyā XIII Īshō'yahb, was metropolitan of Gāzartā from 1787 to 1826, and became a Catholic during his reign. In fact Hnānīshō' remained metropolitan of 'Amādiyā until his death in 1813, and is not known to have had any connection with Gāzartā. Gāzartā's first nineteenth-century Catholic bishop was Gīwārgīs Peter di Natale of Khosrōwā, who was consecrated in 1833 by the patriarch Yōhannān VIII Hormizd, and transferred to the diocese of 'Amādiyā in 1842.

The patriarch Nicholas I Zay'ā transferred Basil Asmar from the diocese of Āmid to Gāzartā in 1842. Basil was metropolitan of Gāzartā for nine years, and Badger noted in 1850 that 'he seldom resides' at Gāzartā³⁵². He retired due to old age and ill health in 1851, and his place was temporarily taken by the priest 'Abdīshō' Thomas Dirshō (later metropolitan of 'Amādiyā). In 1852 the priest Jerome Paul Hindi of Āmid, who had been educated at the College of the Propaganda in Rome and ordained in 1840, was consecrated for Gāzartā by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō.

The details of the succession of the Chaldean metropolitans of Gāzartā thereafter have been accurately recorded by Tfinkdji³⁵³. Hindi remained metropolitan until his death in 1873, and was succeeded in 1874 by Eliyā Peter 'Abūlyōnān, who became patriarch in 1879 after Joseph Audō's death. He was succeeded by Philip Ya'qōb Abraham of Telkepe, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, who had been abusively consecrated for Malabar in 1875 by Joseph VI Audō. He was recalled from India by the Vatican and, after making his submission, was transferred to the diocese of Gāzartā in 1882, after a vacancy of three years. He remained bishop of Gāzartā until the outbreak of the First World War, and in 1913 was the sole surviving Chaldean bishop consecrated by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō. Like Addai Scher of Seert, he was murdered during the massacres of 1915. As with the neighbouring diocese of Seert, the Chaldean diocese of Gāzartā was not revived after the First World War, though Chaldean communities persisted in several upland villages (including Ḥaṣṣen and Shāḥ on Jabal Jūdi and the Gwerkel villages of Bāziān, Eshe, and Hōz)³⁵⁴.

In 1850 the Chaldean diocese of Gāzartā included the towns of Gāzartā and Zākhō and five villages in the Khābūr valley, and had a population of 179 Chaldean families, with 5 priests and 6 churches (Badger).

³⁵² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 69.

³⁵³ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 504-5.

³⁵⁴ Sanders, *Assyro-Chaldean Christen in Oost-Turkije en Iran*, 53-61.

Table 5: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Gāzartā, 1850

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Gāzartā	60	1	1	Girik Bedrō	12	0	1
Zākhō	8	0	0	Tel Qabīn	10	1	1
Ṭāqiān	15	1	1	Beidar	14	0	1
Peshābūr	60	2	2	Total	179	5	6

Zākhō and Beidar, together with several other villages to the north-east of Zākhō not mentioned by Badger, were transferred to the new diocese of Zākhō shortly afterwards. In 1913 the diocese of Gāzartā included Gāzartā itself and the nearby village of Maṣūrīyā, nine villages in the Khābūr valley and around Jabal Jūdi to the west of Zākhō (Ṭāqiān, Peshābūr, Wasṭā, Tel Qabīn, Nahrawān, Girik Bedrō, Shāḥ, Dissiūn, and Harbōl), and seven more remote villages in the Gwerkel district in the upper valley of the Ḥīzel river (Eshe, Mār Sabrīshō', Akol, Bāziān, Haltūn, Hōz, and Mer), considerably closer to Zākhō than to Gāzartā itself. The diocese contained 7,000 Chaldeans, with 10 priests, in 1867 (Martin); 5,500 Chaldeans, with 14 priests and 20 churches, in 1896 (Chabot); and 6,400 Chaldeans, with 17 priests and 11 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). Most of its villages were wholly-Catholic by 1913, though communities of 'Nestorians' were mentioned both by Chabot in 1896 and Tfinkdji in 1913, and the village of Ḥaṣṣen on Jabal Jūdi had a significant Protestant community, founded under the influence of the American missionaries.

Table 6: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Gāzartā, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Gāzartā	600	2	1	Maṣūrīyā	80	0	0
Ṭāqiān	900	3	1	Eshe	200	1	1
Peshābūr	1,300	2	1	Bāziān	150	0	1
Wasṭā	520	1	1	Haltūn	100	1	0
Tel Qabīn	450	1	1	Akol	180	1	0
Hōz and Mer	500	1	1	Dissiūn	160	0	0
Harbōl	300	1	1	Mār Sabrīshō'	100	1	0
Girik Bedrō	600	1	1	Shāḥ	140	1	1
Nahrawān	120	0	0	Total	6,400	17	11

The Diocese of Zākhō [Tfinkdji, *EC*, 518-20; Fiey, *POCN*, 144]

The diocese of Zākhō, founded in 1851, included a number of villages in the Khābūr valley and the mountains to the north-east of Zākhō (previously in the diocese of Gāzartā), and several villages in the Dohuk district (previously in the diocese of 'Amādiyā, and discussed in the following chapter). Its first bishop was Emmanuel Asmar of Telkepe, who was consecrated in 1859 and died in 1875. He was succeeded in 1875 by Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā, who was consecrated abusively for the diocese by Joseph VI Audō in 1875, and transferred to the diocese of 'Amādiyā in 1879 following a rebellion against the same patriarch in 1876. He was succeeded in 1879 by Mattai Paul Shamīnā, who was transferred to the diocese of Sehnā in 1885. His successor Stephen Yōhannān Qaynāyā of Telkepe, formerly superior of the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse near Seert and consecrated for the diocese of Zākhō in 1886, died prematurely in 1889 at the age of 43. He was succeeded in 1892 by Jeremy Timothy Maqdasi of Alqōsh, who remained bishop of Zākhō until his death in 1929³⁵⁵.

Most of the East Syrians in the diocese of Zākhō lived in the town of Zākhō, the nearby villages of Beidar and Bir Sivi in the Khābūr valley, and eight more remote villages in the mountains in the Goyan Kurdish district to the north-east of Zākhō (Sharanesh, Alanesh, Yardā, 'Ūmrā, Esnāh, Baijō, Bellōn, and Margā). The portion of the diocese transferred from the jurisdiction of the diocese of 'Amādiyā contained, besides Dohuk itself, only three villages (Shiyōs, Qāshāfir, and Garmāwā). The diocese contained 3,000 Chaldeans in 1867 (Martin); 3,500 Chaldeans, with 15 priests and 20 churches, in 1896 (Chabot); and 4,800 Chaldeans, with 13 priests and 17 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). The village of Qāshāfir (also known as Mār Ya'qōb) in the Dohuk district was the base for the French Dominican mission to the Chaldean church since the 1850s, and perhaps partly because of its influence the Catholic missionary effort in the diocese of Zākhō was more than usually successful. In 1913, according to Tfinkdji, 'no Nestorian village' remained in the district.

³⁵⁵ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 518-20; and Fiey, *POCN*, 144.

Table 7: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Zākhō, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Zākhō	50	1	1	Margā	760	1	1
Beidar	400	1	1	Bellōn	300	1	1
Bir Sivi	400	1	1	Esnāh	600	1	1
Sharanesh	600	1	2	Dohuk	350	2	1
Alanesh	70	1	1	Shiyōs	210	1	1
Yardā	250	1	2	Qāshāfir	450	0	0
'Ūmrā (Deir Shīsh)	200	0	1	Garmāwā	40	0	1
Baijō	500	1	2	Total	4,880	13	17

(b) Topographical Survey

Beṭ Zabdaī, or Gāzartā, was one of the five border regions surrendered by the Romans to Persia in 362, and had an East Syrian bishop by 410. The region, across the Tigris from the West Syrian settlements in the Tūr 'Abdīn, was an important centre of East Syrian monasticism before the fourteenth century and contained over a dozen East Syrian monasteries, several of which were founded as early as the fourth century. The reports of 1607 and 1610 mentioned ten monasteries in the Gāzartā region: Mār Aḥḥā the Egyptian, Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Isaac of Nineveh, Mār 'Patris', Mār Pinhas, two monasteries of Mār Yōhannān (one of them certainly the monastery of Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian), Mār Yōnān, Mār Ōsha'nā, and Mār 'Cratos'; and two monasteries (Mār Ḥnānyā and Mār Yahballāhā) between Gāzartā and Mosul. The monasteries of Mār Aḥḥā the Egyptian and Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian near Gāzartā were important monastic centres in the sixteenth century, and the monastery of Mār Yōhannān remained intermittently occupied into the nineteenth century. The monastery of Mār Isaac of Nineveh in the Dūshā valley, of which little is known during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was reoccupied towards the end of the eighteenth century, and was the seat of the traditionalist bishop Joseph of Gāzartā during the first half of the nineteenth century. These three monasteries are discussed in greater detail below.

Little is known of the other nine 'monasteries'. The 'monastery' of Mār Pinhas, a fourth-century disciple of Mār Awgin, was probably a church near the village of Ḥawṣar seven miles west of Gāzartā, the tradi-

tional site of his martyrdom³⁵⁶. The 'monastery' of Mār Giwārgīs was probably the church of that name in Gāzartā. The 'monasteries' of Mār Yōnān, Mār 'Patris', Mār Ōsha'nā, and Mār 'Cratos' cannot be localised. The monastery of Mār Yahballāhā is probably to be identified with the monastery of Mār ʿĪtallāhā in the Khābūr valley, mentioned in the *Book of Chastity*, and the otherwise unknown monastery of Mār Ḥnānyā may also have been in the Khābūr valley. The second monastery of Mār Yōḥannān was either the monastery of Mār Yōḥannān the Persian (also known as Glāle), not elsewhere mentioned at this period, but more probably the seventh-century monastery of Mār Yōḥannān of Bet Garmaī and Ūkāmā (also known as Kamūl) near Dādār. This monastery was still flourishing in the thirteenth century, and a manuscript completed in 1601 in the monasteries of Mār Aḥḥā and Mār Yōḥannān the Egyptian was partly copied there by the priest Yōḥannān³⁵⁷.

Besides the 'monasteries' mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610, a number of other monasteries in the Gāzartā region are mentioned in other sources. The ruins of the monastery of Mār Aṭṭen near the village of 'Ūmrā in the Goyan district, mentioned in the *Book of Chastity*, were seen by Rhétoré in 1876, and the monastery was probably deserted several centuries earlier. There was also a monastery on the slopes of Jabal Jūdi, a few miles to the east of the village of Dairek, which marked the traditional resting place of Noah's Ark. This monastery is last mentioned in the thirteenth century, but its church, dedicated to Noah (Mār Nūḥ), is mentioned in the report of 1607. Fiey also mentioned a ruined monastery of Mār Addaī to the south-east of the village of Harbōl³⁵⁸.

Besides its historic monasteries, the Gāzartā region also had a significant East Syrian population, living mainly in several geographically-distinct groups of villages. In 1913 there were Chaldean communities in the towns of Gāzartā and Zākhō and in about twenty-eight nearby East Syrian villages divided between the dioceses of Gāzartā and Zākhō, all of them north-east of the Tigris, and a mixed traditionalist and Protestant community in the village of Ḥaşsen. It is clear from the colophons of surviving manuscripts that at an earlier period many other East Syrian villages existed in the region, some of which were the residences of East Syrian bishops, and that the Gāzartā region was far more influential between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries than in the nineteenth. Five main areas

³⁵⁶ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 172.

³⁵⁷ MS Seert (Scher) 43.

³⁵⁸ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 203.

of East Syrian settlement in the Gāzartā region can be conveniently distinguished: the Tigris valley in the immediate vicinity of Gāzartā; the Qaimar district in the valley of the river Dūshā and on the slopes of Jabal Jūdi to its east (whose northern part, including the villages of Ḥadīde and Gadyānīs, was included in the diocese of Seert); the Khābūr valley to the west of Zākhō; the Goyan district to the north-east of Zākhō, between the Khābūr and Baijō valleys; and the Gwerkel district, in the upper valley of the river Ḥizel.

By 1913 only one East Syrian village, Manṣūriyā, certainly remained in the Tigris valley (there was perhaps also a small Chaldean community in Findik). In the sixteenth century there were also East Syrian communities in the villages of Birait and Rabahi, and south of the Tigris in the villages of Ḥawṣar and 'Amrīn. There were five East Syrian villages in the Qaimar district in 1913 (Dissiūn, Shāḥ, Ḥaşsen, Harbōl, and Bepīn), but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were also communities in the villages of Dairek, Dādār, Barbūṭā, and Magdal Debā, and for centuries beforehand the district was notable as the site of the East Syrian monastery of Mār Isaac of Nineveh and the monastery of the Ark, and was the residence of the East Syrian bishops of Ṭamānōn. There were six remaining East Syrian villages in the Khābūr valley in 1913 (Peshābūr, Ṭāqiān, Nahrawān, Girik Bedrō, Tel Qabīn and Wasṭā in the diocese of Gāzartā, and Beidar in the diocese of Zākhō), at least three of which existed before the fourteenth century, but the villages of Bāsūrīn and Deir Abūn also had East Syrian churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Nahrawān had an East Syrian bishop in 1607. The Goyan district to the north-east of Zākhō, site of the monastery of Mār Aṭṭen and certainly settled well before the fourteenth century, had nine East Syrian villages in 1913 (Bir Sivi, Sharanesh, Alanesh, Yardā, 'Ūmrā, Esnāḥ, Bellōn, Baijō, and Margā), but the village of Eqrōr was also Christian in the eighteenth century. The Gwerkel district had seven East Syrian villages in 1913 (Bāziān, Haltūn, Eshe, Akol, Mār Sabrīshō', Hōz, and Mer), but at an earlier period there were also East Syrian communities in the villages of Abnāye and Sheben. The unlocalised village of Abnāye was the seat of an East Syrian bishop around the beginning of the seventeenth century, and several bishops of Gwerkel are also known between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Finally, East Syrian communities are attested at different periods between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in several other villages in the Gāzartā region (Ōshik, Bet Shabṭā, Bet Zandān, Bet Megāli, Hakmīyā, and Bet Gawsā), which cannot now be localised.

Most of the East Syrians of the Gāzartā region remained traditionalist in sympathy until the first half of the nineteenth century, when a Catholic diocese was finally established in the region on a firm basis. A note in the archives of the Dominicans at Mosul mentions that Shāh and a number of other villages were converted to Catholicism by Father Campanile before 1815³⁵⁹. However, there was certainly resistance in some of the Qaimar villages to conversion, led initially by the traditionalist metropolitan Joseph, who resided in the monastery of Mār Isaac of Nineveh near Shāh, and later by other traditionalist bishops in both Shāh and the neighbouring village of Ḥaṣṣen, where the American mission was able to establish an isolated Protestant community around 1880. Although few details of the process of conversion have survived, the East Syrian villages in the Khābūr valley (with the exception of Nahrawān) were Chaldean by 1850, though, according to Badger, their 'submission to Rome' had taken place only a few years earlier; while those in the diocese of Zākhō (including the more remote upland villages) were all Catholic in 1875, and some (including Bir Sivi, mentioned as a Catholic village by Yōhannān Hormizd in 1788) had been so for many years previously³⁶⁰. By 1913 Ḥaṣṣen appears to have been the only East Syrian village in the region without a significant Catholic community.

Gāzartā

[Fiey, *Nisibe*, 231-41]

The town of Gāzartā d'Beṭ Zabdaï ('the island of Beṭ Zabdaï'), named for its position on an island in the Tigris, had a modest East Syrian community. Estimates made by nineteenth-century travellers gave the town a population of about 4,000 in the middle of the century, rising to about 9,500 by the end³⁶¹. Most of the town's inhabitants were Moslems, and its Christian population, which included small Armenian, Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Catholic and Chaldean communities, numbered several hundred at most. The Chaldeans were the largest Christian denomination in the nineteenth century, and the town had a community of 60 Chaldean families, with a church and a priest, in 1850 (Badger); 300 Chaldeans in 1865 (Petermann); 240 Chaldeans in 1880 (Sachau); 320 Chaldeans in 1888 (Müller-Simonis); 350 Chaldeans in 1890 (Cuinet); and 600 Chaldeans, with 2 priests and 2 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji).

³⁵⁹ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 123.

³⁶⁰ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 70 and 153; and Rhétoré, 'Tournée apostolique dans le diocèse de Zaku', *APF*, 48 (1876), 416-20.

³⁶¹ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 280.

As elsewhere, little is known of the history of Gāzartā's East Syrian community for most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but it emerges into the light of day again in 1488, when a manuscript was copied in the East Syrian church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Gāzartā by the deacon 'Abd Allāh³⁶². In 1490 the church of Mār Gīwārgīs was used by the patriarch Shem'ōn IV, then resident in the nearby monastery of Mār Aḥḥā the Egyptian, to ordain as priests the delegates from the East Syrians of Malabar.

The second decade of the sixteenth century was a period of considerable disorder in the Gāzartā region, an account of which was preserved in a Syriac manuscript in the Seert collection and published by Addaï Scher in 1910³⁶³. In 1510 the Gāzartā region was ravaged by Muḥammad Bek, whose army destroyed churches and monasteries, killed priests, and carried off boys and girls as slaves. In 1512 Muḥammad Bek raided the Ātel district and killed many Christians, including the elderly Yōhannān, the East Syrian bishop of Ātel and Bohtān. In 1515 his army captured Gāzartā, seizing Moslem and Christian notables, and outraging many women and girls. A massacre took place, churches were defiled and pillaged, and books destroyed. The town was burned, part of its population massacred, and the remainder enslaved and sold 'in the islands and remote countries'. Notes in a number of surviving East Syrian manuscripts mention further afflictions for the inhabitants of Gāzartā later in the century. Gāzartā and its villages were ravaged by a plague in 1533, which caused the death of 'half the population'³⁶⁴. Five thousand Moslems and 250 Christians died in another plague in Gāzartā in 1578, which forced the scribe 'Aṭāyā of Alqōsh and many other citizens to abandon the city and live for two months in 'a cavern in the forest of Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian'³⁶⁵.

Despite these disturbances, a large number of manuscripts were copied or repaired in Gāzartā by East Syrian scribes during the sixteenth century. A manuscript was rebound in Gāzartā in 1535 by the deacon Elyiā³⁶⁶. The priest Darwīsh, son of Ḥannā, son of 'Īsā, copied three manuscripts in Gāzartā in 1536, 1539, and 1542³⁶⁷. Manuscripts were also copied in Gāzartā in 1535, 1540, and 1596 by unnamed scribes; in 1557 and 1561

³⁶² MS Mardīn (Scher) 13.

³⁶³ Scher, *Épisodes*, 123-6.

³⁶⁴ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 12 and Diyārbakr (Scher) 19 and 38.

³⁶⁵ MS Dawrā Syr 370.

³⁶⁶ MS Seert (Scher) 33.

³⁶⁷ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 12 and Diyārbakr (Scher) 19 and 38.

by the deacon 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of 'Abdō, of Ātel; in 1561 and 1563 by his brother the priest 'Aṭāyā; in 1566 by the priest Ḥannā, son of Eliyā, son of Ḥasan, of the Sākākīnī family of Erbil, in 1569 and 1578 by the deacon Abraham, son of 'Abd Allāh, son of Ḥannā al-Farakh; and in 1569 and 1590 by the deacon Thomas Hindi, son of the pilgrim 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Thomas (or Tomāne), of Gāzartā³⁶⁸. The scribe Abraham, priest of the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Gāzartā, also copied a manuscript in the monastery of Mār Awgin in 1530 for his brother Shem'ōn of Kirkūk³⁶⁹. A manuscript was donated to the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Gāzartā around 1590 by the monk Gabriel of the monastery of Mār Awgin, nephew of Rabban Abraham of Kirkūk³⁷⁰.

The most important East Syrian scribe active in Gāzartā at this period, however, was the priest and pilgrim 'Aṭāyā (or Yahballāhā), son of the priest and pilgrim Faraj, son of the deacon Marqos, of Alqōsh, who copied twenty-five manuscripts between 1536 and 1594, of which one was copied in the monastery of Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian, but all the others, as far as is known, in Gāzartā³⁷¹. By 1586 he was the archdeacon of the Mosul patriarch Eliyā VII, and was among the witnesses of his profession of faith, and in 1587 he was mentioned by Leonard Abel as one of the most educated men in the 'Nestorian nation'³⁷². He is not known to have had Catholic sympathies, and one of his manuscripts was specifically copied for the 'church of the Nestorians' (the monastery of Mart Maryam) in Jerusalem. His son, the deacon Abraham, was also the scribe of a manuscript of 1578³⁷³.

In the seventeenth century manuscripts were copied at Gāzartā in 1603 by the priest Bahdīn, son of 'Aṭāyā; in 1599, 1602, 1612, 1613, and 1618 by the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of the priest Joseph, son of 'Abdō, of Ātel; in 1618 by his brother Yōhannān; in 1657 by the priest Bākōs, son

³⁶⁸ MSS NDS (Scher) 91, BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 37, Mardīn (Scher) 33, Diyārbakr (Scher) 52 and 61, Seert (Scher) 53 and 83, Berlin Syr 35, Jerusalem Syr 46, Ernakulam L22, and a manuscript of 1590 in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 67, and AC, ii. 474).

³⁶⁹ MS Vat Syr 91.

³⁷⁰ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 59.

³⁷¹ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 11, 14, 17, 21, 66, and 90, Vat Syr 83, Dawrā Syr 39, 40, 257, and 370, BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 34, Mosul (Scher) 54 and 55, Borgia (Scher) 169, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 6, 7, and 59, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 54 (*Vorlage*) and 96, Seert (Scher) 45, Diyārbakr (Scher) 16 and 17, Kirkūk (Vosté) 15, and a manuscript of 1543 now at Mardīn (Dolabani, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 29).

³⁷² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121-2.

³⁷³ MS Mosul (Scher) 54.

of the priest Isaac, son of Shem'ōn; and in 1681 by the deacon Thomas, son of Maqbai, son of Ḥannā³⁷⁴.

No eighteenth- or nineteenth-century scribes are known from Gāzartā, and none of the nineteenth-century Chaldean bishops originated from the town. Badger remarked upon the oppressive attitude of the town's Moslem majority towards its small East Syrian community in 1842³⁷⁵.

Zākhō

The town of Zākhō, possibly to be identified with the village of Beṭ Zākhō mentioned in the *History of Rabban Bar 'Idtā*, probably had a small East Syrian community well before the fourteenth century, but it is not mentioned until the nineteenth century. Nineteenth-century travellers estimated the town's population at between 2,000 and 4,000, about half of whom were Jews and the remainder, in roughly equal proportions, Moslems and Christians³⁷⁶. Most of Zākhō's Christians were Chaldeans, but there was also a small Syrian Catholic community, living in the nearby village of Mōhalle. Zākhō had a community of 70 Chaldeans in 1837 (Ainsworth); 8 Chaldean families, without a church or a priest, in 1850 (Badger); 500-700 Chaldeans in 1880 (Sachau); and 50 Chaldeans, with a priest and a church, in 1913 (Tinkdji). Only one East Syrian manuscript has survived from Zākhō, copied in 1704 in its church of Mār Gīwārgīs by the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad³⁷⁷.

The Monastery of Mār Aḥḥā the Egyptian [Fiey, *Nisibe*, 194-7]

The monastery of Mār Aḥḥā the Egyptian (also known as Zarnūqā) near Penek was founded in the fourth century. It is not mentioned between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, but was the residence of the patriarch Shem'ōn IV in 1490, who met the Indian mission from Malabar there. Several manuscripts were copied in the monastery during the sixteenth century: in 1528 by the deacon Ḥannā, son of 'Isā; in 1528/9 by the monk and teacher Rabban Abraham; in 1529 by Joseph Sulāqā, future metropolitan of India; in 1540 by the priest and monk Gīwārgīs of 'Amrīn; in 1541 by an unnamed monk, 'son of 'Abdō, son of Isaac, son of Mubārak, son of Denḥā, of the Danoh family, of 'Amrīn', almost

³⁷⁴ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 46, 59, and 157, Seert (Scher) 40 and 58, Dawrā Syr 41, Vat Syr 42 and 572, Jerusalem Syr 18, and Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 354 (Fiey, *Nisibe*, 237).

³⁷⁵ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 69.

³⁷⁶ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 285.

³⁷⁷ MS Cambridge Add. 3286.

certainly the scribe of 1540; in 1546 by an unknown scribe; and in 1552 by the monk 'Abdīshō' Mārōn, two years before his consecration as metropolitan of Gāzartā³⁷⁸.

The monastery enjoyed another period of activity around the beginning of the seventeenth century. Manuscripts were copied in the monastery by the monk Arsenius in 1597 (probably); by the priest Yōhannān in 1601; by the priest and monk Yōhannān, son of the priest Abraham, son of the priest Ghārīb, of the Kemō family of Seert (possibly the same man) in 1605; and by an unknown scribe in 1605; and two manuscripts were acquired by the monastery in 1606, one from a certain Adam, and another from a monk named Gabriel³⁷⁹. Thereafter it seems to have been only intermittently occupied between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Manuscripts were copied in the monastery in 1690 by the priest Gīwārgīs, in 1784 by the scribe Quriāqōs, and in 1835 and 1836 by the priest Gabriel³⁸⁰.

The Monastery of Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian [Fiey, *Nisibe*, 197-9]

The nearby monastery of Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian (also known as Hlahlah) was also founded in the fourth century. It is not mentioned between the seventh and fourteenth centuries, but several manuscripts were copied in the monastery between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries: in 1533 by the priest Darwīsh; in 1569 and 1583 by the priest Joseph, son of the priest Yōhannān; in 1601 by the priest Yōhannān; in 1605 and 1610 by the monk Joseph, for the monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem; at an unknown date around the beginning of the seventeenth century by the archdeacon Mārī Bar Mshīhāyā; and in 1646 by the priest Yōhannān, son of the deacon Mārī, of the Seert village of Ṭāl³⁸¹. The monastery is not mentioned again, and it is not known when or why it was abandoned.

The Monastery of Mār Isaac of Nineveh [Fiey, *Nisibe*, 217-8]

The monastery of Mār Isaac of Nineveh near the village of Shāh, although probably founded centuries earlier, is first mentioned in the

³⁷⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 898 (*Vorlage*), Diyārbakr (Scher) 5, 15, and 76, Mardīn (Scher) 41, and Vat Syr 45 (*Vorlage*) and 66.

³⁷⁹ MSS Seert (Scher) 43, 84, and 110, Mardīn (Scher) 18, Jerusalem Syr 43, and Diyārbakr (Scher) 22.

³⁸⁰ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 27, Mardīn (Scher) 79, and Mingana Syr 502A and 502E.

³⁸¹ MSS Berlin Syr 36, Jerusalem Syr 23 and 32, Paris BN Syr 350, Seert (Scher) 43, Diyārbakr (Scher) 59 and 95, and Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 351 (Fiey, *Nisibe*, 198).

reports of 1607 and 1610. No seventeenth-century manuscripts have survived from the monastery, but its treasurer the priest Ḥannā is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of 1780 copied in Shāh by his brother the deacon Quriāqōs³⁸². The monastery was the seat of the traditionalist metropolitan Joseph of Gāzartā during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He is first mentioned in 1808, when he was living in the neighbouring village of Ḥaşşen. The colophons of manuscripts of 1822 and 1826 mention that he was then resident either in the monastery of Isaac of Nineveh or in the neighbouring village of Shāh³⁸³. The monastery is not mentioned again after 1826.

Villages in the Tigris Valley

The large village of Maṣṣūrīyā was included in the title of the traditionalist metropolitan Joseph of Gāzartā in 1555, was listed as a Catholic diocese under the name 'Meschiara' by 'Abdīshō' IV in 1562, and was perhaps the seat of the traditionalist metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' 'of Maṣṣūrīyā' in 1587³⁸⁴. The village was a significant scribal centre in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A manuscript was copied in the village in 1459 by an unknown scribe, and poems on the recent misfortunes of Gāzartā, the martyrdom in 1523 of a Christian named Ḥezmō, and other subjects were composed between 1513 and 1531 by the priest Šlībā, son of David, of Maṣṣūrīyā.³⁸⁵ Four manuscripts were copied between 1572 and 1586 by the priest Joseph, son of the priest David, son of the chief Ḥannā, of Maṣṣūrīyā³⁸⁶. Only one later manuscript mentions the village, copied at Alqōsh in 1880 by the priest Joseph of Maṣṣūrīyā³⁸⁷.

Several other East Syrian communities in the Tigris valley in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are mentioned in manuscript colophons and other sources. A manuscript was copied in 1540 in the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā by the priest and monk Gīwārgīs of 'Amrīn, a village a few miles south of the monastery on the other side of the Tigris; and another in 1541 by an unnamed monk, 'son of 'Abdō, son of Isaac, son of Mubārak, son of Denḥā, of the Danoh family', also of 'Amrīn, and very

³⁸² MS Mosul (Scher) 81.

³⁸³ MSS Assfaḡ Syr 1 and Mingana Syr 31.

³⁸⁴ MS Mardīn (Scher) 66.

³⁸⁵ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 106.

³⁸⁶ MSS Seert (Scher) 20, a manuscript of 1576 (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 60), Cambridge Add. 1975, and Dawrā Syr 372.

³⁸⁷ MS Mosul (*Magdasi*) 20.

probably to be identified with the scribe of 1540³⁸⁸. Two manuscripts were copied in 1578 by the scribe 'Aṭyā of Alqōsh for the priest Shlemūn, son of Mānō, of the village of Rabahi, a few miles to the south-east of Gāzartā³⁸⁹. A manuscript was copied by the metropolitan Gabriel of Gāzartā in 1585 in the village of Birait, 'on the borders of the town of Gāzartā'³⁹⁰. The East Syrian pilgrim Isaac of Ḥawṣar was among a group of pilgrims who visited Jerusalem in 1572, and the 'monastery' of Mār Pinḥas, mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610, was probably a church of that name in the same village³⁹¹.

By 1913 Maṣṣūrīyā was probably the only surviving East Syrian village community in the Tigris valley around Gāzartā. A small Chaldean community was mentioned in the large village of Findik several miles to the north-west of Gāzartā by Sykes in 1899, but was not mentioned by Tfīnkḍji in 1913³⁹².

Villages in the Qaimar District

The town of Ṭamānōn (the modern village of Dādār) was the seat of an East Syrian bishop until the thirteenth century, and a manuscript was copied in 1571 in the Ṣapnā village of Arāden by the priest Ḥōshābā of Dādār 'in the Qaimar district'³⁹³. By the nineteenth century, Dādār was an entirely Moslem village.

Several manuscripts were copied between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries for the church of Mart Maryam in the village of Barbītā, several miles to the north of Dairek on a hill named Magdal Debā, 'the castle of the wolf': a manuscript of 1488 bought by the deacon Benjamin, son of Ya'qōb, of Barbītā from Joseph, son of Gīwārgīs; a manuscript commissioned from Gāzartā in 1544 by the chief Salmō, son of the chief Abraham; a manuscript of 1569 copied by the deacon Abraham, son of 'Abd Allāh, for Rabban Yahballāhā and his companions, who wanted to donate it to the monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem; a manuscript of 1574 by an unnamed priest, son of Shem'ōn of Barbītā; a manuscript copied in 1671 by the twelve-year old scribe Paul of Sheben, then living in Barbītā, for Maryam, mother of the priest and chief David of Barbītā; and a manuscript commissioned from Gāzartā in 1681 by the priest 'Abd

³⁸⁸ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 15 and Mardīn (Scher) 41.

³⁸⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 257 and 370.

³⁹⁰ MS Mingana Syr 51B.

³⁹¹ Fogg, *Manuscripts of the Christian East*, 57.

³⁹² Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 206.

³⁹³ MS Ūrmī 25.

Allāh, son of the priest Talyā³⁹⁴. A manuscript was also copied in 1557 by the scribe Abraham (possibly the scribe of that name from Barbītā) for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in the neighbouring village of Magdal Debā³⁹⁵.

Three manuscripts have survived from the church of Mart Maryam in Shāḥ: a manuscript of 1612 commissioned from Gāzartā by the priest Shūbhālmāran; a manuscript of 1780 copied in Shāḥ by the deacon Quriāqōs, whose brother the priest Ḥannā was the treasurer of the nearby monastery of Isaac of Nineveh; and a manuscript bought at an unknown date in the eighteenth century by the priest Ḥōshābō, which contains a note on the betrothal of the daughter of the priest Ḥannā of Shāḥ, in the presence of the priest Mārōge, Dāwō of the Qōzā family, Jajjō the carpenter, and Hassīnō of the family of Shaikh Ali³⁹⁶.

Dairek, a few miles to the east of Shāḥ, had an East Syrian community in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with two churches, one of which was dedicated to Mār Yāreṭ. The village is first mentioned in 1545, when a manuscript was commissioned from Gāzartā by the chief Salmō, son of the chief Abraham, of Barbītā, for the church of Mār Yāreṭ³⁹⁷. A manuscript copied at Gāzartā in 1594 was later owned by the church of Mār Yāreṭ, and a manuscript was copied in the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā in 1605 for the same church³⁹⁸. A later note in the 1545 manuscript mentions that the church of Mār Yāreṭ was destroyed in 1659, and the village, now entirely Moslem, may have been abandoned by its Christian community at that time.

A manuscript was copied in 1808 in the church of Mār Mūshe in Ḥaṣṣen for a Christian woman named Alpō by the metropolitan Joseph, who had abandoned his normal residence in the monastery of Mār Isaac of Nineveh 'because of war', and was then living in Ḥaṣṣen³⁹⁹. In the second half of the nineteenth century the village was for several years the residence of his successor, also named Joseph, who became a Protestant 'with all his flock' under the influence of the American missionaries. In 1881 there were 25 Protestant families in the village, living alongside 4 or 5 'Nestorian' families, and the village was not among the Chaldean vil-

³⁹⁴ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 46 and 61, Mardīn (Scher) 13, Mosul (Magdasi) 6, and BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 31 and 34.

³⁹⁵ MS Borgia (Scher) 4.

³⁹⁶ MSS Vat Syr 572, Mingana Syr 421, and Mosul (Scher) 81.

³⁹⁷ MS Berlin Syr 31.

³⁹⁸ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 17 and Mardīn (Scher) 18.

³⁹⁹ MS Berlin Syr 31.

lages listed by Tfinkdji in 1913. In the 1950s the village had two churches, dedicated to Mart Shmūni and Mār Mikhā'il respectively, which may have been built before the First World War.⁴⁰⁰

Sanders mentioned churches of Mart Maryam and Mār Joseph in the village of Harbōl in the 1950s, which may have existed before the First World War, and a church built just before the First World War in the village of Bepīn (not mentioned by Tfinkdji), which was confiscated in 1915 because it lay too close to a Moslem cemetery⁴⁰¹.

Villages in the Khābūr Valley

Two of the Chaldean villages in the 1913 statistics, both in the Khābūr valley, are mentioned before the fourteenth century. Peshābūr was first mentioned in the seventh century in the *Chronicle of Seert*; and the large village of Wasṭā was included in the title of the diocese of Ṭamānōn in 1265, and was mentioned by Bar Hebraeus as the scene of a massacre by brigands in 1289, in which 500 Christians were killed and 1,000 taken captive⁴⁰².

Several other villages in the Khābūr valley are first mentioned in the sixteenth century. Two manuscripts were copied in 1548 and 1550 for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in the village of Bāsūrīn (now Moslem) by the priest 'Īsā of Hōz⁴⁰³. A manuscript was copied in the village of Nahrawān in 1567 by the scribe Hormizd, son of 'Abd Allāh, of Karamlish⁴⁰⁴. A manuscript was copied at Peshābūr in 1572 for the village of Tel Passne in the Dohuk district by the scribe Joseph of Maṣūrīyā, and the same scribe also copied a manuscript in the 'patriarchal cell' of the village of Wasṭā in August 1586, during a visit by the patriarch Eliyā VII⁴⁰⁵.

Several other manuscripts have survived from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A manuscript was again copied in the patriarchal cell in Wasṭā in 1609 by Yōhannān, bishop of Abnāye⁴⁰⁶. A manuscript was commissioned in 1671 by a believer named Maryam for the church of the village of Deir Abūn⁴⁰⁷. A manuscript was copied in Bāsūrīn in 1680 by the deacon Hōmō of Alqōsh⁴⁰⁸. A manuscript was

⁴⁰⁰ Sanders, *Assyro-Chaldese Christenen in Oost-Turkije en Iran*, 53.

⁴⁰¹ Sanders, *Assyro-Chaldese Christenen in Oost-Turkije en Iran*, 59.

⁴⁰² Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, i, 483.

⁴⁰³ MSS Mingana Syr 421 and Cambridge Add. 1983.

⁴⁰⁴ MS Seert (Scher) 59.

⁴⁰⁵ MSS Seert (Scher) 20 and Cambridge Add. 1975.

⁴⁰⁶ Giamil, *Genuine Relations*, 517.

⁴⁰⁷ MS seen by S. P. Brock.

⁴⁰⁸ MS NDS (Vosté) 325.

copied at Alqōsh for the church of Mart Maryam in Peshābūr in 1724⁴⁰⁹. Manuscripts were copied in the village of Girik Bedrō in 1844 by the scribe Isha'yā, son of Peter, of the Mīr Sharīf family of Arenā, and in 1859 by the priest Zakaryā, son of the priest Yaldā, 'of the monastery of Mār Sabrīshō' in the district of Gwerkel⁴¹⁰.

Gīwārgīs of Ṭāqīān entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1809, and the monk Gīwārgīs, son of Kalyānā, son of Israel, of Ṭāqīān copied several manuscripts in the Alqōsh monasteries towards the end of the nineteenth century. Neither monk is known to have copied manuscripts for their native village, but Fiey mentioned that Ṭāqīān had two churches, dedicated to Mart Shmūni and Mār Quriāqōs⁴¹¹.

Villages in the Goyan District

Little is known about the villages in the Goyan district before the nineteenth century, though Mingana mentioned in 1907 a tradition that the village of Eqrōr in the Baijō valley, a Moslem village in the nineteenth century, used to have an East Syrian community, which was dispersed in a raid by the Goyan Kurds ('the Gōgāye') about 150 years previously⁴¹². The prolific nineteenth-century Alqōsh scribe 'Īsā, son of Isha'yā, son of Quriāqōs, customarily mentioned that he was 'from Eqrōr, in the district of the Sindāye', and if Mingana was correct Eqrōr may have been his ancestral rather than native village. It is possible, however, that Eqrōr still had an East Syrian community in the nineteenth century, as Dauvillier mentioned a curious report of the presence of two traditionalist bishops in the Goyan district in the middle of the nineteenth century, residing respectively in the 'monastery' of Mart Shmūni in Eqrōr and the 'monastery' of Mār Quriāqōs in the village of 'Elan', perhaps Bellōn⁴¹³. This report seems to have referred to the bishops Shem'ōn and Thomas, elsewhere associated with the villages of Shāḥ and Gweri Ātel, and the 'monasteries' may have been churches in the villages concerned.

The few surviving manuscripts by scribes from the Goyan district are all from the second half of the nineteenth century or later. A manuscript was copied in 1877 in the church of Mār Addāi in Yardā by the deacon and monk Mikhā'il of Telkepe⁴¹⁴. A manuscript was copied in Mosul in

⁴⁰⁹ MS Dawrā Syr 457.

⁴¹⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 326 and 333.

⁴¹¹ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 264.

⁴¹² Mingana, *Histoire de l'Église d'Adiabène sous les Parthes et les Sassanides*, x-xi.

⁴¹³ *DHGE*, 15, 645-6.

⁴¹⁴ MS Dawrā Syr 637.

1902 by Yūḥannā, son of Bākō, of Esnāḥ, and two manuscripts were copied in Mosul around 1907 by the deacon Yōḥannān, son of Ablāḥad, of Esnāḥ (presumably a different man)⁴¹⁵. Yōḥannān of Bir Sivi entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1809, and four men from the district became monks in the Alqōsh monasteries towards the end of the nineteenth century: Eliyā, son of Shem'ōn, son of Quriāqōs, of Sharanesh, scribe of a manuscript of 1884; Marqos, son of the pilgrim Yaldā, son of Yōḥannān, of Sharanesh, scribe of a manuscript of 1895; Philip Ḥannā of Sharanesh, priest of the Chaldean community in Suleimaniya in 1908, and Mattai, son of Ya'qōb, of Esnāḥ, scribe of a manuscript of 1909⁴¹⁶.

Several other details were given by Rhétoré, who visited a number of villages in the diocese of Zākhō in 1876 to encourage its Chaldean villagers to resist the intrusion of the bishop Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā, recently consecrated for the diocese by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō in defiance of the instructions of the Vatican⁴¹⁷. The villagers had been warned by letters from the patriarch not to receive him, and during his visit Rhétoré met with a mixed reception. The priests Stephen of Beidar, and Peter of Esnāḥ, who had been suspended by Joseph Audō along with another priest, Hormizd, for protesting at his actions, warmly welcomed his visit, and were restored to their functions, and he was also able to win over an unnamed priest of Bir Sivi. Four other priests, however, remained loyal to the patriarch and treated Rhétoré with undisguised hostility: Iyyūb of Mengesh, priest of Sharanesh, and Mikhā'il of Beidar, both recently-ordained monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; an unnamed priest of Esnāḥ, recently ordained by the bishop Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā; and the priest Abraham of Bellōn, who rallied the villagers of Baijō, Bellōn and Margā to the patriarch's support, and forced Rhétoré to abandon any attempt to visit these villages. The villages of Yardā and 'Umrā were without priests at this period, but their villagers also supported the patriarch. Unfortunately, Rhétoré did not name the churches in the villages he visited, but Fiey mentioned that the church of Beidar was dedicated to Mār Sābā⁴¹⁸.

⁴¹⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 440, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 20, and Dohuk (Haddād) 35.

⁴¹⁶ MSS Paris BN Syr 315, Vat Syr 493, and Dawrā Syr 555 and 592.

⁴¹⁷ Rhétoré, 'Tournée apostolique dans le diocèse de Zaku', *APF*, 48 (1876), 416-20.

⁴¹⁸ Fiey, *AC*, ii. 633.

Villages in the Gwerkel District

The Gwerkel district lay to the north-east of Jabal Jūdi, around the upper course of the Ḥīzel river, and had several East Syrian villages at different periods, some of which cannot now be readily localised. Four manuscripts were copied in 1588, 1591, 1604, and 1609 by the bishop Yōḥannān of Abnāye (last mentioned in the report of 1610), one of whose colophons mentioned that the village lay 'above Gwerkel, on the banks of the Ḥīzel'⁴¹⁹. Two manuscripts were copied in 1548 and 1550 in the Khābūr valley village of Bāsūrīn by the priest 'Īsā, son of the priest Abraham, of Hōz, 'a village rich in bees and honey, near the fortress of Burdqel', and a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1733 by the bishop Denḥā of Gwerkel and the sacristan Gīwārgīs for the church of Mār Gaddi in Hōz⁴²⁰. A manuscript was copied in Jerusalem in either 1644 or 1651 by the monk Hormizd, son of Haggai, of the village of Tel Sebīn, probably to be identified with the Gwerkel village of Sheben, and another was copied in Barbūtā in 1671 by Paul, the twelve-year old nephew of the priest Yōḥannān, of Sheben⁴²¹. A manuscript was copied in the village of Girik Bedrō in the Khābūr valley in 1859 by the priest Zakaryā, son of the priest Yaldā, 'of the monastery of Mār Sabrīshō' in the district of Gwerkel' (probably the church of the village of Mār Sabrīshō', listed as one of the villages in the diocese of Gāzartā in 1913 by Tfinkdji)⁴²². A manuscript was commissioned in 1894 by Philip Ya'qōb Abraham of Telkepe, metropolitan of Gāzartā, for the church of Mār Joseph Ḥazzāyā in the village of Eshe, 'in the district of the Gōgāye'⁴²³.

Several villages in the Gwerkel district were undisturbed during the First World War, and still had Chaldean communities until recently. Sanders visited some of these villages in the 1950s, and mentioned the surviving churches of Mār Ishō' in Bāziān, Mār Joseph Ḥazzāyā in Eshe, Mār Gaddi in Hōz (believed to be well over a thousand years old), and Mart Shmūni in Mer; and the ruined churches of Mār Isha'yā three miles east of Mer and Mart Maryam to the south-west of Bāziān. He also mentioned East Syrian communities in Geznakh (with a church of Mār

⁴¹⁹ MSS Mosul (Magdasi) 4, Berlin Syr 31 (*Vorlage*), Manchester JRL Syr 19, and Diyārbakr (Scher) 75.

⁴²⁰ MS seen by S.P. Brock.

⁴²¹ MSS Jerusalem (St Mark's) 200 and Mosul (Magdasi) 6.

⁴²² MSS Dawrā Syr 326 and 333.

⁴²³ Sanders, *Assyro-Chaldese Christenen in Oost-Turkije en Iran*, 59-60.

Isha'yā) and in the town of Elki (with two churches of Mart Shmūni, a church of Mār Paul, and a church of Mār Gīwārgīs), and a church of Mār Awgin above Elki. As with the surviving East Syrian villages in the Seert region, some of these churches may be modern, but others were certainly built before 1914⁴²⁴.

Unlocalised Villages in the Gāzartā Region

Several colophons from manuscripts copied between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries mention a number of villages in the Gāzartā region which cannot be readily localised. A manuscript was commissioned in 1534 for the church of Mart Shmūni in the village of Ōshik by the priest Joseph, son of Shem'on⁴²⁵. The village of Beṭ Shabtā, with its church of Mart Maryam, 'near Beṭ Zandān in the Gāzartā region', is mentioned in a manuscript of 1568 copied by its priest Hormizd, a manuscript of 1572 commissioned by its sacristan Daniel, son of Isaac, and a manuscript bought in 1590 by the priest Darwīsh and the chiefs Joseph and Qennō, 'through the good offices of Gabriel, of the family of Rabban Abraham' (doubtless the monk Gabriel of the monastery of Mār Awgin, nephew of Rabban Abraham of Kirkūk)⁴²⁶. According to Fiey, both villages were in the Gwerkel district, 'two hours north-east of Dairek', but neither appears on any map of the district⁴²⁷. A manuscript copied in 1593 was later purchased for the East Syrian monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem by the nun Selṭānā, daughter of Belgānā, from the Gāzartā village of Beṭ Megālī⁴²⁸. In 1655 the priest Ṭalyā, from the Gāzartā village of Hakmīyā, was among a number of East Syrian pilgrims who visited Jerusalem⁴²⁹. The Gāzartā village of Beṭ Gawsā, which had a 'monastery' or church dedicated to Mār Isaac, is mentioned in a manuscript of 1680, copied by the priest 'Abdal, son of Gūnō, and a manuscript of 1735 copied by Suhrō, son of the deacon Yōḥannān, of the village's Gūdū family⁴³⁰.

⁴²⁴ Sanders, *Assyro-Chaldese Christenen in Oost-Turkije en Iran*, 53-60.

⁴²⁵ MS of Zākhō (Fiey, *Nisibe*, 230).

⁴²⁶ MSS Ūrmī 91 and Mardīn (Scher) 11 and 26.

⁴²⁷ Fiey, *Nisibe*, 255.

⁴²⁸ MS Jerusalem Syr 14.

⁴²⁹ Note in MS Jerusalem (St Mark's) 159.

⁴³⁰ MSS Berlin Syr 83 and 92.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE 'AMĀDĪYĀ, BERWĀRĪ, 'AQRĀ, ERBIL AND KIRKŪK REGIONS

(i) INTRODUCTION

Many of the villages in the 'Amādīyā, Berwārī and 'Aqrā regions were Christian as early as the fourth century, and by the sixth century were included in the East Syrian dioceses of Beṭ Nūhadrā, Dāsen, and Margā. There were several important monasteries in these regions, including Mār Abraham the Penitent, Rabban Joseph Busnāyā and Mār 'Abdīshō' in the Ṣapnā valley, Mār Qayyōmā in the Berwārī region, and Rabban Bar 'Idtā and Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe in the 'Aqrā region. A large number of East Syrian villages in the 'Aqrā region and the Ṣapnā valley, some of which still have East Syrian communities, are mentioned in several early texts, particularly Thomas of Margā's *Book of Governors* and the *Lives* of Rabban Bar 'Idtā and Rabban Joseph Busnāyā.

As elsewhere, little is known of the history of these regions between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. After the schism of 1552 the 'Amādīyā and 'Aqrā regions were included in the Mosul patriarchate while the Berwārī region was part of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate. Catholic missionaries were active in the 'Amādīyā region from the seventeenth century onwards and early Catholic communities are mentioned at Dohuk and elsewhere. During the reign of Eliyā XIII Īshō'yahb (1778-1804) his Catholic rival Yōḥannān Hormizd attempted to secure the support of the Vatican by converting East Syrian villages in the Mosul patriarchate to Catholicism. A Catholic diocese of 'Amādīyā was created in 1790, and several villages in the Dohuk, Ṣapnā and Zibār districts were converted to Catholicism around the end of the eighteenth century by Yōḥannān Hormizd, supported by the efforts of an Italian Dominican mission which had established itself in the East Syrian monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō' near 'Amādīyā in the 1750s.

After the revival of monasticism in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd by Gabriel Dambō twenty-one men from the 'Amādīyā and 'Aqrā regions entered the monastery between 1808 and 1827: fifteen from the Ṣapnā

district (all but two from the large village of Mengesh), four from the Dohuk district, and two from the 'Aqrā villages of Gweṣṣā and Arenā. In 1825 several monks were sent to Dohuk and the 'Amādīyā villages of Ma'alṭā, Qaṣr-i-Yazdīn, Meze and Tellā as priests and deacons, and their influence helped to consolidate the Catholic faith where it already existed. A few years later the future patriarch Joseph Audō became metropolitan of 'Amādīyā, and was able to convert several traditionalist villages in the western half of the Ṣapnā valley and in the 'Aqrā region to Catholicism during the 1830s and 1840s. His success was particularly marked in the Ṣapnā district, where seven or eight flourishing 'Nestorian' villages were deserted at this period because of the oppressive policies of the governor of 'Amādīyā. Most of the demoralised villagers who remained converted to Catholicism, leaving by 1850 only 100 traditionalist families in the Ṣapnā district¹.

Some of the villages in the 'Aqrā region resisted conversion and followed their recently-consecrated Chaldean bishop, Abraham, who transferred his loyalty to the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham. In 1852 the Chaldean church sent another bishop to 'Aqrā, a member of the old patriarchal family, and the villages of the region seem to have returned to their former allegiance shortly afterwards. Shortly afterwards a new Chaldean diocese of Zākhō was created, and several Chaldean villages in the 'Amādīyā region around Dohuk were transferred to this diocese. This gave the Chaldean church three Catholic bishops in the 'Amādīyā and 'Aqrā regions, and in the final decades before the First World War it was able to consolidate Joseph Audō's work in the 'Amādīyā region, bring over most of the East Syrian villages in the 'Aqrā region, and (after the bishop Īshō'yahb of Berwārī became a Catholic in 1903) weaken the hold of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate on the East Syrians of the Berwārī region. The Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin recovered some ground in the Berwārī region with the consecration of another bishop, Yaldā Yahballāhā, in 1907, but on the whole these had been decades of substantial Catholic achievement: on the eve of the First World War there were just over 12,000 Chaldeans in the 'Amādīyā, 'Aqrā and Berwārī regions, compared with about 4,000 traditionalist East Syrians, the majority of whom lived in the Berwārī region. No traditionalist villages remained in the Khābūr valley or elsewhere in the diocese of Zākhō, and in other parts of the 'Amādīyā and 'Aqrā regions only

¹ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 198-200.

small communities remained in a dozen or so villages, outnumbered by their Chaldean neighbours.

To the south-east of the 'Aqrā region, the East Syrian communities in Central and Southern Mesopotamia, very important before the tenth century, had dwindled into relative insignificance by the fourteenth century. East Syrian communities persisted at Erbil, 'Aīnqāwā, Shaqlāwā, and one or two other localities in the Erbil region, but Erbil ceased to be the seat of a metropolitan early in the seventeenth century. In the tenth century there were more than twenty dioceses in Beṭ 'Aramāye and Beṭ Garmāi, but only two (Dāqūqā, the seat of the metropolitans of Beṭ Garmāi, and Tīrhān, also in Beṭ Garmāi) seem to have survived into the fourteenth century. Thereafter, references to East Syrian communities south of the Lesser Zāb are almost entirely confined to Beṭ Garmāi, and mention only the city of Kirkūk, where an East Syrian community persists to this day, and the nearby monastery of Mār Ezekiel, last mentioned in the seventeenth century. There was also a small East Syrian community at Sehnā near Kermanshah by the beginning of the eighteenth century, which was given a Chaldean bishop in the 1850s. The Erbil and Kirkūk regions were dependent on the Mosul patriarchate after the schism of 1552, and were converted to Catholicism towards the end of the eighteenth century by Yōhannān Hormizd (two men from Shaqlāwā entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during the lifetime of Gabriel Dambō). During the nineteenth century small Chaldean communities were established in Suleimaniya and Koī Sanjaq, and in 1913 there were just under 7,000 Chaldeans in the dioceses of Kirkūk and Sehnā, nearly half of whom lived in 'Aīnqāwā and Shaqlāwā.

Baghdad, the seat of the East Syrian patriarchs since the eighth century, ceased to be an important East Syrian centre in the second half of the thirteenth century, but there are occasional references thereafter to a small East Syrian community in the city, which seems to have been almost entirely Chaldean by the nineteenth century. This community is also considered in this chapter.

(II) THE 'AMĀDĪYĀ REGION

(a) *Ecclesiastical History*

There were three main concentrations of East Syrian villages in the 'Amādīyā region: in the Ṣapnā valley to the west of 'Amādīyā, in the

Tigris plain around Dohuk, and in the Shemkân district, around the valley of the Gōmel river. Before the fourteenth century the Şapnā valley was part of the diocese of Dāsen and Beṭ Ṭüre ('the mountains'), which lay to the north of Margā and also covered the Berwārī region and the Zibār and Lower Ṭiyārī districts. The villages in the Dohuk district were included in the East Syrian diocese of Beṭ Nūhadrā, whose bishops resided in the small town of Tel Ḥesh near Alqōsh, and those in the Gōmel valley in the diocese of Margā, centred on the 'Aqrā region. The last-known bishops of Beṭ Nūhadrā and Dāsen, Īshō'yahb and Mattai, were present at the consecrations of Makkīkhā II in 1257 and Yahballāhā III in 1281 respectively, and it is unclear when either diocese came to an end.

No bishops of the 'Amādīyā region are known from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. After the schism of 1552 the region remained loyal to Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb, and Sulāqā was martyred in 1554 after an attempt to win over 'Amādīyā's East Syrian community. Thereafter the region seems to have been claimed by both patriarchates for some decades. A metropolitan 'Abdīshō' of 'Koma', probably the village of Komāne with its recently-revived monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō' of Kōm, was among the signatories of a letter of 1580 from Shem'ōn IX Denḥā to pope Gregory XIII, and the Dāsen district was claimed by the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XI in 1653. On the other hand, a bishop Abraham of Beṭ Ṭüre ('the mountains') is mentioned among the hierarchy of Eliyā VIII in the report of 1610. Given its proximity to Alqōsh, it would be surprising to find the region under the influence of the Qūdshānīs patriarchs, and the surviving manuscripts copied for the Dohuk, Şapnā and Shemkân villages (some originating from Gāzartā but the majority from Alqōsh) invariably mention patriarchs of the Eliyā line. By the end of the eighteenth century the Mosul patriarchate had a diocese of 'Amādīyā for the region.

The Diocese of 'Amādīyā

[Fiey, *POCN*, 93-4]

The patriarch Eliyā XIII Īshō'yahb consecrated his nephew Ḥnānīshō' metropolitan of 'Amādīyā in September 1784 after his withdrawal to 'Amādīyā, with the intention of preserving the patriarchal succession within his family². Ḥnānīshō' made a Catholic profession of faith in 1795, but was felt by the Latin missionaries to be insincere³. In 1801 the

² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 152.

³ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 159.

Vatican informed them that he could not be received as a bishop in the Catholic church without 'manifest signs of penitence'. Shortly afterwards in the same year Ḥnānīshō' openly defied the Vatican, consecrating the priest Peter Shawrīz metropolitan of Seert⁴.

Ḥnānīshō' seems to have become reconciled with Yōḥannān Hormizd after the death of Eliyā XIII Īshō'yahb in 1804, as in 1808 he was living in his household in Alqōsh. He was 'senior to Yōḥannān, and governed the diocese of 'Amādīyā, but all the same could do nothing without the approval of the metropolitan Yōḥannān'. Although he sympathised with Gabriel Dambō's monastic order, his dependence on Yōḥannān Hormizd occasionally forced him to act against his better judgement. In 1808 he asserted himself by delivering the monastery of Rabban Hormizd to Gabriel Dambō in defiance of Yōḥannān Hormizd's wishes. In 1811, however, on Yōḥannān Hormizd's instructions, he 'became a Nestorian at 'Amādīyā' and expelled Dambō and his monks from the monastery with the assistance of the civil authorities. In 1813 he fell mortally ill, and made amends for his harsh treatment of the monks on his deathbed by returning the keys of the monastery to them. He died shortly afterwards and was buried in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, 'among the tombs of the patriarchs of the Nestorians⁵.

Some years earlier a Catholic diocese had been established in the region with the consecration by Yōḥannān Hormizd of his nephew Mattai Shem'ōn for 'Amādīyā on 5 May 1790. Shem'ōn, originally named Yōḥannān, was the son of Yōḥannān's brother the priest Gīwārgīs, and appears to have been consecrated on the suggestion of the missionary Maurizio Cheroni. There is no need to doubt the sincerity of Yōḥannān Hormizd's commitment to the Catholic faith at this period, but the appointment was of course also directed against his rival Eliyā XIII Īshō'yahb. After his consecration Shem'ōn made a determined effort to convert a number of villages in the Şapnā plain and the Zibār district to Catholicism⁶. He was killed by brigands not far from the Great Zāb in 1811⁷.

Basil Asmar of Telkepe, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, was consecrated for 'Amādīyā at Āmid by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi in April 1824, but seems to have had no contact with his

⁴ Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 14.

⁵ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 413-14.

⁶ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 153-5.

⁷ Propaganda, *Acta*, 180, folio 82.

diocese. He resided in his home village of Telkepe until 1827, apparently in fear of the governor of 'Amādiyā, known to be a friend of Yōhannān Hormizd, and in 1827 fled to Āmid, becoming its metropolitan in 1828⁸.

He was succeeded in 1830 by the energetic Joseph Audō, who was transferred from Mosul to the diocese of 'Amādiyā under the settlement which confirmed Yōhannān VIII Hormizd as patriarch and ended the schism in the Chaldean church. During his metropolitanate Audō converted many of the villages of the Şapnā valley to Catholicism. After he became patriarch in 1848 he was succeeded as metropolitan of 'Amādiyā in 1851 by 'Abdīshō' Thomas Dirshō, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, who died in 1859.

The future patriarch 'Abdīshō' Gīwārgīs Ḥayyāt became bishop of 'Amādiyā in 1860. He was succeeded in 1874 by Mattai Paul Shamīnā, who exchanged dioceses in 1879 with Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā, bishop of Zākhō, who resigned in 1893. Eliyā Joseph Ḥayyāt was elected for 'Amādiyā in 1893, but at the synod of Alqōsh in 1894 the newly-elected patriarch 'Abdīshō V Ḥayyāt asked to retain him as his patriarchal vicar. As a result the dioceses of 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā were temporarily united under Ya'qōb Yōhannān Sahhar, bishop of 'Aqrā, who was responsible for the united diocese from 23 April 1895 until his death in 1909. He was succeeded as bishop of 'Amādiyā by Francis David of Arāden (the only nineteenth-century Chaldean bishop from the 'Amādiyā region), who had been Sahhar's vicar-general for several years previously. He was consecrated for 'Amādiyā on 15 August 1910, resided in the village of Arāden, and remained bishop of 'Amādiyā until his death in 1939⁹.

In 1850 the diocese of 'Amādiyā included the towns of Dohuk and 'Amādiyā and fourteen villages, all but one either around Dohuk or in the Gōmel and Şapnā valleys, and contained 466 Chaldean families, with 8 priests and 14 churches (Badger). The diocese also included at this period the Catholic communities in Ḥerpā and Barzāne, and probably other villages in the 'Aqrā region¹⁰.

⁸ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 163-4.

⁹ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 501-2; and Fiey, *POCN*, 93-4.

¹⁰ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 14 and 24.

Table 8: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of 'Amādiyā, 1850

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Dohuk	50	1	1	'Ātūsh	11	0	2
Ma'alṭā	20	0	1	'Amādiyā	3	0	0
Shiyōs	20	0	0	Mengesh	150	3	1
Qāshāfir	21	1	1	Daūdiyā	30	0	0
Dizzi	20	0	0	Tineh	30	1	1
Bidwīl	20	0	1	Arāden	50	1	2
Beṭ Bōzi	10	0	1	Inishk	20	1	1
Meze	7	0	1				
Chamanki	4	0	1	Total	466	8	14

In the 1850s Dohuk and several villages in the Dohuk district and 'Aqrā region were transferred to the new dioceses of Zākhō and 'Aqrā. The reduced diocese of 'Amādiyā contained 6,020 Chaldeans, with 10 priests, in 1867 (Martin); and 3,000 Chaldeans, with 13 priests and 16 churches, in 1896 (Chabot). In 1913 the diocese included 'Amādiyā and sixteen villages, most of them in the Şapnā and Gōmel valleys, and contained 4,970 Chaldeans, with 19 priests and 10 churches (Tfinkdji).

Table 9: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of 'Amādiyā, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
'Amādiyā	400	2	0	Meze	100	1	1
Arāden	650	2	1	Beṭ Bōzi	120	0	0
Mengesh	1,100	4	1	Ādeḥ	300	1	0
Daūdiyā	300	1	1	Harmāshe	310	1	1
Tineh	450	2	1	Tellā	340	1	1
Inishk	250	1	1	Birtā	60	0	0
Hamziyyā	200	1	1	Dizzi	80	0	0
Komāne	60	0	0	Tel Ḥesh	100	1	1
Beṭ 'Ainātā	150	1	0	Total	4,970	19	10

Tfinkdji mentioned that the diocese contained about 4,000 'Nestorians' in 1913, a figure not much smaller than its Chaldean population. This is a remarkably high figure for the Şapnā and Shemkān villages, exposed to Catholic influence for over a century; and as Chabot did not mention a

substantial traditionalist population in the diocese in 1896, it probably included the population of the East Syrian villages in the Berwārī region, perhaps considered nominally part of the diocese of 'Amādīyā after the conversion of the traditionalist bishop ʾIshō'yahb of Berwārī in 1903.

(b) *Topographical Survey*

The East Syrian presence in the 'Amādīyā region probably goes back at least as far as the fourth century, though bishops of the dioceses of Dāsen and Beṭ Nūhadrā are not reliably recorded before 410. Before the fourteenth century the region contained several important East Syrian monasteries, including the monasteries of Rabban Joseph Busnāyā near Inishk, Mār Abraham of Shamrāḥ near Mengesh, Mār Abraham the Penitent near Tīneh, and Mār 'Abdīshō' near Deiri, and the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb near Qāshāfir. The prosperous life of the monks of the Şapnā valley in the tenth century, occasionally disturbed by the raids of Kurdish brigands, is vividly described in the contemporary *Life of Rabban Joseph Busnāyā*. Few of these monasteries appear to have survived into the fourteenth century, and the reports of 1607 and 1610 mention only the monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō' near Deiri. This monastery remained intermittently occupied into the nineteenth century, and in the early eighteenth century there was also a brief revival of monastic life in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb near Qāshāfir.

In 1913 there were Chaldean communities in the towns of 'Amādīyā and Dohuk and in nineteen nearby East Syrian villages divided between the dioceses of 'Amādīyā and Zākhō; and traditionalist communities in the Şapnā villages of Dehe, Bebādi, Beṭ Balōkā and Dirgīni. The East Syrian communities in the 'Amādīyā region were located in three main concentrations: in the Şapnā valley; in the plain of the Tigris around Dohuk; and in the Shemkān district around the valley of the river Gōmel (formerly known as Beṭ Rustāqā). It is clear from the colophons of surviving manuscripts and from references in a number of early literary sources, notably the *Lives* of the fourth-century martyr Mār Zay'ā and the tenth-century monk Rabban Joseph Busnāyā, that at an earlier period many other East Syrian villages existed in the region. Parts of the region, especially the Şapnā valley, were periodically raided by the Kurds, and an account has survived of a particularly traumatic raid in 1712 in which Dohuk and the East Syrian villages of Mengesh, Daūdiyā, Dirgīni, Semmel, and Shiyōz were devastated¹¹. In the nineteenth century the

¹¹ Scher, *Épisodes*, 130-2.

Şapnā valley was systematically plundered by its Moslem governors, once in the 1830s and again in the 1880s, and on both occasions many Christian villagers fled from their homes, never to return¹². In such circumstances the disappearance of several East Syrian communities between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries can be readily understood.

There were thirteen Chaldean villages in the Şapnā valley in 1913 (Dehe, Daūdiyā, Tīneh, Arāden, Inishk, Bebādi, Hamzīyyā, Bilejān, Mengesh, Deiri, Komāne, Beṭ Balōkā and Dirgīni), and it is probable that all these villages had East Syrian communities well before the fourteenth century. The tenth-century *Life of Rabban Joseph Busnāyā* mentioned East Syrian communities in the villages of Inishk, Bebādi, Komāne, Mengesh, and Tīneh, and also in the villages of 'Aqdes̄h and Beṭ Mūrđānī (the modern Moslem village of Bāmarnī). 'Aqdes̄h was not mentioned as an East Syrian village either by Badger in 1850 or Třinkdji in 1913, but had an East Syrian community between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Meristak was mentioned as a traditionalist village in the diocese of Berwārī by Ainsworth in 1841¹³.

In 1913 there were East Syrian communities in Dohuk itself and in four neighbouring villages (Shiyōz, Qāshāfir, Garmāwā, and Tel Ḥesh). At different periods between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries there were also East Syrian communities in the Dohuk villages of Abrō, Alōkān, Deleb, Qaşr-i-Yāzdīn, Semmel, Tel Passne, and Ma'alṭā. Ma'alṭā, although merely a village in the nineteenth century, had earlier been the main town in the district. Before the fourteenth century its name was included in the title of the East Syrian bishops of Beṭ Nūhadrā, and it remained a significant district centre until the seventeenth century, when it was overshadowed by Dohuk.

There were nine East Syrian villages in the Shemkān district in 1913 (Beṭ 'Ainātā, Meze, Barmīn, Beṭ Bōzi, Ādeḥ, Harmāshe, Tellā, Birtā, and Dizzi). At different periods between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries there were also East Syrian communities in the villages of Bestāvā, Beṭ Sāpre, Bidwīl, Billān, Chamanki, Ḥṭārā, Ḥōrdepneh, Kānifallā, and Serkāfe.

The villages of the 'Amādīyā region were dependent on the Mosul patriarchate after the schism of 1552. Nevertheless, Catholic missionaries were active in the region from the seventeenth century onwards, and

¹² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 198-200; and Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 295-6.

¹³ Ainsworth, *Visit to the Chaldeans*, 29, 35, and 38.

a number of villages had Catholic communities at an early period. The East Syrians of Dohuk and the villages in the Tigris valley supplied the earliest converts, in the seventeenth century, and there are indications that some friction was generated at this period. Several priests and deacons were ordained in 1635 by a West Syrian bishop for Dohuk's church of Mart Maryam, and four West Syrian manuscripts were copied between 1730 and 1736 in or for the church of Mart Maryam in Semmel¹⁴. No previous West Syrian presence in the region is known, and these communities were probably East Syrian traditionalists asserting their independence from the Catholic majority.

By the end of the eighteenth century significant Catholic communities could also be found in 'Amādiyā and Mengesh, but probably in few other villages in the Şapnā and Shemkān districts at this period. According to Yōḥannān Hormizd, 'Amādiyā had a Catholic community as early as 1783, and Mengesh was converted by his nephew the metropolitan Mattai Shem'ōn in 1791¹⁵. It may be significant that while eighteen men from Mengesh and one man from 'Amādiyā entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during the lifetime of Gabriel Dambō, the only other monk from the 'Amādiyā region was the priest Hormizd, son of Narsai, of Daūdiyā. He was a celibate traditionalist priest who converted under the influence of Chaldean friends during a residence in Alqōsh to study Arabic, and was one of the small group of monks who accompanied Gabriel Dambō into the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1808¹⁶. According to Badger all the villages of the Şapnā district were inhabited by 'Nestorians' at the beginning of the nineteenth century¹⁷.

During the 1830s the Şapnā villages suffered from the exactions of the Moslem governor of 'Amādiyā, and many of the villagers migrated. Three villages in the western part of the district (Daūdiyā, Tineh, and Arāden) converted to Catholicism at this period under the influence of the Dominican missionaries and the Chaldean metropolitan of 'Amādiyā, Joseph Audō¹⁸. The last village to convert was Inishk, which was listed among the Şapnā villages of the diocese of Berwārī in 1841 by Ainsworth. Its priest Narsai briefly became a Chaldean, but had returned to the traditional faith when Badger visited the district in 1850, and the

¹⁴ Fiey, *AC*, ii. 683 and 687-8.

¹⁵ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 152-5.

¹⁶ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 414.

¹⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 198.

¹⁸ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 198-200.

village was still receiving visits from the Dominican Father Lemée as late as 1869¹⁹. The village of Dehe and most of the villages in the eastern part of the district (Hamziyyā, Bilejān, Bebādi, Deiri, Komāne, Beṭ Balōkā and Dirgīni) were included in the traditionalist diocese of Berwārī in 1850. Most of these villages remained traditionalist in sympathy up to the outbreak of the First World War, but by 1913 Hamziyyā and Komāne were also included in the Chaldean diocese of 'Amādiyā.

The villages of the Shemkān district appear to have begun to convert to Catholicism in the 1830s and 1840s. Although the villages of Ādeḥ, Barmīn, Harmāshe and Meze still had traditionalist communities in 1850 (they were included in the traditionalist diocese of 'Aqrā, then dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham), Meze also had a Catholic community, and the other villages in the district (Dizzi, Bidwīl, Beṭ Bōzi and Chamanki) were included in the Chaldean diocese of 'Amādiyā and were not claimed by the traditionalists. The villages of Ḥōrdepneh and Bestāvā do not appear in the 1850 statistics, but Badger mentioned in 1850 that they too had recently converted to Catholicism²⁰.

'Amādiyā

The population of 'Amādiyā in the nineteenth century seems to have fluctuated between a low of 1,200 in 1840 (Ainsworth) and a high of 5,000 in the last decade of the nineteenth century (Cuinet). At different periods in the nineteenth century between a half and two thirds of the town's population were Moslems and between a quarter and a third Jews, with only several hundred Christians at most. Most of the town's Christians were East Syrians, but small Syrian Orthodox and Armenian communities are also recorded in the first half of the century.

'Amādiyā is first mentioned in connection with the history of the East Syrian church in 1508, when its people refused to send help to the villagers of Alqōsh during Bar Yak's raid, despite being its 'patrons'²¹. After the schism of 1552 its East Syrian community was loyal to the Mosul patriarchate, and its governors, who were also responsible for the large East Syrian population in the villages of the surrounding region, were courted by the patriarchs of the Elīyā line. The small East Syrian population of 'Amādiyā was loyal to the traditionalist Elīyā line in the eighteenth century, and the last non-Catholic patriarch of this line, Elīyā

¹⁹ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 283; and Fiey, *Şapnā*, 48.

²⁰ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 254.

²¹ Scher, *Épisodes*, 121-2.

XIII Iṣhō'yahb, withdrew to 'Amādiyā in the face of Yōhannān Hormizd's challenge, where he was supported by the city's governor and East Syrian community. The Dominican missionaries were able to work in 'Amādiyā without hindrance after Eliyā's death in 1804, but their progress was slow at first. One of the missionaries recorded that in 1807 several 'Nestorians' publicly converted to Catholicism one morning, only to recant in the afternoon under the influence of their priests²².

Despite the efforts of the Dominican mission, 'Amādiyā's traditionalist East Syrian community outnumbered its Chaldeans until well into the second half of the nineteenth century²³. 'Amādiyā had a community of 'fewer than 100' Chaldeans around 1800 (Campanile); 300 'Nestorians' in 1820 (Rich); 300 'Nestorians' and 300 Chaldeans in 1839 (Grant); 90 'Nestorians' and 30 Chaldeans in 1840 (Ainsworth); 25 'Nestorian' families, with a priest but no church, and 3 Chaldean families, without a priest or church, in 1850 (Badger); 60 'Nestorians' and 12 Chaldeans in 1875 (Rhétoré); 600 Chaldeans in 1892 (Cuinet); and 400 Chaldeans, with 2 priests, a chapel, and a school in 1913 (Tfinkdji).

Little is known of 'Amādiyā's small East Syrian community. As in Gāzartā, Zākhō and other small district towns, the Christian minority appears to have been unpopular with the Moslem majority, and did little to draw attention to itself. In 1850 Badger described the poverty of its East Syrian communities, both Catholic and traditionalist, who were obliged to worship in private houses because they were not permitted to build a church in the town²⁴. 'Amādiyā produced one notable East Syrian scribe: the priest 'Abd al-Karīm, son of the deacon Ḥōshābā, son of the priest Mendū, who copied six manuscripts between 1815 and 1817, one in Mosul and the others in 'Amādiyā (one at least in the nearby monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō' rather than in the town itself)²⁵. A manuscript was also copied in 'Amādiyā in 1822 by the Ṭhūmā scribe Haydeni, son of Yahbō, in the house of the traditionalist priest Thomas, son of Quriāqōs, for the metropolitan Joseph of Gāzartā, then living in the village of Shāh²⁶.

The East Syrian priest Mendū of 'Amādiyā, a traditionalist whose brother was a Catholic priest, assisted Ainsworth and Badger, and ran-

²² Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 45.

²³ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 278.

²⁴ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 200-201.

²⁵ MSS 'Aqrā (Vosté) 60, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 58 and 60, Dawrā Syr 307 (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 45), Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 7, and Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 69.

²⁶ MS Assfalg Syr 1.

somed a number of Syriac manuscripts looted from the villages of the Ṣapnā district during a series of Kurdish raids in the 1830s²⁷. A note in a manuscript of 1726 from Dizzi mentions that it was lost during 'the troubles', and recovered from 'the heathen' by Mendū²⁸.

The Monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō'

[Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 45-8]

The monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō' lay on a hill above the village of Deiri, known locally as Bshīsh. One thirteenth-century manuscript has survived from the monastery, copied in 1224 by the monk Mūshe²⁹. Nothing is known of the monastery's history between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, but a colophon of 1586 mentions that it had been recently damaged in an earthquake and restored by the priest and monk Sargīs, Rabban Isha'yā, and its superior Rabban Sargīs³⁰. If, as has been suggested, the monastery was the seat of the metropolitan 'Abdīshō' of 'Koma' in 1580, he may have been responsible for its revival. A manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1593 was bought from its unnamed scribe shortly afterwards by the monk 'Abdā of Arāden for his monastery, very probably the monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō'³¹. The monastery is also mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610, and in 1607 the priest Bahdīn, son of 'Aṭiyā, of Gāzartā, copied a manuscript for its use at the expense of Hormizd, son of Gīwārgīs, of Gāzartā³². A manuscript was copied in the monastery by an unknown scribe in 1687, and manuscripts were commissioned for its use from Alqōsh in 1718 and 1729 by the priest 'Abd al-Karīm, son of Joseph, of 'Amādiyā³³. In 1753 the monastery, probably unoccupied, was granted to the Dominican mission under Francesco Turriani by the governor of 'Amādiyā, and was restored by the Dominicans in 1779³⁴. The 'Amādiyā scribe 'Abd al-Karīm, son of Ḥōshābā, copied at least one manuscript in the monastery in 1815, and possibly more³⁵. The monastery was visited by Badger in 1843 and 1850, who mentioned that it was revered by both Christians and Moslems³⁶.

²⁷ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 28; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 199-203 and 379-80.

²⁸ MS Dawrā Syr 198.

²⁹ MS Vat Syr 471.

³⁰ MS Cambridge Add. 1975.

³¹ MS Jerusalem Syr 15.

³² MS Cambridge Add. 1981.

³³ MSS Cambridge Add. 1973, Mosul (Magdasi) 13, and Dawrā Syr 1.

³⁴ Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 47.

³⁵ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 58.

³⁶ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 252-3.

Villages in the Şapnā District[Fiey, *Şapnā*, 48-62]

Many of the surviving manuscripts from the Şapnā district come from the village of Arāden, the earliest of which was copied in the village in 1571 by the priest Ḥōshābā, of Dādār in the Gāzartā region³⁷. A manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1649 for the church of Mār Miles in Tel Ḥesh came later into the possession of the church of Şūlṭan Mahdūkht in Arāden; and a manuscript was copied in Arāden in 1683 by the deacon Quriāqōs, son of 'Abdīshō', son of the priest Quriāqōs, for the priest Aqad of the Berwārī village of Dūre³⁸. The priest Semmanō, son of Daniel, son of the priest Joseph, son of the priest Ḥōshābā, copied two manuscripts in Arāden in 1700 and 1707, and a third at an unknown date in the Lower Ṭiyārī village of Līzan³⁹. In 1706 a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh by the priests Semmānō, 'Azīz, and 'Abdīshō', of Arāden⁴⁰. As his name is uncommon, it is possible that the priest Semmānō is to be identified with the priest of the same name whose sons the priest Gīwārgīs and Yōḥannān donated a manuscript copied in Alqōsh in 1694 to the monastery of Rabban Hormizd at an unknown later date⁴¹.

Other priests, deacons, and notables of the village are mentioned in the colophons of a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscripts. A manuscript was copied in 1724 in Bethlehem by the priest Joseph, son of the deacon Gīwō, of Arāden, and manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh in 1734 by the priest Hormizd and his son the deacon Gīwō (Gīwārgīs), and in 1759 by the priest Gīwārgīs, son of the priest Hormizd, doubtless the deacon of 1734⁴². A manuscript was commissioned for the churches of Şūlṭan Mahdūkht and the Beni Shmūni in Arāden in 1846 by the deacon Yōḥannān, son of the deacon Gīwō; and manuscripts were copied at an unknown date by the scribe David of Barzāne for the deacon Mattai, son of Sābā, of Arāden; and in 1858 by the deacon 'Azīz, son of Hormizd, son of 'Azīz, of the Qāshā family of Arāden⁴³. A manuscript was copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des

³⁷ MS Ūrmī 25.

³⁸ MSS Assfalg Syr 34 and Dawrā Syr 26.

³⁹ MSS Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 355 (Fiey, *Şapnā*, 53), Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 57, and Cambridge Add. 1979.

⁴⁰ MS Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 227 (Fiey, *Şapnā*, 53).

⁴¹ MS NDS (Scher) 13.

⁴² MSS Berlin Syr 37 and Cambridge Add. 1986 and 2103.

⁴³ MSS Dawrā Syr 800 and 911, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Şapnā*, 54).

Semences in 1885 by the priest Yōnān, of the Sōsō family, of Arāden⁴⁴. Between 1888 and 1893 Arāden was the residence of the deacon Eliyā, son of Hōmō, of the Naşrō family of Alqōsh, who copied a number of manuscripts there⁴⁵. Finally, a manuscript was copied in 1911 by the deacon Zay'ā, son of the priest Zay'ā, son of Paul, son of Zay'ā, 'of the chief's family of Arāden'⁴⁶.

Five manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Mengesh: in 1674 and 1683 by unknown donors; in 1735 by the deacon Yōḥannān, son of Gīwārgīs; in 1762 by the priest Yōḥannān, of the Mayānā family, possibly the same man; and in 1819 by an unknown donor⁴⁷.

Several manuscripts have survived from a number of other villages in the Şapnā district. A manuscript was copied in 'Aqdes in 1541 by Ḥōshābā, son of the builder 'Azīz, for the priest Mār Behnām, son of Shem'on⁴⁸. Manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mart Maryam in Komāne from Peshābūr in 1576 by the priest Isaac, son of the priest Mārbehnā, and from Alqōsh in 1697 by the deacon Darwīsh⁴⁹. A manuscript was commissioned in 1707 for the church of Mār Yōḥannān in Daūdiyā by Belgan, a woman from the Berwārī village of Alqōsh; and another was sold around 1850 in Daūdiyā to the priest and monk Marqos by Gīwārgīs, son of the deacon Thomas, son of the priest Narsai, of Daūdiyā, in the presence of Gīwārgīs, son of Yūḥannā, and Jālīn, son of the deacon Joseph, of Bidwīl⁵⁰. A manuscript was copied in 1715 by the priest Ḥāmīs of Dirgīni, and another was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1729 for its church of Mart Maryam by the deacon Joseph, son of the deacon Mārōge⁵¹. A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1728 by the priest Abraham, son of Zangishā, for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Inishk, and a manuscript was copied in Inishk in 1809 by the priest 'Abdīshō', son of Thomas, of Gissā at the request of Martā, daughter of Hāye, for the church of Mār Zay'ā in

⁴⁴ MS Dawrā Syr 499.

⁴⁵ MSS NDS (Vosté) 222 and 305, Mosul (Scher) 60, and Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 1223 (Fiey, *Şapnā*, 54).

⁴⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 942.

⁴⁷ MSS Borgia (Scher) 1, Cambridge Add. 1996, and three manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Şapnā*, 63-4).

⁴⁸ MS Cambridge Add. 2044, folios 1-32.

⁴⁹ MS Cambridge Add. 1982 and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Şapnā*, 60).

⁵⁰ MSS Cambridge Add. 1984 and Dawrā Syr 752.

⁵¹ MSS Ūrmī 103 and Cambridge Add. 1991.

'Aqdesh⁵². A manuscript was copied in 1781 in Gissā, and a second in 1791 in Alqōsh, for the priest Ḥannā, son of Ḥōshābā, son of Zablō, of Tineh, later bought by the metropolitan Joseph Audō in 1841 from Thomas, son of the deacon Yōnān, of Tineh⁵³. A manuscript was copied in Dehe in 1846 by the scribe Gīwārgīs, son of Hōmō, of Gundikṭā, 'then living in Dehe', for the village of Arāden⁵⁴.

Several other details have been preserved by Fiey. 'Aqdesh had a church of Mār Mattai as well as its church of Mār Zay'ā, and Dehe had a church of the Beni Shmūni. In 1885 a church of the Beni Shmūni was built in Inishk by the metropolitan of 'Amādiyā, Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā.⁵⁵

Dohuk

[Fiey, AC, ii. 681-4]

A manuscript was commissioned from Gāzartā in 1599 for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Dohuk, now a mosque, by the priest Abraham and Gūriyā, son of Sulaimān; and a manuscript was rebound in the monastery of Mār Gabriel near Mosul at an unknown date, probably about the same period, by Ḥannā, son of 'Abdō, 'curator of the church of Dohuk'⁵⁶. In 1676 the Dominican missionary Ballyet visited Dohuk, and mentioned that it had 30 Catholic families and a single church, probably that of Mart Maryam⁵⁷. A Catholic manuscript was commissioned for the church of Mart Maryam in 1741 by the priest Hormizd; and another early-eighteenth century manuscript also later belonged to this church⁵⁸. Several later Catholic manuscripts were also copied for the church of Mart Maryam, including a manuscript of 1822 copied at Alqōsh; a manuscript of 1830 copied in Dohuk by an unnamed monk (presumably one of the two monks sent to the town in 1825 from the monastery of Rabban Hormizd); a manuscript of 1838 copied in Dohuk by the priest 'Abdishō', son of Dōshō, of Tellā; two manuscripts commissioned from Mosul in the 1850s by the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad; a manuscript commissioned from Alqōsh in 1859 by the priest Peter, son of the carpenter Hormizd, of Alqōsh, the chief Ya'qōb, and 'the other heads of the com-

⁵² MS Cambridge Add. 1977 and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 59).

⁵³ MSS Alqōsh (*Ṣana*) 18 and Kirkūk (*Vosté*) 9.

⁵⁴ MS in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 54).

⁵⁵ Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 48 and 59.

⁵⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 41 and BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 29.

⁵⁷ Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, ii. 1262.

⁵⁸ MSS Dohuk (*Ḥaddād*) 47 and Cambridge Add. 1994.

munity, Ḥannā, Mattai, Mikhō of the Zelfe family, Hankō the dyer, and Maṣūr, son of Sābā'; a manuscript commissioned from Alqōsh in 1896 by Jeremy Timothy Maqdasi, bishop of Zākhō, the priest Joseph of Dohuk, and the monk Gīwārgīs; and a manuscript of 1915 from Alqōsh, also commissioned by Jeremy Timothy Maqdasi and the priest Joseph⁵⁹.

Villages in the Dohuk District [Fiey, AC, ii. 553-5; 675-81; 684-93]

The village of Ma'alṭā had two churches, dedicated to Mār Zay'ā and Mār 'Abdā respectively, for which several manuscripts were copied in Alqōsh between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Two manuscripts were commissioned in 1698 for the church of Mār Zay'ā by the deacon Israel, son of the deceased 'Abdishō' Bar Karā, the first in association with his brother the chief Hormizd, and the second with his brother Marqōs⁶⁰. In 1718 a manuscript was commissioned for the churches of Mār Zay'ā and Mār 'Abdā by Shmūni, daughter of the chief Gabriel of Semmel, her husband Safar, and her mother-in-law Dalle⁶¹. A manuscript was commissioned at an unknown date, probably in the eighteenth century, for the church of Mār 'Abdā by the priest and chief Asmar⁶². A manuscript commissioned from Alqōsh in 1731 by the pilgrim Hormizd of Shaqlāwā for his son Iṣhō' was bought by 'the community of the church of Ma'alṭā' around the middle of the eighteenth century, and was later recovered by the grandson of its original owner⁶³. Several other manuscripts were copied or restored for the village during the Catholic period, including a manuscript of 1820 for the church of Mār Zay'ā commissioned by Helen, daughter of Yōnān; a manuscript of 1821 for the same church commissioned by Gabriel Dambō; a manuscript of 1825 restored in the village for the churches of Mār Zay'ā and Mār 'Abdā at the expense of the deacon Thomas and the chief Hormizd by the priest and monk Jeremy of Tel Isqōf, who had been recently sent to Ma'alṭā by Gabriel Dambō; and another manuscript of 1825 commissioned by Jeremy of Tel Isqōf for the same churches⁶⁴. The church of Mār 'Abdā is not mentioned after 1825, but two manuscripts were commissioned from the nearby village of Qāshāfir in 1894 and 1896 for the church (or 'monastery') of Mār

⁵⁹ MSS Dohuk (*Ḥaddād*) 9, 14, 15, 17, and 34, Bāṭnāyā (*Ḥaddād*) 31, Dawrā Syr 725, and Dohuk (*Vosté*) 29.

⁶⁰ MSS Dohuk (*Ḥaddād*) 8 and 29.

⁶¹ MS Dohuk (*Ḥaddād*) 39.

⁶² MS Dohuk (*Ḥaddād*) 16.

⁶³ MSS Dohuk (*Ḥaddād*) 1.

⁶⁴ MSS Dohuk (*Ḥaddād*) 2, 6, 19, and 46.

Zay'ā by the chief Shem'ōn, son of the deceased Ḥōshābā, and Thomas, son of Sīfā, a native of Ma'alṭā⁶⁵. The manuscript of 1896 was also sponsored by the village's priest, the monk Joseph.

Semmel had an East Syrian community with a church of Mart Maryam in the eighteenth century, which either left or was driven out at an unknown date in the nineteenth century, probably during the troubles of the 1830s and 1840s. Six manuscripts have survived from the village, all commissioned by members of a single family which supplied a number of the village's chiefs and priests. Four manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mart Maryam in Semmel between 1708 and 1711 by the priest Issevō, son of the deacon Gabriel, son of the chief Sīfō; a fifth in 1744 by the priest Shem'ōn, son of the chief Israel; and a sixth in 1823 by the chief Joseph, 'son of the deacon Safar, son of the chief Sābā, son of the chief Israel, son of the chief Sīfō'⁶⁶. A later, undated, note in the 1823 manuscript mentions that Semmel was 'now occupied by the Kurds'.

The village of Shiyōs had a church dedicated to Mār Gīwārgīs, for which four manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh between 1661 and 1731 by the chief Gabriel (more familiarly known as Gīwō or Gāwō) and his son the chief Abraham, whose colophons mention eight different priests of the village and several other notables. They include a manuscript of 1661 commissioned by Gabriel and the priest Abraham; a manuscript of 1680 commissioned by Gabriel, the priest Melchisedec, the deacon Gabriel Kandū, and the layman Hormizd Ḥōshābō; a manuscript of 1722 commissioned by the chief Abraham, the priest Īshō', and the monk David Abraham (perhaps from the nearby monastery of Mār Ya'qōb); and a manuscript of 1731 commissioned by the chief Abraham, the priest Hormizd, and the priest Gīwārgīs⁶⁷. The priest Īshō' was the son of the priest Melchisedec, and his grandfather Ḥōshābā and great-grandfather Gabriel were also priests; while the priest Hormizd's father was a priest named 'Abdīshō', and his grandfather a deacon named Mārōge.

Four manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the church of Mār Mīles in Tel Ḥesh: in 1649 and 1741 by unknown donors; in 1688 by the priests

⁶⁵ MSS Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 12 and 41.

⁶⁶ Four MSS in the village of Shiyōs (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 687), Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 357 (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 687), and Mosul (Scher) 6.

⁶⁷ MSS Mār Ya'qōb 1, 3, 10, and 14 (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 690-1).

Yaldā and Jamāl al-Dīn, the chief Shābō, and the believer 'Abd Allāh, son of Dōshō; and in 1697 by the priest Yaldā and his wife Zīze, of Alqōsh; and a manuscript was commissioned in 1740 for the church of Mār Quriāqōs in Telkepe by the priest Gabriel and the pilgrim Thomas, son of the deacon Yaldā, at the request of the believing woman Shāhzō, daughter of Jem'ā, and at the expense of the church of Mār Mīles in Tel Ḥesh⁶⁸.

The village of Qāshāfir, also known as Mār Ya'qōb, became the summer station for the Dominican mission in 1847, and a number of manuscripts were copied in the village between 1879 and 1898 by the deacon 'Abdīshō', son of Elīsha⁶⁹. The nearby monastery of Mār Ya'qōb was an important site in the district in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and a manuscript was copied there by the monk Bōkhtīshō' in 1202/3⁷⁰. It was not mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610, but a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh for its use in 1705 by Isaac, son of Gīwārgīs, his daughter 'Azīze, and his wife Bagdad⁷¹.

Several manuscripts have survived from other East Syrian villages in the Dohuk district. They include a manuscript of 1572 for an unnamed church in Tel Passne; a manuscript of 1587 commissioned by the chief Ḥannā, his son Shlemūn, and the priest Ḥōshā for the church of Mart Shmūni and the Beni Shmūni in Qaṣr-i-Yāzdīn; a manuscript commissioned in 1693 by the notables Balbal and Israel and the priest Kīnā for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in the village of Abrō, and an undated manuscript donated to the same church by the priest Shem'ōn; a Catholic manuscript commissioned in 1697 by Abraham, son of the priest Mūrjān, for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Alōkān; and a manuscript commissioned in 1698 by the priest Abraham, son of the priest Ḥōshābā, for the church of Mār Christopher in Deleb⁷². Although none of these villages is mentioned either by Badger or Tfinkdji, Qaṣr-i-Yāzdīn still had an East Syrian community in 1825, when it received a priest and deacon from the monastery of Rabban Hormizd⁷³.

⁶⁸ MSS Assfalg Syr 34, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 25 and 66, Cambridge Add. 2020, and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 20.

⁶⁹ MSS Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 12 and 41, Dohuk (Vosté) 13, and a manuscript in the Mār Ya'qōb collection (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 394).

⁷⁰ MS BL Or. 2695.

⁷¹ MS Mār Ya'qōb 15 (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 720).

⁷² MSS Seert (Scher) 20, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 7, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 28 and 33, Dawrā Syr 78, and Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 322 (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 675).

⁷³ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 115.

Villages in the Shemkân District [Fiey, *AC*, i. 284-319; ii. 790]

The village of Ādeḥ is first mentioned around the end of the seventeenth century. A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1695 for the village's church of Mār Gīwārgīs by Rabban, son of Shābō, and the priest Dōshō, son of Gabriel; and another was commissioned in 1716 for the same church by the priest Ḥannā, son of Gabriel, a native of the village and perhaps the brother of the priest Dōshō⁷⁴. A manuscript also copied at Alqōsh in 1716 for the church of the neighbouring village of Ḥṭārā was later acquired by the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Ādeḥ⁷⁵. Although the village was included in the 'Nestorian' diocese of 'Aqrā by Badger in 1850, it probably already had a significant Catholic community, as three Catholic works were in use in the village at a slightly later date. They include a manuscript restored in 1860 by the scribe David of Barzāne; a manuscript copied in Telkepe in 1861 for the priest Quriāqōs, son of the monk Kūjā, at the expense of the chief David; and a manuscript copied in Kānifallā in 1871, also by David of Barzāne, for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Ādeḥ, at the expense of the deacon Yaldā and the reader Peter, sons of the priest Gīwārgīs, the priest and monk Ablaḥad, and the church administrator David, son of 'Abdīshō'⁷⁶. The priest and monk Ḥnānyā, son of Peter, son of Ḥōshō, of the Kurānā family, of Ādeḥ, copied four manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences between 1875 and 1883⁷⁷.

The village of Beṭ Bōzi is first mentioned in 1218, when a manuscript was commissioned by the bishop 'Abdīshō' of Margā from the nearby monastery of Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe for its priests Yōḥannān, Joseph, Mubārak, Mūshe, and Yōḥannān⁷⁸. The village is next mentioned in the eighteenth century, when two manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for its church of Mart Shmūni and the Beni Shmūni in 1714 and 1729 by the priest 'Abdīshō'⁷⁹. Three manuscripts were copied for the church of Mart Shmūni and the Beni Shmūni in Beṭ Bōzi in the nineteenth century: a manuscript commissioned from Alqōsh in 1824 by an unknown donor; a manuscript copied in the village in 1863 by the priest

⁷⁴ Two manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *AC*, i. 302).

⁷⁵ A manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *AC*, i. 301).

⁷⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 421 and two manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *AC*, i. 171 and 302).

⁷⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 626, 899, 907, and 912.

⁷⁸ MS Dublin (Chester Beatty) 704, formerly Mārdīn (Scher) 8.

⁷⁹ MS Dawrā Syr 432 and 456.

and monk Abraham, son of 'Abbō, of Kirkūk, at the request of its chief Yūwānīs Dannō; and a manuscript commissioned from Alqōsh in 1868 by the village's priest Quriāqōs, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd⁸⁰. In 1888 a manuscript was copied in Beṭ Bōzi by the monk Nicholas Nōfāl of Telkepe, for the monastery of Rabban Hormizd⁸¹.

Sixteen manuscripts were copied or restored between 1679 and 1716 for the church of Mart Maryam in the village of Ḥōrdepneh, most if not all copied on the initiative of the village's conscientious priest Joseph, son of the deacon Hormizd⁸². Fourteen of these manuscripts were copied or restored at Alqōsh, one was copied in Telkepe in 1682, and one was copied at an unknown date by Joseph himself, perhaps in Ḥōrdepneh. Only three manuscripts (of 1679, 1679/80, and 1705) are not explicitly linked with Joseph⁸³. He is first mentioned as the village's priest in a colophon of 1682, and may have been so earlier⁸⁴. Badger mentioned a Chaldean community in Ḥōrdepneh in 1842, which may have been dispersed not long afterwards. According to a manuscript note of 1880 by the metropolitan of Āmid Gīwārgīs 'Abdīshō' Ḥayyāt, a manuscript copied for the church of Mart Maryam in Ḥōrdepneh in 1705 had been acquired not long beforehand by Eliyā Hōmō, of the Naṣrō family of Alqōsh, 'following the sack of Ḥōrdepneh by the Kurds', apparently during the disturbances of 1843⁸⁵. There are no further references to an East Syrian community in the village, and many of the surviving manuscripts from Ḥōrdepneh may have been acquired for the collection of the Chaldean patriarchate at this period.

A manuscript was copied at Alqōsh around the beginning of the eighteenth century by the priest Yaldā, son of Daniel, for the church of Mār Ephrem in Harmāshe, at the request of the deacon Gabriel, son of Denḥā; and a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Birtā in 1743 by the priests Yāqō Sulāqā and Īshō⁸⁶.

⁸⁰ MS Dawrā Syr 38, 323, and 495.

⁸¹ MS Dawrā Syr 683.

⁸² MSS Mingana Syr 53D, Dawrā Syr 195, 371, 493, 588, and 621, Mosul (Scher) 1 (part), 2 (part), 3 (part), 59, 72, 86, and 88, Assfalḡ Syr 55, BM Syr (Wright) 922, and Paris BN Syr 295 (*Vorlage*).

⁸³ MSS Mingana Syr 53D, Dawrā Syr 588, and Paris BN Syr 295 (*Vorlage*).

⁸⁴ MS Dawrā Syr 493.

⁸⁵ Note in MS Paris BN Syr 295.

⁸⁶ MS Mosul (Magdasi) 15, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *AC*, i. 300).

Manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mār Christopher in Dizzi in 1720 by its deacon Bādō, son of Pātō, of Beṭ Bōzi; in 1724 by the same Bādō (by then the village's chief), the priests Marqos and Māmā, the deacons Mattai, Abraham and 'Abdīshō', and 'the community of the sons of the village'; in 1726 by the priest Israel and the deacons Mattai and Abraham; and in 1731 by Helen, daughter of Nīsān⁸⁷. Two manuscripts were also copied at Alqōsh in the early years of the nineteenth century by the deacon Marqos, son of the priest 'Abdīshō', for the priest Nīsān of Dizzi, one in 1807 and the other at an unknown date⁸⁸.

The neighbouring village of Bidwīl, which did not have its own church, was served in the nineteenth century by the priests of Dizzi. A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1826 by Kāfō of Bidwīl, for his daughter Gōzāl; two manuscripts were copied in Bidwīl in 1851 and 1852 by the priest Isaac, son of Ḥannā, of the Mōgā or Ḥalmōgā family of Alqōsh (a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, then serving as the priest of Dizzi) for the churches of the villages of Piyōz and 'Eṣṣān; and a manuscript was sold in 1881 by Maṣūr Mīkhā, son of Gīwārgīs, of Bidwīl⁸⁹.

Four Catholic manuscripts were acquired for the church of the Beni Shmūni in Meze between 1882 and 1888 by the chief Gīwārgīs, son of Paul, son of Nīsān, and the priest Ya'qōb, son of Ṣawmō, son of the priest Peter, of Piyōz⁹⁰.

A manuscript was commissioned in 1677 from Alqōsh by the priest Ya'qōb, son of Marqos, son of Yāqō, son of the priest Isaac, of the Abūnā family, of Tellā; his brothers the priest Ḥōshabā, the deacon Hormizd, and Israel; and his nephew Marqos, son of the deacon Hormizd⁹¹. The priest Ya'qōb and his brother the deacon Hormizd also helped to pay for a manuscript copied in 1685 for the church in the neighbouring village of Beṭ Sāpre⁹². Manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mār Isaac in Tellā in 1701 by Shmūni, daughter of Na'zar, and in 1719 by

⁸⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 46, 198, 219, and 463.

⁸⁸ MS Dawrā Syr 381 and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, ii. 790).

⁸⁹ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 11 and 21, Dawrā Syr 245 (part), and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 312).

⁹⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 405 and three manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 314-5).

⁹¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 879.

⁹² MS Dawrā Syr 42.

Hormizd's son the priest Marqos, for himself and his sons the deacons Ḥannā and Israel⁹³. In the nineteenth century two manuscripts were copied for the church of Mār Isaac in Tellā in 1854 and 1855 by its priest Samuel, son of Stephen, of the Ḥabidūsh family of Alqōsh (formerly a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd), one in the village itself and the other in Mosul⁹⁴. The priest 'Abdīshō', son of Dōshō, of Tellā, entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in the 1830s, and copied four manuscripts between 1838 and 1843⁹⁵.

A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1685 for the church of Mār Yōḥannān in Beṭ Sāpre by the priest Ṣībā, son of Khūdādā; his son the priest Yōḥannān; and the priest Ya'qōb, son of Marqos, of Tellā, at the expense of the chief 'Abdīshō', son of Yōnān, the deacon Yaldā, son of Sargīs, and Ya'qōb's brother the deacon Hormizd⁹⁶.

Two manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mār Sābā in Billān, one at an unknown date and the other in 1692 by Marqos, son of Hormizd (probably the future priest of the same name from Tellā)⁹⁷.

A manuscript was commissioned for the church of Mart Shmūni in Ḥṭārā in 1716 by the priest Nīsān, son of Markhāye⁹⁸.

A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1713 for the church of Mār Aḥḥā in Kānifallā by Mūshe, Bāzā, and the priest 'Askar; and another was commissioned for the same church in 1723⁹⁹. Two manuscripts were copied in the village in 1863 and 1871 by the scribe David of Barzāne, and another manuscript by the same scribe was bought locally for one of the Alqōsh monasteries by the priest and monk Antony of Kānifallā in 1882¹⁰⁰.

No manuscripts have survived from the village of Serkāfe, but it had a Chaldean community, with a church, in the nineteenth century¹⁰¹.

⁹³ MSS Dawrā Syr 541 and 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 64.

⁹⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 382 and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 32.

⁹⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 35, 134, 725, and 740.

⁹⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 42.

⁹⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 218 and 602.

⁹⁸ Fiey, AC, i. 301.

⁹⁹ Two manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 293).

¹⁰⁰ MSS Telkepe (Vosté) 60 (Fiey, AC, i. 169-71), Dawrā Syr 911, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 171 and 302).

¹⁰¹ Fiey, AC, i. 294.

(III) THE BERWĀRĪ REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

The Diocese of Berwārī[Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 64-5; *POCN*, 61]

Before the fourteenth century the Berwārī region, sometimes called Julmar (probably after the town of Julamerk) or Beṭ Tannūrā (the name of a large Jewish village in the Beduh valley) in Syriac colophons, was part of the diocese of Dāsen. Nothing is known of the region's history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but a diocese of Berwārī is mentioned in a manuscript of 1514 by the scribe Sabrīshō' bar Galalīn, 'brother of the bishop Yahballāhā of Julmar'¹⁰². A manuscript of 1575 contains several poems composed at an unknown date by the metropolitan Sabrīshō' of Berwārī¹⁰³.

After the schism of 1552 the region appears to have been contested by the Eliyā and Shem'ōn lines for several decades. Manuscripts were copied at Alqōsh in 1562 and in the Berwārī monastery of Mār Qayyōmā in 1602 by the bishop Yahballāhā, son of the priest Thomas, son of Īshō', son of the priest Thomas, son of the priest Abraham, son of the priest Īshō', son of the priest Sabrīshō', of the Pinyānīsh village of Azyānīsh, whose colophons mention the patriarchs Eliyā VII and Eliyā VIII respectively¹⁰⁴. A bishop Yahballāhā of 'Bettanan' (Beṭ Tannūrā), also dependent on the patriarch Eliyā VIII and almost certainly the same man, is mentioned in the report of 1607. On the other hand a metropolitan Sabrīshō' 'of Julmar' is also mentioned in the report of 1607, almost certainly to be identified with the metropolitan Sabrīshō' of Berwārī listed among the hierarchy of Shem'ōn X in the report of 1610.

There are no further references to bishops of Berwārī for more than a century, but the region was claimed by Shem'ōn XI Īshō'yahb in 1653. In 1731 a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh by the bishop Yahballāhā 'of Beṭ Tannūrā', possibly dependent on the Mosul patriarch Eliyā XII¹⁰⁵.

The metropolitan Īshō'yahb of 'Beṭ Tannūrā, Chal and Nerwā', son of the deacon Abraham, son of the deacon Sabrīshō', son of the priest Ebet,

¹⁰² MS Berlin Syr 88.¹⁰³ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 84.¹⁰⁴ MSS Berlin Syr 82 and Seert (Scher) 117.¹⁰⁵ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 69.

dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, is mentioned in colophons of 1817, 1829, and 1831¹⁰⁶. He was probably the elderly metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Berwārī met by Ainsworth in 1841 and Badger in 1850, dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham¹⁰⁷.

Īshō'yahb, already elderly in 1850, probably died shortly afterwards. By 1868 Berwārī had three bishops: Īshō'yahb's young *nāṭar kursyās* Yahballāhā and Īshō'yahb, who had been jointly consecrated after his death and resided together in the same house at Dūre, and a bishop named Yōnān, who resided in the village of 'Aqrī¹⁰⁸. The petition of 1868 was signed by Yōnān 'of 'Aqrī' and Īshō'yahb 'of Dūre', and all three men were mentioned by Cutts in 1877. Yahballāhā died before 1884, but Īshō'yahb and Yōnān are included in Maclean's hierarchy in 1884, and Riley's in 1888. Yōnān is last mentioned in 1903 as a Catholic sympathiser by Rhétoré¹⁰⁹. Īshō'yahb converted to Catholicism on 31 March 1903 in a public ceremony in 'Amādīyā, but relapsed shortly afterwards. In 1907 he was deposed by Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin, who consecrated the eighteen-year-old Yaldā Yahballāhā bishop of Berwārī in his place. The consecration of a 'boy of slight education' offended the Anglican Mission, which was trying to persuade the young patriarch to reform the clergy and episcopate, but it did not protest¹¹⁰. Yaldā Yahballāhā was one of the few surviving members of the Qūdshānīs hierarchy after the First World War, and remained bishop of Berwārī until his death in 1951.

The diocese of Berwārī included twenty-seven East Syrian villages in Berwārī itself and in the adjacent Ṣapnā and Nerwā districts, containing 348 families, 18 priests and 20 churches in 1850 (Badger). In 1841, according to Ainsworth, it also included the Berwārī villages of Alqōshṭā, Mūsākān, Rōbārā, and Dargeli, the Ṣapnā villages of Meristak and Inishk (a Chaldean village shortly afterwards), and the Zibār village of Erdīl¹¹¹. Mūsākān, though not included in his statistics, was also mentioned as a village in the diocese of Berwārī in 1843 by Badger, in which a number of villagers from the Lower Ṭiyārī town of Āshīṭā had taken refuge after the massacre earlier in the year¹¹².

¹⁰⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 310 and 484, and Seert (Scher) 60.¹⁰⁷ Ainsworth, *Visit to the Chaldeans*, 37-8; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 381-2.¹⁰⁸ Maclean and Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, 45-6.¹⁰⁹ Alichoran, 'Quand le Hakkari penchait pour le catholicisme', *POC*, 41 (1991), 34-55.¹¹⁰ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 259-260 and 315.¹¹¹ Ainsworth, *Visit to the Chaldeans*, 29, 35, and 38.¹¹² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 283.

Table 10: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Berwārī, 1850

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
'Amādiyā	25	1	0	'Ainā d'Nūne	20	1	1
Deirī	12	0	1	Hayyat	5	1	1
Komāne	13	0	1	Beṭ Shmiyāye	6	1	1
Dirgīni	40	2	1	Dūre	20	4	2
Bilejān	8	0	0	Helwā	7	1	1
Bebādi	20	1	1	Malaktā	5	0	0
Hamziyyā	6	0	1	'Aqrī	20	1	1
Dehe	10	0	1	Beṭ Balōkā	10	1	1
Tarshīsh	20	1	1	Hayyis	15	1	1
Jdīdā	5	0	0	Qārū	10	1	1
Beṭ Kolke	5	0	0	'Alih	2	0	1
Tūtā Shamāyā	10	0	0	Bāsh	12	1	1
Māyā	15	0	0	Wīlā	10	1	1
Derishke	15	0	0	Total	348	18	20

(b) Topographical Survey

Relatively few manuscripts have survived from the Berwārī region, and as a result far less is known about its East Syrian villages than the neighbouring Chaldean villages in the diocese of 'Amādiyā. Although the monastery of Mār Qayyōmā near Dūre and the Ṣapnā villages of Deirī, Bebādi and Komāne are mentioned before the fourteenth century, the villages to the north of 'Amādiyā in the Berwārī region proper are not, though they probably also existed at an early period. So little is known generally about the villages in the diocese of Dāsen, that the absence of early references to the Berwārī villages need not be significant.

The church or 'monastery' of Mār Qayyōmā near the village of Dūre was an important site in the region. It seems to have been founded in the fourth century, and is first mentioned in the tenth century in the *Life of Rabban Joseph Busnāyā*. It is mentioned in the report of 1610, and by then seems to have become the seat of the bishops of Berwārī, which it remained until the nineteenth century, when it was visited by Grant and Badger¹¹³. Four manuscripts have survived from the monastery: the first copied in 1224 by the priest Ṭiṭōs, son of David, son of Turkān, son of Abū Naṣr, for a patron in the Mosul village of Beṭ Bōre; the second copied in 1602 by the bishop Yahballāhā of Berwārī; the third copied in 1817 by the scribe Haydeni of

¹¹³ Grant, *Nestorians*, 52; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 382.

Gissā; and the fourth in 1829 by the bishop Īshō'yahb of Berwārī¹¹⁴. The village of Dūre, which also had a church dedicated to Mār Gīwārgis, is mentioned in a manuscript of 1683, copied at Arāden for its priest Aqad¹¹⁵. The nearby village of Hayyat had a church dedicated to Mār Gīwārgis¹¹⁶.

Seven manuscripts have survived from other villages in Berwārī and in the neighbouring Pinyānīsh and Nerwā districts. A manuscript was copied in 1545 by the scribe Darwīsh, son of Yōḥannān, of 'Aqrī¹¹⁷. Two manuscripts were copied in the Nerwā village of Qārū in 1557 and 1562, the first by the priest Nathaniel and the second by the bishop Yahballāhā of Berwārī, both natives of the Pinyānīsh village of Azyānīsh¹¹⁸. A manuscript was copied in the village of Helwā in 1716 by the priest 'Abdīshō' of Alqōsh¹¹⁹. A manuscript was commissioned in 1831 by the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Berwārī for the church of Mār Peṭiōn in Hayyis, and another was copied in Mazrā'ā in the Ṭhūmā district in 1833 for the priest Daniel of the Nerwā village of Wīlā¹²⁰. A manuscript was acquired at an unknown date by the deacon Aiwāz, son of Rāshō, of the village of Hūwāsān (perhaps the modern village of Shūwash) in the Pinyānīsh district¹²¹.

The oppressive conditions under which the East Syrians of Berwārī lived in the nineteenth century were mentioned by Badger in 1842 and 1850 and by Isabella Bird in 1891¹²². Perhaps unsurprisingly, the petition of 1868 was signed by a good number of clerics from the Berwārī region: the priests Thomas and Yōḥannān of Dūre; the priest David and the deacon Joseph of 'Aqrī; and the priests Ōsha'nā, Hormizd, Abraham, Isaac, Shlemūn, Yōḥannān, and Ḥāmīs from other villages in the region.

(IV) THE 'AQRĀ REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

Before the fourteenth century the 'Aqrā region was part of the diocese of Margā, one of the suffragan dioceses in the metropolitan province of

¹¹⁴ MSS Paris BN Syr 354, Seert (Scher) 60 and 117, and Dawrā Syr 484.

¹¹⁵ MS Dawrā Syr 26.

¹¹⁶ DeKelaita, 'Eiyat's Comeback: An Assyrian Artist Brings Back Destroyed Assyrian Villages on Canvas', *Nineveh*, 17, 3 (1994), 6.

¹¹⁷ MS Bāṭnāyā (Haddād) 35.

¹¹⁸ MSS Ūrmī 73 and Berlin Syr 82.

¹¹⁹ MS Ūrmī 52.

¹²⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 310 and Mingana Syr 570C.

¹²¹ MS Mingana Syr 103.

¹²² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 211, and 381-2; and Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 295-6.

Adiabene¹²³. This diocese, frequently mentioned in Thomas of Margā's *Book of Governors*, included the districts of Sapsāpā (the Navkur plain south of 'Aqrā, on the east bank of the Khāzīr river), Ṭalānā and Nahlā d'Malkā (two valleys around the upper course of the Khāzīr river), and Beṭ Rustāqā (the Gōmel valley); and probably also several villages in the Zibār district. The diocese is first mentioned in the eighth century (the region was probably in the diocese of Beṭ Nūhadrā previously), and several of its bishops are mentioned between the eighth century and the first half of the thirteenth century. By the second half of the thirteenth century the names of two villages in the Gōmel valley, Tellā and Barbellī (Billān), were also included in the title of the diocese. Two bishops of Tellā and Barbellī are known from the second half of the thirteenth century and a third, Iṣhō'yahb, was present at the synod of Timothy II in 1318. The diocese is not mentioned thereafter, and no other bishops are known from the 'Aqrā region until the nineteenth century.

The Diocese of 'Aqrā

[Fiey, *AC*, i. 264-7; *POCN*, 51-2]

As far as is known, neither the Mosul nor the Qūdshānīs patriarchate had a bishop for the 'Aqrā region until the nineteenth century. The colophons of the surviving manuscripts from the 'Aqrā region invariably mention the Mosul patriarchs of the Eliyā line, and there is no evidence that the Qūdshānīs patriarchs took any interest in the region before the 1830s. Most of the villages in the 'Aqrā region were still traditionalist at the beginning of the nineteenth century (though the Zibār villages of Arenā and Barzāne had Catholic communities before the end of the eighteenth century), and determined efforts by the Chaldean church to convert them to Catholicism in the 1830s shook their traditional loyalty, enabling the Qūdshānīs patriarchate to exercise some influence in the region for a short period.

The 'Aqrā region had a number of Catholic communities by the end of the eighteenth century, which were included in the Chaldean diocese of 'Amādiyā. Two unsuccessful attempts were made by Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd to give the region its own Chaldean bishop in the 1830s. In 1834, in an attempt to preserve the patriarchal succession in his own family, he sent his nephew Eliyā Sefārō to Ūrmī in 1834, where he was consecrated bishop of 'Aqrā by the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham. Shortly afterwards Eliyā made a Catholic profession of faith and 'was received into the bosom of the Chaldean church'. His consecration was not recognised by the Vatican, and he was suspended. In 1835

¹²³ Fiey, *AC*, i. 225-35; and *POCN*, 108-9.

he was absolved and sent to Tel Isqōf as a priest¹²⁴. The incident was notorious, and Badger's contemporary account is to be preferred to an alternative tradition preserved by Tfinkdji, who stated that Eliyā was consecrated at Qūdshānīs in 1829, and that the patriarch's motive was to harass his old enemy, the metropolitan of 'Amādiyā Joseph Audō¹²⁵.

Soon afterwards Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd consecrated a metropolitan named Abraham for the 'Aqrā region, who went over to the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham in 1847. In 1850 he was residing in the monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō' near Nerem, and was in charge of a diocese of fifteen villages in the 'Aqrā region¹²⁶. He is not mentioned again, and as 'Aqrā was not included in the dioceses of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate in 1877 by Cutts, it seems likely that the region had by then returned to its traditional allegiance. In 1852 Eliyā Sefārō was again consecrated for 'Aqrā, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō, and a stable Chaldean diocese in the region was finally established. According to a contemporary note in a manuscript from the 'Aqrā region, Eliyā Sefārō died in Herpā two years after his consecration, on 22 September 1854, and was buried in the village¹²⁷. This date is probably to be preferred to Tfinkdji's statement (followed by Fiey), that he died in 1863.

He was succeeded by Yōḥannān Eliyā Mellus, who was consecrated on 5 June 1864 by Joseph VI Audō. In 1874 Mellus was sent to India during the Malabar schism, and did not return to Kurdistan until 1882. He remained nominally bishop of 'Aqrā during this period, but was under suspension until 1889, and for several years after his return lived in Mosul. In 1889 he made his submission to pope Leo XIII, and in 1890 was transferred to the diocese of Mardīn by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān. He was succeeded by Ya'qōb Yōḥannān Sahhar, patriarchal vicar of Basra since 1887, who was consecrated for 'Aqrā on 25 March 1893. At the synod of Alqōsh in 1894 the newly-elected patriarch 'Abdīshō V Ḥayyāt asked to retain Eliyā Joseph Ḥayyāt, bishop-designate of 'Amādiyā, as his patriarchal vicar, and the dioceses of 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā were temporarily united under Ya'qōb Yōḥannān Sahhar, who was responsible for the united diocese from 23 April 1895 until his death in 1909. Between 1910 and 1945 the diocese was administered by a patriarchal vicar.

In 1850 the traditionalist diocese of 'Aqrā included eleven villages in the 'Aqrā region and four villages in the Gōmel valley, and contained 249

¹²⁴ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 167-8.

¹²⁵ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 168 and 392.

¹²⁶ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 498.

¹²⁷ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 83.

families, 9 priests, and 13 churches (Badger). The large villages of Khardes and Ḥerpā and several smaller villages were not included in Badger's list, probably because the majority of their inhabitants were Catholics.

Table 11: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of 'Aqrā, 1850

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Sharmen	30	2	1	'Eṣṣān	40	1	1
Shōsh	3	0	0	Ārgen	10	0	1
Nerem	12	1	1	Ṭallanīṭā	6	1	1
Artūn	15	1	1	Meze	30	1	1
Beṭ Mishmish	15	0	1	Barmīn	8	0	0
Erdīl	14	1	1	Ādeḥ	15	0	0
Beṭ Kōlā	20	0	1	Harmāshe	15	0	1
Name not known	16	1	1	Total	249	9	13

The Chaldean diocese of 'Aqrā had a population of 2,718 Chaldeans, with 17 priests, in 1867 (Martin); 1,000 Chaldeans, with 8 priests and 12 churches, in 1896 (Chabot); and 2,390 Chaldeans, with 16 priests and 10 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). All of the villages listed in the traditionalist diocese in 1850 (apart from the Zibār villages of Erdīl and Beṭ Kōlā) had Catholic communities in 1913, but the process of conversion was far from complete. Eleven villages in the diocese of 'Aqrā in 1896, and the last nine villages listed by Tfinkdji in 1913, were 'semi-Nestorian'.

Table 12: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of 'Aqrā, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
'Aqrā	250	2	1	Dūre	50	1	1
Ḥerpā	200	1	1	Artūn	100	1	0
Khardes	120	1	0	Beṭ Mishmish	150	0	1
Nerem	100	1	1	Beṭ Nūrā	80	0	0
Sharmen	250	1	1	Gweṣṣā	60	0	0
Shāhwīpalān	120	1	0	Guppā	40	0	0
Gōrgōran	80	1	0	Barzāne	90	1	0
Nūhāwā	150	1	1	Beṭ Sāpre	30	0	0
Arenā	300	2	1	Mallabarwān	120	1	1
Ṣanāyā	100	1	1	Total	2,390	16	10

(b) Topographical Survey

The Christian topography of the 'Aqrā region before the fourteenth century is known in unusually fine detail. The East Syrian monasteries of Rabban Bar 'Idtā and Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe were both in the 'Aqrā region, then known as Margā, and the seventh-century *History of Rabban Bar 'Idtā* and Thomas of Margā's ninth-century *Book of Governors* supply the names of a large number of nearby monasteries and villages.

There were more than twenty monasteries in the Margā region in the ninth century. Besides the important monasteries of Rabban Bar 'Idtā, a few miles to the south of Beṭ Ḥlāpe (modern Ḥelapt), and Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe, four miles to the south of Gapīṭā (modern Guppā), there were three other monasteries in the Sapsāpā district: the monastery of Bar Ṭūrā, near the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe; the monastery of Rabban Cyprian near the village of Nerem; and the monastery of Mār Ṭshō'rahmā near the village of Betmā to the east of 'Aqrā. There was a 'great monastery' in either the Naḥlā d'Malkā or Ṭalānā district. In the Beṭ Rustāqā district (the Gōmel valley and the plain to its south, now known as Shemkān) there was a monastery of Mār Gregory near the village of Barbellī (Billān); a monastery of Mār Abā near Beṭ Ṣāṭi; a monastery of Mār Ḥnānīshō' near Ḥṭārā; a monastery of Abbā Ḥbishā near Ḥennes; and a monastery of Mār Ṭṭallāhā near Lālish. Several other monasteries are also mentioned in these sources, which cannot now be confidently localised: the monastery of Barṣīl, in the 'province of Gārīn'; the monastery of the Head (Dairā d'Rīshā); the monastery of Qōrī; the monastery of Mār Abraham of Reshā; the monastery of Mār Addāi, also known as the monastery of Rāmā; the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā; the monastery of Mār Ephrem; the monastery of Mār Isaac, near the village of Harbai; the monastery of Mār Yōḥannān, near the village of Nerab Barzai; and the monastery of Shāmīrā. Very little is known of most of these monasteries and, with two exceptions, none are mentioned after the tenth century.

The reports of 1607 and 1610 mentioned four 'monasteries' in the 'Aqrā region: Mār 'Abdīshō' (the church of the village of Nerem), Rabban Bar 'Idtā, Mār 'Yazdit', and Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe. The monasteries of Rabban Bar 'Idtā and Mār 'Yazdit' are not otherwise mentioned, but there is some evidence for continuing activity in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe after the ninth century. Three surviving manuscripts indicate that the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb was still functioning in the thirteenth century: a manuscript was copied for

its use by a scribe of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1208; a manuscript was copied in the monastery in 1218 by the monk Yahballāhā, at the request of the bishop 'Abdīshō' of Margā, for the village of Beṭ Bōzi; and a manuscript was copied in 1288/9 by an unnamed monk of the monastery in the nearby village of Artūk, 'near Ḥirtā' (a locality also associated with the monastery in 1208)¹²⁸. Nothing is known of the monastery's history between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries: a history of the Yezidis published during the First World War was once believed to have been copied in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb in 1451/2 by the monk Rāmīshō' for his friend Joseph, a monk of the monastery of Mār Mīkhā'īl of Tar'īl near Erbil, but the attribution is unlikely to be genuine¹²⁹. The report of 1610 mentioned that 'there are thirty-eight tombs of the saints in its martyrion, and seventy bishops have so far been buried there, though at present we only go there rarely to celebrate mass, on account of our feebleness'. The monastery is not mentioned again.

The monastic histories also mentioned over sixty East Syrian villages either in the Margā region or not far beyond it, some of which still had Christian communities in 1913. The histories often indicate at least the approximate locality of these villages, and many of their names remain recognisable today. As a result, thirty villages can be either precisely or approximately localised: Bāshōsh, Beṭ Qardāgh, Beṭ Ḥlāpe (Ḥelapt), Beṭ Ṭhūnaī, 'Eqrā ('Aqrā), Gār Kāhne, Ḥabbushtā, Ḥerpā, Khardes, Māyā Qarīre, Nīram d'Ra'awātā (Nerem), Qōb (Qūb), Resh 'Ainā (Ra's al-'Ain), Shalmaṭ (Sharmen), and Shōsh in the Sapsāpā district; Barbellī (Billān), Beṭ 'Ainātā, Beṭ 'Edraī, Beṭ Rastaq (Berestek), Beṭ Ṣāti, Birtā, Ḥennes, Ḥetrā (Ḥītrā), Lālish, and Tellā in the Shemkān district; Awāḥ (Avōke) and Ṣeyān ('Eṣṣān) in the Ṭalānā district; Dūre and Gapītā (Guppā) in the Nahlā d'Malkā; and Barzāne in the Zibār district. The names of the other villages (some of which, like Beṭ Zākhō, probably to be identified with the modern town of Zākhō, may have been outside the Margā region) cannot be readily matched with any of the modern villages in and around the 'Aqrā region.

¹²⁸ MSS Harvard Syr 141, Dublin (Chester Beatty) 704, and BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 29.

¹²⁹ Nau and Tfinkdji, 'Recueil des textes et des documents sur les Yézidis', *ROC*, 20 (1915-17), 142-200 and 225-75.

Table 13: Ninth-Century East Syrian Communities in the Margā Region

Name	Name	Name	Name	Name
'Ain Barqe	Beṭ Hakhryanā	Beṭ Rastaq	Ḥabbushtā	Nīram d'Ra'awātā
Arđōd	Beṭ Ḥabbā	Beṭ Ṣāti	Ḥarbaī	Prāt
Awāḥ	Beṭ Ḥlāpe (Ḥlaptā)	Beṭ Talaī	Ḥennes	Qōb (Qōp)
Bābtā	Beṭ Ḥūrnīyā	Beṭ Tarshmāye	Ḥerpā	Resh 'Ainā
Barbellī	Beṭ Kartwāye	Beṭ Ṭhūnaī	Ḥetrā	Ṣawrā
Barzāhe	Beṭ Kshāye	Beṭ Zākhō	Ḥrbaṭ Nespā	Ṣeyān
Barzāne	Beṭ Kūshā	Beṭ Zīwā	Ḥrbaṭ Shnōnītā	Shalmaṭ
Bāshōsh	Beṭ Mgūshe	Birtā	Khardes	Shōsh
Beṭ 'Ainātā	Beṭ Marūt	Dūre	Lālish	Tel al-Ḥāte
Beṭ 'Arbātā	Beṭ Narqōs	Eqrā	Maqqabtā	Tellā
Beṭ Āsā	Beṭ Ōbhīd	Gapītā (Guptā)	Māyā Qarīre	Tīdōr
Beṭ Bar Shīrā	Beṭ Qadshāye	Gār Kāhne	Nahermeshi	Yazdinābād
Beṭ 'Edraī	Beṭ Qardāgh	Gūbe	Nerab Barzaī	

The significance of the Margā region as a centre of East Syrian Christianity in the ninth century and earlier is indicated by the large number of East Syrian monasteries and villages mentioned in the monastic histories. A striking passage in the *Book of Governors* also describes how schools were founded in a number of monasteries and villages in the Margā region by the eighth-century reformer Rabban Bābaī. Evidently the importance of education was recognised by several influential East Syrians in the region, and at least some villages were sufficiently prosperous to maintain schools:

When this blessed man had come to the country of Margā, he first of all gathered together the scholars and founded the *hūdṛā*, and revised and corrected the sections. He next built a school in Bāshōsh, a village of Sapsāpā, and after this another in the monastery of Barṣīl, in the province of Gārīn, another in the monastery of Shāmīrā, another in the monastery of Qōrī, another in 'Eqrā, another in Khardes, another in Shalmaṭ, another in Beṭ 'Edraī, another in Ḥītrā, another in Maqqabtā, another in Ṣawrā d'Nīram d'Ra'awātā, another in Qōb, another in Nerab Barzaī, another in Gūbe, another in the monastery of Mār Ephrem, another in the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā, another in Māyā Qarīre, another in Beṭ Āsā, another in Beṭ Ṣāti, another in Beṭ Qardāgh, another in Ḥennes, another in Beṭ Rastaq, another in Beṭ Narqōs, and another in Beṭ Tarshmāye¹³⁰.

¹³⁰ *Book of Governors*, 296-7.

This prosperity did not last. Few of the Margā villages named in the monastic histories are mentioned again, and it is very probable that by the fourteenth century the only East Syrian villages which remained in the 'Aqrā region were the twenty or thirty villages which survived into the nineteenth century. In 1913 there were Chaldean communities in 'Aqrā itself and in eighteen nearby villages. These included seven villages in the Sapsāpā district (Sharmen, Nerem, Khardes, Herpā, Gōrgōran, Mallabarwān, and Nūhāwā); one village in the Shemkān district (Beṭ Sāpre); six villages in the Naḥlā d'Malkā (Gweṣṣā, Dūre, Artūn, Beṭ Mishmish, Guppā, and Ṣanāyā); three villages in the Zibār district (Arenā, Barzāne, and perhaps Beṭ Nūrā, which cannot readily be localised); and the outlying village of Shāhwīpālān near Shaqlāwā. At a slightly earlier period there were also East Syrian communities in the Sapsāpā villages of Shōsh (a mainly-Jewish village), Resh 'Ainā, and Ḥarjāwā, and the Ṭalānā villages of 'Āṭūsh, Ārgen, 'Eṣṣān and Ṭallanītā. Some of these villages were included in the traditionalist diocese of 'Aqrā in 1850, and may still have been traditionalist villages in 1913; but Resh 'Ainā, 'Āṭūsh and Ḥarjāwā certainly had Catholic communities in the nineteenth century, and it is not clear why they were not included in Tfinkdji's 1913 statistics. Many of these villages are mentioned in several surviving manuscripts copied between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and some (particularly the group of villages just to the west of 'Aqrā in the Sapsāpā district) were also mentioned in the early monastic histories. There were also two traditionalist villages in the Zibār district, Erdil and Beṭ Kōlā. Erdil is not mentioned before the nineteenth century but Beṭ Kōlā had an East Syrian community in the sixteenth century.

'Aqrā

[Fiey, AC, i. 264-7]

The small town of 'Aqrā (Thomas of Margā's 'Eqrā) had both East and West Syrian communities in the nineteenth century, with an East Syrian church of Mart Maryam and a West Syrian church of Mār Gīwārgīs. The town had 30 Chaldean families in 1840 (Grant); 150 Chaldeans in 1852 (Marchi), and 250 Chaldeans in 1913 (Tfinkdji).

Little is known of the history of 'Aqrā's East Syrian community before 1695, when a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh for its church of Mart Maryam by the deacon Hormizd¹³¹. A manuscript was also

¹³¹ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 41.

copied at Alqōsh around 1785 by the priest Hōmō, son of Ḥannā, for the priest Joseph of 'Aqrā, and another was bought in 1787 by the deacon Abraham, son of the deacon Khidr, son of the priest Abraham, of 'Aqrā, from the deacon Hindī, son of the broker Hormizd¹³².

Several Catholic manuscripts were copied for the church of Mart Maryam in the nineteenth century on the initiative of the priest Joseph, brother of the priest Shem'ōn and son of the deacon Isha'yā, son of the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Joseph (probably the eighteenth-century priest already mentioned). They included a manuscript copied in 1859 by the scribe David of Barzāne at the expense of the priest Joseph and Peter, son of Jem'ā, son of Yaldā, Ḥannā, son of Bākhō, Gīwārgīs, son of Zōrō, and Ḥannā, son of Zayā; another manuscript by David of Barzāne, copied in 1832 and later bought for the church of Mart Maryam by the priest Joseph and the believers Peter and Nīsān; and a manuscript copied for the church in 1873 by the priest Joseph¹³³. Joseph also made a number of Syriac translations of Arabic hymns, which survive in two manuscripts of 1855, one in his own hand which includes a note mentioning the Crimean War, and another copied in Barzāne by the scribe Ya'qōb, son of the priest Kānūn¹³⁴.

Two other manuscripts have survived from 'Aqrā: a manuscript of 1706 from Alqōsh which later belonged to 'the Chaldean' Rāfō, son of Rāfō; and a Catholic manuscript of 1783 later bought by the believer Paul, 'of the family of the deacon Maṣṣūr'¹³⁵.

Villages in the Sapsāpā District

[Fiey, AC, i. 249-69]

Four manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mart Maryam in Khardes (or Ḥardes) from Telkepe and Alqōsh between 1715 and 1720 by the chief David, son of Iskander, and the priest Gabriel¹³⁶. Three manuscripts were also copied for the same church in 1756 and 1757: the first commissioned from Alqōsh in 1756 by Joseph, son of Mattā, of Khardes; the second copied in Khardes on 8 September 1757 by the priest Denḥā, son of the priest Eliyā, son of the priest Yaldā, of the Naṣrō family of Alqōsh; and the third also copied in the village just over a week later by Denḥā's brother, the priest Joseph of Alqōsh, at the request of an unnamed priest and the believer Yōḥannān, son of Shāhō¹³⁷. In the nine-

¹³² MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 44 and Dawrā Ar 10.

¹³³ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 15, 19, and 21.

¹³⁴ MSS 'Aqrā (Vosté) 63 and 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 96.

¹³⁵ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 10 and 23.

¹³⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 224, Mardīn (Scher) 24, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 65, and NDS (Vosté) 164.

¹³⁷ MSS 'Aqrā (Vosté) 3 (part), Mīngana Syr 568B, and 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 59.

teenth century a manuscript was copied in 'Aīnqāwā in 1841 by the scribe David of Barzāne for the priest David, son of Gīwārgīs, of Khardes, and four others were copied in Khardes by the same scribe (who lived in the village for several years) between 1854 and 1869¹³⁸.

A manuscript was copied in 'Aīnqāwā by the scribe David of Barzāne for the church of Mart Maryam in Ḥerpā (or Kherpā) in 1844, at the request of the priests David and Mūsā; and another was commissioned from Mosul in 1853 for the same church by Elyā Sefārō, bishop of 'Aqrā¹³⁹. Elyā Sefārō died in Ḥerpā in the following year, and was buried in the village¹⁴⁰. In 1868 Ḥerpā was attacked by the Zibārī Kurds. At that time it had four priests, and the priest Mūsā was killed in the attack¹⁴¹. The neighbouring village of Resh 'Aīnā (Rā's al-'Aīn) also had a small Chaldean community, with a church, in the nineteenth century¹⁴².

Four manuscripts, all copied by the scribe Yaldā, son of the priest Daniel, of the Naṣrō family of Alqōsh, were commissioned for the church or 'monastery' of Mār 'Abdīshō' in the village of Nerem between 1693 and 1725: in 1693 by the chief Shem'ōn, son of Khūdādā; in 1698 by the chief Shem'ōn and the priest Gabrō (Gabriel), son of Ḥōshābā; and in 1700 and 1725 by the priest Gabrō alone¹⁴³. The church is mentioned in the report of 1610 as the 'monastery' of Mār 'Abdīshō' in the 'Aqrā region. The village of Nerem was visited by Badger in 1850 (who called it by its Kurdish name, Günduk), and he mentioned that the 'convent' of Mār 'Abdīshō' was the residence of the traditionalist bishop Abraham of 'Aqrā, and had recently been restored by him¹⁴⁴.

The village of Shalmaṭ (modern Sharmen) was among the villages mentioned by Thomas of Margā, and a thirteenth-century manuscript has survived from the village, purchased in 1272 by Abraham, son of Yōḥannān, son of Yaldā, of Shalmaṭ¹⁴⁵. Eight manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mār Aḥḥā in Shalmaṭ in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: in 1614 by an unknown donor; in 1678 by the priest Hormizd and his son the priest Sābā; in 1690 by the deacon Ḥōshābā, son of the deacon Iṣhō'; in 1723 by the chief Yaldā and the priests Hormizd and Yaldā, at

¹³⁸ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 15 and 88, Dawrā Syr 23 and 728, and CUA Hyvemat Syr 14.

¹³⁹ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 14 and 'Aqrā (Vosté) 30.

¹⁴⁰ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 83.

¹⁴¹ Fiey, *AC*, i. 249-50.

¹⁴² Fiey, *AC*, i. 250-1.

¹⁴³ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 9, 31, 49, and 73.

¹⁴⁴ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 389-91.

¹⁴⁵ MS BM Syr (Wright) 1361.

the expense of the villagers Ḥanne and Kammō and their wives Sārā and Maryam; in 1727 by the priest Ḥannā, visitor of the patriarch Elyā XII, and the priest Hormizd; in 1740 by Merot, daughter of the priest Hormizd; in 1766 by the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Thomas, and his nephew Elyā, son of Bādā; and in 1787 by the chief Gīwārgīs, son of Zāhyā, son of the chief Thomas¹⁴⁶. The manuscript of 1740 was copied for 'the churches of Mār Aḥḥā and Mār Sābā', and the church of Mār Sābā may have been one of the three churches in the village mentioned by Badger. Badger mentioned that the village was 'entirely Nestorian' in 1850, but by 1913 it was included in the Chaldean diocese of 'Aqrā¹⁴⁷.

Three manuscripts were copied in the village of Nūhāwā (or Nūwābā) in the second half of the nineteenth century: in 1869 by the scribe Ya'qōb Naggārā, son of the priest Kānūn, of Barzāne; and in 1894 and 1895 by his son the priest Gīwārgīs¹⁴⁸.

A manuscript was copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1917 for the priest Mīkhā'īl of Mallabarwān, who may have been the village's priest in 1913¹⁴⁹.

The village of Ḥarjāwā had a small Chaldean community in the nineteenth century, with a church of Mār Joseph, and other villages to the east of 'Aqrā were formerly Christian. Fiey observed the ruins of churches in 1961 near the villages of Bāsh Qāl, Jōnā, Zanṭā, Ḥānāgā, Bejīl, Kalati (where there are two ruined churches), and Nerwā; the ruins of a monastery of Mār Quriāqōs above the village of Qaluntā; and the ruins of another monastery near the village of Beḥmā on the Great Zāb.¹⁵⁰

Villages in the Ṭalānā District

[Fiey, *AC*, i. 311-14]

A manuscript was commissioned in 1753 for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Ārgen by the priest Abraham, son of Hormizd, and the priest Jeremy of Ārgen, son of the priest Isaac, composed an *Office for the Feast of Mār Zay'ā* at an unknown date¹⁵¹.

A manuscript was commissioned in 1745 for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in 'Āṭūsh by David, son of Kānūn; and a Catholic manuscript from the same church was repaired during the patriarchate of Joseph VI

¹⁴⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 589 and 620, Cambridge Add. 1989, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 13, 73, and 93, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 66, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *AC*, i. 261).

¹⁴⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 389.

¹⁴⁸ MSS 'Aqrā (Vosté) 17 and 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 53 and 91.

¹⁴⁹ MS NDS (Vosté) 207 (part).

¹⁵⁰ Fiey, *AC*, i. 267-9.

¹⁵¹ Two manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *AC*, i. 311, and *Ṣapnā*, 60).

Audō (1848-78) at the expense of the chief Yaldā¹⁵². A manuscript was copied at 'Āṭūsh in 1868 by the monk Ya'qōb, son of Ṣawmō, of Piyōz¹⁵³.

A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār Quriāqōs and Mār Zaddīqā in the village of 'Eṣṣān in 1715 by the priest Awrō and the believer Ṣlībā; and a manuscript copied in Dizzi in 1852 was donated to the same church by the priest Markhāye, son of the priest Shem'ōn¹⁵⁴.

Four manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār Quriāqōs in Tallanītā in the eighteenth century: in 1700 by Denhā, son of Hōshābō; in 1731 and 1745 by his grandson, the priest Ayyar, son of the priest Nīsān; and in 1756 by his great-grandson, the priest Eliyā¹⁵⁵.

Villages in the Naḥlā d'Malkā

[Fiey, AC, i. 305-7]

A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Ṣanāyā d'Naḥlā in 1696 by its priest 'Abdīshō¹⁵⁶. The nineteenth-century scribe David of Barzāne lived in Ṣanāyā between 1858 and 1863 and mentioned a Kurdish raid on the village during his residence, which forced the villagers to abandon the village for several weeks. A manuscript (later in the possession of the church of Mart Maryam in 'Aqrā) was copied in Ṣanāyā d'Naḥlā in 1885 by the scribe Zay'ā, son of Hormizd, the priest of the neighbouring village of Artūn¹⁵⁷.

A manuscript was commissioned for the church of Mart Maryam in Beṭ Mishmish in 1741 by its priest Bahrīn¹⁵⁸.

Two manuscripts copied in Alqōsh have survived from the village of Guppā: one commissioned for the village's church of Mart Maryam in 1708 by the deacon Sābā and his son the priest Māmā; and another commissioned for its church of Mār Shaddad in 1766 by the believers Nāze, daughter of Shmūni, and David, son of Hōshō¹⁵⁹.

A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Artūn in 1735 by 'Ishō', son of Abraham¹⁶⁰. Another manuscript

¹⁵² Two manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 311-2).

¹⁵³ MS Dawrā Syr 328.

¹⁵⁴ Two manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 312).

¹⁵⁵ MS Dawrā Syr 503 and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 311).

¹⁵⁶ A manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 306).

¹⁵⁷ MS 'Aqrā (Vosté) 14.

¹⁵⁸ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 72.

¹⁵⁹ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 11 and 76.

¹⁶⁰ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 12.

was copied in Khardes by the scribe David of Barzāne for the same church in 1858, at the request of its priest Zay'ā, son of Hormizd, nephew of 'Abdīshō', of Artūn (who himself copied a manuscript in Ṣanāyā d'Naḥlā in 1885), and a third, copied in 1810, was later bought for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs by Shmūni, daughter of Hormizd Denhā, of Artūn¹⁶¹.

The villages of Dūre and Gweṣṣā had churches dedicated to Mart Shmūni and Mār Sābā respectively. The priest Isaac of Gweṣṣā entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1823.

Several other villages in the valley seem also to have been Christian at one time. According to local observations made by Fiey, the village of Dōdi Jor had a church dedicated to Mār Sābā, in ruins by 1962. There were also other ruined churches in the villages of Mazringan, Membarre, Serātā, Dūpere, Dōdi Jeri, Guske, Heshtkā, Kashkāwā, Chamesene and Amādān.

Villages in the Zibār District

[Fiey, AC, i. 169-70; ii. 471, 807]

There were two East Syrian villages in the Zibār district in the nineteenth century, Arenā and Barzāne, and two other villages in the valley of the Rudbar-i-Shin to its north, Erdil and Beṭ Kōlā, included by Badger in the traditionalist diocese of 'Aqrā in 1842. Arenā and Barzāne were dependent on the Eliyā line after the schism of 1552, and were converted to Catholicism in 1790 by the metropolitan Mattai Shem'ōn of 'Amādiyā¹⁶². The remoter villages of Beṭ Kōlā and Erdil to the east of the Great Zāb preserved the traditional faith until the First World War.

The village of Arenā is not reliably mentioned before the nineteenth century. A copy of a fifteenth-century history of the Yezidis is said to have been made in 1588 by the deacon Ōsha'nā, son of Thomas, of Arenā, then living in the village of Beṭ Sāpre, but it is doubtful whether this attribution is genuine¹⁶³. The three surviving nineteenth-century manuscripts from the village are all Catholic: a manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1829 for Paul, son of Sharbati; a manuscript of 1809 from Alqōsh bought by the deacon Thomas of the Kōmā family in 1849; and a manuscript copied at an unknown date in the nineteenth century by Mattā, son of Mspar, son of Nīsān¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 728 and 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 4.

¹⁶² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 135.

¹⁶³ Nau and Tfinkdji, 'Recueil des textes et des documents sur les Yézidis, *ROC*, 20 (1915-17), 142-200 and 225-75.

¹⁶⁴ MSS Vat Syr 573, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 33, and 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 26.

The monk Samuel of Arenā entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1823. The sub-deacon Isha'yā, son of Peter, son of Habil, son of the priest Gabriel, son of Mīr Kezem, of the Mīr Sharīf family of Arenā, a monk of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, had an exceptionally long scribal career between 1844 and 1905. He copied a manuscript in the village of Girik Bedrō in the Gāzartā region in 1844; a manuscript in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1870; a series of manuscripts in the two Alqōsh monasteries between 1873 and 1893 as a monk; and a manuscript in the 'Aqrā village of Mallabarwān in 1905¹⁶⁵. Another monk from the village, Thomas, son of Nīsān Gōgū, also copied a manuscript in one of the Alqōsh monasteries in 1894¹⁶⁶.

The village of Barzāne is mentioned in the *Life of Rabban Bar 'Idtā*, but nothing is known of its history until the eighteenth century. Manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for its church of Mār Gīwārgīs in 1705 by the priests Ḥannā and Nīsān and the believer Abraham; and for its church of Mart Maryam in 1706 by Shōnā, daughter of Ōsha'nā, and her mother Nasrat, and in 1710 by the priest Gāwō¹⁶⁷.

Barzāne was converted to Catholicism before the end of the eighteenth century, and a large number of manuscripts were copied in the nineteenth century by four Catholic scribes from the village's Qardāhe and Naggārā families. The earliest of these scribes, the deacon Kānūn, son of Nīsān, son of Gōrgō, of the Qardāhe family, copied a manuscript in Barzāne in 1813 for the church of Beṭ Kōlā.¹⁶⁸

His nephew the priest David Qardāhe, son of Yōḥannān, son of Nīsān, was a rather more prolific scribe. He was ordained by the metropolitan of 'Amādiyā Joseph Audō in Dohuk in 1845, and seems to have died in 1871 or shortly afterwards. His arduous experiences as a travelling Chaldean priest in the villages of the diocese of 'Amādiyā, periodically harassed by the Kurdish authorities and forced to move from village to village, were recorded in the colophons of his manuscripts and several poems written towards the end of his life, and have been described by Fiey in detail¹⁶⁹. His first manuscript was copied in

¹⁶⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 61, 326, 387, 390, 487, 686, 895, and 914, Mingana Syr 574, NDS (Scher) 21, Vat Syr 498 and 500, and 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 78.

¹⁶⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 763.

¹⁶⁷ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 10, 17, and 32.

¹⁶⁸ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 18.

¹⁶⁹ Fiey, AC, i. 169-71.

the monastery of Mār Aḥḥā in the Gāzartā region in 1823, and between 1827 and 1871 he was the scribe of at least fifteen other manuscripts copied in the 'Aqrā villages of Barzāne and Khardes, 'Ainqāwā in the Erbil region, and the Shemkān village of Kanifallā¹⁷⁰. The colophon of one of these manuscripts mentions a plague in the Zibār district in 1827, in which his uncle the priest Ḥzairān of Barzāne died. Several other members of his family died during the 1850s and 1860s, including his wife, his three sons, and eleven other close relatives. The death of his last son Antony in Kānifallā in 1865 was commemorated in a number of surviving laments.

The priest Ya'qōb, son of the priest Kānūn, son of Abraham, of the Naggārā family, was ordained by Joseph Audō in Alqōsh immediately after his father's death in December 1849, and is last mentioned in 1885, when he sold two manuscripts to Samuel Giamil¹⁷¹. He copied at least fifteen manuscripts in Barzāne between 1825 and 1875 and one in the 'Aqrā village of Nūhāwā in 1869¹⁷². He also bought two manuscripts for the church of Mart Maryam in Barzāne, one in 1851 from the priest Ḥannā of Telkepe, and another in 1858¹⁷³. One of his sons, the priest Gīwārgīs, was also a scribe, and copied two manuscripts in Nūhāwā in 1894 and 1895¹⁷⁴.

Manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mār Abraham in Beṭ Kōlā in 1590 from Gāzartā by an unknown donor, and from Barzāne in 1813 by the priest Denḥā and the believer Yōnān¹⁷⁵. The village of Erdil had 12 traditionalist families and a church in 1911, and was sent a priest by the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'on XIX Benjamin shortly afterwards, after a vacancy of more than thirty years¹⁷⁶.

¹⁷⁰ MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 39, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 14, 15, 24, and 88, Dawrā Syr 23, 438, 726, 728, and 911, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 52 and 64, Telkepe (Vosté) 60 (Fiey, AC, i.169-71), CUA Hyvernat Syr 14, and manuscripts of 1860 and 1871 in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 171 and 302).

¹⁷¹ Notes in MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 71 and 75, NDS (Vosté) 152, and Dawrā Syr 84.

¹⁷² MSS Dawrā Syr 84, 112, and 625, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 47, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 21, 25, 47, 50, 54, 71, 75, 79, and 90, and 'Aqrā (Vosté) 13, 17, and 63.

¹⁷³ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 4 and 6.

¹⁷⁴ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 53 and 91.

¹⁷⁵ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 18, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 67).

¹⁷⁶ Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, 147-53.

(v) THE ERBIL REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

The ecclesiastical province of Adiabene, whose metropolitans resided in or near Erbil, was one of the five great 'interior' provinces of the Church of the East before the fourteenth century. Although the name Adiabene (Ḥdyab) strictly denoted the region between the Great and Lesser Zāb rivers, the metropolitan province of Adiabene included several dioceses north of the Great Zāb.

The province of Adiabene was established at the synod of Isaac in 410, initially with six suffragan dioceses: Beṭ Nūhadrā, Dāsen, Beṭ Bgāsh, and the unlocalised dioceses of Ramōnīn, Beṭ Mahqart, and Dabarīnōs, none of which is mentioned again¹⁷⁷. The dioceses of Beṭ Nūhadrā and Dāsen, as has already been mentioned, covered the 'Amādiyā, 'Aqrā and Berwārī regions, and the diocese of Beṭ Bgāsh the Hakkārī region to their north. In later centuries a number of other suffragan dioceses were established, including Nineveh for the villages of the Mosul plain, Ḥadītā on the Tigris below its junction with the Great Zāb, Margā for the 'Aqrā region, Ḥnītā and Ḥebtōn in the valley of the Great Zāb between 'Aqrā and Rāwandūz, Salāḥ to the east of Rāwandūz, and Taimanā for the region to the west of Mosul. The diocese of Beṭ Dārōn (tentatively localised by Fiey in the Erbil region near Shaqlāwā) and the dioceses of Ḥrbaṭ Glāl, Māḥōze d' Arewān, Shennā d' Beṭ Ramman and Beṭ Wāzīq (all in the valley of the Lesser Zāb on the borders of Beṭ Garmā) were in the Erbil region, but appear not to have been part of the metropolitan province of Adiabene. Besides Erbil itself, the only dioceses in the Erbil region still certainly in existence in the fourteenth century were Ḥnītā, Beṭ Wāzīq and Beṭ Dārōn, whose bishops 'Abdīshō', Yōḥannān and Isaac were present at the synod of Timothy II in 1318. Erbil continued as a diocese until the beginning of the seventeenth century, but the other three dioceses are not mentioned again. For most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Erbil region seems to have been without an East Syrian bishop. Its remaining East Syrian villages were converted to Catholicism around the end of the eighteenth century and were eventually included in the Chaldean diocese of Kirkūk.

¹⁷⁷ *Synodicon Orientale*, 272-3.

The Diocese of Erbil

[Fiey, AC, i. 39-97; POCN, 78-80]

Erbil lost much of its former importance with the growth of the city of Mosul in the seventh century, and the metropolitan diocese of Erbil was linked with that of Mosul for several centuries. The two dioceses were separated in the twelfth century, and a number of metropolitans of Erbil are known from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including the future patriarch Denḥā I (1265-81), who opened up the city to West Syrian settlement. The metropolitan Joseph of Erbil, earlier metropolitan of Mosul, became patriarch in 1318, taking the name Timothy II.

The diocese persisted into the seventeenth century, but only four subsequent metropolitans of Erbil are known. The metropolitan Yōḥannān Bar Yak, who flourished at an unknown date in the fourteenth century, was the author of several verses preserved in a manuscript in the Mardīn collection¹⁷⁸. In the fifteenth century the writer Ḥshō'yahb Bar Mqaddam, one of the few known East Syrian authors at this period, is mentioned as metropolitan of Erbil in 1443 and 1452, and may have taken the name Thomas¹⁷⁹. The three remaining bishops in the East Syrian hierarchy who supported Sulāqā's election in 1552 included an unnamed metropolitan of Erbil, who is not mentioned again¹⁸⁰. A metropolitan of Erbil named Shem'ōn is mentioned in the report of 1607, and was probably the city's last metropolitan. The report of 1610 mentioned merely that the territory of Eliyā VIII's patriarchate extended to Erbil.

(b) Topographical Survey

A large number of East Syrian monasteries and villages in Adiabene are mentioned in Thomas of Margā's *Book of Governors*, the *History of Rabban Sabrīshō' of Beṭ Qōqā*, the *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, and other sources. The *Chronicle of Erbil*, which despite its dubious provenance may contain reliable information about the Adiabene region, mentioned the Adiabene villages of Herdā, Raḥtā, Tallpnā, Tel Niāḥā, and Zirā, the town of Tel Dārā, and the fortress of Bdīgar. Thomas of Margā's ninth-century *Book of Governors* mentioned the Adiabene districts of Beṭ 'Ārō'e, Beṭ Bānik, Gamlāwlōḥe, and Marde, and the Salāḥ districts of Inner or Lower Salāḥ, Outer Salāḥ or Salāḥ of Narsai, Debūr, and Ḥitr; the monasteries of Bar Ḥadbshabbā near Ḥdōd, Barqā (Beṭ

¹⁷⁸ MS Mardīn (Scher) 99.

¹⁷⁹ Fiey, AC, i. 93.

¹⁸⁰ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 475-82.

Raiqānā) and Beṭ Hāle near Ḥadīṭā, Mār Sabriṣhō' (Beṭ Qōqā), Mār Īshō'zḥā, Mār Nestorius, Mār Bōkhtīshō' (Margānā), and Rabban Mār Iyyūb (the last three of which were destroyed at the end of the eighth century); the towns of Kuplānā, Kōnīshābūr (Beṭ Wāzīq), Shennā, and Māhōze d'Arewān, and the villages of Beṭ Rewai, Beṭ Ṣayyāde, Beṭ Wardā, Ḥdōd, Ḥrbaṭ Glāl, Ḥrem, and Kfar 'Uzail in Adiabene; and the villages of Beṭ Newā, Beṭ Sharōnāye, and Beṭ Wark in the Salāḥ district. Several of these localities also featured in the ninth-century *History of Mār Sabriṣhō' of Beṭ Qōqā*, and it also mentioned the monasteries of Mār Abraham of Natpar and Beṭ Shamōnā and the Adiabene villages of Ḥeṣṣā, Beṭ Ḥnīq, 'Ainā Srīṭā, Naḥshūrwan, and Shīshōḥ. Around the end of the thirteenth century Bar Hebraeus mentioned the villages of 'Amkābā ('Ainqāwā), Bar Qawṭā, Beṭ Ṣayyāde and Surhagan; and the fourteenth-century *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos* mentioned the monastery of Mār Mīkhā'il of Tar'il, near Kfar 'Uzail.

Many of these sites cannot be localised, and only the monasteries of Mār Mīkhā'il of Tar'il, Beṭ Qōqā, and Margānā, the city of Erbil, and the villages of 'Ainqāwā and Kfar 'Uzail are mentioned after 1318. Erbil itself ceased to be a Christian centre of any importance around 1610, and only the village of 'Ainqāwā appears to have retained a significant East Syrian community into the nineteenth century. East Syrian communities are also mentioned at various dates after 1318 at Shaqlāwā, Armūtā, Shirāwā, Koī Sanjaq, Gaznā, and in the Rāwandūz district (Ḥnīṭā), but it is not clear whether any of these communities existed before the fourteenth century.

The East Syrian communities of the Erbil region were dependent on the Eliyā line of patriarchs after the schism of 1552, and remained uninfluenced by Catholicism until the closing years of the eighteenth century. The villages of 'Ainqāwā, Armūtā and Shaqlāwā were converted to Catholicism by the efforts of the metropolitan Yōḥannān Hormizd in 1779¹⁸¹. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the few remaining Christian villages in the Erbil region were included in the revived Chaldean diocese of Kirkūk.

Erbil

[Fiey, AC, i. 39-97; 173-4]

The town of Erbil, for centuries an important East Syrian centre, was eclipsed by Mosul between the eighth and twelfth centuries, but regained

some of its former importance in the second half of the thirteenth century as the seat of the patriarch Denḥā I (1265-1281), who encouraged West Syrian refugees from the Mosul region to settle both in Erbil and in the nearby village of Beṭ Ṣayyāde. Erbil was the scene of a dramatic and tragic incident during the reign of Denḥā's successor Yahballāḥ III (1281-1317), which seems to have severely curtailed the influence of its Christian community. In 1310 a force of irregular Christian cavalry in the Mongol service was besieged and eventually massacred in the citadel of Erbil by an armed Moslem mob. During the siege a substantial number of innocent Christian civilians were killed, and the residence of the East Syrian metropolitan and four churches (including the East Syrian churches of Mār Īshō'sabrān and Ma'anyō) were destroyed¹⁸².

Despite this tragedy, Erbil remained the seat of an East Syrian metropolitan between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, though nothing further is heard of its West Syrian and Armenian communities. What little is known of Erbil's East Syrian community during the same period suggests that those with the opportunities to do so preferred to live elsewhere. Several manuscripts by scribes from Erbil have survived from this period, none of them copied in Erbil itself. They include manuscripts copied by the priest Nīsān in the monastery of Mār Awgin in 1448, by the deacon David in Mardīn in 1540/1, by the priest Ḥannā, son of Eliyā, son of Ḥasan, of the Sākākīnī family in Gāzartā in 1566, and by the priest Yōḥannān, son of the priest Bairam, son of Barhaimshāh, in Nisibis in 1569 and 1575¹⁸³. A manuscript was also copied at Alqōsh in 1677 for an unnamed son, possibly a bishop as he was styled 'Mār', of the priest 'Askar, son of Kujukuj, of Erbil¹⁸⁴.

Erbil had a small Chaldean community in the nineteenth century, included in the diocese of Kirkūk in 1913, for which a manuscript was copied in the town in 1878 by the monk Quriāqōs¹⁸⁵.

Monasteries in the Erbil Region

Thomas of Margā's *Book of Governors* and the other early literary sources mentioned ten monasteries in the Erbil region. Only three of these monasteries, Mār Sabriṣhō' (Beṭ Qōqā), Mār Mīkhā'il of Tar'il, and

¹⁸² *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 261-302.

¹⁸³ MSS Seert (Scher) 53, Mardīn (Scher) 10, and Diyārbakr (Scher) 54 and 84. See also Rücker, *OC*, 9 (1920), 119-21.

¹⁸⁴ MS Cambridge Add. 2018.

¹⁸⁵ MS Paris BN Syr 313 (part).

¹⁸¹ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 152.

Mār Bōkhtīshō' (Margānā), appear to have survived into the fourteenth century.

The body of the patriarch Yahballāhā III was removed from the monastery of Saint John the Baptist in Marāghā after it was 'conquered and occupied' by the Moslems, and reburied in the monastery of Mār Mīkhā'īl near Kfar 'Uzail at an unknown date in the first half of the fourteenth century, probably during the reign of Timothy II¹⁸⁶. No later manuscripts have survived from the monastery (the manuscript allegedly copied in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe in 1451/2 for the monk Joseph of the monastery of Mār Mīkhā'īl is unlikely to be genuine), and it is not mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610 or in any other source.

The seventh-century monastery of Mār Sabrīshō' (Beṭ Qōqā), just south of the Great Zāb, was still functioning in the second half of the thirteenth century. The patriarch Denḥā I (1265-81) was a monk there, and the monk Marqos, the future patriarch Yahballāhā III, visited the monastery in 1281. At some point after 1318 a monk named Rabban Brīkhīshō' Bar Shkāpe, who wrote a poem on the spiritual life of his master Samīl, was superior of the monastery¹⁸⁷. Two manuscripts were copied in the monastery by an unknown scribe in 1461¹⁸⁸. The monastery of Beṭ Qōqā is last mentioned in the report of 1610, which mentions the recent martyrdom of the monastery's superior Mār Sabrīshō', and gives the following details:

In the territory of Erbil we have the monastery of the blessed Sabrīshō', which has twenty-eight tombs of the saints in its cemetery, each of whom governed a thousand solitaires, and the wonders and many signs they performed have been recorded at great expense by the great king of the Turks in his books. In ancient times the cells of the solitaires used to extend a day's march around, but in this unhappy and degenerate age of ours the monks only live near the monastery, where they refresh all travellers with bread.

The report of 1607 also mentions the monastery of 'Bicijeso', probably to be identified from its position in the list with the monastery of Mār Bōkhtīshō' in the Erbil region, also known as Margānā. The monastery was said by Thomas of Margā to have been destroyed at the end of the eighth century, but may have been rebuilt. It is not mentioned again.

¹⁸⁶ Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, ii. 97-9.

¹⁸⁷ MSS NDS (Vosté) 149 and 200.

¹⁸⁸ MSS Cambridge Add. 616 and Seert (Scher) 50.

Shaqḷāwā

The large village of Shaqḷāwā had a church of Mār Nīhā in the nineteenth century, and Fiey also mentioned its ruined churches of Mār Yōḥannān, Mār Thomas and Mār Abraham¹⁸⁹. The village is first mentioned in the eighteenth century, when a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1731 by the pilgrim Hormizd of Shaqḷāwā, for his son Īshō', who later became a priest¹⁹⁰. This manuscript was bought by the villagers of Ma'altā around the middle of the eighteenth century, and was eventually bought back by Hormizd's grandson Mārōgin.

The monks Joseph and Tobias of Shaqḷāwā entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1809 and 1810 respectively, and several Catholic scribes and scholars from Shaqḷāwā were also active in the Alqōsh monasteries and elsewhere towards the end of the nineteenth century. The two most well-known Chaldean writers from Shaqḷāwā were undoubtedly Addāi Scher, whose distinguished career was tragically ended in 1915, and the scribe Elīyā Scher, who copied at least twenty-nine manuscripts in the Alqōsh monasteries between 1880 and 1933 and was also the author of several poems and scholarly works; but there were also a number of other monks from the village at this period. Manuscripts were copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1888 by the monk Basil, son of Joseph, son of the deacon Shem'ōn, son of the priest Ḥōshābā, of Shaqḷāwā; in 1889 by Basil's brother the priest and monk Hormizd; and in 1895 by the monk Sargīs, son of Yōnān, son of Sabrīshō', son of Iskander, of Shaqḷāwā¹⁹¹. The priest Hormizd was later sent to the Chaldean community of Sehnā in Persia, where he copied a manuscript in 1905¹⁹². The priest Addāi Šlībā of Shaqḷāwā was the author of a work *The History and Virtues of the Priest Hannā of Shaqḷāwā* in 1895, and commissioned a manuscript from Kirkūk in 1902¹⁹³.

'Aīnqāwā

[Fiey, *AC*, i. 167-72]

The village of 'Aīnqāwā, whose church was dedicated to Mār Gīwārgīs, had an East Syrian community at least as early as the tenth century, as an epitaph in the church mentions the death of the priest Hormizd in 925. The village is mentioned in the thirteenth century by Bar

¹⁸⁹ Fiey, 'Rabban Būya de Shaqḷāwā et de Jéricho', *POC*, 33 (1983), 35.

¹⁹⁰ MS Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 1.

¹⁹¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 449, 734, and 926.

¹⁹² MS Dawrā Syr 633.

¹⁹³ MSS Louvain CSCO Syr 13 and 20.

Hebraeus as the scene of a massacre of Christians in 1285 by brigands, and is also mentioned several times in the *History of Rabban Šawmā and Marqos* in connection with the events in Erbil in 1310. Thereafter nothing is known of its history for more than two centuries, but in 1562 the village was mentioned by the patriarch 'Abdīshō' IV as the seat of an East Syrian bishop dependent on the metropolitan of Erbil. A manuscript was copied in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in 'Aīnqāwā in 1701 by the scribe Hormizd, son of 'Abd al-Aḥad, of Kirkūk, for the church of Mār Tāḥmasgard in Kirkūk¹⁹⁴.

The village was converted to Catholicism by Yōḥannān Hormizd towards the end of the eighteenth century, and thereafter produced a remarkably large number of Catholic scribes and scholars. A number of Syriac translations of Catholic devotional works from Arabic were made at the end of the eighteenth century by the priest Joseph, son of Abraham and Sarah, of 'Aīnqāwā, of which the most well-known are his *Nourishment of Priests* and *Necklace of Pearls of Priests*, translated in 1795 and 1798 respectively; and the monk Habil Ḥedrā, who became priest of 'Aīnqāwā in 1895 and returned to the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences some years before his death in 1919, translated Diego de Estella's *Vanities of the World* into Syriac¹⁹⁵.

Several manuscripts were copied in the village or by scribes from the village in the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century. The deacon Francis of 'Aīnqāwā was the scribe of a manuscript of 1818¹⁹⁶. The priest Joseph, son of the deacon Isha'yā, son of the priest Hormizd, of 'Aqrā, copied a manuscript in 'Aīnqāwā in 1845¹⁹⁷. The scribe David of Barzāne copied three manuscripts in the village in 1841, 1844, and 1849¹⁹⁸. The priest Mīkhā'īl, son of 'Abdīshō', son of Gīwārgīs, of the Shānī family of 'Aīnqāwā, copied a manuscript in 1857 for the village's church of Mār Gīwārgīs¹⁹⁹. The priest Jeremy Shāmīr of 'Aīnqāwā copied at least fourteen manuscripts between 1880 and 1883 either at Mosul or in 'Aīnqāwā for Eduard Sachau, some of them translations made by himself into the 'Aīnqāwā dialect²⁰⁰. Two manuscripts

¹⁹⁴ MS Kirkūk (Vosté) 30.

¹⁹⁵ Fiey, *AC*, i. 169; and Brock, 'A Syriac Version of the Letters of Lentulus and Pilate', *OCP*, 35 (1969), 45-62.

¹⁹⁶ MS Ūrmī 188.

¹⁹⁷ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 68.

¹⁹⁸ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 14 and 88, and Dawrā Syr 438.

¹⁹⁹ MS Dawrā Syr 761.

²⁰⁰ MSS Berlin Syr 105, 117-22, 124-5, 130-3, and 135.

were copied in the school of 'Aīnqāwā in 1907 by the students Isha'yā, son of Shābō Balandar, Shem'ōnā, son of Iyyūb, of Rāwandūz, and Mārōge, son of Shābō 'Azamat, of 'Aīnqāwā, one of which was copied with the assistance of the students Eliyā and Mārbehnā²⁰¹.

Several other scribes from 'Aīnqāwā were active in the second half of the nineteenth century in one or other of the two Alqōsh monasteries. The priest and monk Anselm, son of Mārbehnā 'Azamat, son of 'Īsā, probably to be identified with the priest Anselm mentioned as vicar of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1883, copied or restored eight manuscripts in the Alqōsh monasteries between 1869 and 1877²⁰². Gīwārgīs, son of 'Antony the Chaldean', a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, copied two manuscripts in 1871 and 1872 in Mosul²⁰³. The priest Gīwārgīs, son of Ablahad, son of Jeremy, of the Siyush family of 'Aīnqāwā, copied a manuscript in 1876, probably in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences²⁰⁴. The deacon Mārōge, son of Shābō, a student in the school of 'Aīnqāwā in 1907, was later active as a monk in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, where he copied six manuscripts between 1912 and 1919²⁰⁵. The monk Denḥā, son of Thomas, was the scribe of two manuscripts of 1910 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences²⁰⁶. Finally, the monk Arsenius, son of the priest Joseph, son of the deacon Shem'ōn Kākā, of 'Aīnqāwā, copied a manuscript in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1918²⁰⁷.

Other Communities in the Erbil Region

Kfar 'Uzail, mentioned in the early literary sources, had an East Syrian community in the sixteenth century. A manuscript of 1536 from Gāzartā was donated by the priest Ḥusaini, son of 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Ḥassan, of Mosul, then living in Kfar 'Uzail, to its church or 'monastery' of Mār Addai, in the presence of the priests Shem'ōn and 'Azīz, the deacon 'Abd al-Masīḥ, the chief Ḥusaini, and the notables Ḥāmīs and Bar Asmar²⁰⁸.

²⁰¹ MS Dawrā Syr 735 and 739.

²⁰² MSS Dawrā Syr 386, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, and 528, and Dawrā Ar 61; and Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 267.

²⁰³ MSS Dawrā Ar 71 and 187.

²⁰⁴ MS Dawrā Syr 420.

²⁰⁵ MS Dawrā Syr 140, 149, 555, 613, 619, and 786.

²⁰⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 639 and 960.

²⁰⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 858.

²⁰⁸ MS Mardīn (Scher) 12.

Shirāwā, which had a church of Mart Maryam, was mentioned by 'Abdīshō' IV in 1562 as a suffragan diocese in the metropolitan province of Erbil, suggesting that it had a substantial East Syrian population at that period.

The village of Gaznā near 'Aīnqāwā, now entirely Moslem, had an East Syrian community in 1795, when a manuscript was copied by its priest Shem'ōn, son of 'Īsā, for its church of Mār Quriāqōs²⁰⁹.

The Rāwandūz district (Ḥnīṭā) had an East Syrian bishop as late as 1318, but nothing is known of the history of its East Syrian community between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. By the nineteenth century the non-Moslem minorities of the Rāwandūz district included both East Syrian Christians and Jews. In 1841 Ainsworth mentioned that there were East Syrians living in the Rāwandūz mountains, and passed through the East Syrian village of Diyānā, four miles to the north of Rāwandūz, which had a church of Mār Gīwārgīs²¹⁰. Diyānā was also mentioned as a Chaldean village by the Lazarist missionary Joseph Darnis in 1843²¹¹. Rāwandūz itself had a small Chaldean community by 1913, and the scribe Shem'ōnā, son of Iyyūb, of Rāwandūz, copied two manuscripts in 'Aīnqāwā in 1907²¹².

A small Chaldean trading community was established in the town of Koī Sanjaq in the nineteenth century, estimated at 100 Chaldeans in 1855 and 300 Chaldeans in 1912²¹³. A manuscript was copied in Koī Sanjaq in 1905 by the priest and monk Gīwārgīs, son of Kalyānā, son of Israel, of Ṭāqīān²¹⁴.

(VI) THE KIRKŪK REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

Before the fourteenth century the Kirkūk region was included in the East Syrian metropolitan province of Beṭ Garmāi, one of the five great 'provinces of the interior' of the Church of the East. Like the neighbouring metropolitan province of Adiabene, the province of Beṭ Garmāi was established at the synod of Isaac in 410, and ranked fifth

²⁰⁹ Fiey, *AC*, i, 187.

²¹⁰ Ainsworth, *Visit to the Chaldeans*, 69.

²¹¹ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 110.

²¹² MSS Dawrā Syr 735 and 739.

²¹³ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 44.

²¹⁴ MS Dawrā Syr 66.

in order of precedence, after the metropolitans of 'Īlām, Nisibis, Maishān, and Adiabene. Several bishops and metropolitans of Beṭ Garmāi are mentioned between the fourth and fourteenth centuries, residing first at Shāhrgard, at Karkā d'Beṭ Slōḥ (modern Kirkūk) by 410, later at Shāhrzūr, and finally at Dāqūqā. The last-known bishop of Beṭ Garmāi, Shem'ōn, was present at the consecration of Timothy II in 1318.

There were several suffragan dioceses in the province of Beṭ Garmāi at different periods. Within Beṭ Garmāi itself (the region between the Lesser Zāb and Diyālā rivers) there were dioceses for Radāni, Shāhrgard, Lāshōm, Ḥānījār, Shāhrzūr, and Ṭīrhān. The dioceses of Ḥrbaṭ Glāl, Māhōzā d'Arewān, and Shennā d'Beṭ Ramman in the Lesser Zāb valley, although technically in the Erbil region, seem also to have been included in the metropolitan province of Beṭ Garmāi. The seat of the bishops of Māhōzā d'Arewān was later transferred to the nearby town of Kōnīshābūr, also known as Beṭ Wāzīq, and this diocese, as has already been mentioned, still had a bishop in 1318. Within the Beṭ Garmāi region proper, however, only the metropolitan diocese of Dāqūqā and the diocese of Ṭīrhān (the district between the Tigris and Jabal Ḥamrīn) seem to have survived into the fourteenth century. The last-known bishop of Ṭīrhān, Shem'ōn, was also present at the consecration of Timothy II in 1318, and the diocese may have met its end during Timur's campaigns in the 1390s. No further bishops are recorded in the Kirkūk region until the early years of the nineteenth century, when a Catholic diocese of Kirkūk (which persists to this day) was established in the 1820s by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi. In the nineteenth century a second Catholic diocese was established for the Sehnā region in Persia, hitherto part of the diocese of Kirkūk.

The Diocese of Kirkūk

[Fiey, *AC*, iii, 17-49; *POCN*, 63-4]

Tfinkdji attributed the foundation of the Chaldean diocese of Kirkūk to Yōḥannān Hormīzd, who is said to have consecrated a metropolitan named Abraham for Kirkūk in 1789, who resided in 'Aīnqāwā during his reign and died between 1821 and 1824²¹⁵. Abraham is not mentioned by any other source, and as Yōḥannān Hormīzd himself (then considered by the Vatican to be merely metropolitan of Mosul) is styled 'metropolitan of Kirkūk' in a colophon of 1798, the Kirkūk region would seem to have been part of the

²¹⁵ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 491.

diocese of Mosul at this period²¹⁶. The diocese seems rather to have been founded by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi, who consecrated Lawrent Shō'ā of Tel Isqōf, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, metropolitan of Kirkūk in 1826 in opposition to Yōhannān Hormizd. Lawrent initially returned to Tel Isqōf, but eventually moved to Kirkūk, where he administered his diocese for 27 years. He died in Mosul on 23 August 1853 and was buried in the cathedral of Mart Meskintā.

Thereafter the succession of the metropolitans of Kirkūk is well documented, and the following details, given by Tfinkdji, are not in dispute²¹⁷. Yōhannān Tamraz of Telkepe, recommended by Lawrent Shō'ā shortly before his death, was consecrated metropolitan of Kirkūk on 14 September 1854. He was present with the patriarch Joseph VI Audō at the First Vatican Council in 1870, and died at Kirkūk on 13 September 1881. He was succeeded on 26 August 1883 by Joseph Gabriel Adāmō of Seert, who was elected by a majority of the Chaldean bishops to succeed Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān in 1894, but declined the honour. He died at the age of 49 on 4 June 1899 and was succeeded by Eliyā Joseph Ḥayyāt, apostolic vicar of the Chaldean patriarchate since the death of the patriarch 'Abdīshō V Ḥayyāt in 1899. He was transferred to the diocese of Kirkūk in 1900 by the patriarch Joseph Emmanuel II Thomas, and died suddenly at Kirkūk three years later, on 2 February 1903. He was succeeded by Theodore Msayeh of Baghdad, who was consecrated metropolitan of Kirkūk on 16 October 1904 and died on 26 May 1917.

The diocese of Kirkūk had a population of 218 Chaldean families, with 9 priests, and 8 churches, in 1850 (Badger); 7,000 Chaldeans, with 22 priests and 16 churches, in 1896 (Chabot); and 5,840 Chaldeans, with 19 priests and 9 churches, and a small 'Nestorian' community, in 1913 (Tfinkdji).

Table 14: East Syrian Communities in the Archdiocese of Kirkūk, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Kirkūk	800	4	2	Armūtā	100	1	1
'Aīnqāwā	3,000	5	2	Suleimaniya	200	1	1
Shaqḷāwā	1,200	5	1	Erbil	50	0	0
Koī Sanjaq	200	2	1	Rāwandūz	90	0	0
Qoryā	200	1	1	Total	5,840	19	9

²¹⁶ MS Kirkūk (Vosté) 31.

²¹⁷ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 491-2.

The Diocese of Sehnā

[Fiey, *POCN*, 130]

In 1850 the Sehnā region was part of the diocese of Kirkūk (Badger). A separate Chaldean diocese (often anachronistically called 'Īlām in manuscript colophons) was founded for the region in 1853, and its first bishop was Jerome Shem'ōn Sinjari, who retired to the Mosul village of Beṭ Qōpā in 1864. He returned to Sehnā in 1870 and remained there until his death in 1882. He was succeeded in 1885 by Mattai Paul Shamīnā of Telkepe, who died in 1892. Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā became administrator of the diocese of Sehnā in 1893 and remained there until his death in 1911. He was succeeded in 1914 by Yōhannān Nīsān, who became bishop of Zākhō in 1937²¹⁸.

The Sehnā region contained three villages, with 150 Chaldean families, two churches and three priests in 1850 (Badger); 70 Chaldean families in 1855 (Challaye); 650-700 Chaldeans (including some at Suleimaniya), with a church and a priest, in 1896 (Chabot); and 900 Chaldeans, with 3 priests, in 1913 (Tfinkdji).

(b) *Topographical Survey*

The Beṭ Garmāi region seems to have been at its most flourishing in the sixth and seventh centuries. A number of its towns, villages and monasteries, many unlocalised, are mentioned in several pre-fourteenth century sources, notably Thomas of Margā's *Book of Governors* and Īshō'dnaḥ's *Book of Chastity*. These sources mention the districts of Beṭ Mshaynāne, Beṭ Gāwāyā, Ḥāsā, and Reshā; the towns of Karkā d'Beṭ Slōḥ (Kirkūk), Dāqūqā, Lāshōm (modern Lāshīn), Ḥānījār (all at one time or another the seats of East Syrian bishops), and Karh Guddān; the monasteries of Mār Shūbhālmāran and Mār Ezekiel near Dāqūqā; and the villages of Kafṛā, Lūz, Shabrūg (or Shaqrūg), and Zark. The town of Tagrīt in the Ṭirhān district, the seat of the West Syrian maphrians since the seventh century, also had a small East Syrian community in the thirteenth century, whose church is mentioned alongside the ten West Syrian churches in the town.

Few of these communities are mentioned after the eleventh century, and only three seem to have survived into the fourteenth century. The East Syrian community in Tagrīt probably persisted until 1393, when the town was sacked by Timur Leng. The town is not mentioned again as a

²¹⁸ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 515-6; and Fiey, *POCN*, 130.

Christian centre, and both its East and West Syrian communities were probably destroyed at this period. The celebrated monastery of Mār Ezekiel near the town of Dāqūqā, almost certainly to be identified with the monastery of Mār Ezekiel 'in the region of Babylon' mentioned in the report of 1610, was visited by the monks Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos in 1280. An East Syrian community seems also to have survived in Kirkūk itself, next mentioned in the sixteenth century. Small East Syrian communities in and around Sehnā are also attested from 1700 onwards, apparently a rare survival beyond the Ūrmī region of historic East Syrian Christianity in Persia; and in Baghdad, once the seat of the East Syrian patriarchs. Both these communities enjoyed a certain amount of communication with the East Syrians of Kirkūk in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and although neither was historically connected with the metropolitan province of Beṭ Garmaï, it will be convenient to discuss them here.

Kirkūk

[Fiey, *AC*, iii. 49-53]

Kirkūk, the seat of the metropolitans of Beṭ Garmaï in the Sassanian period, was no longer an important Christian centre by the fourteenth century. As the city's old churches of Mār Ṭāhmasgard, Mār Peṭiōn and Mart Maryam survived into the modern era, it is probable that a small East Syrian community persisted after the ninth century, when it ceased to be the metropolis of Beṭ Garmaï, but it is not mentioned in any literary source before the sixteenth century. Several sixteenth-century scribes from Kirkūk are known, and in 1552 the East Syrians of Kirkūk were among the supporters of Sulāqā. Kirkūk is mentioned as one of the large towns loyal to the patriarch Eliyā VIII in the report of 1607, and its churches of Mār Ṭāhmasgard and Mār Peṭiōn are listed as monasteries. The 'monastery' of Mār Thomas 'in the region of Babylon', mentioned in the report of 1610, seems also to have been a church in Kirkūk. By the nineteenth century only the church of Mār Ṭāhmasgard was still in use, though a second church, dedicated to Mart Maryam, 'Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows', was built shortly before the First World War.

Several scribes from Kirkūk flourished during the sixteenth century. The monk Abraham of Kirkūk, who seems to have entered the monastery of Mār Awgin in 1512, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1526²¹⁹. His nephew Gabriel of Kirkūk, 'of the family of Rabban Abraham of Kirkūk', was also a monk in the monastery of Mār Awgin. He copied a manuscript

²¹⁹ Note in MS Paris BN Syr 314.

in the monastery in 1599; witnessed the sale of a manuscript in the Gāzartā village of Beṭ Shabṭā in 1590; donated a manuscript to the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Gāzartā at an unknown date in the sixteenth century, perhaps also around 1590; and purchased a manuscript (later in the Seert collection) which had belonged to the deceased metropolitan Sabrīshō' of Heṣnā d'Kifā²²⁰. Another manuscript contains an ownership note of the monk Yōhannān, another nephew of Abraham of Kirkūk, and perhaps also a monk of the monastery of Mār Awgin²²¹. A manuscript was copied in 1530 in the monastery of Mār Awgin by another native of Kirkūk named Abraham, then priest of the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Gāzartā, for his brother Shem'ōn 'of Kirkūk', also living in Gāzartā²²². A manuscript later in the possession of the monastery of Mār Awgin had been sold, perhaps early in the sixteenth century, by the priest Sabrīshō', son of Mārbehnā, of Telkepe, to 'the priest and monk Thomas, son of Badgaldīn, a native of Kirkūk, from the village of Qoryā'; and may have been brought to the monastery in the sixteenth century by one of these scribes from Kirkūk²²³.

No seventeenth-century scribes from Kirkūk are known, but a number of eighteenth-century manuscripts have survived. Nine manuscripts were copied between 1701 and 1733, mostly in Kirkūk, by the priest Hormizd, son of the smith 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of 'Ajmāyā, of Kirkūk; and he may also have been the scribe of a manuscript copied in Kirkūk in 1737²²⁴. In most cases, their colophons do not mention the circumstances in which they were copied, but one manuscript was copied in 1701 in 'Aīnqāwā for the church of Mār Ṭāhmasgard, at the expense of the priest Malkā, son of Shem'ōn, and several other donors; and another, copied in 1727 in Kirkūk, was bought by the smith 'Īsā, son of Joseph, for the church of Mār Ṭāhmasgard. A priest named Hormizd, perhaps a different man, was also the scribe of a manuscript copied in Kirkūk in 1766²²⁵. A manuscript was also commissioned from Alqōsh in 1718 by the pilgrim Ḥōshāb, and a manuscript was commissioned for the church of Mār Ṭāhmasgard in 1721 by the deacon Khidr, son of Awrel, son of the sacristan Shikwānā, at the expense of the priest Hormizd

²²⁰ MSS Paris BN Syr 314, Mardīn (Scher) 26, Diyārbakr (Scher) 59, and Seert (Scher) 129.

²²¹ Note in MS Mosul (Bidāwīd) 10013 (Fiey, *Nisibe*, 139).

²²² MS Vat Syr 91.

²²³ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 12.

²²⁴ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 6, 7, 10, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 34, and 47.

²²⁵ MS Kirkūk (Vosté) 11.

Banīyā of Mosul²²⁶. A manuscript was copied at Alqōsh in 1721 for the deacon Eliyā, son of 'Abd al-Masīh, of Kirkūk²²⁷. In 1768 a manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1667 for the deacon Īshō', then living in Baghdad, was acquired, probably in Baghdad, by the priest Nūr al-Dīn of Kirkūk, and in 1770 the scribe Nūr al-Dīn, son of the smith Awrij, of Kirkūk, almost certainly the same man, copied a manuscript in Baghdad²²⁸. The priest Khidr, son of the priest Abraham, of Kirkūk, copied a manuscript in 1772 which was bought by the priest Hormizd for the church of Karamlish, and also commissioned a manuscript from Alqōsh in 1786²²⁹. In 1795 a manuscript was copied at Kirkūk for the priest Khidr, son of the priest Sulaimān, of Mosul, by the priest Joseph²³⁰. A manuscript was restored in 1813 by the priest Joseph of Kirkūk, then living in Baghdad, probably the same man²³¹.

Most of these individuals were probably not Catholics, as monks of the Carmelite mission noted in 1743 that Kirkūk contained 'a large number of Nestorians very ignorant of religion', and in 1746 that 'there are many difficulties at Kirkūk, and few results'²³². The East Syrians of Kirkūk were persuaded to convert to Catholicism shortly afterwards by Yōhannān Hormizd (probably over a period of several years, as the correspondence of the Carmelite mission suggests, rather than, as stated by Tfinkdji, in a single visit in 1789)²³³.

Although the church of Mār Ṭāhmasgard was destroyed during the First World War, the city's Chaldeans were not seriously harassed otherwise, and Kirkūk still has a thriving Chaldean community today. As a result, a large number of Catholic manuscripts copied in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been preserved. Several manuscripts in the Kirkūk collection were copied, commissioned, or purchased by its Chaldean metropolitans, including a manuscript copied by the metropolitan Lawrent Shō'ā in Kirkūk in 1836; a manuscript copied at Mosul in 1854 for the metropolitan Yōhannān Tamraz; manuscripts of 1866 and 1880 commissioned by Yōhannān Tamraz for the churches of Mār Ṭāhmasgard and Mart Maryam respectively; and two manuscripts copied at Telkepe in 1895, one for the metropolitan Joseph Gabriel Adāmō, and

another for the patriarchal vicar-general Eliyā Joseph Ḥayyāt, who became metropolitan of Kirkūk in 1900²³⁴.

Several nineteenth-century scribes were active in Kirkūk. The scholar 'Īsā, son of 'Abbō, son of Quriāqōs, of the Qūlā Khidr family of Kirkūk, copied two manuscripts at Kirkūk in the 1840s, one of which was copied for his master, 'the priest and monk Paul'²³⁵. Two manuscripts were restored in 1858 and 1867 by the priest Eliyā, son of the priest Francis, of Kirkūk²³⁶. A manuscript was copied in 1859 by the scribes Yahballāhā and Anṭon of Kirkūk²³⁷. Six manuscripts were copied at Kirkūk between 1866 and 1902 by the deacon 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of 'Īsā, son of 'Abd al-Aḥad, of Kirkūk²³⁸. They included a manuscript of 1873 copied for the deacon Anṭon, son of Mūshe Hindi, of Kirkūk; a manuscript of 1875 copied for the priest and monk Rufā'īl (probably a monk of one of the Alqōsh monasteries working as a priest in Kirkūk); and a manuscript of 1902 copied for the priest Addaī Šlibā of Shaqlāwā. A manuscript was copied in Kirkūk in 1880 by the priest Peter, son of 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Joseph, son of Paul, son of the priest Abraham, of the Jammālā family of Telkepe, 'then living in Kirkūk', and a manuscript was copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1889 for 'the priest and monk Peter, of Kirkūk', probably the same man²³⁹.

Twelve manuscripts were copied or restored, mostly in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, between 1856 and 1905 by the priest and monk Abraham, son of 'Abbō, son of Behnām, of the Rūhū family of Kirkūk²⁴⁰. They include a manuscript copied for the church of Mart Maryam in Kirkūk by the scribe 'Abd al-Aḥad in 1880, restored by Abraham in 1905, and another manuscript of 1712 in the Kirkūk collection, restored at an unknown date²⁴¹. He appears to have been the only nineteenth-century Chaldean monk from the Kirkūk region, and none of the Chaldean bishops before the First World War came from Kirkūk.

A note of 1871 in a manuscript in the Kirkūk collection mentions a number of recent events, including a drought and subsequent famine in

²²⁶ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 5 and 41.

²²⁷ MS Vat Syr 574.

²²⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 193 and Kirkūk (Vosté) 42.

²²⁹ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 54 and Kirkūk (Vosté) 13.

²³⁰ MS Berlin Syr 13.

²³¹ MS Kirkūk (Vosté) 27.

²³² Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, ii. 623.

²³³ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 491; and Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, ii. 1262.

²³⁴ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 2, 16, 17, 21, 28, and 46.

²³⁵ MSS Mingana Syr 425 and Kirkūk (Vosté) 3.

²³⁶ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 26 and 29.

²³⁷ MS Ūrmī 166.

²³⁸ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 28, 32, 33, and 46, Dawrā Syr 396, and Louvain CSCO Syr 13.

²³⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 467 and Mingana Syr 574.

²⁴⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 3, 230, 231, 282, 284, 323, 395, 606, and 861, Kirkūk (Vosté) 28 and 29, and NDS (Vosté) 42.

²⁴¹ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 28 and 29.

the Kirkūk region; the defeat of France by Prussia and the abdication of Napoleon III; the ecumenical council of pope Pius IX; and the revolt of king Emmanuel of Italy against the pope and his capture of Rome²⁴². The note also mentions a cholera epidemic in Kirkūk which caused a fifteen-day flight of Christians from the town to the villages 'by the side of Jarwali'. Only four of the refugees died, compared to fifteen Christians who remained in Kirkūk.

Other Communities in the Kirkūk Region

The town of Suleimaniya had a significant Chaldean community at the end of the nineteenth century, with a church and a priest. This community, first mentioned in 1820, was concentrated in the town's Goyzhā quarter²⁴³. A manuscript was copied in its church of Mart Maryam in 1859 by the priest and monk Joseph, son of Israel, of Alqōsh; and a *History of Jerusalem*, written by the priest Philip Ḥannā of Sharanesh in Suleimaniya in 1908, has survived in a manuscript of 1919²⁴⁴. Sestini also mentioned a Chaldean community in the village of 'Aksni', between Kirkūk and Kifri, at the end of the eighteenth century, and Soane mentioned a mixed community of East Syrians and Kurds living in the Shāhrzūr plain, 30 miles south-east of Suleimaniya, apparently massacred by the shaikh of Suleimaniya in 1847²⁴⁵. The isolated East Syrian community in the predominantly Shi'ite Moslem region of Sehnā near Kermanshah is first mentioned in 1700, when a manuscript was copied at Alqōsh for its priest 'Īsā, son of Hind²⁴⁶. This community was Catholic by 1850 (Badger), and a Catholic manuscript was copied in the church of Sehnā in 1905 by the priest and monk Hormizd, son of Joseph, son of the deacon Shem'ōn, son of the priest Ḥōshābā, of Shaqlāwā²⁴⁷.

Baghdad

Baghdad, the capital of the 'Abbasid caliphate, was the seat of the East Syrian patriarchs between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, and was frequently mentioned in the various literary sources in connection with the ceremonies attending their elections, consecrations, and burials. These sources mention several East Syrian monasteries and churches in

²⁴² Note in MS Kirkūk (Vosté) 46.

²⁴³ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 44.

²⁴⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 383 and 555.

²⁴⁵ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 45.

²⁴⁶ MS Borgia (Scher) 38.

²⁴⁷ MS Dawrā Syr 633.

or near Baghdad used as residences by the East Syrian patriarchs at different periods, and the relevant references have been conveniently collected by Fiey, who also precisely localised most of the sites concerned²⁴⁸. The patriarchal residences included the monastery of Klīlīshō', also called 'the patriarchal monastery' (*Dair al-Jāṭaliq*), residence and burial place of the patriarch Timothy I (780-823) and several of his ninth-century successors; the monastery of Mār Peṭiōn, residence of the patriarch Sabrīshō' II (831-835); the church of Asbag in the al-Shammāsiya quarter, residence and burial place of the patriarch Yōḥannān II Bar Narsai (884-891); the nearby 'Greek Palace' (*Dārtā d'Rōmāye, Dār al-Rūm*), residence and burial place of sixteen of the seventeen patriarchs from Yōḥannān III (893-899) to Eliyā II (1111-1132); the monastery of Abdōn to the north of Baghdad, burial place of the patriarch Abraham III (906-937); the church of Mār Sabrīshō' in the Sūq al-Ṭalāṭa quarter, burial place of the patriarchs Bar Ṣawmā (1134-1136), Īshō'yahb V (1149-1175), and Eliyā III (1176-1190); the church of Mart Maryam of Karkh, residence and burial place of the patriarchs Yahballāhā II (1190-1222), Sabrīshō' IV (1222-1224), and Sabrīshō' V (1226-1256); and the palace of Duwaidar 'Alā al-Dīn, burial place of the patriarchs Makkīkhā II (1257-1265) and Denḥā I (1265-1281).

The size of Baghdad's East Syrian community in the thirteenth century is not known, but the literary sources often mention 'crowds' of East Syrians in attendance at the consecrations of successive patriarchs, and it was probably far larger than in later centuries. Despite this, only three thirteenth-century manuscripts have survived from this community: a manuscript of 1238 copied by the bishop Eliyā of Beṭ Bgāsh in the patriarchal residence (the church of Mart Maryam of Karkh) in Baghdad, at the request of the patriarch Sabrīshō' V, for the church of Mār Sabrīshō' in the Sūq al-Ṭalāṭa; a manuscript copied in the patriarchal cell in Baghdad in 1246 by the priest Īshō', son of Yōḥannān; and a manuscript copied in Hamaḍān in 1275/6 by the deacon Brīkhā, son of Sa'īd, of Baghdad, a teacher in 'the school of Hamaḍān'²⁴⁹.

Makkīkhā II was the last East Syrian patriarch to reside permanently in Baghdad. Baghdad's Christian population was spared by the Mongols when the city was captured and sacked in 1259, but the Mongol defeat at 'Ain Jalūt in 1261 was followed by a Moslem reaction against the

²⁴⁸ Fiey, 'Résidences et sépultures des patriarches syriaques orientaux', *LM*, 98 (1985), 149-68.

²⁴⁹ MSS Vat Syr 194, Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 1225, and Vat Syr 66 (*Vorlage*).

Christians of the caliphate. There were violent Moslem demonstrations in 1268 and 1269 in Baghdad, which forced the patriarch Denḥā I, consecrated in Baghdad in 1265, to withdraw first to Erbil, and finally to Eshnūq. He died in Baghdad in 1281, during his first visit to the city for sixteen years, and was probably the last East Syrian patriarch to be buried there. His successor Yahballāhā III was consecrated in Baghdad in 1281, shortly after visiting the nearby monastery of Mār Mārī, but avoided the city for much of his reign, preferring to reside in Eshnūq or Marāghā. A poem written in Karamlish in 1295 mentions that he restored the chapels and apartments in the Greek Palace, probably during the reign of the sympathetic il-khan Arghun, and built a gallery 'for counsel, recreation, and the reunions of the fathers'²⁵⁰.

The accession of the il-khan Ghazan in 1295 was followed immediately by a persecution of Christians in Baghdad and several other cities, in which a number of churches were confiscated. In Baghdad most churches were spared in return for bribes, but a new church built by Makkīkhā II was confiscated and turned into a mosque. The Moslems also recovered the palace of Duwaidar 'Alā al-Dīn, which had been taken from them and given to Makkīkhā II by Hulegu after the city's capture in 1259, and required the East Syrians to remove for reburial elsewhere the remains of the patriarchs Makkīkhā II and Denḥā I and other prominent clerics and monks buried there. Yahballāhā III does not appear to have revisited Baghdad after these events, and after his death in 1317 was buried in Marāghā.

His immediate successors, Timothy II and Denḥā II, preserved only a tenuous connection with the city. The patriarch Timothy II, previously metropolitan of Erbil, was consecrated in Baghdad in 1318, but seems thereafter to have resided in the monastery of Mār Mikhā'il of Tar'il near Erbil. The consecration of Denḥā II in 1336/7, which took place during the succession struggle which followed the death of the il-khan Abū Sa'id in 1335, was 'sponsored' by the Christian emir Haggi Togai, who had recently defeated and killed the emir 'Alī Padshah, governor of Baghdad, and briefly secured the city for Ḥasan-i-Buzurg. It is probable that Denḥā II was also consecrated in Baghdad, but he seems thereafter to have resided in the village of Karamlish. None of their successors is known to have had any connection with Baghdad whatsoever, and the residence of the East Syrian patriarchs in Baghdad can therefore be said to have effectively ended with the departure of Yahballāhā III in 1295.

²⁵⁰ MS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 1; and Vosté, 'Memra en l'honneur de Iahballaha III', *LM*, 42 (1929), 168-76.

Although the historic East Syrian patriarchal residences and churches in Baghdad are not mentioned again, a significant East Syrian community probably remained in the city until its sack by Timur Leng in 1401. An East Syrian manuscript was copied at Baghdad in 1332 by the scribe Sa'id, son of 'Isā, son of Abū'Ibarakat, son of Barākā, for 'the glorious chief Hakim Hormizd, son of Ishō', son of Ḥāmīs'²⁵¹. In 1333 the Christians of Baghdad were forced to wear waist-belts and blue turbans, clothing which traditionally distinguished Christians in Moslem lands. In 1335 the Moslem governor of Baghdad, 'Alī Padshah, confiscated a number of churches, which were restored in the following year to their former owners by the Christian emir Haggi Togai.

If the historic East Syrian community in Baghdad survived the succession struggles in the later years of the fourteenth century, it may have come to an end in 1401, when Baghdad was sacked by Timur Leng and, it is said, 90,000 of its citizens were massacred. East Syrians are next mentioned in the city at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and then as a small merchant community. Pedro Teixeira mentioned that there were 80 'Nestorian' families living in Baghdad in 1604, and another traveller mentioned a 'Nestorian' priest in the city in 1627. The Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle, who visited the Middle East and India between 1614 and 1624, married an East Syrian girl, Maani Gioerida, in Baghdad. She was from a Catholic merchant family, originally of Mardīn, and her nephew the priest Ferdinand Gioerida, another Catholic convert educated at the College of the Propaganda in Rome, died in 1654 during a visit to the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'on 'XI'. Della Valle mentioned that there were no Christian churches in Baghdad at that period, and that Christian burials were forbidden within the city itself²⁵².

Several members of Baghdad's East Syrian community are mentioned in a number of manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A manuscript copied in Peshābūr in 1572 for the church of Tel Passne was later given to the church of Baghdad by the pilgrim Barkhō²⁵³. Two manuscripts were copied in Alqōsh in 1667 and 1670 by the priest Ḥōshābā, son of the priest Israel, for the deacon Ishō', son of Abraham, 'of Mosul, but now living in Baghdad'; and a manuscript was copied at Alqōsh in 1711 for the deacon Mūshe, son of Faraj Allāh, son of the priest Ishō', of Baghdad²⁵⁴. A lament was composed in 1721 by the

²⁵¹ MS Borgia (Scher) 53.

²⁵² Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 47.

²⁵³ MS Seert (Scher) 20.

²⁵⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 193, Kirkūk (Vosté) 4, and a manuscript of Karamlish (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 407).

priest Khidr, son of the pilgrim Hormizd, of Mosul, on the recent death of the deacon Mūsā of Baghdad, and a manuscript was copied at Alqōsh in the same year for the deacon 'Īsā, son of the deacon Ghanimā, of Baghdad²⁵⁵. The manuscript of 1667 was acquired in 1768, probably in Baghdad, by the priest Nūr al-Dīn of Kirkūk, almost certainly to be identified with the scribe Nūr al-Dīn, son of the smith Awrij, of Kirkūk, who copied at least one manuscript in Baghdad in 1770, and was probably also the scribe of another manuscript copied in Baghdad in the same year²⁵⁶. A manuscript was copied in Baghdad in 1797 'in the cell of Mār Yōhannān, the metropolitan administering the throne of Babylon', by the deacon 'Abdīshō', son of the priest Hormizd, of Alqōsh²⁵⁷.

Baghdad was the seat of the Latin archbishops of Babylon, and its isolated East Syrian community came under the influence of the various Catholic missions in the city at an early date. By the beginning of the eighteenth century it seems to have been almost entirely Chaldean. The eighteenth-century Chaldean patriarch Joseph III was a native of Baghdad, and so were the nineteenth-century Chaldean bishops Theodore Msayeh and Eliyā Joseph Ḥayyāt. Two Chaldeans from Baghdad, Giwārgīs and Ambrose, entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1821, and in 1825 a priest and a deacon were sent from the monastery to Baghdad. Yōhannān Hormizd's nephew Eliyā Sefārō, abusively consecrated for 'Aqrā in 1834, was disciplined by the Vatican and sent to Baghdad as a priest until 1852²⁵⁸.

Three nineteenth-century Chaldean manuscripts have survived from Baghdad. A manuscript was restored in 1813 by the priest Joseph of Kirkūk, then living in Baghdad; and manuscripts were copied in Baghdad in 1827 by Giwārgīs, son of Mūsā, son of Shem'ōn Nāzō, and in 1840, in the Chaldean church in Baghdad, by an unnamed scribe²⁵⁹. The scribe Mīkhā'īl, son of 'Īsā, son of Shem'ōn Nāzō, of Baghdad, also copied a manuscript in Mosul in 1918²⁶⁰.

Baghdad's Chaldean population grew substantially during the nineteenth century. In 1850 it consisted of 60 Chaldean families, with two priests and a church (Badger); in 1896 3,000 Chaldeans, with three priests and a church (Chabot); and in 1913 7,000 Chaldeans, with nine

²⁵⁵ MSS Mingana Ar 110 (part) and Mosul (Magdasi) 14.

²⁵⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 193 and Kirkūk (Vosté) 12 and 42.

²⁵⁷ MS Dawrā Syr 377.

²⁵⁸ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 172 and 174.

²⁵⁹ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 27, Dawrā Ar 178, and Cambridge Add. 2879.

²⁶⁰ MS Vat Syr 587 (part).

priests and a church (Tfinkdji). In the decades before the First World War the Chaldean communities of Baghdad and the Mosul region and the scattered Chaldean vicariates were part of an archdiocese directly administered by the Chaldean patriarchs. As the patriarch was by then ordinarily resident at Mosul, the Chaldean community of Baghdad was administered by a patriarchal vicar. Nevertheless, Baghdad was formally considered to be the seat of the Chaldean 'patriarchs of Babylon' (a title taken in 1828 by Yōhannān VIII Hormizd, who established a patriarchal residence in the city), and had a large patriarchal cathedral, dedicated to Mart Maryam, 'Our Lady of the Seven Sorrows', begun in 1890 by Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān and completed and consecrated in 1898 by 'Abdīshō V Ḥayyāt. Besides the large Chaldean community in Baghdad itself, smaller communities were recorded by Chabot in 1896 and by Tfinkdji in 1913 at Amara (160 Chaldeans, with a priest and a chapel) and Kut (100 Chaldeans, with a priest and a chapel). Both these communities had their own patriarchal vicars by 1913.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MOSUL REGION

(I) INTRODUCTION

On the eve of the First World War most of the villages of the Mosul region were wholly-Moslem, inhabited either by Kurds or Arabs, but there was also an important group of Chaldean villages lying along the road between Mosul and Alqōsh, including the large villages of Telkepe, Tel Isqōf, and Alqōsh itself; a group of Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholic villages in the eastern Mosul plain, surrounding the large outlying Chaldean village of Karamlish; and a group of Yezidi villages around Alqōsh. The East Syrian population of the Mosul region, almost entirely Catholic since the eighteenth century, was just under 32,000 in 1913, nearly a third of the total membership of the Chaldean church. Each of the three Christian groups had its own churches in Mosul and its own monasteries in the region: for the Chaldeans, the monasteries of Rabban Hormizd and Notre Dame des Semences near the large village of Alqōsh, the seat of the patriarchs of the Elīyā line between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries and the chief East Syrian centre for the copying of manuscripts; for the Syrian Orthodox, the monastery of Mār Mattai on Jabal Maqlūb; and for the Syrian Catholics, the monastery of Mār Behnām a little further south. The Yezidis had their sanctuary of Shaikh 'Adi in the village of Lālish in the hills north-east of Alqōsh, and one of the most important Moslem shrines in the region was the tomb of Jonah, on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Mosul. In the fifth century all these sites, and most of the other villages in the region, were in the hands of East Syrian Christians. The religious geography of the region in 1913 was created between the sixth and eighteenth centuries in a complex series of developments.

By the middle of the sixth century the Mosul plain and the hills around Alqōsh were dominated by East Syrian Christians, whose villages were included in the dioceses of Beṭ Nūhadrā and Nineveh. Towards the end of the sixth century the West Syrians established a presence in Mosul and gained control of the East Syrian monastery of Mār Mattai on Jabal

Maqlūb, rapidly extending their influence to several nearby villages and founding their own dioceses of Beṭ Nūhadrā and Margā. The East Syrian villages in the immediate vicinity of Mosul were thereafter separated from the remaining East Syrian villages in the diocese of Beṭ Nūhadrā by an intervening belt of West Syrian territory. According to the *Life of Rabban Bar 'Idtā*, only four villages within this area of West Syrian influence (Beṭ Gūrbāq, Karamlish, Beṭ Zābāye and Beṭ Bōre) were still East Syrian in the thirteenth century. In the eastern Mosul plain the West Syrians established themselves in the monastery of Mār Behnām and about twenty neighbouring villages, some of which (Qaraqōsh, Bā'shīqā, Bāḥzāni, and Barṭallāh, for example) remain West Syrian centres to this day. In the northern Mosul plain Alqōsh and the nearby monastery of Rabban Hormizd remained East Syrian, but a number of neighbouring villages became West Syrian. A group of villages along the Mosul-Alqōsh road just to the north of Mosul (including Beṭ Qōpā and Bāṭnāyā) appear to have remained outside the West Syrian sphere of influence, as did several monasteries near Mosul.

Several villages and monasteries in the Mosul plain appear to have ceased to be Christian in either the thirteenth or the fourteenth century, including the East Syrian villages of Beṭ Gūrbāq, Beṭ Bōre and Beṭ Zābāye, and the West Syrian villages of Beṭ Gabbāre, Beṭ Saḥrāye and Beṭ Daniel. The East Syrian monastery of Mār Yōnān near Mosul, scene of the discovery of the intact body of the eighth-century patriarch Ḥnān-īshō' II in 1349, was a Moslem mosque (still dedicated to the prophet Jonah) in 1393, when it was visited by Timur Leng¹. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century a number of Yezidi communities were established at Lālish and several other villages in the hills to the east of Alqōsh, including Bā 'Adre, the former East Syrian village of Beṭ 'Edraī, and Barbuk and Hattara, probably also East Syrian villages originally.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the East Syrian settlements in the Mosul plain seem to have been reduced to the nine or ten large villages and monasteries which survive to this day, the largest of which, Telkepe, may have been founded as late as the fourteenth century. In 1508 several Christian villages of the Mosul plain were pillaged, including Alqōsh, Telkepe and Tel Isqōf, and manuscript colophons from the period also mention East Syrian communities in the villages of Bāṭnāyā, Beṭ Handawāyā, Naṣeriyā, Piyōz, and Karsāpā. The reports of 1607 and

¹ Fiey, *AC*, ii. 493-524.

1610 also mention the active monasteries of Mār Daniel, Rabban Hormizd, Mār Abraham the Mede, Mār Mikhā'il, and Mār Elīyā in the Mosul region.

Catholic communities were established at Mosul and elsewhere in the seventeenth century. The villages of the Mosul plain were gradually converted to Catholicism during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, an important figure in this process being the priest Khidr of Mosul. In 1729 the Chaldean communities of Mosul, Telkepe, Bāṭnāyā, and Alqōsh petitioned the Turkish government for their own representative at Constantinople through the good offices of the Āmid patriarch Joseph III². By the end of the eighteenth century all the surviving East Syrian villages in the Mosul plain were Catholic. With the exception of Mosul itself, where the Catholics were harassed in the 1720s by the town's traditionalist East Syrian priests, the process of conversion seems to have been largely peaceful.

In 1808 monasticism was revived in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Alqōsh by Gabriel Dambō, an event of great significance for the future history of the Chaldean church. The revival was opposed by the metropolitan of Mosul Yōḥannān Hormizd, and Dambō and his monks were harassed during the 1820s, but a settlement was eventually reached between the two parties in 1830. The monastery of Rabban Hormizd became a seminary for the education of Chaldean priests, and Dambō's work, despite his premature death in a Kurdish raid in 1831, laid the foundations for the remarkable growth and development of the Chaldean church in the second half of the nineteenth century. The renewed vigour of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd encouraged similar revivals in other monasteries in the Mosul area, and a new monastery, Notre Dame des Semences, was built in 1858. During the second half of the nineteenth century most Chaldean manuscripts were copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd or the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, and many of the Chaldean church's bishops and priests were monks of one or other of the Alqōsh monasteries.

(a) Ecclesiastical History

Between the fifth and fourteenth centuries the Mosul region, known as Ātōr, 'Assyria', was included in the metropolitan province of Adiabene. The metropolitans of Adiabene resided initially at Erbil, but moved their

² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 345-6.

residence to the new town of Mosul early in the ninth century. In the twelfth century Erbil again became the seat of a metropolitan, alongside Mosul, but as far as is known most of the suffragan dioceses of the old metropolitan province of Adiabene remained dependent on the metropolitans of Mosul.

An East Syrian diocese of Nineveh is mentioned between the sixth and the ninth centuries, perhaps established around the middle of the sixth century in response to the emerging challenge from the West Syrian church. The diocese is first mentioned in 554, and its last-known bishop, Ḥnān-īshō', flourished during the reign of Timothy I (780-823)³. The boundaries of the diocese of Nineveh are not entirely clear, but it probably extended no further north than Bāṭnāyā, and included the four villages south of the Jabal Maqlūb (Beṭ Gūrbāq, Beṭ Zābāye, Beṭ Bōre, and Karamlish) which remained East Syrian into the thirteenth century. In the ninth century, according to Thomas of Margā's *Book of Governors*, Beṭ 'Edraī and other villages in the Beṭ Rustāqā (Shemkān) district were in the diocese of Margā, while Alqōsh and Tel Ḥesh were in the diocese of Beṭ Nūhadrā. The colophons of two thirteenth-century manuscripts also indicate that the monastery of Rabban Hormizd was in the diocese of Beṭ Nūhadrā, and the Shemkān village of Beṭ Bōzi was in the diocese of Margā⁴. The southern boundary of the diocese of Nineveh may have been the Tigris, as an East Syrian diocese of Taimanā ('the southern district') in the Mosul region is mentioned in the eighth and ninth centuries, probably covering the monasteries and villages on the southern bank of the Tigris⁵.

Fiey has argued, on the basis of a surviving list of bishops from the Mosul region, apparently copied in the fourteenth century, that the diocese of Nineveh may have persisted for several centuries after its last mention in the literary sources. It seems more likely, however, that the dioceses of Nineveh and Taimanā both came to an end shortly after the metropolitans of Adiabene transferred their residence to Mosul in the ninth century, and that their villages were thereafter directly administered by its metropolitans. The metropolitan Joseph of Mosul is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of 1189 copied in the monastery of Mār Mikhā'il, and the surviving version of the *History of Rabban Bar 'Idtā*, written in the thirteenth century for the village of Beṭ Gūrbāq, concludes with prayers for the patriarch and the metropolitan of Mosul⁶.

³ Fiey, *AC*, ii, 343-9; and *POCN*, 115-6.

⁴ MSS Harvard Syr 141 and Dublin (Chester Beatty) 704.

⁵ Fiey, *AC*, ii, 336-7; and *POCN*, 137.

⁶ MSS Mosul (Magdasi) 1; and *History of Rabban Bar 'Idtā*, 301.

Mosul remained the seat of an East Syrian metropolitan until the nineteenth century, and after the schism of 1552 was the principal diocese of the traditionalist Eliyā line for nearly four centuries. The metropolitans of Mosul, invariably a nephew or other close relation of the patriarch, remained traditionalists until the closing years of the eighteenth century, when the metropolitan Yōhannān Hormizd converted to Catholicism. Yōhannān Hormizd was the last legitimate metropolitan of Mosul, though several rival Chaldean bishops attempted to dispute his control of the Mosul region after his suspension in 1812. After he became patriarch he administered the region directly, and in the second half of the nineteenth century the Mosul region was joined with Baghdad to form a patriarchal archdiocese.

As in the 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā regions, the successes of the Catholic missionaries in the nineteenth century encouraged some traditionalists in the Mosul region to renounce their old loyalties. In 1908 a group of disaffected villagers from Alqōsh persuaded the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin to consecrate a bishop for them. Their candidate, the priest Gīwārgīs Abūnā of Alqōsh, was a member of the old patriarchal family, and was consecrated bishop of Alqōsh on 2 May 1808 in Qūdshānīs, taking the traditional patriarchal name Eliyā. Despite local opposition from the Chaldean church and the French vice-consul, the Turkish authorities in Constantinople recognised this group as a separate community in 1910, and Eliyā was accredited as their bishop. Continuing local opposition prevented him from taking up residence in Alqōsh, however, and in May 1910 he withdrew to Qūdshānīs, and was shortly afterwards placed in charge of the traditionalist villages of the Taimar district⁷. He survived the destruction of the Taimar villages in the First World War, rejoined the Chaldean church in 1921, and died in Iraq in 1956, at the age of 93⁸.

The Diocese of Mosul

[Fiey, AC, ii. 343-9; POCN, 112-3]

Mosul, as has already been mentioned, replaced Erbil as the seat of the metropolitans of Adiabene in the ninth century. Several metropolitans of Mosul (or of 'Āṭōr and Nineveh', as they were normally styled) are reliably mentioned between the ninth and fourteenth centuries in the literary sources, the last of whom, Gabriel and Shem'ōn, were present at the con-

⁷ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 302, 305, 309-12, 314, and 325.

⁸ Solomon, 'Five Decades of the History of Our Church', *Nineveh*, 18, 1 & 2 (1995), 29-30.

secration of Yahballāhā III in 1281 and the synod of Timothy II in 1318 respectively. A list of metropolitans of Mosul compiled in or shortly before 1364 also mentions four fourteenth-century metropolitans after Gabriel: Gīwārgīs, Ḥnānīshō', Abraham, and Eliyā. This list may well be genuine, as a bishop named Gīwārgīs, probably the metropolitan of Mosul, copied a manuscript in Mosul in 1332⁹. As several East Syrian bishops were known by more than one name, it is possible that Gīwārgīs is to be identified with the metropolitan Shem'ōn who attended the synod of Timothy II in 1318.

The diocese of Mosul is next mentioned towards the end of the fifteenth century. By then its metropolitan was also *nāṭar kursyā*, 'guardian of the throne', an office which designated its holder as the patriarch's chosen successor. The original function of this office, first held by the bishops of Kashkar and in the fourteenth century by the metropolitans of 'Īlām, was to administer the church during the vacancy between the death of a patriarch and the election of his successor, but seems to have changed during the reign of Shem'ōn IV (†1497), who sought to create a hereditary patriarchate within his own family. He and his successors, contrary to canon law, conferred the office on their chosen successor, usually a nephew, and the institution (later extended to the succession of bishops also) survived in both the Mosul and Qūdshānīs patriarchates after 1552, except when they came under Catholic influence.

A metropolitan of Mosul and *nāṭar kursyā* named Eliyā, nephew of the patriarch Shem'ōn IV, is mentioned in several colophons between 1484 and 1493¹⁰. He may later have become the patriarch Shem'ōn V, who succeeded Shem'ōn IV after his death in 1497. Shem'ōn IV's epitaph in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd was composed by a 'young' bishop or metropolitan named Ḥnānīshō', and he may have replaced Eliyā as metropolitan of Mosul and *nāṭar kursyā* in 1497¹¹.

A metropolitan named Īshō'yahb (the future patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb) is mentioned as *nāṭar kursyā* in 1504, brother of the patriarch Shem'ōn VI and *nāṭar kursyā* in 1530, and metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* in October 1538 (two months after the death of the patriarch Shem'ōn VI on 5 August 1538)¹². He succeeded his brother as patriarch very soon

⁹ MS Mosul (Scher) 36.

¹⁰ MSS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 33, BL Or. 4399, Leningrad Syr 33, Mardīn (Scher) 1, Dawrā Syr 318, and Cambridge Add. 1965.

¹¹ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 284.

¹² MSS Seert (Scher) 46, and Vat Syr 83 and 91.

afterwards, either late in 1538 or early in 1539. Fiey believed him to have been a metropolitan of Erbil, but this is nowhere stated in the surviving sources, and it is more likely that he was metropolitan of Mosul¹³.

Īshō'yahb's nephew Ḥnānīshō', son of the priest Gīwārgīs, is mentioned as metropolitan or *nāṭar kursyā* in a series of colophons from 1539 to 1545, the earliest of which styled him metropolitan of Mosul¹⁴. He seems to have replaced the metropolitan Gabriel of Gāzartā in 1542 or shortly afterwards, and is mentioned as metropolitan of Gāzartā and *nāṭar kursyā* in two colophons of 1545¹⁵. Ḥnānīshō' very probably died shortly afterwards, as his younger brother Eliyā (the future patriarch Eliyā VII), who was himself consecrated as a metropolitan in 1545, is mentioned as *nāṭar kursyā* in colophons of 1550, 1552 and 1554¹⁶. As has already been mentioned, both men were too young to have been canonically consecrated, and the consecration of Eliyā eventually precipitated the schism of 1552.

Three metropolitans, of whom two only appear to have been *nāṭar kursyās*, are mentioned during the reigns of Eliyā VII (1558-1591) and Eliyā VIII (1591-1617). A metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* named Ḥnānīshō' (also a brother of Eliyā VII but probably to be distinguished from the metropolitan of 1545) is mentioned in several colophons between 1562 and 1588; was among the metropolitans who witnessed Eliyā VII's profession of faith in 1586; and is probably to be identified with the archbishop Ḥnānīshō' 'of Maṣūrīyā', mentioned by Leonard Abel in 1587 as one of the more educated 'Nestorians'. He may well have succeeded Eliyā VII as patriarch in 1591. A metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* named Shem'ōn is mentioned in colophons of 1607 and 1609, and was listed among the hierarchy of the patriarch Eliyā VIII in the report of 1610¹⁷. A metropolitan 'of Assyria' named Ḥnānīshō' was also listed among the hierarchy of Eliyā VIII in the report of 1610, was addressed by Peter Strozza in a letter of 1614, and was one of the signatories of the profession of faith of Eliyā IX in 1617¹⁸. Although he seems to have been a met-

¹³ Fiey, *AC*, i. 94; and *POCN*, 80.

¹⁴ MSS Vat Syr 339, Vat Syr 245, a manuscript of 1543 in the Jerusalem (St Mark's) collection, a manuscript in the Beirut (St Joseph) collection (Rücker, *OC*, 9 [1920], 119-121), Mardīn (Scher) 14, and Bāṭnāyā (Haddād) 35.

¹⁵ Note in MS Vat Syr 66, and MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 34.

¹⁶ MSS Mosul (Scher) 80, Diyārbakr (Scher) 53, and Mardīn (Scher) 38; and Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 288-90.

¹⁷ MSS Cambridge Add. 1981 and Diyārbakr (Scher) 75.

¹⁸ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 114, 129, and 186.

ropolitan of Mosul, he was evidently not Eliyā VIII's *nāṭar kursyā*, as he remained a metropolitan into the reign of Eliyā IX. Indeed, as Eliyā VIII presided over a Catholic synod at Āmid in 1616, he may well have been persuaded to abandon the uncanonical practice of designating a successor from among his relatives, and to have been without a *nāṭar kursyā* at the time of his death.

The patriarch Eliyā IX (1617-1660) is mentioned together with the metropolitan Joseph of Gāzartā in a colophon of 1618; with the metropolitan Timothy of Āmid in 1619; with the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Seert in 1625, 1626, and 1628; with the metropolitan Yōḥannān of Mardīn in 1635 and 1645; and with the metropolitan Joseph of Gāzartā in 1657¹⁹. Interestingly, none of the colophons of the surviving manuscripts from his reign mentions a metropolitan of Mosul or a *nāṭar kursyā*. On the evidence of his letter of 1617, he seems also to have wished to remain on good terms with the Vatican, and it is possible that he declined to consecrate one of his relatives. If so, the strongly traditionalist stance taken by his successor Eliyā X Yōḥannān Mārōgin might in part have been a reaction to this policy.

Three metropolitans are mentioned during the reign of Eliyā X Yōḥannān Mārōgin (1660-1700), all three of whom were also *nāṭar kursyās*. A metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* named Shem'ōn was among the signatories of Eliyā's letter of 1669 to pope Clement IX. A metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* named David (possibly, as the name is uncommon, the traditionalist bishop of the same name who opposed Joseph I in Āmid) is mentioned in a colophon of 1679²⁰. The metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* Īshō'yahb (presumably the future patriarch Eliyā XI Mārōgin), is mentioned in a series of colophons from 1693 to 1700²¹.

During the reign of Eliyā XI Mārōgin (1700-1722) a bishop named Ḥnānīshō' is mentioned as metropolitan in several colophons between 1719 and 1722, and as *nāṭar kursyā* in two colophons of 1722 copied shortly before Eliyā's death²².

¹⁹ MSS Seert (Scher) 6 and 58, Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 29, Alqōsh (Şana) 81, Mardīn (Scher) 86, Diyārbakr (Scher) 90, and Jerusalem Syr 6 and 18.

²⁰ MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 64.

²¹ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 9, 34, and 41, Alqōsh (Şana) 42, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 35, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 24, Mosul (Magdasi) 11, Mosul (Scher) 2, 59, 88 and 112, Cambridge Add. 1982 and 2020, Dawrā Syr 78, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 3, Dohuk (Haddād) 8, Assfalğ Syr 55. and a manuscript of 1697 in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Şapnā*, 67).

²² MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 64 and 92, Vat Syr 574, Alqōsh (Şana) 23, Mardīn (Scher) 44, Trichur Syr 81, and Dawrā Syr 47 and 710.

During the reign of Eliyā XII Denḥā a metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā* named Iṣhō'yahb is mentioned in colophons of 1726 and 1729²³. He is to be distinguished from another *nāṭar kursyā* of the same name, the future patriarch Eliyā XIII Iṣhō'yahb, who was consecrated in 1744 (according to his epitaph, he was a metropolitan for thirty-four years) and mentioned as metropolitan or *nāṭar kursyā* in a series of colophons from May 1744 to March 1777²⁴. He was the nephew of Eliyā XII, and his father and grandfather were priests named Abraham and Ḥōshābā respectively. He seems to have disagreed with his uncle on more than one occasion, and was eventually replaced as *nāṭar kursyā* on 22 May 1776 by his cousin Yōḥannān (the future patriarch Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd), then aged sixteen²⁵. Eliyā XII died in 1778 and Iṣhō'yahb, who enjoyed strong popular support and the backing of the Catholic missionaries, succeeded as patriarch without immediate opposition from the young Yōḥannān²⁶.

In September 1784 Iṣhō'yahb withdrew to 'Amādiyā after the Vatican recognised Yōḥannān Hormizd as metropolitan of Mosul and patriarchal administrator, and consecrated his nephew Ḥnānīshō' metropolitan and *nāṭar kursyā*²⁷. Iṣhō'yahb died in 1804, and the *nāṭar kursyā* Ḥnānīshō', who was only able to exercise his jurisdiction in the 'Amādiyā region, in 1813.

Yōḥannān Hormizd was elected patriarch in 1780 by a powerful group of supporters in opposition to his cousin Iṣhō'yahb, but while the Vatican confirmed him as metropolitan of Mosul and patriarchal administrator, it refused to recognise the validity of his election. Not all the East Syrians of the Mosul patriarchate accepted the Vatican's viewpoint, and Yōḥannān's disputed status is reflected in the colophons of eleven manuscripts copied between 1781 and 1812²⁸. He was styled 'metropolitan' or 'patriarchal administrator' in five of these colophons, and 'patriarch' in the other six. In ten of the eleven colophons he was called Mār Yōḥannān, but on one occasion 'the patriarch Mār Eliyā'.

²³ MSS Mosul (Scher) 29 and Karamlish (Jajeeka) 62.

²⁴ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 296-8; and MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 9, 59, and 61, Paris BN Syr 310, Dawrā Syr 32, 33, 199, 228, 320, 504, 536, 650, and 704, Telkepe (Vosté) 29, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 16, 35, 38, and 101, Mosul (Scher) 10, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 3, Mingana Syr 568B, Cambridge Add. 1986 and 2021, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 33, 66, and 76, and Karamlish (Jajeeka) 4.

²⁵ Propaganda, *Acta*, 153, folio 62v; and 174, folio 38; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 150-1.

²⁶ Propaganda, *Acta*, 174, folio 38; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 151.

²⁷ Propaganda, *Acta*, 153, folio 65v; and 164, folio 39; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 152.

²⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 306, Mingana Syr 94I and 219A, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 105, Vat Syr 469, Cambridge Add. 1812 and 1989, Kirkūk (Vosté) 31, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 26, and Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 21 and 36.

The Vatican suspended Yōḥannān Hormizd from his functions as patriarchal administrator and metropolitan of Mosul between 1812 and 1827, and the colophons of seventeen manuscripts copied between 1819 and 1826, many of them by hostile scribes in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, omitted his name entirely and referred instead to the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi²⁹. In 1818 Hindi received the pallium for his services and (perhaps through a genuine misunderstanding of the significance of the award) adopted the patriarchal title and the name Joseph V. Although it never formally acknowledged Hindi as patriarch, the Vatican spared him the embarrassment of publicly rejecting his claim during his lifetime. As a result, most Chaldeans considered him their patriarch, and he was styled 'the patriarch Mār Augustine' or 'the patriarch Mār Joseph' in all but one of these colophons. Meanwhile, Yōḥannān Hormizd also had his partisans, and was styled 'the patriarch Mār Eliyā' in a colophon of 1813, and 'metropolitan' in a colophon of 1826³⁰.

The attempts of Yōḥannān Hormizd's opponents to weaken his hold on the diocese of Mosul during the fifteen years of his suspension are reflected in the colophons of several manuscripts copied between 1812 and 1826. The priest Shem'ōn Sayyegh was irregularly consecrated bishop of Mosul in 1811, and subsequently appointed apostolic vicar for Mosul after Yōḥannān Hormizd's suspension. He is mentioned imprecisely as 'metropolitan of Mosul' in colophons of 1812 and 1816³¹. In 1824 and 1825 the monks Lawrent Shō'ā, Basil Asmar, and Joseph Audō were consecrated metropolitans in Āmid by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi. Instead of proceeding to their dioceses (Kirkūk, 'Amādiyā and Mosul respectively) the three men took up residence in the Mosul villages of Telkepe, Tel Isqōf, and Alqōsh, in a direct challenge to Yōḥannān Hormizd's continued attempts to assert his authority in the Mosul region. Basil Asmar, although consecrated for 'Amādiyā, was styled 'metropolitan of Mosul' in a colophon of 1824 and *nāṭar kursyā* in a colophon of 1826; Basil Asmar and Lawrent Shō'ā were styled simply 'metropolitans' in two colophons of 1824 and one of 1825; Joseph Audō was correctly styled 'metropolitan of Mosul' in one colophon of 1826 and

²⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 8, 175, and 180, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 17, 25, 26, 40, and 61, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 17, 27, and 46, Mingana Syr 266B, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 28 and 39, Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 19, BM Syr (Wright) 203, and Cambridge Add. 1966.

³⁰ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 18 and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 21.

³¹ MSS 'Aqrā (Vosté) 19 and Dawrā Ar 34.

simply 'metropolitan' in another; and all three men were mentioned as 'metropolitans of Mosul' in a colophon of 1826³².

Yōhannān Hormizd's suspension was lifted in 1827, and he was finally recognised as patriarch of a united Chaldean church shortly after the death of Augustine Hindi in 1828. The metropolitan Joseph Audō was transferred from the diocese of Mosul to the diocese of 'Amādiyā as part of the settlement, and thereafter the diocese of Mosul was directly administered by Yōhannān Hormizd as patriarch. These arrangements, which ended the long schism in the Chaldean church, were generally accepted, and Yōhannān Hormizd was accorded the patriarchal title in the colophons of four manuscripts copied between 1827 and 1836, one of them copied by a former adversary, the metropolitan Lawrent Shō'ā³³.

The uncanonical practice of consecrating a close relative as a potential successor was last employed directly by the traditionalist patriarch Eliyā XIII Iṣhō'yahb, but Yōhannān VIII Hormizd also tried indirectly to preserve the patriarchal succession within the old patriarchal family by arranging for the consecration of his nephew Eliyā Sefārō by the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'on XVII Abraham in 1834³⁴. The Vatican did not recognise Eliyā's consecration as metropolitan, and its subsequent appointment of Nicholas Zay'ā as Yōhannān's coadjutor with right of succession finally ended the practice of hereditary succession within the patriarchal family.

The diocese of Mosul was joined with Baghdad to become a patriarchal archdiocese in the second half of the nineteenth century, and though it was under the patriarch's direct control, it was more often administered on his behalf by a patriarchal vicar. There were three patriarchal vicars of Mosul before the First World War: Gīwārgīs 'Abdīshō' Ḥayyāt (1863-1870), appointed by Joseph VI Audō; Eliyā Joseph Ḥayyāt (1894-1900), appointed by 'Abdīshō' V Ḥayyāt; and Hormizd Stephen Jibri (1902-1917), appointed by Joseph Emmanuel II Thomas.

By the nineteenth century the East Syrian diocese of Mosul consisted of Mosul itself and nine wholly-Christian villages in the plain to the north and the east of the city. The largest villages in the diocese were Telkepe, Tel Isqōf, and Alqōsh, and most statistics also mention the smaller vil-

³² MSS Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 19, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 30, Mingana Syr 267B, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 27, Cambridge Add. 1966, BM Syr (Wright) 203, and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 26.

³³ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 57, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 24, Paris BN Syr 314, and Kirkūk (Vosté) 2.

³⁴ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 167-8.

lages of Piyōz, Karamlish, Beṭ Qōpā, Bāṭnāyā, Nāṣeriyā, and Beṭ Handawāyā. There seems also to have been a small Chaldean community in the village of Khōrsābad, perhaps to be identified with the otherwise-unknown village of 'Karsāpā', for which several manuscripts were copied at Alqōsh in the seventeenth century.

The diocese of Mosul contained about 6,000 Chaldeans in 1757, with 'six or seven' churches (Hindi); and 1,160 Chaldean families, with 20 priests and 15 churches, in 1850 (Badger).

Table 15: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Mosul, 1850

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Mosul	350	6	5	Alqōsh	250	4	2
Telkepe	320	4	2	Karamlish	25	1	2
Bāṭnāyā	60	1	1	Piyōz	20	1	1
Tel Isqōf	110	2	1	Nāṣeriyā	10	0	0
Beṭ Qōpā	20	1	1	Total	1,160	20	15

Badger's figures are probably underestimated, and later population estimates for the Mosul region are considerably higher. The patriarchal vicariate of Mosul contained 23,030 Chaldeans, with 40 priests, in 1867 (Martin); 23,700 Chaldeans, with 61 priests and 18 churches, in 1897 (Chabot); and 31,900 Chaldeans, with 45 priests and 21 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji).

Table 16: East Syrian Communities in the Patriarchal Vicariate of Mosul, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Mosul	4,500	15	8	Alqōsh	7,000	6	3
Telkepe	8,000	7	3	Karamlish	4,000	3	2
Bāṭnāyā	2,500	3	1	Piyōz	100	1	1
Tel Isqōf	3,500	5	1	Nāṣeriyā	700	1	1
Beṭ Qōpā	1,500	3	1				
Beṭ Handawāyā	100	1	0	Total	31,900	45	21

(b) Topographical Survey

The complex interaction in the Mosul region between Christians, Yezidis and Moslems, and within the Christian community between East and West Syrian Christians, and later between 'Nestorians' and

Chaldeans and between Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholics, has already been mentioned. Although it is not always possible to trace in detail the process by which many East Syrian villages in the Mosul region became West Syrian, Yezidi, or Moslem villages, it is clear from the literary sources (particularly Thomas of Margā's *Book of Governors*, the *History of Rabban Bar 'Idtā*, and the *History of Rabban Hormizd the Persian*) that there were many more Christian monasteries and villages in the Mosul region in the seventh century than there were in the nineteenth. As might be expected, villages which once became Moslem or Yezidi generally remained so, but shifts of allegiance between the East and West Syrian churches were not always at the expense of the East Syrians. Although several East Syrian villages became West Syrian towards the end of the sixth century (a development regarded with alarm by the author of the contemporary *History of Rabban Bar 'Idtā*), the *History of Rabban Hormizd the Persian* records how the West Syrian village of Arsham near Alqōsh was recovered by the East Syrians in the seventh century; and the monastery of Mār Daniel and village of Piyōz, both certainly West Syrian in the thirteenth century, were again in East Syrian hands in the seventeenth century.

Several East Syrian monasteries and villages in the Mosul region were taken over by the West Syrians towards the end of the seventh century. The monasteries concerned certainly included the celebrated monasteries of Mār Mattai on Jabal Maqlūb and Mār Behnām to the south of Qaraqōsh, which remain in West Syrian hands to this day. Several other West Syrian monasteries in the Mosul region are mentioned in the literary sources, some of which may also have originally been East Syrian foundations. They include the monastery of Mār Yōhannān of Dailām (also known as Mqūrtāyā) near Qaraqōsh, destroyed in 1743; the monastery of Mār Daniel (also known as Ḥabshushyātā, 'Beetles') to the east of Karamlish, which was in West Syrian hands in the thirteenth century but was mentioned as an East Syrian monastery in the report of 1607; the monastery of Bezqīn near Alqōsh, destroyed by an earthquake in the seventh century; the monasteries of Mār Samuel and Mār Sargīs, south of Mosul on the eastern and the western banks of the Tigris respectively; the monastery of Mār Zenā (also known as Dair al-Gayyāra, 'the tar monastery') to the west of Mosul, mentioned in a number of sources between the eighth and thirteenth centuries; the monastery of Dair Bā 'Arbā, formerly an East Syrian monastery known as Beṭ 'Arbīn, near

the village of al-Hawīsh on the west bank of the Tigris; and the monastery of Malki Sābā, between Mosul and the monastery of Mār Mīkhā'īl.

Several villages to the south and south-west of the Jabal Maqlūb became West Syrian towards the end of the sixth century, including Beṭ 'Ashīqā (modern Bā'shīqā), Beṭ Bar Ṭelaī (Barṭallāh), Beṭ Daniel (Bādāna), Beṭ Ḥazyānā (Bāḥzani), Beṭ Khūdaidā (Qaraqōsh), Beṭ Qōqi (Bāqāq), Beṭ Sahrāye (Bā Sahrā), Beṭ Shupīṭā (Bāshbīṭā), and the villages of Maghārā and Merge near the monastery of Mār Mattai. In the north of the Mosul plain the villages of Piyōz and Beṭ Bāni seem also to have been taken over by the West Syrians at this period, and probably other villages also: in the seventh century, according to the *History of Rabban Hormizd the Persian*, the West Syrian villages of Ḥarbā and Kezyōn near Alqōsh were destroyed and pillaged by their East Syrian neighbours, and the nearby West Syrian village of Arsham was resettled by East Syrian Christians, for whom a church was consecrated by the bishop 'Abdīshō' of Beṭ Nūḥadrā. Several other West Syrian villages, formerly in the hands of the East Syrians, are also mentioned in the literary sources, but are now difficult to localise: Beṭ Agre, Beṭ Gabbāre, Beṭ Gūrbā, Beṭ Shīyōnāye, Beṭ Taklītā, Beṭ Takshūr, Beṭ Tartar, Ḥardā, Shūrzāq, and Tel Ṣalmā. The monasteries of Mār Mīkhā'īl and Mār Eliyā on the western bank of the Tigris, Mār Gīwārgīs near Beṭ 'Awīre, Mār Gabriel near Karamlish, and Rabban Hormizd near Alqōsh certainly remained in East Syrian hands into the thirteenth century, as did the villages of Alqōsh, Beṭ Qōpā, Beṭ Maḍāye (modern Bānāyā), Beṭ Bōre (Bābīra), Beṭ Gūrbāq (Abū Gharbū'a), Beṭ Zābāye (Bāzawāyā), Karamlish, and probably other villages around Alqōsh which were later settled by the Yezidis.

A certain amount is known of the history of the Christian villages in the Mosul region during the turbulent thirteenth century. In the early decades of the thirteenth century the weakened 'Abbasid caliphate was unable to control the region effectively, and several villages were attacked either by Mongol raiders or by undisciplined local militias. After their victory in 1259 the Mongols also failed to curb the ambitions of regional warlords, and their tolerant rule was occasionally marred by abuses committed by local governors who could not be restrained. The West Syrian village of Beṭ Sahrāye defended itself against marauding soldiers in 1219, and the governor of Erbil responded by despatching a punitive expedition which killed 300 men who took refuge in the village's

church of Mār Ḥadbshabbā³⁵. A note in a West Syrian manuscript mentions that in 1222 the Christians of Bāshbītā abandoned their village and moved to Barṭallah, and that the nearby village of Beṭ Gabbāre was completely destroyed by the emir 'of the Dasnāye', one of the earliest references to the Yezidis³⁶. In 1235 a Mongol force sacked Erbil and the nearby monastery of Mār Sabrīshō', killing all of the monastery's monks, and went on to massacre many East Syrian Christians in the Mosul village of Karamlish. The attack on Karamlish was mentioned by Bar Hebraeus and commemorated in a poem of the contemporary East Syrian writer Gīwārgīs Wardā, which describes how the Mongols forced those villagers who had taken refuge in the village's church to leave, killing those who left by the south door while sparing those who left by the east door. The Mongols concluded their raid by attacking the East Syrian village of Tel Isqōf (not earlier mentioned in the literary sources) and destroying its church of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse. In 1261 the West Syrian monastery of Mār Mattai withstood a four-month siege by the Kurds, who were eventually bought off after a vigorous assault was repelled by the defending monks³⁷. In the same year a group of West Syrian refugees from Beṭ Sahrāye and Mosul who had taken shelter in the monastery of Mār Daniel were massacred by the emir Kutlū Beg after crossing the Great Zāb in an attempt to take refuge in Erbil³⁸. The West Syrian villagers of Beṭ Takshūr abandoned their village during the 1260s and were invited to settle in Erbil and the nearby village of Beṭ Şayyāde by the East Syrian patriarch Denḥā I, and were given a West Syrian bishop in 1278 by the maphrian Gregory II.

Although traumatic for the communities concerned, these incidents were probably exceptional, and life in many other Christian villages in the Mosul region may well have continued uneventfully. A considerable number of West Syrian manuscripts copied in the Mosul region during the thirteenth century have survived, and although far less evidence is available for the East Syrian villages, there are also indications that life remained normal. A manuscript was copied in the monastery of Mār Qayyōmā in the Berwārī region in 1224 for the deacon Abraham, son of the chief Maṣṣūr, son of Joseph, from the village of Beṭ Bōre; the surviving version of the *History of Rabban Bar 'Īdā* was abridged later in

³⁵ Fiey, *AC*, ii. 479-82.

³⁶ Fiey, *AC*, ii. 479.

³⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 441.

³⁸ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, 441.

the thirteenth century for the village of Beṭ Gūrbāq, which possessed a relic of the saint; and the bishop 'Abdīshō' of Margā was active as a scribe in the village of Karamlish in the 1290s³⁹.

The relatively stable Christian geography of the Mosul region which persisted from the sixteenth century onwards appears to have crystallised during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although few details are known of the process by which this occurred, it seems clear that a number of Christian villages in the Mosul plain became Moslem or Yezidi during this period, and that the Christians of the region, whose numbers may have grown as a result of immigration from other regions, consolidated into a small number of entirely-Christian villages, some of which had a substantial population.

The Yezidis, originally an unorthodox Moslem sect established towards the end of the eleventh century by Shaikh 'Adi bin Musafīr in the village of Lālīsh in the mountains to the north-east of Alqōsh, developed by the sixteenth century into a distinctive religious community. Little is known of the movement's history between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, but it seems to have gained a large following during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The village of Lālīsh, in which the tomb of Shaikh 'Adi was preserved, became an important Yezidi centre, and a group of Yezidi settlements was established in the north of the Mosul plain and in the mountains around Alqōsh. In the nineteenth century there were Yezidi communities in the villages of 'Aīn Sifni, Barbuk, Bōzān, Bā 'Adre, Baibān, Hattara, and Sharafyā. The villages of Bōzān, Bā 'Adre, and Baibān are mentioned in the early literary sources as East or West Syrian villages, under the names Beṭ Bōzi (not to be confused with the East Syrian village of the same name in the Gōmel valley), Beṭ 'Edraī, and Beṭ Bāni, and some of the other villages may also once have been Christian villages. It seems likely that they ceased to be Christian during the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.

According to a history of the Yezidis supposedly written in the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe in 1451/2 by the East Syrian monk Rāmīshō', the principal Yezidi shrine in the village of Lālīsh was originally an East Syrian monastery of Mār Yōḥannān and Mār Īshō'sabrān, which was appropriated by the Yezidis at an unknown date. The history mentions that in 1198 the monastery, accurately located 'above the village of 'Aīn

³⁹ MSS Paris BN Syr 354, Karamlish (Jajecka) 1, and Mardīn (Scher) 8.

Sifni, east of the river Gōmel, three hours from the village of Hennes', was 'full of monks, priests and novices', and possessed 30 villages and 1,500 sheep, 'which pastured on the mountain of Zōzān'⁴⁰. The text in question, however, was almost certainly a nineteenth-century forgery, and it has been persuasively argued, in view of both its characteristic design and the Yezidis' own origins, that this shrine was originally a mosque⁴¹.

Several Christian villages further south appear to have been abandoned in the fourteenth century, probably during the unsettled period which followed the death of Abū Sa'īd in 1335. The villages of Beṭ Bōre, Beṭ Gūrbāq, and Beṭ Zābāye, Christian in the thirteenth century but Moslem by the sixteenth century, were probably settled at this period, and other villages may also have been affected either then or later. An East Syrian manuscript, dated by Scher to the fourteenth century, was copied by the scribe 'Īsā, son of Īshō', in the Mosul village of Qaşrgarḥ, not again mentioned⁴². A raid on the Mosul region by the emir of Ispahan early in the fifteenth century evidently had tragic results for at least one Christian community in the region, as a manuscript was rescued from 'the Mongols' in 1426/7 by the monk Rabban Mūshe of the monastery of Mār Sargīs, the last occasion on which this monastery is mentioned⁴³.

On the other hand, the residence of the East Syrian patriarch Denhā II (1336-1381) in Karamlish in the middle decades of the fourteenth century brought prosperity to the village itself, and may have encouraged East Syrian Christians to migrate to the remaining East Syrian villages in the Mosul region. In 1913 the combined population of the Mosul villages of Alqōsh, Telkepe, Tel Isqōf, Bātnāyā, and Karamlish was 25,000, equivalent to a quarter of the total membership of the Chaldean church (Telkepe alone had a larger Chaldean population than the entire diocese of Gāzartā). Alqōsh, Telkepe, and Karamlish were the only East Syrian villages in the Ottoman empire whose populations exceeded 4,000, and this figure was reached elsewhere only in the urban centres of Mosul and Āshūtā. Tel Isqōf and Bātnāyā, though slightly smaller, were rivalled only by the East Syrian communities in Āmid and 'Aīnqāwā, and were more than twice as populous as the next-largest East Syrian communities

⁴⁰ Nau and Tfindkji, 'Recueil des textes et des documents sur les Yézidis', *ROC*, 20 (1915-17), 142-200 and 225-75.

⁴¹ Fiey, *AC*, ii. 796-815.

⁴² *MS Diyārbakr* (Scher) 18.

⁴³ Note in *MS BFBS* (Cambridge) 446.

(Mardīn, Peshābūr, Mengesh, and Shaqlāwā). To judge by the large number of East Syrian priests recorded in Telkepe and Alqōsh in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their prominence was several centuries old, and may have been the result of immigration in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Telkepe, the largest East Syrian village in the nineteenth century, is first reliably mentioned in 1403, and may have been founded during the reign of Denhā II.

By the sixteenth century the East and West Syrian settlements in the Mosul plain had polarised into the compact group of large villages which remain Christian to this day. The pattern of settlement which emerged was not seriously modified thereafter: an agricultural colony of Chaldeans was mentioned in the village of Ḥammām 'Alī in 1841, settled there shortly beforehand by the pasha of Mosul, but seems to have been ephemeral⁴⁴. However, the Christian villages of the Mosul region suffered on several occasions between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries from the ravages of war and natural disasters. The villages of Alqōsh, Telkepe and Tel Isqōf were pillaged by Bar Yak in 1508⁴⁵. The villages of Alqōsh and Qaraqōsh were ravaged in 1743 by an invading Persian army under Nādir Shāh, and the monasteries of Rabban Hormizd, Mār Abraham the Mede, and Mār Yōhannān of Dailām were also sacked. There was a severe plague in the Mosul region in 1827, in which sixty of the region's eighty Syrian Catholic and Chaldean priests died, and thousands of other Christians also perished⁴⁶. In 1831 Alqōsh was attacked by the Soran Kurds and nearly 300 Christians were killed by the raiders, including Gabriel Dambō⁴⁷. In 1851 the monastery of Rabban Hormizd was raided by the Kurds, and while the monks themselves escaped, perhaps a thousand manuscripts were destroyed⁴⁸. By contrast, the second half of the nineteenth century was a relatively peaceful period, and the region also escaped serious disturbance during the First World War.

Mosul City

A large number of western travellers visited Mosul from the seventeenth century onwards, many of whom estimated the city's total popula-

⁴⁴ Ainsworth, 'Notes of an Excursion to Kal'ah Sherqāt', *JRGS*, 11 (1841), 2.

⁴⁵ Scher, *Épisodes*, 120-3.

⁴⁶ *APF*, 4 (1830-1831), 7-8.

⁴⁷ Scher, *Épisodes*, 132-4.

⁴⁸ Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, 10.

tion and the population of its constituent religious groups. These estimates, although often differing widely, generally agree as to the relative proportions of the Moslem, Jewish and Christian communities and, within the Christian community, of the dominant East and West Syrian elements⁴⁹.

The available evidence is fullest for the nineteenth century, and the most comprehensive of the numerous population estimates made between 1807 and 1890 are given below. The Moslems seem to have accounted for between two-thirds and three quarters of the city's population, the Christians about a fifth, and the Jews less than a tenth. The West Syrian community, divided roughly equally between Syrian Orthodox and Syrian Catholics at the beginning of the century, was dominated by the Syrian Orthodox by its end. The Chaldeans, as numerous as the West Syrians at the start of the century, accounted for only a third of the city's Christians at its end. There were also small Protestant and Armenian communities.

Table 17: Religious Communities in Mosul, 1807-1890

Source	Date	Total	Moslems	Jews	Christians	Syr Orth	Syr Catholics	Chaldeans
Dupré	1807	50,000	39,000	750	10,000	2,600	2,500	5,000
Southgate	1838	40,000	33,000	1,000	6,000	1,500	1,500	3,000
Ainsworth	1840	19,000	14,000	1,000	4,000	1,000	1,000	2,000
Badger	1850	20,000	12,300	1,200	6,600	2,700	1,800	2,100
Sachau	1880	42,000	26,000	1,800	14,000	5,400	1,800	6,600
Dominicans	1880	70,000	50,000	5,000	15,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
Duval	1888	57,000	48,000	3,000	6,500	2,000	2,000	2,250
Cuinet	1890	61,000	48,000	3,000	10,000	3,400	3,100	3,500

Rather more western visitors mentioned the strengths of Mosul's Christian groupings, without attempting to estimate them as a proportion of the city's total population. The earliest estimate, made by Denis de la Couronne des Épines in 1653, mentioned 1,200 'Jacobites' and 1,800 'Nestorians'. A text of 1753 mentioned 3,000 'Jacobites', 3,000 'Nestorians', and 50 Chaldeans. In 1764 Niebuhr mentioned 5,350 West Syrians and 7,850 East Syrians. The numerous estimates made in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are given below.

Table 18: The Christian Population of Mosul, 1807-1910

Source	Date	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian Catholics	Chaldeans	Total
Dupré	1807	2,600	2,500	5,000	10,000
Buckingham	1816	1,800	3,000	6,000	10,800
Aucher-Eloy	1835	1,000	1,000	1,000	3,000
Southgate	1838	1,500	1,500	3,000	6,000
Ainsworth	1840	1,000	1,000	2,000	4,000
Southgate	1841	2,500	1,500	2,000	6,000
Badger	1850	2,700	1,800	2,100	6,600
Sachau	1880	5,400	1,800	6,600	14,000
Dominicans	1880	5,000	5,000	5,000	15,000
Duval	1888	2,000	2,000	2,250	6,500
Müller-Simonis	1888	2,700	1,800	2,100	6,300
Cuinet	1890	3,400	3,100	3,500	10,000
Parry	1892	6,000	2,400	9,000	17,500
Berré	1910	5,000	4,500	5-6,000	16,000

Some of these estimates are clearly either too low or too high, and a comparison of all the available evidence suggests that Mosul had a community of about 2,000 Chaldeans in the first half of the nineteenth century, rising to about 4,000 by its end, and perhaps 4,500 on the eve of the First World War (Tfinkdji).

Mosul probably had an East Syrian community since its foundation, and was the seat of an East Syrian metropolitan from the ninth century onwards. The history of its East Syrian community before the fourteenth century has been discussed in detail by Fiey in *Mossoul chrétienne*, and need not be repeated here. As elsewhere, relatively little is known of its Christian history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The fourteenth-century East Syrian author Şlibā, son of Yōhannān, was a native of Mosul, but seems to have spent part of his life in Famagusta, where he copied a manuscript in 1335⁵⁰. East Syrian manuscripts were also copied in Mosul in 1332 by an unknown scribe, again in 1332 by the bishop Gīwārgīs, probably the city's East Syrian metropolitan, and in 1395 by the deacon Abraham, son of 'Abd Allāh, son of Behnām⁵¹.

⁴⁹ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 282-3.

⁵⁰ MS Paris BN Ar 204.

⁵¹ MSS BL Or. 3335, Mosul (Scher) 36, and Diyārbakr (Scher) 91.

Three East Syrian scribes from Mosul are known from the second half of the fifteenth century: the priest 'Īsā, son of the priest Fakhr al-Dīn, son of the priest 'Īsā, son of the priest Mattai, of the Sūkbij family of Mosul, scribe of manuscripts of 1489, 1493 and 1496; the priest and archdeacon Īshō', son of 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'disciple of the patriarchal cell', scribe of a manuscript of 1484; and the priest Eliyā Bar Sefāyā, scribe of a manuscript of 1498⁵².

A number of East Syrian scribes or other notables from Mosul are known from the sixteenth century. The metropolitan Īshō'yahb, consecrated for Nisibis after the schism of 1552, was a native of Mosul, as was the priest and monk Shem'ōn, son of Ḥōshābā, son of the priest Mubārakshāh, son of 'Azīz, of the Bākhshō family, who copied three manuscripts in the monastery of Mār Awgin between 1552 and 1554⁵³. The priest Shem'ōn, son of Shmūni, copied a manuscript in 1549, and another Shem'ōn, son of the priest Abraham, copied a manuscript in 1579⁵⁴. The priests Thomas and Yōhannān of Mosul were included in Leonard Abel's 1587 list of the most literate men in the 'Nestorian nation'⁵⁵.

In 1636 the Capuchins established a mission in Mosul. The patriarch Eliyā IX Shem'ōn, concerned at the number of Catholic converts made in Mosul at this period, appointed the priest Ya'qōb Benjamin his vicar in Mosul, who himself made a Catholic profession of faith in Rome in 1636, dying four years later in Mosul⁵⁶.

Several members of Mosul's East Syrian clergy in the second half of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century were scribes, who copied a considerable number of manuscripts in Mosul between 1670 and 1720. They include manuscripts copied in 1670 and at an unknown date by the priest 'Abd al-Karīm, son of the pilgrim 'Abd al-Rahmān; in 1676, 1681, and 1683 by the deacon 'Abd al-Karīm, son of the priest 'Īsā, son of 'Abd Allāh; in 1679 by the deacon Ephrem, son of the priest Hormizd; in 1679 by the deacon 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of the smith 'Askar, and in 1682 and 1696 by the same scribe, then a priest; in 1702 by his nephew the deacon Hormizd, son of Quriāqōs; in 1697 by the priest Hormizd, son of the deacon Isha'yā; in 1689, 1707, and at an

⁵² MS BL Or. 4399, Dawrā Syr 318, Berlin Syr 38, and BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 30 and 33.

⁵³ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 53, Ūrmī 168, and Mardīn (Scher) 38.

⁵⁴ MSS Mosul (Bidāwīd) 129 (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 525) and Jerusalem Syr 45.

⁵⁵ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121-2.

⁵⁶ Le Quien, *OC*, ii. 1158.

unknown date by the deacon Yōhannān, son of the deacon Īshō', son of Abraham; in 1699, 1711, 1719, and 1720 by the deacon Qudsi, son of the pilgrim Abraham, son of Ḥabīb; in Mosul in 1707 and 1724 and in Mardīn in 1715 by the deacon Yōhannān, son of the priest Eliyā, son of the deacon Mikhā; and in 1708 by a scribe named Yōhannān, probably one of the two scribes of the same name already mentioned⁵⁷. The priest Ya'qōb, son of 'Abd al-Masīh, of Mosul, copied two manuscripts in Paris in 1689 and 1698⁵⁸.

Several members of the East Syrian clergy in Mosul at this period, some of whom have already been mentioned as scribes, are also mentioned in the colophons of a number of surviving manuscripts copied for their use in Mosul and elsewhere. Manuscripts were copied for the priest Eliyā, son of the deacon Mikhā'il, in 1670 and 1681; for the deacon 'Abdīshō', son of 'Abd Allāh, and his brother 'Abd al-Aḥad, in 1673; for the priest Safar, son of the priest Mikhā'il, in 1676; for the priest Eliyā, son of the deacon Hadāyā, in 1683; for the deacon and pilgrim Jem'ā, son of 'Abd Allāh, in 1681, 1685, and 1686; for the deacon Hormizd, son of Quriāqōs, in 1682; for the deacon Yōhannān, son of the deacon Īshō', in 1685; for 'Abd al-Nūr, son of the priest Adam, and his brothers the priest Hadāyā and 'Abd al-Razaq, sacristan of the church of Mār Isha'yā, in 1707; and for the priest 'Abd al-Nūr, son of the priest Adam, alone in 1713⁵⁹.

Several members of Mosul's East Syrian clergy are also mentioned in other colophons. A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1681 for the monastery of Mār Eliyā by the priest 'Abd al-Karīm, son of Mārzenā, of Mosul⁶⁰. A manuscript was commissioned for the monastery of Mār Abraham the Mede near Bātnāyā in 1682 at the expense of the priest Safar of Mosul, the notable Mūsā, 'and the notables of the community of the church of Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e'⁶¹. The deacon 'Abdīshō', son of the priest Safar, son of the priest Markhāye, 'of the

⁵⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 5, 196, 705, and 898 (*Vorlage*), Mosul (Scher) 24, Vat (Neofiti) 52, Mardīn (Scher) 74, 85, 97, and 100, BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 32 and 64, Kirkūk (Vosté) 45, Cambridge Add. 3291, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 17, 48 and 61, Mosul (Magdasi) 12, Vat Syr 164, 222, 224, and 591, and a manuscript of 1699 of uncertain provenance.

⁵⁸ MSS Paris BN Syr 89 and 90.

⁵⁹ MSS Vat (Neofiti) 52, Vat Syr 153, 175, 222, and 244, Kirkūk (Vosté) 45, Mosul (Scher) 17, Mosul (Magdasi) 5, 8, 9, and 10, BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 32, and Dawrā Syr 290.

⁶⁰ MS Mosul (Magdasi) 7.

⁶¹ MS Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 14.

fortress quarter in Mosul', was the owner of a manuscript taken to Rome in 1762 by a member of the Dominican mission⁶².

There was a vigorous movement towards Catholicism among the East Syrians of Mosul in the early years of the eighteenth century. This movement was led by the Mosul priest Khidr (1679-1751), son of the pilgrim Hormizd, who was initially attracted to the Catholic faith by his conviction that priests should remain unmarried, contrary to the traditional usage of the Church of the East. At the time of his conversion in 1719 Khidr was a respected member of the East Syrian community, who had run a school in Mosul for 30 years with 20 to 40 pupils, from Mosul, Kirkūk, and Baghdad, including members of the patriarchal family⁶³. He made a Catholic profession of faith on 6 January 1719 after spending some time in the company of the Maronite Andreas Skandar, who had been sent to Mosul by the Vatican to purchase manuscripts.

At the request of Khidr and a number of fellow converts a second Capuchin mission was installed at Mosul. In 1722, however, their monastery was attacked and one of its priests killed. In 1723 the Chaldeans of Āmid made an attempt to win over the newly-consecrated patriarch Elīyā XII Denḥā and to strengthen the Catholic foothold in Mosul by consecrating Khidr as the city's metropolitan, but the 'Nestorians' of Mosul and Alqōsh reacted angrily. In 1724 the Capuchins were obliged to leave Mosul, and Khidr himself fled to Mardīn, and thence to Rome. His own account of the affair, recorded in his diary, is given below.

The Nestorian patriarch Mār Elīyā Mārōge died in December 1722, and his nephew Mār Elīyā Denḥā succeeded him as patriarch of the Nestorian church. They consecrated him patriarch at Christmas in the same year in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd near the village of Alqōsh, a day's journey from Mosul, that is Nineveh, on the banks of the Tigris river. In September 1723 Mār Basil, metropolitan of Āmid, came to Mosul on behalf of the Chaldean patriarch Mār Joseph to visit the Nestorian patriarch Mār Elīyā, to compliment him on becoming patriarch and to persuade him to adopt the Roman faith.

When the Nestorians realised this the priests Shem'ōn and 'Abd al-Razaq, the leaders of the Nestorians in Mosul, accompanied him to the village of Alqōsh, and there they gathered a crowd of villagers who threatened him with death. He fled from Mosul in terror, and they discovered that he had with him a letter from the Chaldean patriarch Mār Joseph to the priest Khidr, appointing him metropolitan of Mosul. Thereupon they came and seized the

⁶² MS Vat (Neofiti) 52.

⁶³ Note in MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 110.

priest Khidr, intending to hand him over to the city's judge to be imprisoned, beaten, and heavily fined. But he hid himself, so they sent to the Nestorian patriarch Elīyā, who sent back a letter to be read out in the church. In it he ordered that the priest Khidr should be deprived of his church and degraded from his rank, and that nobody should enter his house or speak to him. At the same time they took his school from him, and for three months he remained in detention in his house, and was not allowed to step outside. I tell you, my dear reader, that I, the poor priest Khidr, remained for a whole year in this condition. Finally the patriarch lost patience with me, and decided to hand me over to the judge. Then I realised the danger of my position and fled from Mosul, and decided to travel to the city of Rome. I fled in August 1724, and came first to Mardīn, where I remained for six months, and then to Aleppo. In Aleppo news reached me that the Nestorian priest Shem'ōn, who had brought this trial upon me, had died on 1 February 1725⁶⁴.

Khidr arrived in Rome in 1725, where he pressed for another mission to be sent to Mosul. In 1726 he complained that the Catholics of Mosul did not have a single church for their own use, indicating that the majority of Mosul's East Syrian Christians were still traditionalist at this date. In 1750 he was able to secure the establishment of an Italian Dominican mission at Mosul.

A number of manuscripts were copied by Khidr in Mosul between 1717 and 1724, in Aleppo in 1725, and in Rome between 1725 and his death in 1751; and he was also the recipient of a manuscript copied in Mosul in 1724 by the deacon Yōḥannān, son of the priest Elīyā⁶⁵.

Besides Khidr of Mosul and several scribes already mentioned, whose careers spanned the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a number of other scribes were active in Mosul during the eighteenth century. Manuscripts were copied in 1724 by the priest Yaq'ōb, son of the priest Īshō', son of the pilgrim 'Abd al-Nūr (also the scribe of a manuscript of 1705 copied in the monastery of Mār Elīyā); in 1730 and 1735 by the priest Yōḥannān, son of the deacon Hormizd, son of the deacon Gabriel, of Alqōsh; in 1787, 1789 and 1811 by the deacon Elīyā, son of the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad; and in 1794 by the priest Shem'ōn, son of 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of Zakaryā, son of Īshō', of the Sayyegh family (later to be abusively consecrated bishop of Mosul)⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ MS Mingana Ar 110, folios 24-8.

⁶⁵ MSS BM Karsh (Rosen-Forshall) 5, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 61, NDS (Vosté) 140, Dawrā Syr 5, 876 and 87, Paris BN Syr 182, 218-21, 256, and 279, Mingana Ar 110, Seert (Scher) 95, Vat Ar 493 and 1585, Vat Syr 195, Paris BN Ar 97, 129, 162, and 219, Diyārbakr (Scher) 109 and 110, Charfet 14/4 and 14/5, Borgia (Scher) 6, Mosul (Magdasi) 12, and Mingana Syr 246B, 246C, 363, and 494.

⁶⁶ MSS Berlin Syr 111, Cambridge Add. 2889, Mosul (Scher) 87, Dawrā Syr 523, Bātmāyā (Haddād) 6 and 9, Dawrā Ar 58, Mingana Syr 219B, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 36, and Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 34.

Several scribes were also active in Mosul in the first half of the nineteenth century. Manuscripts were copied in 1808 by the deacon Behnām, son of Mattai, son of Behnām, son of Eliyā; in 1810 by the scribe Ḥannā Sābāh; in 1811 by the deacon Ya'qōb, son of the priest Īshō'; in 1824, 1826 and 1827 by the Catholic scribe Emmanuel, son of Hormizd, son of Abraham the dyer; in 1826 and 1827 by the priest Antony Rassam; and in 1845 by the scribe Maṣṣūr, son of the deacon Behnām; and a manuscript was restored in 1845 by the scribe Stephen, son of Hormizd, of Mosul⁶⁷.

Two prolific East Syrian scribes were working in Mosul around the middle of the nineteenth century. The monk Mīkhā'īl Rōmānōs of Alqōsh became priest of the church of Mār Isha'yā in Mosul in the 1840s, and copied at least fifteen manuscripts in Mosul between 1848 and 1868⁶⁸. The deacon 'Īsā of Eqrōr, scribe of many manuscripts at Alqōsh between 1867 and 1898, began his career in Mosul in the 1850s as a disciple of Mīkhā'īl Rōmānōs, and copied five manuscripts in the church of Mār Isha'yā between 1854 and 1861⁶⁹.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Mosul became the base for a number of European missionaries and scholars anxious to acquire Syriac manuscripts, and much of the copying done in this period was for this market. Two manuscripts were copied for the Anglican missionary George Percy Badger in 1843 and 1844 by Abraham of Āshīṭā, archdeacon of the patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham, who fled to Mosul after the Ṭiyārī massacre, and a third in 1852 by the Chaldean priest Mīkhā'īl Jammālā⁷⁰. The priest Jeremy Shāmīr of 'Aīnqāwā copied at least fourteen manuscripts at Mosul and 'Aīnqāwā between 1880 and 1883 for Eduard Sachau⁷¹. A number of manuscripts in the Mingana collection, all but one copied by East Syrian scribes in Alqōsh or Telkepe, were copied between 1892 and 1895 for the Chaldean deacon Nimrod, son of the deacon Joseph, of the Rassam family of Mosul⁷². Several manuscripts were

⁶⁷ MSS Beirut (St Joseph's) Syr 19, Dawrā Syr 292 and 807, Cambridge Add. 1966, BM Syr (Wright) 203, Mosul (Magdasi) 18, Dawrā Ar 115, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 57, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 74, and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 54.

⁶⁸ MSS Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 9, 11, 17 (part), and 34, Dawrā Syr 54, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 16, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 2, 9, 14, and 25, Mingana Syr 212F, Mosul (Magdasi) 19, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 30, Kirkūk (Vosté) 16, and Dohuk (Vosté) 29.

⁶⁹ MSS Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 34, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 46, Bāṭnāyā (Ḥaddād) 25, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 17, and Dohuk (Vosté) 29.

⁷⁰ MSS Cambridge Add. 1963 and 1981, and Manchester JRL Ar 9.

⁷¹ MSS Berlin Syr 105, 117-22, 124-5, 130-33, and 135.

⁷² MSS Mingana Syr 57, 58G, 60, 61A-C, 66, 85P, 208, 209, 210, 213B, and 216.

copied in Mosul in 1887 and 1888 by the bishop Yōḥannān Eliyā Mellus shortly before he became metropolitan of Mardīn, which were later donated to the Vatican by his successor Israel Audō⁷³.

Other scribes active at this period were the deacon Shlemūn, son of Paul, son of Joseph, scribe of a manuscript of 1868; the deacon Gabriel Adāmō of Seert, later metropolitan of Kirkūk, scribe of two manuscripts of 1869; and the priest 'Abd al-Karīm, son of Gāgō, son of 'Abd Allāh, son of Sulaimān 'the Persian', scribe of a manuscript of 1898⁷⁴.

Three men from Mosul entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during the lifetime of Gabriel Dambō: the deacon Yōḥannān, son of Almō, in 1809, and the monks 'Abd al-Karīm in 1820 and Eliyā in 1822. None of the scribes active in the monasteries of Rabban Hormizd and Notre Dame des Semences in the second half of the nineteenth century appear to have been natives of Mosul, but the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān and six other Chaldean bishops (Gīwārgīs 'Abdīshō' Ḥayyāt, Ya'qōb Yōḥannān Sahhar, Ya'qōb Mīkhā'īl Na'mō, Shlemūn Mūshe al-Sabbagh, Hormizd Stephen Jibri, and Peter Raffō 'Azīz) were from Mosul.

Mention has earlier been made of the the Chaldean Patriarchal Seminary of St Peter, and the Syro-Chaldean Seminary of St John, both founded in Mosul during the reign of the patriarch Joseph VI Audō. The Chaldean Patriarchal Seminary of St Peter was founded in Mosul in 1866 with a benefaction from the deacon Rufā'īl Masāji of Āmid. It was closed between 1873 and 1882 during the Malabar dispute, and reopened by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān. By 1913 four Chaldean bishops (Shlemūn Mūshe al-Sabbagh, Hormizd Stephen Jibri, Ya'qōb Awgin Mannā and Israel Audō) and forty priests had been trained in the seminary. The seminary was directed by Chaldean clergy, and its first director was Ya'qōb Mīkhā'īl Na'mō, who became patriarchal vicar of Baghdad in 1875. In 1913 the director was Joseph Ghanimā, appointed in 1909. The Syro-Chaldean Seminary of St John was founded in Mosul in 1878 on the initiative of pope Leo XIII to train priests for both the Chaldean and Syrian Catholic churches. It was directed by the Dominican monks of Mosul, under the supervision of the apostolic delegate. Its first director before the First World War was Reginald Lhuillier, who died in 1899 and was succeeded by Sebastian Schiel. By 1913 the seminary had trained more than 65 priests for the two churches, 36 of whom were

⁷³ MSS Vat Syr 601-2 and 610-15.

⁷⁴ MSS Assfalḡ Syr 20, 26, and 27, and Dawrā Syr 285.

Chaldean. The Chaldean metropolitans Addaï Scher and Francis David were both educated at the seminary⁷⁵.

Mosul's East Syrian Churches

[Fiey, *MC*, 104-35]

In the middle of the nineteenth century Mosul had five Syrian Orthodox churches (Mār Thomas, Mār Aḥūdemneh, Mār Theodore, Mār Zenā, and Mart Maryam), one Syrian Catholic church (Mart Maryam), and six Chaldean churches (Mār Isha'yā, Mart Maryam, Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e, Mart Meskintā, Mār Gīwārgīs, and Mār Peṭiōn). Most of these churches existed in the thirteenth century or earlier. A sixth Syrian Orthodox church, dedicated to Mart Maryam, was built in 1896, and a seventh Chaldean church, dedicated to Mār Joseph, was completed in 1894. The Latin Dominican mission also had a church in the city, built in 1866.

The East Syrian church of Mār Isha'yā was originally the church of a monastery founded around 570 by Mār Īshō'yahb Bar Qusre, and was for a period the East Syrian cathedral church of Mosul before this position was taken by the church of Meskintā. It was also dedicated to Mār Quriāqōs, Mār Gīwārgīs, and Mār Yōḥannān, and is occasionally called 'the four churches' in manuscript colophons. The church of Mart Maryam was originally the church of the monastery of Mār Gabriel in Mosul, the so-called 'Upper Monastery', which played an important role in the stabilisation of the East Syrian liturgy and was at the height of its prosperity during the ninth and tenth centuries.

Some of these churches are mentioned before the fourteenth century. Two surviving epitaphs in the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e commemorate respectively the deaths of Mōmāg, son of Yōḥannān, son of Zagal, in 1023, and the priest Abraham in either 1255 or 1265⁷⁶. Two manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mart Meskintā around the end of the twelfth century; one by 'a virtuous man of Mosul, of the Bar Khabṭā family' in 1189 at the expense of its priest the monk Sabrīshō', son of Paul, whose colophon also mentions the church's administrator, the priest and monk Yaqqīrā, 'known as Abū'l-'ezz'; and another in either 1199 or 1212 by an unnamed deacon, 'of the Khabṭā family', very probably the donor of 1189⁷⁷.

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of manuscripts were copied for or donated to specific churches in the city, often collec-

⁷⁵ Třinkdji, *EC*, 479-80.

⁷⁶ Fiey, *MC*, 113 and 120.

⁷⁷ MSS Mosul (Magdasi) 1 and Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 124 (Fiey, *MC*, 121).

tively to the three churches of Mār Isha'yā, Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e, and Mart Meskintā. A manuscript was donated to the church of Mart Meskintā in 1592 by an unknown donor⁷⁸. During the seventeenth century a manuscript was donated to 'the four churches' and the church of Mart Maryam in 1683 by the priest Eliyā, son of the deacon Hadāyā; to the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e, and Mart Meskintā in 1681 and to the church of Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e alone in 1685 by the deacon Jem'ā, son of 'Abd Allāh; and to the church of Mart Meskintā in 1696 by an unknown donor⁷⁹. A surviving inscription in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs also mentions the restoration of the churches of Mār Isha'yā, Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e and Mart Meskintā in 1694⁸⁰.

In the eighteenth century manuscripts were donated to the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e, and Mart Meskintā in 1708 by an unknown donor, and in 1773 by the lady Stambūl for her daughter Anīsā, at the request of the deacon Thomas, son of Šlībō; and to the same three churches and the church of Mār Isha'yā in 1720 by an unknown donor, and in 1777 by Gīwārgīs, son of Zahōr, in the name of his grandfather Behnām, son of 'Abd al-Karīm, and his grandmother Qudsīyā Hormez⁸¹. The last of these manuscripts was sold to the bishop Francis David of 'Amādiyā in 1924.

In the nineteenth century a manuscript was copied in Mosul for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e and Mart Meskintā in 1827 by the priest Antony Rassam ('son of Hormizd, son of the deacon 'Īsā, son of the deacon Hormizd, son of Joseph, son of Aswad, son of Joseph') of Mosul, and another was commissioned for the same churches in 1849 by his son Christian Rassam, the British consul in Mosul; a manuscript from the Gāzartā village of Barbītā (or the nearby village of Dairek) was donated to the church of Mart Meskintā in 1845 by an unknown donor; and a manuscript copied in 1718 for the monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō' near Deiri was donated to the church of Mart Meskintā in 1854, again by an unknown donor⁸².

Several surviving manuscripts in the possession of Mosul's East Syrian churches are not dated. They include a manuscript donated to the

⁷⁸ MS Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 3120 (Fiey, *MC*, 121).

⁷⁹ MSS Mosul (Scher) 17, Mosul (Magdasi) 8, Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 3116, and BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 32.

⁸⁰ Fiey, *MC*, 107.

⁸¹ MSS Mosul (Scher) 46 (Fiey, *MC*, 114-5), Mosul (Magdasi) 12 and 17, Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 404.

⁸² MSS Mosul (Magdasi) 13 and 18, Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 1222, and Dawrā Syr 54.

churches of Mār Isha'yā, Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e and Mart Meskintā in the eighteenth century, possibly by the priest Bākōs of the church of Mār Isha'yā, mentioned in a note in the same manuscript; a manuscript from Dairek stolen by brigands when the village's church of Mār Yāreṭ was destroyed in 1659 and later bought in Mosul and donated to the churches of Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e, Mār Gīwārgīs and Mart Meskintā by Kanzadah, daughter of the deacon Sulaimān; a manuscript copied in Barbīṭā in 1671 and later donated to the same three churches by the family of the deacon Khidr, 'for the rest of his soul'; and a sixteenth-century manuscript from Ḥarab Olmā donated to the church of Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e by an unknown donor⁸³.

The Monastery of Mār Mikhā'īl

[Fiey, AC, ii. 660-71]

The monastery of Mār Mikhā'īl a few miles north-west of Mosul, traditionally believed to have been founded in the fourth century, is mentioned in several sources between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, and a number of surviving manuscripts were copied in the monastery in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The earliest-known manuscript to have survived from the monastery was copied in 1189 by the priest and monk Īshō' for the church of Mart Meskintā in Mosul⁸⁴. A manuscript was copied in the monastery in either 1199 or 1212, also for the church of Mart Meskintā⁸⁵. A manuscript was copied in the monastery in 1205 or 1206 by the monk Marqos, who described its site as 'on the Tigris, above Ḥesnā 'Ebrāyā and Mosul'⁸⁶. In 1274 the monastery became the centre of a scandal, when one of its monks was discovered to have taken a Moslem mistress, and subsequently became a Moslem himself⁸⁷.

A note of 1426/7 in a thirteenth-century manuscript copied in the monastery, one of the rare notices to survive from the fifteenth century, mentions that the manuscript had been recently been rescued by Rabban Mūshe of the nearby monastery of Mār Sargīs from 'the Mongols', possibly Persian forces under the emir of Ispahan, who raided the Mosul region in 1424⁸⁸. The traditionalist monk 'Īsā of the monastery of Mār Mikhā'īl was mentioned in 1587 by Leonard Abel as one of the more

⁸³ MSS Mosul (Magdasi) 6, Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 1003 and 7010, and BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 34.

⁸⁴ MS Mosul (Magdasi) 1.

⁸⁵ MS Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 124 (Fiey, MC, 121).

⁸⁶ MS BFBS (Cambridge) 446.

⁸⁷ Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, i. 451.

⁸⁸ Note in MS BFBS (Cambridge) 446.

educated East Syrians, and the monastery was also mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610. No seventeenth- or eighteenth-century manuscripts have survived from the monastery, but it seems to have revived by the middle of the nineteenth century, as a manuscript was copied in the monastery in 1851, and a surviving inscription mentions the restoration of its church in 1867⁸⁹.

The Monastery of Mār Elīyā

[Fiey, AC, ii. 639-59]

The monastery of Mār Elīyā to the south of Mosul, also known as Dair Sa'īd, was founded around the end of the sixth century by the monk Mār Elīyā of Ḥirtā, one of the disciples of Mār Abraham of Kashkar, and several sources provide details of its history between the seventh and twelfth centuries. Nothing is known of the monastery's history for nearly four centuries thereafter. It is next mentioned in 1594, when a manuscript bought from a certain Rabban Quriāqōs was donated to the monastery by the pilgrim Daniel, son of 'Īsā, of Alqōsh, and Shem'ōn, son of the deacon Ṣūltān Shāh, of Mosul⁹⁰. It was also included among the active monasteries in the Mosul region in the reports of 1607 and 1610. By the middle of the seventeenth century the monastery had a Catholic community, led by the priest Hormizd, son of Ghannūm, who was responsible for the renovation of the monastery's church in 1657 (commemorated in an inscription seen and copied by Rich in 1821), and described some of the monastery's possessions, including articles for the celebration of the Mass, in a colophon of 1672⁹¹. Two manuscripts were commissioned for the monastery from Alqōsh in 1681 and 1682 by the priest 'Abd al-Karīm, son of Mārzenā, of Mosul; and a life of the monastery's founder Mār Elīyā, probably composed by the priest Hormizd, was recopied in 1705 by its sacristan the deacon Ya'qōb, son of the priest Īshō'⁹². Ya'qōb later became a priest, and copied a manuscript in Mosul in 1724⁹³.

The monastery was richly ornamented at this period and was known as *al-dair al-manqūsh*, 'the decorated monastery', by the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was sacked by the Persians in 1743, and remained in ruins for about a century. A detailed description of its ruins, and the former splendour of its church, was given by Rich in 1821. In 1841

⁸⁹ MS BL Or. 4084.

⁹⁰ MS Mosul (Magdasi) 4.

⁹¹ Note in MS Mosul (Magdasi) 4.

⁹² MSS Berlin Syr 111, and Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 3110 and 3113 (Fiey, AC, ii. 655).

⁹³ MS Mosul (Scher) 87.

Layard mentioned that the monastery remained a place of pilgrimage. In 1875 the monastery was restored, and the ornamented ruins of its old church were lost during this restoration⁹⁴.

Karamlish and the Monasteries of Mār Gabriel and Mār Daniel

The village of Karamlish had a number of East Syrian churches at different periods in its history, including churches of Mart Maryam, Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Yōhannān, Mār Yōnān, and Mart Barbara. The church of Mart Barbara outside the village is said to be the oldest church in the Mosul plain. It was seen by Ive in 1758, and was rebuilt by the Chaldeans in 1764, after having been long abandoned by the village's traditionalist community. The church of Mār Gīwārgīs, a disciple of Rabban Bar 'Idtā, is also ancient. It was restored in 1715 and was in use in 1758, when it was seen by Ive. It was later abandoned, and is probably the abandoned church seen by Rich in 1820. The age of the church of Mart Maryam is not known, but it was renovated during the reign of the patriarch Joseph VI Audō (1848-1878). According to Badger Karamlish had only one church in the middle of the nineteenth century. This must have been the church of Mart Barbara.

Karamlish (or Garmshā) was mentioned in the *History of Rabban Bar 'Idtā* as one of the four villages in the Mosul plain which had remained East Syrian since the sixth century and, as has already been mentioned, was mentioned by Bar Hebraeus for events in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The earliest surviving manuscript from the village was copied in 1295 by the priest Gīwārgīs for its church of Mart Maryam, at the expense of the priest 'Abd Allāh and 'the chiefs of the noble assembly of the blessed village of Karamlish'⁹⁵. Its colophon mentions the patriarch Yahballāhā III and the bishop 'Abdīshō' of Margā, perhaps because Karamlish was at that period in the diocese of Margā or perhaps because the bishop 'Abdīshō' was from the village. In 1297 he made a note describing the recent persecution of Nawruz and the torture of the patriarch Yahballāhā III in a manuscript of 1218, which mentioned that his father's name was Mas'ūd, and that he was a native of 'Garmshā'⁹⁶.

Karamlish, whose chiefs were styled 'emirs' at this period, is mentioned on three occasions around the middle of the fourteenth century in the continuation of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bar Hebraeus as the res-

⁹⁴ Fiey, *AC*, ii. 655-7.

⁹⁵ MS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 1.

⁹⁶ Note in MS Mardīn (Scher) 8.

idence of the East Syrian patriarch Denhā II, whose presence seems also to have attracted an Armenian and a West Syrian community (with a church of the Forty Martyrs) to the village⁹⁷. In 1358 the West Syrian patriarch Ignatius Ismā'īl was courteously received at Karamlish by Denhā II and several village notables, and in 1360 the West Syrian bishop Dioscorus Bar Qīnāyā is said to have bribed the patriarch and the villagers of Karamlish to further his ambition to become maphrian. In 1364 the maphrian Athanasius II Ibrāhīm visited Karamlish immediately after his enthronement, and was greeted by Denhā II and 'the priests and deacons of the Nestorians and the Armenians'⁹⁸.

Karamlish's importance seems to have declined after the death of Denhā II in 1381, and nothing more is heard of its West Syrian or Armenian communities thereafter. The village is next mentioned in 1567, when the scribe Hormizd, son of 'Abd Allāh, of Karamlish copied a manuscript in the village of Nahrawān in the Gāzartā region⁹⁹.

A considerable number of manuscripts have survived from Karamlish, mostly copied for its churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mart Barbara between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. In the seventeenth century manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in 1680 by the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad, son of the priest Ḥōjākō, and in 1696 by the priest and sacristan Hormizd¹⁰⁰.

In the eighteenth century a manuscript in the Karamlish collection was copied in 1704, probably in Telkepe, for the deacon 'Abdīshō', son of Elīyā, and his brother the deacon Hormizd, presumably both members of the clergy of Karamlish; a manuscript was bought from 'Jeremy of Mosul' in 1707 for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mart Barbara by 'the community of Karamlish', and another was copied for the same churches at about the same time by the Mosul scribe Yōhannān, son of Īshō'; a manuscript was donated to the church of Mart Maryam in 1727 by Ḥannā, son of 'Abd Allāh, his wife Ḥāne, daughter of Maḥṣūd, and their relatives Kānūn, 'Īsā, Jem'ā, and Hormizd, to commemorate the death of Ḥannā's son 'Abd al-Masīḥ (whose tomb can also still be seen in the village) on 25 August 1726; a Catholic manuscript was copied in 1729 for Jījō of Karamlish; a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1732 by Ḥnānyā, son of Māhnā; a manuscript was commissioned in

⁹⁷ *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 508-26.

⁹⁸ *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 526.

⁹⁹ MS Seert (Scher) 59.

¹⁰⁰ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 18 and 24.

1735 for the church of Mart Barbara, 'near the monastery of Rabban Yūhannā', by the priest and sacristan Nīsān, son of Ḥōshābā, of the Māhnā family, and the church's visitor Ṭalyā, and another was copied for the same church by the priest Nīsān probably around the same time; a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1765 by the chief Jish, son of the chief Mārōge, for the sacristan Ḥōshābā and the visitor Isaac, priests of the church of Mār Gīwārgīs; and a manuscript was bought in Mosul in 1772 for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mart Barbara by the priest and sacristan Hormizd¹⁰¹. Three other manuscripts in the Karamlish collection, two copied in Alqōsh in 1710 and 1729, and the third in Mosul in 1724, may have been commissioned for one or other of the churches in the village¹⁰².

Several manuscripts were acquired for the church of Mart Barbara in the nineteenth century, including a manuscript purchased in Mosul in 1827 from the deacon Stephen, son of the deacon Hormizd, by Joseph, son of the deacon Ḥōshābā 'Abdāl, of Karamlish; a manuscript commissioned from Mosul in 1850 by an unknown donor; a manuscript commissioned from Mosul in 1856 by the priest Zakaryā and the deacon Joseph, son of Ḥōshābā; three manuscripts commissioned by the deacon Joseph, two from Mosul in 1866 and 1874, and one from Alqōsh in 1874; a manuscript commissioned at an unknown date during the patriarchate of Joseph VI Audō (1848-78) by the deacon Peter Jījō; a manuscript of 1891, also commissioned by Peter Jījō (then a priest) and copied (probably in Mosul) by the West Syrian scribe Ya'qōb, son of Peter, son of the deacon Sākō; and a manuscript of 1907 copied in Karamlish for the priest Peter Jījō¹⁰³. Six other manuscripts in the Karamlish collection, one copied in Telkepe in 1823, another restored in Telkepe in 1826, two copied in Mosul in 1855 and a third in 1864 by the scribe Mīkhā'īl Rōmānōs, and one copied in Telkepe in 1861, were probably also donated to the church of Mart Barbara¹⁰⁴.

A manuscript was copied in Karamlish in 1840 by the priest and monk 'Abdīshō', son of Dōshō, of Tellā, probably a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd serving as a priest in the village¹⁰⁵. The deacon Stephen, son of Joseph, son of Shābō, of the Gādō family of Karamlish, copied eight manuscripts in the village between 1890 and 1908; the priest Isaac,

¹⁰¹ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 4, 12, 19, 24 (part), 29, 33, 48, 54, and 61, and an uncat-alogued manuscript of 1727 from Karamlish (Fiey, AC, ii. 411).

¹⁰² MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 17, 30, and 62.

¹⁰³ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 2, 3, 5, 9, 14, 15, 23, 36, 39, and 57.

¹⁰⁴ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 25, 27, 38, 46, 47, and 56.

¹⁰⁵ MS Dawrā Syr 740 (part).

son of Abraham, of the Gādō family, was the scribe of manuscripts of 1894 and 1899; and the deacon Ḥōshābā, son of Joseph, son of Ḥōshābā, copied two manuscripts in 1899 (in one of which he mentioned his mother Māyā, daughter of Binnō, of Karamlish)¹⁰⁶. The scribe Mīkhā'īl, son of Sīfā, son of Paul, of the Būtā family of Karamlish, was a monk of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences (and by 1916 a priest), where he copied six manuscripts between 1892 and 1913¹⁰⁷.

Besides the village of Karamlish there were also two East Syrian monasteries, Mār Gabriel and Mār Daniel, in the eastern Mosul plain. A manuscript was copied in the monastery of Mār Gabriel in 1473 by the monk and deacon Abraham, but it is not mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610¹⁰⁸. A manuscript was also rebound in the monastery of Mār Gabriel at an unknown date by Ḥannā, son of 'Abdō, 'curator of the church of Dohuk'¹⁰⁹. No manuscripts have survived from the monastery of Mār Daniel, but it is mentioned in the report of 1607. Neither monastery appears to have been regularly occupied thereafter. Badger visited both monasteries in 1842, and mentioned that the monastery of Mār Gabriel had long been abandoned, and that the monastery of Mār Daniel was no longer inhabited, but was still used for worship once a year¹¹⁰.

Beṭ 'Awīre and the Monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs [Fiey, AC, ii. 524-9]

In 1549 a manuscript was commissioned by the priest 'Abdīshō', son of Ṣūlṭān Shāh, son of Ghārīb Shāh, son of the chief Zain al-Dawlā, of the village of Beṭ 'Awīre¹¹¹. It was inherited by 'Abdīshō's son Anashmush on his death, and sold to Hormizd, son of Mīkhā'īl.

The monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs, a few miles north of Beṭ 'Awīre, is first mentioned in the tenth century. Nothing is known of its history between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, and it is not mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610. It seems to have revived by the middle of the seventeenth century, as two manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for the monastery in 1670 by the monk Hormizd, son of Haji, and in 1691 by an unknown donor¹¹².

¹⁰⁶ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 5, 16, 21, 22, 28, 39, 45, 52, and 59, Dawrā Syr 940 and 941, and an uncatologued manuscript of 1899 from Karamlish.

¹⁰⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 99, 478, 580, 801, 875, and 938.

¹⁰⁸ MS Seert (Scher) 81.

¹⁰⁹ MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 29.

¹¹⁰ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 99.

¹¹¹ MS Mosul (Bīdawīd) 129 (Fiey, AC, ii. 525).

¹¹² MSS Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 10 and Dawrā Syr 931.

A number of manuscripts were donated to the monastery during the eighteenth century, all but one by Christians from the nearby village of Telkepe. They included two manuscripts of 1704 donated respectively by Joseph and 'Īsā, sons of the priest Kānūn of Telkepe, and by the priest Brikhshō', son of the priest Īshō', son of the priest Joseph, son of the priest Jamāl al-Dīn, of Telkepe; a manuscript donated in 1707 by Kūzal, daughter of the smith Ḥannā of Mosul; a manuscript donated in 1710 by the 'pious ladies of Telkepe' Ḥātūn and her mother Sette, daughter of the priest Elīyā, of Telkepe; a manuscript rebound for the monastery in 1712; a manuscript commissioned in 1744 by the priest 'Abdīshō', son of the priest Kānūn, of Telkepe and 'the believing women' Amat, her daughter Maryam, Helen, Tekā, and Elfīyā, whose colophon mentions that the monastery's 'door-keeper' was the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Brikhō; a manuscript of 1756 commissioned by Isaac, son of Shōshō, of Telkepe; and a manuscript commissioned in 1778 by a group of female Christians of Telkepe¹¹³.

In 1753 the Dominican father Codeleoncini died in Alqōsh. The village's influential traditionalist community refused to allow his body to remain there, and it was buried in the monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs. In 1808 the monastery, then deserted, was offered by Yōḥannān Hormizd to Gabriel Dambō as a home for his newly-founded monastic order. It seems to have been reoccupied shortly afterwards, as the deacon Thomas of Telkepe, son of the priest Hormizd, restored a manuscript in the monastery in 1825¹¹⁴.

The monastery was restored in 1843 by the patriarch Nicholas I Zay'ā, and was enlarged and converted in the 1850s to serve as a Chaldean seminary. As an alternative site for the seminary was found in Mosul, it was returned to the Chaldean church in 1863 for continuing use as a monastery. Its administrators or superiors in the decades before the First World War were Peter Timothy 'Attar, Stephen Mārōge, Ephrem of Khosrōwā, and Ya'qōb of Piyōz. Manuscripts were copied in the monastery in 1879 by the Telkepe scribe Joseph 'Azarīyā, in 1882 by the monk Nicholas, son of Shem'ōn, and in 1884 by the patriarch Elīyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; and commissioned for the monastery from Alqōsh in 1886 by the superior Stephen Mārōge; in 1891 by Samuel Giamil for its superior Ephrem, and in 1894 by the superior Ya'qōb of Piyōz¹¹⁵.

¹¹³ MSS Dawrā Syr 32, 45, 64, and 196, Mosul (Scher) 52 and 98, Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 3117 (Fiey, AC, ii. 527), and Paris BN Syr 310.

¹¹⁴ MS Dawrā Syr 34.

¹¹⁵ MSS Cambridge Add. 2814, Paris BN Syr 315, Assfalḡ Syr 64, and Dawrā Syr 142, 233, and 409.

Telkepe

[Fiey, AC, ii. 201-4 and 355-76]

In the nineteenth century the village of Telkepe was easily the largest East Syrian village in the Mosul plain, and supplied many of the bishops, priests and scribes of the Chaldean church. For most of its known history Telkepe had two churches, dedicated to Mart Maryam and to Mār Quriāqōs and Mart Julitta respectively, and a third church, dedicated to Mār Peter and Mār Paul, was built towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Telkepe is not mentioned before the fifteenth century, and may well have been founded as late as the fourteenth century, perhaps during the residence of Denḥā II at Karamlish. The village is first mentioned in an inscription commemorating the restoration of the nearby monastery of Mār Apni-māran in 1403 by 'the villagers of Telkepe'¹¹⁶. The priest Hormizd, son of the chief Mattai, copied a manuscript in Telkepe in 1465, and was the recipient of a manuscript copied in Mosul in 1489¹¹⁷.

Telkepe is next mentioned in 1508, when it was among the villages pilaged by Bar Yak. A manuscript later in the possession of the monastery of Mār Awgin was sold, perhaps early in the sixteenth century, by the priest Sabrišhō', son of Mārbehnā, of Telkepe, to 'the priest and monk Thomas, son of Badḡaldīn, of Kirkūk'¹¹⁸. In 1586 a manuscript was commissioned for the church of Mār Quriāqōs by the village's 'priests and deacons and notables' (significantly, from Gāzartā rather than neighbouring Alqōsh)¹¹⁹. In 1587 the traditionalist priest Ḥōshābā of Telkepe was included in Leonard Abel's list of the most literate men in the 'Nestorian nation'¹²⁰.

In 1654 the Carmelite father Denys de la Couronne d'Épines visited Telkepe, and found there more than fifty priests, many of them poor. He noted that the priests and the people were not distinguished by their dress, and that many of the poorer priests might easily be mistaken for cowherds¹²¹. The patriarch Elīyā IX Shem'ōn had fled to Telkepe the year before in the wake of a descent by the Kurds upon Alqōsh, and Denys tried unsuccessfully to persuade him to become a Catholic, with the help of the influential Telkepe priest Joseph, son of the priest Jamāl al-Dīn.

¹¹⁶ Sachau, *Reise im Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 361.

¹¹⁷ MSS Berlin Syr 67 and BL Or. 4399.

¹¹⁸ MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 12.

¹¹⁹ MS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 6.

¹²⁰ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121-2.

¹²¹ Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, i. 391.

Joseph, who composed several religious poems, copied a manuscript in 1660 and commissioned another in 1665, and his grandson Brikišhō', son of the priest Išhō', copied a manuscript in Telkepe in 1704¹²².

Several other members of the village's numerous clergy in the second half of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century are known from manuscript colophons. Manuscripts were copied in Telkepe in 1659 by the deacon 'Abdīshō', son of 'Abdō, son of Shem'ōn; in 1682 by the priest Qandū, son of Ḥannā, son of Ḥōjāk; and in 1703 by a scribe of the village named Gabriel, perhaps the priest of the same name for whom a manuscript was copied at Alqōsh in 1714¹²³. Five manuscripts were also copied between 1698 and 1710 by the deacon Sabrīshō', 'son of 'Ajmayā, nephew of the priest and pilgrim 'Abdīshō', son of Sabrīshō'¹²⁴. Several manuscripts were also commissioned for the church of Mār Quriāqōs or the nearby monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs: in 1676 by the deacon Joseph, son of Thomas (also associated with the priest Joseph in 1665), and the deacon Gīwārgīs; in 1680 by the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Sabrīshō', son of Asad; in 1682 by Abraham, son of Mākō, and his wife Shmūni, daughter of the priest Quriāqōs; in 1686 by the deacon Bākō and his wife Rihānā; and in 1704 by Joseph and 'Isā, sons of the priest Kānūn¹²⁵. The priest Mākō of Telkepe commissioned a manuscript for the monastery of Mār Abraham the Mede near Bātnāyā in 1707 together with its superior the priest 'Abdō¹²⁶.

Although few details of the process of conversion have survived, Latin missionaries were active in Telkepe in the seventeenth century, and the village had a significant number of Catholic converts by the end of the century. One of the village's most famous Catholic converts, Šlibā Mā'rūf, was consecrated metropolitan of Āmid in 1691, and in 1695 succeeded Joseph I as patriarch of the Chaldeans of Āmid. He was only one of many young men in the village given a Catholic education by the missionaries at this period. An important step in Telkepe's transition to Catholicism was taken on 6 January 1719, when representatives of its clergy signed together with the priest Khidr of Mosul an act abjuring 'the Nestorian heresy'. The document was signed on behalf of Telkepe by the

¹²² MSS Vat Syr 592 (*Vorlage*), Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 23, and Mosul (Scher) 52.

¹²³ MSS Vat Syr 64, Dawrā Syr 493, Ūrmī 171, and Berlin Syr 87.

¹²⁴ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 101, Vat Syr 185, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 12, and Dawrā Syr 64 and 220.

¹²⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 45, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 8, 17, and 24, and a manuscript of 1680 (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 532).

¹²⁶ MS Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 8.

priests Mīkhō and Ayyār; the deacon Ḥannā; and Eliyā, son of the priest Thomas. Nevertheless, the Catholics remained in a minority in the village for most of the eighteenth century. In 1767, according to Ballyet, Telkepe had 500 East Syrian families, of whom only 150 were Catholic.

The traditionalist patriarch Eliyā XI Mārōgin was twice obliged to leave Alqōsh and take refuge in Telkepe because of disturbances in 'Amādiyā, once in 1706 and again between 1715 and 1717. On each occasion he was accompanied by his secretary the priest Gīwārgīs, son of Israel, of Alqōsh, who copied three manuscripts in 'the patriarchal cell' in Telkepe during these visits¹²⁷.

Manuscript colophons have preserved the names of several priests and deacons of Telkepe in the first half of the eighteenth century, many of whom appear to have been traditionalists: the priest Kānūn, who visited Jerusalem in 1718 to catalogue the manuscripts of the monastery of Mart Maryam, then dependent on the patriarch Eliyā XI; the priest Gabriel, son of Nōfāl, son of Haidar, who copied two manuscripts (one in 1725) and restored a third; the deacon Gabriel Qandū, son of the priest Kānūn, who purchased a manuscript at an unknown date for his own use and for the use of his sons Mattai and Thomas; the priest 'Abdīshō', son of Kānūn, who commissioned a manuscript for the monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs in 1744; the priest Gabriel, son of the deacon Yaldā of Alqōsh, who commissioned two manuscripts for the church of Mār Quriāqōs in 1724 and 1740 (the second together with his brother the pilgrim Thomas); the priests Ayyār, son of 'Abdāl, and Quriāqōs, son of the priest 'Abdīshō'; the chief and deacon Shem'ōn, son of Jem'ā, who commissioned a manuscript for the church of Mār Quriāqōs in 1744; the priests Yaldā, 'Abdīshō', Hormizd, and Gabriel of the church of Mār Quriāqōs, who witnessed the presentation of a manuscript to the church by the priest Ayyār around 1750; and the Catholic deacon Joseph, son of 'Abdīshō' Dadah, of Telkepe, who restored a manuscript in Mardīn in 1745 for the patriarch Joseph III, and was the scribe of a manuscript of 1746, also copied in Mardīn¹²⁸.

In the second half of the eighteenth century a manuscript was copied in Alqōsh in 1756 by the priest Šlibā of Telkepe for his brother the deacon 'Askar; a manuscript was copied in Telkepe in 1771 by the priest

¹²⁷ MSS Cambridge Add. 2017, Dawrā Syr 224, and Mīngana Syr 595.

¹²⁸ MSS Mosul (Scher) 31, BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 12 and 56, Paris BN Syr 278 and 310, Paris BN Ar 232, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 12, 61, and 66, Dawrā Syr 257, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 39, and an uncatalogued manuscript of 1725 from Telkepe (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 690).

Thomas; and manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh in 1756 by the deacon Abraham Thomas of Telkepe, in 1769 by the priest Kānūn, son of the priest 'Abdīshō' 'Īshō', of Telkepe¹²⁹. Manuscripts were also commissioned from Alqōsh for the village's church of Mār Quriāqōs in 1751 by Maryam, daughter of the priest David, in 1774 by Elfīyā, daughter of Yaghmūr, and in 1779 by the priest Quriāqōs, son of the pilgrim 'Abd Allāh, son of Asmar¹³⁰. An undated manuscript in the Telkepe collection was purchased by the deacon Sībā, 'of the family of Kākā Ḥannō', probably a villager of Telkepe, from the deacon Ḥōshābā, son of the priest Mahnā, of Karamlish, perhaps also in the eighteenth century¹³¹.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century most of the villagers of Telkepe were Catholics, and the village made a most important contribution to the work of the Chaldean church during the nineteenth century. Twenty-nine men from Telkepe, the largest number from a single village, entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd between 1814 and 1826, many of whom pursued scribal careers, and were followed by several others later. Nine Telkepe monks (Mīkhā'īl Kattūlā, Basil Asmar, Emmanuel Asmar, Yōhannān Tamraz, Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā, Mattai Paul Shamīnā, Jerome Shem'ōn Sinjārī, Stephen Yōhannān Qaynāyā, and Philip Ya'qōb Abraham) later became Chaldean bishops.

The Asmar family of Telkepe was particularly prominent in the nineteenth century. The monk Maṣṣūr Asmar became metropolitan of 'Amādiyā in 1824 (taking the name Basil on his consecration), and was metropolitan of Āmid between 1828 and 1842, and his nephew Emmanuel was bishop of Zākhō from 1859 to 1875. Several other members of the family also flourished as scribes in the nineteenth century. The deacon Shem'ōn, son of Peter, son of Denḥā, copied two manuscripts in Telkepe in 1810 and 1812 as a scholar of the Telkepe scribe Joseph Pallāṭ, three more while living in Alqōsh between 1821 and 1824, and a sixth in Āmid, later in 1824¹³². His brother, the priest Peter, copied two manuscripts in Telkepe in 1818 and 1826¹³³. The priest and monk Andrew, son of the deacon Joseph, son of the deacon 'Abd Allāh, from another branch of the family, copied a manuscript in 1825 before his ordination, another in 1833 as a monk and deacon, probably in the monastery

¹²⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 266, Mosul (Magdasi) 16, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 10, and Ūrmī 40.

¹³⁰ MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 13 and 14, and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 80.

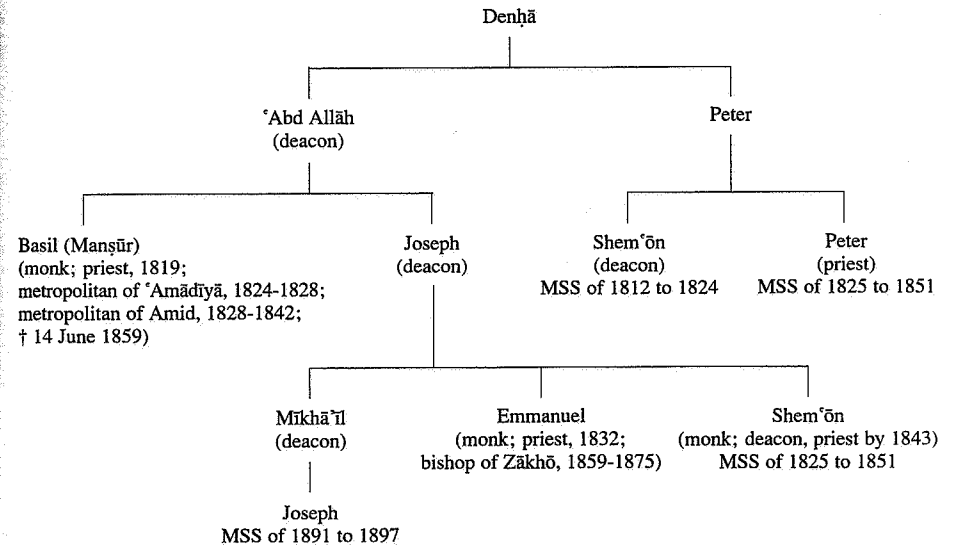
¹³¹ MS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 72.

¹³² MSS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 7, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 4 and 30, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 104, Dawrā Syr 13, and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 17.

¹³³ MSS Mingana Syr 233 and BL Or. 4397 (Vorlage).

of Rabban Hormizd, and five others as a priest between 1843 and 1859, probably all in Telkepe¹³⁴. His nephew Joseph, son of the deacon Mīkhā'īl, copied twelve manuscripts in Telkepe between 1891 and 1897, whose colophons invariably mentioned the two Chaldean bishops in his family¹³⁵.

Figure 1: The Asmar Family of Telkepe



A number of manuscripts were also copied in the village by other scribes from Telkepe. The priest Hormizd, son of Denḥā, son of Eliyā, son of the priest Ḥannā, of the Eliyā family, copied two manuscripts in 1801 and 1809¹³⁶. The priest Thomas, 'of the family of the priest Hormizd', was the scribe of a manuscript of 1802¹³⁷. The scribe Hormizd, son of the priest 'Abdīshō', of the 'Abdāl family, copied a manuscript in 1806¹³⁸. The deacon Joseph, son of the deacon Hormizd, son of Joseph,

¹³⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 280, 719, and 969, Assfalg Syr 2 (part), Manchester JRL Syr 3, and Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 45 and 96.

¹³⁵ MSS Mingana Syr 210, 213B, 214, Mosul (Scher) 78, Vat Syr 580, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 9, 12, and 13, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 53, Kirkūk (Vosté) 17 and 21, and Assfalg Syr 2.

¹³⁶ MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 5 and 21.

¹³⁷ MS Mingana Syr 134B.

¹³⁸ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 83.

of the Pallat family, copied four manuscripts between 1810 and 1812¹³⁹. Joseph's brother the deacon Yōhannān 'the goldsmith', copied a manuscript in 1844 (by which time his father Hormizd was a priest)¹⁴⁰. The deacon Joseph, son of Ḥannā, was the scribe of two manuscripts of 1820 and 1823¹⁴¹. The deacon Thomas, son of the priest Hormizd, son of Denhā, son of Elīyā, son of the priest Ḥannā, copied seven manuscripts in Telkepe between 1820 and 1825, and also restored a manuscript in the nearby monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs in 1825¹⁴². The deacon Thomas, son of the deacon 'Abdīshō', of the Shamse family, copied four manuscripts in Telkepe between 1812 and 1818, and his brother the priest Mikhā'īl was the scribe of a manuscript of 1835¹⁴³. The priest Gīwārgīs, son of the priest Hormizd, of Telkepe, restored a manuscript in 1826¹⁴⁴. The priest Mattai, son of the deacon 'Abdīshō', was the scribe of a manuscript of 1853¹⁴⁵. In the 1830s a priest named Stephen was rewarded with a position in Telkepe for his prompt submission to Yōhannān VIII Hormizd after the settlement of 1828. He later made Badger's acquaintance, and was commended by him in 1850¹⁴⁶.

Twenty-nine men from Telkepe entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during the lifetime of Gabriel Dambō. Besides Andrew Asmar, whose work has already been mentioned, eight other monks from Telkepe worked as scribes in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, where they copied fifteen manuscripts between 1817 and 1829. The monk Stephen, son of Gīwārgīs, son of Ḥannā, of the Jammālā family, was the scribe of manuscripts of 1818, 1819, and 1821¹⁴⁷. The priest and monk Bernard, son of Yōhannān, of the Mā'rūf family, was the scribe of manuscripts of 1817 and 1819¹⁴⁸. The monk Augustine, son of the priest 'Īshō', of the Shamse family, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1819¹⁴⁹. The monk Clement, son of Peter, son of 'Īsā, son of Joseph, of the Brikhō

¹³⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 274 and 724, Mingana Syr 490, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 19, and BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 7.

¹⁴⁰ MS Manchester JRL Syr 3.

¹⁴¹ MSS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 6 and Karamlish (Jajeeka) 56.

¹⁴² MSS Dawrā Syr 34, 201 and 975, Mosul (Scher) 82, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 28, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 16, Mingana Syr 428D, and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 59.

¹⁴³ MSS 'Aqrā (Vosté) 19, BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 5, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 43 and 90, and Dawrā Syr 274.

¹⁴⁴ MS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 38.

¹⁴⁵ MS Dawrā Syr 727.

¹⁴⁶ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 165.

¹⁴⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 11 and 20, and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 46.

¹⁴⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 10 and 756.

¹⁴⁹ MS Dawrā Syr 17.

family, was the scribe of two manuscripts, one of 1825 and the other undated¹⁵⁰. The monk Yūwānīs, son of the deacon Peter, son of Kamnō, of the Kattūlā family, copied six manuscripts between 1819 and 1823¹⁵¹. The monk and deacon Basil of Telkepe copied a manuscript in 1826¹⁵². The priest and monk Antony, son of 'Askar, son of Quriāqōs, copied a manuscript in 1829¹⁵³. The priest and monk Hieronymus, son of Thomas, son of Kamnō, of the Qāshā family, who entered the monastery in 1822, is not known to have copied any manuscripts in the 1820s, but later restored a manuscript of 1844 for the deacon Yōhannān, son of the priest Hormizd, and also sold a manuscript in 1848 to the priest Rufā'īl Kattūlā (probably of Telkepe), which was donated to the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1851¹⁵⁴.

In the 1870s Telkepe was affected by the disputes between the patriarch Joseph VI Audō and the Vatican. Most of the villagers, led by Quriāqōs of the Ḥannā al-Hākīm family, priest of the church of Mār Quriāqōs, supported the patriarch, while his few opponents were obliged to worship in the village's Dominican school. In 1876 Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā and Mattai Paul Shamīnā, the bishops of Zākhō and 'Amādiyā, rebelled against the patriarch. Gōgā, a native of Telkepe, installed himself in the village, where he enjoyed considerable support, in a direct challenge to the patriarch's authority. Audō responded by suspending him, along with five priests of Telkepe who had supported him. Under pressure from the Vatican, the two rebels eventually submitted, and the suspensions were lifted. A colophon of 1879 mentions the disturbances caused at this time, and a manuscript copied in 1881 by Joseph 'Azariyā was completed not in Telkepe but in a nearby 'upper encampment, in Beṭ Qermā'¹⁵⁵. Some of the villagers resented the patriarch's action, and when Wallis Budge visited Telkepe in 1881 he was approached by its Chaldean priest and villagers and persuaded to carry a petition to the archbishop of Canterbury seeking the establishment of an Anglican mission in the village¹⁵⁶.

A remarkable number of scribes flourished in Telkepe during the second half of the nineteenth century, and the village became second only to

¹⁵⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 18 and 458.

¹⁵¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 21, 53, 679, and 716, Vat Syr 579, and an uncatalogued manuscript of 1822 (Fiey, AC, ii. 546).

¹⁵² MS Dawrā Syr 279.

¹⁵³ MS Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 18.

¹⁵⁴ MSS Manchester JRL Syr 3 and Dawrā Syr 76.

¹⁵⁵ MSS Cambridge Add. 2814 and 2820.

¹⁵⁶ Wallis Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, ii. 247-8.

Alqōsh as a centre for the copying of manuscripts. The most prolific Telkepe scribe was the deacon Francis, son of Gīwārgīs, son of Francis, son of Thomas, of the Mārā family, who copied at least thirty-two manuscripts between 1872 and 1894¹⁵⁷. The deacon Peter, son of the priest Joseph, son of Yōhannān, son of the deacon Stephen, son of Abraham, of the Ganji family, copied or restored twenty-two manuscripts between 1888 and 1913¹⁵⁸. The scribe Joseph 'Azariyā, son of the pilgrim Yōhannān Audō, of the Ṭawpān family, copied ten manuscripts between 1877 and 1895¹⁵⁹. Joseph 'Azariyā and Francis Mārā were particularly active for European patrons, especially Eduard Sachau.

Several more occasional scribes were also active in the village at this period. The scribe Yōhannān, son of Quriāqōs, of the Ḥaji family, copied three manuscripts between 1858 and 1861¹⁶⁰. The scribe Gīwārgīs, son of 'Īsā, of the Sākō family, copied a manuscript in November 1860 in memory of his son Joseph, who died on 2 September of the same year, and is probably to be identified with the deacon 'Gīgō Sattō' who copied a manuscript in 1868¹⁶¹. The deacon Stephen, son of the deacon Marqos, son of Hormizd, of the Dādīzā family, copied or restored five manuscripts between 1861 and 1865¹⁶². The priest 'Abdishō', son of the pilgrim Gīwārgīs, son of 'Abdishō', 'of the family of Ignatius', and his brother the deacon Maṣṣūr copied six manuscripts between 1871 and 1885¹⁶³. The priest Joseph Kattūlā copied three manuscripts between 1875 and 1892¹⁶⁴. The priest Francis, son of Shāmō, son of Fāgō, of the Dabbesh family, copied three manuscripts between 1888 and 1892¹⁶⁵. The priest

¹⁵⁷ MSS Bānāyā (Haddād) 27, Dohuk (Haddād) 43, Berlin Syr 57, 61, 68, 75, 77, 79, 80, 93, 101, 106, 123, 134, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 18, 55, 64, and 75, Cambridge Add. 2815, 2817, 3514, and 3538, Leningrad Syr 32 and 50, Harvard Syr (Titterton) 3994 and 4005, Mingana Syr 60, 66, 85P, 209, and 216, and Karamlish (Jajeeka) 23.

¹⁵⁸ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 18, Mingana Syr 57, Mosul (Scher) 83, Paris BN Syr 336, Louvain CSCO Syr 2, 3, 11, 12, 14 and 19, Dawrā Syr 155, 341, 516, 537, 867, 915, and 929, Bānāyā (Haddād) 15, 38, and 42, and Beṭ Qōpā (Haddād) 5.

¹⁵⁹ Two manuscripts in the Beirut collection (Rücker, *OC*, 9 [1920], 121-2), and MSS Cambridge Add. 2813, 2814, and 2820, Kirkūk (Vosté) 49, Assfalḡ Syr 48 (part), Dawrā Syr 581 and 839, and NDS (Vosté) 197.

¹⁶⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 36 and 55, and Karamlish (Jajeeka) 27.

¹⁶¹ MSS Bānāyā (Haddād) 3 and Dawrā Syr 814.

¹⁶² MSS Dawrā Syr 205 and 421, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 84, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 51, and Vat Syr 571.

¹⁶³ MSS Bānāyā (Haddād) 19, 21, 22, and 55, Beṭ Qōpā (Haddād) 6, and NDS (Scher) 149.

¹⁶⁴ MSS Trichur Syr 22, Dawrā Syr 692, and Mosul (Scher) 73.

¹⁶⁵ Two manuscripts of the *Book of Governors*, completed on 23 January 1888 and 13 April 1888 respectively for E.A. Wallis Budge, and MS Harvard Syr (Titterton) 3995.

Mīkhā'īl, son of the deacon Fransū, son of the priest Mārōge, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1891, and also acquired a manuscript copied by the priest 'Īsā of Mosul in 1493¹⁶⁶. The student Hormizd, son of Yōhannān, a disciple of Joseph 'Azariyā, copied two manuscripts in 1885 and 1889, and a manuscript was copied in the Catholic school in Telkepe in 1886 by the scholars Maṣṣūr, son of Gigōi, Latūnī, son of Joseph, and Joseph, son of Zawrā Hādō¹⁶⁷.

At the same period a number of monks from Telkepe were also active as scribes in the Alqōsh monasteries, particularly the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences. The priest and monk Nicholas, son of Gīwārgīs, son of Hormizd, of the Nōfāl family of Telkepe, copied nine manuscripts in the Alqōsh monasteries between 1863 and 1882 and a tenth in the village of Beṭ Bōzi, for the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, in 1888¹⁶⁸. The priest and monk Augustine, son of Ḥōshābā, of the Ḥānī Bānī family of Telkepe, copied ten manuscripts in the Alqōsh monasteries between 1853 and 1880¹⁶⁹. His brother the monk Joseph was the scribe of five manuscripts between 1874 and 1888¹⁷⁰. The priest and monk Philip Ya'qōb Abraham (later metropolitan of Malabar, then of Gāzartā), 'son of Joseph, son of Abraham, of the Bōdō family of Telkepe', was the scribe of seven manuscripts between 1869 and 1886, five of which were copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, one in Mosul, and one in the monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs¹⁷¹. The monk Paul, son of the priest Hormizd, son of Isha'yā, of the Je'dān family of Telkepe, copied twenty-three manuscripts between 1891 and 1920, all as far as is known in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences¹⁷². The monk Joseph Dādīshō', son of Antony, son of Abraham, 'of the family of Yōhannān Naggarā, of Telkepe', later the superior of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, copied six manuscripts in the monastery between 1903 and 1914¹⁷³. The priest and monk Benjamin, son of Yōhannān, son of Gīwārgīs, of the Auzō family of Telkepe, copied three manuscripts in the

¹⁶⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 318 and 408.

¹⁶⁷ MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 51, Assfalḡ Syr 48, and Mingana Syr 93.

¹⁶⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 37, 56, 61, 232, 317, 399, 465, 490, 683, and 927.

¹⁶⁹ MSS NDS (Scher) 145, Dawrā Syr 110, 207, 324, 369, 388, 622, 684, and 934, and Trichur Syr 26.

¹⁷⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 128, 448, 624, 687, and 848.

¹⁷¹ MSS NDS (Scher) 137, NDS (Vosté) 101 and Dawrā Syr 338, 433, 529, 898, and 901.

¹⁷² MSS Vat Syr 582 and Dawrā Syr 64, 143, 239, 240, 254, 422, 489, 491, 555, 557, 558, 591, 593, 598, 732, 774, 818, 841, 869, 921, 943, and 973.

¹⁷³ MSS Dawrā Syr 677, 70, 496, 678, and 868, and NDS (Vosté) 66.

monastery of Notre Dame des Semences between 1886 and 1904 and a fourth in Seert in 1887¹⁷⁴. The monk Īshō'yahb, son of the deacon Francis, 'of the family of Gīwārgīs Naggarā of Telkepe', copied five manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences between 1904 and 1937¹⁷⁵. The monk La'zar 'Askar of Telkepe was one of two scribes of a manuscript copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1912¹⁷⁶.

Bāṭnāyā

[Fiey, AC, ii. 376-9]

The village of Bāṭnāyā (or Ṭeṭnāyā) is first mentioned in the seventh century under the name Beṭ Maḍāye in the *History of Beṭ Qōqā*, and little is known of its history thereafter until the seventeenth century. A solitary manuscript was copied in the village's church or 'monastery' of Mār Quriāqōs in 1474 by the priest Īshō', son of Isaac, of Hakkārī¹⁷⁷.

Bāṭnāyā was converted to Catholicism during the eighteenth century. In 1729 it was among the villages which sought separate representation for its Catholic community, and in 1767 Ballyet mentioned that its entire population of 200 families were Catholics¹⁷⁸. The monk Mūshe of Bāṭnāyā entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1820, and the monks Thomas, Mattai and Lawrent in 1826.

The earliest manuscripts to survive from Bāṭnāyā were copied in the eighteenth century. A manuscript was copied in the village in 1702 by the scribe 'Abdīshō', son of Hadāyā, for the priest 'Askar of Tel Isqōf, and two manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for its church of Mār Quriāqōs in 1745, one by Helen, daughter of the deacon Kāzūm, and a second by 'the community of Bāṭnāyā'¹⁷⁹.

Several manuscripts have survived from Bāṭnāyā from the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, mostly acquired for its church of Mār Quriāqōs (also dedicated by then to Mart Maryam) by three of the village's leading families, two of which were related by marriage. Manuscripts were commissioned for the church from Telkepe in 1824 by the deacon Markhāyā, son of Ṣawmō; from Mosul in 1839 by his brother the deacon Peter; and from Telkepe in 1873 by his nephew

¹⁷⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 72, 184, 667, and 682.

¹⁷⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 436, 669, 672, 855 and 921.

¹⁷⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 140.

¹⁷⁷ MS Mosul (Magdasi) 3.

¹⁷⁸ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 345-6; and Chick, *Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, ii. 1262.

¹⁷⁹ MSS Vat Syr 505 and Bāṭnāyā (Haddād) 15 and 40.

Thomas, son of Gīwārgīs, son of Ṣawmō; and a manuscript was copied in the village in 1880 by Markhāyā's grandson the deacon Mārōgin, son of Jeremy¹⁸⁰. A number of manuscripts were acquired for the church of Mār Quriāqōs between 1869 and 1904 at the expense of its curator Yōhannān (or Ḥannā), son of Faṭō, of the Kamājā family, his sons Quriāqōs and Abraham, his sister Meskintā, and her husband Joseph, son of Īshō'. They include a manuscript commissioned from Alqōsh in 1869 by the metropolitan Thomas Rōkōs and the priests Quriāqōs and Paul, at the expense of Yōhannān and his son Quriāqōs; a manuscript renewed in the village by the scribe 'Abdīshō' Sābā of Tel Isqōf in 1878 at the request of Yōhannān and the priests Peter and Ḥannā; a manuscript commissioned from Telkepe in 1885 by Yōhannān; two manuscripts commissioned from Alqōsh in 1887 and 1889 by the priest Peter Qāshā, at the expense of Joseph and his wife Meskintā (who also paid for the manuscript of 1878); and a manuscript commissioned from Telkepe in 1904 by the priest Hormizd Qāshā, son of the priest Peter, son of Mūsā, Yōhannān's son Abraham, Quriāqōs (perhaps Yōhannān's son of the same name) and his brother the deacon Gīwārgīs, Hormizd, and Thomas, son of Quriāqōs¹⁸¹. A manuscript was also commissioned for the church of Mār Quriāqōs from Telkepe in 1874 by an unknown donor; a manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1885 was purchased for the church in 1907 by the priests Joseph and Hormizd, and the deacon Ūkāmā; and a manuscript was copied at Telkepe in 1888 for the deacon Mīkhā, son of Paul, son of Isaac, of Bāṭnāyā¹⁸².

The priest Peter, of the Qāshā family of Bāṭnāyā, and his son the priest Hormizd were among the notables of the village in the final decades before the First World War, and the family continued to serve the Chaldean church afterwards. Peter Qāshā's grandson, the monk Mūsā (or Mūshe), son of the deacon Isha'yā, copied a number of manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences between 1931 and 1955¹⁸³.

The Monastery of Mār Abraham the Mede

[Fiey, AC, ii. 532-3]

The monastery of Abraham the Mede near Bāṭnāyā was founded in the seventh century. Little is known of its history until the beginning of the

¹⁸⁰ MSS Bāṭnāyā (Haddād) 16 and 24, Dohuk (Haddād) 43, and Munich Syr 7.

¹⁸¹ MS Bāṭnāyā (Haddād) 7, 12, 15, 17, 19, and 42.

¹⁸² MSS Bāṭnāyā (Haddād) 21 and 52, and Leningrad Syr 50.

¹⁸³ MSS Bāṭnāyā (Haddād) 56, Beṭ Qōpā (Haddād) 2, and Dawrā Syr 431, 531, 657, and 971.

seventeenth century, when it was mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610. Several manuscripts were commissioned for the monastery around the end of the seventeenth century by its superior the priest Hormizd, son of Nūr al-Dīn, of Bāṭnāyā, and his successor the priest 'Abdō, who was among the group of clerics in the Mosul region who converted to Catholicism in 1719 with Khidr of Mosul: They include manuscripts of 1681 and 1682 commissioned by the superior Hormizd, paid for by his son the deacon Abraham and his wife Kūlī, and by the priest Safar and the notables of the church of Shem'on Bar Sabbā'e in Mosul respectively; a manuscript of 1683 by an unknown donor; and a manuscript of 1707 commissioned by the superior 'Abdō and the priest Mākō of Telkepe, at the expense of Kūlī (possibly the donor of 1681)¹⁸⁴. Two manuscripts were also copied in the monastery around 1680 by the monk and deacon Abraham¹⁸⁵.

The monastery was pillaged by Nādir Shāh in 1743, and remained practically deserted since. Restoration work undertaken during the reign of Elyā XII 'Abūyōnān was discontinued after his death, and the monastery was used as a summer residence for a few years during the reign of Emmanuel II Thomas¹⁸⁶.

Tel Isqōf and the Monastery of Mār Apni-māran [Fiey, AC, ii. 381-5]

The village of Tel Isqōf (or Tel Zqīpā, or Tesqōpā), is first mentioned in a thirteenth-century poem of Gīwārgīs Wardā, which describes its sack by a raiding band of Mongols in November 1235 and the destruction of its church of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse. The village is next mentioned in 1498, when a manuscript was commissioned from Mosul for its churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse by the priest 'Īsā, son of the chief Ḥassan, 'whose care was to build churches, write books, and educate scholars'¹⁸⁷.

Two scribes from Tel Isqōf are known from the sixteenth century: the priest Shlemūn, son of the priest Abraham, scribe of manuscripts of 1539 and 1558, and the deacon Abraham, son of Bad'ā, the scribe of a manuscript of 1583¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁴ MSS Bāṭnāyā (Ḥaddād) 8, 13, and 14, and a manuscript in the Mosul (Bīdāwīd) collection (Fiey, MC, 23; and AC, ii. 532).

¹⁸⁵ MS Dawrā Syr 28 and a manuscript in the Telkepe collection (Fiey, AC, ii. 532).

¹⁸⁶ Fiey, AC, ii. 533.

¹⁸⁷ MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 30.

¹⁸⁸ MSS Vat Syr 339, Cambridge Add. 1988, and Kirkūk (Vosté) 40.

Several manuscripts were copied by scribes of the village or for its church of Mār Gīwārgīs towards the end of the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century. The priest Abraham, son of the priest Mīrījān, of Tel Isqōf, copied a manuscript in Piyōz in 1688, commissioned a manuscript for the church of the village of Alōkān in the Dohuk district in 1697, and was the recipient of a manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1703¹⁸⁹. A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1692 for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs by Kīnā, son of Nīsān¹⁹⁰.

Four manuscripts were copied or restored for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs between 1702 and 1735, three of them by the Alqōsh scribe Gīwārgīs, son of Daniel, who was a deacon in Tel Isqōf in 1702, and the fourth by a scribe of Bāṭnāyā. The first of these manuscripts was restored in 1702 by the deacon Gīwārgīs of Alqōsh, at the request of the deacons Marqos, son of the deacon Mattai, Ḥōshābō, son of Ayyār, 'Askar, son of 'Abdīshō', Darmān, son of 'Īsā, and 'Ajmayā, son of Mezō; the deacon and 'head of the church' Darwīsh; the chief Kāzūm, son of Nīsān; 'and all the deacons and the sons of the town who dwell in the blessed town of Tel Zqīpā'¹⁹¹. Another manuscript was copied later in 1702 in Bāṭnāyā by the scribe 'Abdīshō', son of Hadāyā, for the use of the same 'Askar, by then a priest¹⁹². A third manuscript was commissioned in 1715 by the priests Ḥōshābā, Mattai Darmān, son of 'Īsā, 'Askar, son of 'Abdīshō', and Yaldā, son of Ḥabash; the chief Kāzūm; and the deacon 'Ajmayā, son of Mezō¹⁹³. A fourth manuscript was commissioned in 1735 by the lady Shāhmalak, daughter of Ḥabash, and Arzānō, son of Kāzūm¹⁹⁴.

Four other manuscripts in the Tel Isqōf collection, copied at Alqōsh in 1699, 1702, 1739, and at an unknown date early in the eighteenth century, may also have been commissioned for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs; and a fifth manuscript was bought in 1765 by Joseph Zakr, probably also for the use of the church¹⁹⁵.

Two scribes from Tel Isqōf were active in the village around the end of the eighteenth century. Seven manuscripts were copied between 1793 and 1802 by the Catholic priest Abraham, son of Mārbehnā; and

¹⁸⁹ MSS Mosul (Scher) 104 and Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 322 and 6022 (Fiey, AC, ii. 386 and 675).

¹⁹⁰ MS Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 1.

¹⁹¹ MS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 30.

¹⁹² MS Vat Syr 505.

¹⁹³ MS Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 20.

¹⁹⁴ MS Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 3.

¹⁹⁵ MSS Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 2, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

a manuscript was copied in the village in 1813 by the scribe Shem'ōn¹⁹⁶.

Nine men from Tel Isqōf entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd between 1808 and 1827: the monks Francis and Makkōge in 1809; the monks Thomas and Jeremy in 1817; the monk Ya'qōb in 1819; the monk Peter in 1821; the monks Anselm and Athanasius in 1822; and the monk Benedict in 1823. The monk Thomas, son of Nīsān, son of Rabban, of the Shō'ā family of Tel Isqōf, was among the monks consecrated as metropolitans in 1824, and copied two manuscripts in 1819 during his stay in the monastery¹⁹⁷. He took the name Lawrent on his consecration, and served as metropolitan of Kirkūk until his death in 1853. He was the only native of Tel Isqōf to become a Chaldean bishop. Three manuscripts were copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd between 1824 and 1826 by the Tel Isqōf monks Athanasius and Anselm, son of Nīsān¹⁹⁸. Both men were ordained in Āmid in 1825, and copied two manuscripts in the city during their visit¹⁹⁹. The monk Jeremy of Tel Isqōf was sent by Gabriel Dambō as a priest to the village of Ma'altā in the Dohuk district in 1825, where he copied one manuscript and commissioned another for its churches of Mār 'Abdā and Mār Zay'ā²⁰⁰. No other monks from Tel Isqōf are mentioned until the beginning of the twentieth century, when two manuscripts were copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1906 and 1913 by the monks Sabrišō' and Cleophas of Tel Isqōf²⁰¹.

During the second half of the nineteenth century several manuscripts were copied or restored for the village's two churches. Manuscripts were commissioned from Mosul for the churches of Mār Ya'qōb and Mār Gīwārgīs in 1849 by the priest Mattai; and in 1861 by the priests Mattai, Gīwārgīs, Mīkhā'īl and Ḥannā²⁰². Three manuscripts were copied or restored between 1874 and 1879 by the priest 'Abdišō', son of the archdeacon Joseph, son of the deacon Sabrišō', of the Sābā family of Tel Isqōf²⁰³. A manuscript was restored in 1880 at Alqōsh at the request of

¹⁹⁶ MSS Ūrmī 164 and Dawrā Syr 6, 82, 482, 499, 525, 741, and 742.

¹⁹⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 8 and 894.

¹⁹⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 14, 172, and 718.

¹⁹⁹ MS Dawrā Syr 175 and 757.

²⁰⁰ MS Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 6 and 19.

²⁰¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 342 and 786 (part).

²⁰² MSS Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 16 and 17.

²⁰³ MSS Berlin Syr 98, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 15, and Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 24.

the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Mīkhā'īl, son of the priest Mattai; and another was restored in 1901 by the deacon Ḥannā, son of Gīwārgīs, of the Mardō family²⁰⁴.

A manuscript was purchased towards the end of the nineteenth century for the churches of Mār Mīkhā and Mār Gīwārgīs in Alqōsh from the deacon Mīnā, son of Ḥannā Tomānā, of Tel Isqōf²⁰⁵.

In the 1880s Eduard Sachau saw an inscription in a church in Tel Isqōf, since lost, recording the restoration of the nearby monastery of Mār Apnīmāran at the expense of the villagers of Telkepe in 1403²⁰⁶. The monastery, whose ruins can still be seen, is not mentioned again.

Beṭ Qōpā

[Fiey, AC, ii, 379-81]

The village of Beṭ Qōpā (modern Bāqōfā) is first mentioned in the seventh century, in the *Life of Rabban Hormizd the Persian*, and in the eighth century had a mixed Christian and Moslem population, until its Moslem community left to found another village of the same name nearby²⁰⁷. It is not clear when the village converted to Catholicism, but the Catholic priest Francis of Beṭ Qōpā, working in Baghdad in 1808, was a friend of Gabriel Dambō²⁰⁸.

Little is known of Beṭ Qōpā's history until the Catholic period. The Chaldean bishop Jerome Shem'ōn Sinjārī of Telkepe, bishop of Sehnā from 1853 to 1892, temporarily retired from his duties and lived in Beṭ Qōpā between 1864 and 1870. During this period he served as the village's priest, while retaining his title of 'metropolitan of 'Īlām'. He restored one of the doors of its church of Mār Gīwārgīs at the village's expense, an event commemorated in a surviving inscription of 1868. He also had two manuscripts copied and another restored at Alqōsh for the church in 1867 and 1868, one at the expense of Brijīnā, daughter of Paul, her mother Māyā, and her brother Manšūr²⁰⁹. Another manuscript was commissioned for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in 1886 by the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Francis²¹⁰. Two manuscripts in the Beṭ Qōpā collection, one restored in Telkepe in 1906 by the scribe

²⁰⁴ MSS Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 2 and 7.

²⁰⁵ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 3.

²⁰⁶ Sachau, *Reise im Syrien und Mesopotamien*, 361.

²⁰⁷ Fiey, AC, ii, 380.

²⁰⁸ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 412.

²⁰⁹ MSS Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 1, 8, and 13.

²¹⁰ MS Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 17.

Hormizd, son of Ḥannā Yaldā, and the other copied in Telkepe in 1907 by the deacon Peter Ganji, were probably also commissioned for use in the church²¹¹.

The Chaldean bishop Ya'qōb Awgin Mannā, professor of Syriac at the Syro-Chaldean seminary of St John between 1885 and 1902 and thereafter patriarchal administrator of Vān (1902-1915) and patriarchal vicar of Basra (1921-1927), was a native of Beṭ Qōpā. The priest and monk Stephen Mārōge of Beṭ Qōpā copied five manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences between 1888 and 1895, and commissioned a manuscript in 1895 from the monk Paul Je'dan of Telkepe²¹². He was later superior of the monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs, for which he commissioned a manuscript around the end of the nineteenth century²¹³.

Piyōz

[Fiey, AC, ii. 473-5]

The village of Piyōz was among the group of villages which became West Syrian in the seventh century, and a manuscript was copied by a West Syrian scribe for its church of Mart Shmūni towards the end of the thirteenth century²¹⁴. An East Syrian community is first mentioned in Piyōz in 1688, when a manuscript was copied in the village by the priest Abraham, son of Mīrijān, of Tel Isqōf²¹⁵. Shortly afterwards a manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1690 for the village's church of Mār Gīwārgīs by the chief Kīnā, son of Shem'ōn, and his mother Elfiyā, at the expense of its priest Ḥannā²¹⁶.

Several later East Syrian priests of Piyōz are known, including the priest Ṣawmō, author of a number of literary works in the 1730s and 1740s; the priest Ismā'īl, one of 340 villagers who died during a plague in 1738; the priest Abraham and the priest Ḥannā, son of the priest Shem'ōn, who commissioned manuscripts from Alqōsh in 1761 and 1773 respectively for the village's churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mart Shmūni; and the priest Peter, who commissioned a manuscript for the church of Mart Shmūni in 1867²¹⁷.

²¹¹ MSS Beṭ Qōpā (Haddād) 5 and 11.

²¹² MSS Dawrā Syr 142, 143, 144, 187, 629, and 783.

²¹³ MS Assfalḡ Syr 64.

²¹⁴ Fiey, AC, ii. 473.

²¹⁵ MS Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 6022 (Fiey, AC, ii. 386).

²¹⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 43.

²¹⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 28, 31, 65, 82, and 384, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 21, Cambridge Add. 2814, and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 16 and 101.

The deacon Ḥōshābā, son of Thomas, of Piyōz bought a manuscript at an unknown date in the seventeenth century; the deacon Hormizd, son of Ḥannā, of Piyōz copied a manuscript at Alqōsh in 1806; and a manuscript was copied in the Shemkān village of Bidwīl for the village's church of Mart Shmūni in 1851²¹⁸.

The monks Tīshā and Ḥannūsā of Piyōz entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1809 and 1810 respectively, and the monk Shem'ōn Louis of Piyōz composed a philosophical work in the monastery in 1831, and was the scribe of six manuscripts between 1843 and 1873²¹⁹. The monk Ya'qōb, son of Ṣawmō, son of the priest Peter, of Piyōz copied a manuscript in the 'Aqrā village of 'Āṭūsh in 1868²²⁰. He later became the priest of the Shemkān village of Meze in the 1880s, where he commissioned four manuscripts for its church of the Beni Shmūni between 1882 and 1888²²¹. In the 1890s he was the superior of the monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs, for which he commissioned a manuscript in 1894²²².

Nāṣerīyā

[Fiey, AC, ii. 550]

The village of Nāṣerīyā, one of the Chaldean villages in the diocese of Mosul by 1850, is first mentioned in the eighteenth century. Three manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār 'Abdīshō' in Nāṣerīyā in the first half of the eighteenth century by the deacon Ḥōshābā, son of Mattai, and other individuals connected with the church: in 1721 by the priest Hormizd, son of Ḥōshābā, the priest Safar, son of Behnā, the deacon Denḥā, son of Kirōnā, and the layman Kinnō, son of Ḥannā; in 1725 by Ḥōshābō and the visitor Ḥannō, son of Shābā; and in 1732 by the priest Isaac, son of Abraham, the deacon Israel, son of Ṭalyā, and the layman Adam, son of Kirōnā, at the expense of Helen, daughter of 'Arbō²²³. The priest Isaac, son of Abraham, is almost certainly to be identified with a priest of the same name for whom a manuscript, now in the Alqōsh collection, was restored at Alqōsh in 1725²²⁴. A manuscript was also commissioned

²¹⁸ MSS Cambridge Add. 2022 and 2812, and Dawrā Syr 245, folios 28-31.

²¹⁹ MSS Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 31, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 44, and Dawrā Syr 203, 229, 335, and 428.

²²⁰ MS Dawrā Syr 328.

²²¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 405 and three manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 314-5).

²²² MS Dawrā Syr 142.

²²³ MSS Dawrā Syr 48, 225, and 462.

²²⁴ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 5.

from Alqōsh for the church of Mār 'Abdīshō' in 1773 by the 'venerable' deacon Ayyār, son of Zay'ā²²⁵.

A manuscript was commissioned from Alqōsh in 1811 for the church of Mār 'Abdīshō' by the priest Kānūn, 'then living in Nāṣerīyā'²²⁶. As his name is relatively uncommon, he is probably to be identified with the priest Kānūn, 'of the Kabbarā family', who also commissioned a manuscript from Alqōsh in the same year, perhaps also for the church of Nāṣerīyā²²⁷. Manuscripts were also commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mār 'Abdīshō' in 1815 by Gīwārgīs, son of Zawraqā, of Nāṣerīyā, and in 1822 and 1861 by unknown donors; and a manuscript was copied in the village in 1886 by the scribe Abraham Shikwānā of Alqōsh for its church at the request of Joseph, son of Hormizd, son of Shem'ōn, of Nāṣerīyā²²⁸.

Beṭ Handawāyā

[Fiey, AC, ii. 550-1]

The village of Beṭ Handawāyā is first mentioned in 1508, in connection with Bar Yak's raid on the villages of the Mosul plain²²⁹. A manuscript was copied in the village in 1565 by the priest Quriāqōs, and another was commissioned for its church of Mār Gīwārgīs in 1722 by the priest Kānūn, son of the priest Mattai²³⁰. It is not known when the village became Catholic, but it is mentioned as part of the diocese of Mosul both by Badger in 1850 and Tfinkdji in 1913.

Karsāpā

Five manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh in the seventeenth century for the church of Mart Maryam in the village of Karsāpā: in 1629 by the priest 'Abd al-Masīh, son of Daniel; in 1655 by an unknown donor; in 1660 by the priest Ya'qōb, son of Nīsān; and in 1679 and 1683 by the priest Shem'ōn, son of Nīsān.²³¹ Karsāpā is perhaps to be identified with the village of Khōrsābād in the Mosul plain, several miles east of Telkepe, which had a Christian community in the 1840s²³².

²²⁵ MS Dawrā Syr 228.

²²⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 713.

²²⁷ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 82.

²²⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 200, 284, 321, and 403.

²²⁹ Scher, *Épisodes*, 121-2.

²³⁰ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 70 and Dawrā Syr 47.

²³¹ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 5, 29, and 50, Leningrad Syr 60, and Dawrā Syr 259.

²³² Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, ii. 15.

Alqōsh

[Fiey, AC, ii. 387-400]

The large village of Alqōsh, the main source of manuscripts for the villages of the Mosul patriarchate between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, is first mentioned as an East Syrian settlement in the seventh-century *History of Rabban Hormizd the Persian*. Little is known of its history before the sixteenth century, but thereafter a large number of its clergy, especially the scribes of the Shikwānā and Naṣrō families, are mentioned in the colophons of hundreds of surviving manuscripts copied in the village. Before the nineteenth century Alqōsh had two old churches, dedicated to Mār Mīkhā and Mār Gīwārgīs respectively, and a third church, dedicated to Mart Maryam of the Immaculate Conception, was built in 1855 by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō. Alqōsh has traditionally been identified by the Church of the East as the home of the prophet Nahum 'the Elkoshite', and for centuries his tomb in the village was a place of pilgrimage.

Alqōsh was attacked in 1508 during the descent of Murād Bey (Bar Yak) on the villages of the Mosul plain, and its villagers tried unsuccessfully to escape to the nearby monastery of Rabban Hormizd. An account of the raid was written by an unnamed priest of Alqōsh, who mentioned that he was the youngest of twenty-four 'learned' priests then living in the village:

Full of anger at his failure to take Mosul, Bar Yak made his way during the night to the Dāsen district, and spent the night at 'Amrīn. And after pillaging and burning all the villages of the region for three days, he returned to Beṭ Handawāyā. From there he despatched about 500 horsemen to pillage Alqōsh. The brave men of Alqōsh attacked the Mongols, routed them, and killed some of them. Bar Yak, angered by the defeat of his troops, ordered his men to go and destroy Alqōsh. It was a Sunday. The people of Alqōsh fled to the monastery, taking with them their cattle and other animals. The infidels surrounded the monastery on all sides: 300 of them climbed to the summit of the mountain, from where they rolled down huge stones on the monastery, while the others fired arrows from below. They plundered the monastery, forced the women, seized the cattle and other animals, and carried off as captives a boy and two young girls. The citizens of 'Amādiyā, the patrons of the people of Alqōsh, sent them no help²³³.

Most surviving East Syrian manuscripts in the second half of the sixteenth century were copied in Gāzartā. The most prolific scribe at this period was the priest 'Aṭāyā, son of Faraj, of Alqōsh, who copied twen-

²³³ Scher, *Épisodes*, 121-2.

ty-five manuscripts between 1536 and 1594 in the Gāzartā region, but is not known to have worked in his native village. Several manuscripts were copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Alqōsh in the sixteenth century, but it is not certain that any were copied in Alqōsh itself, and the village is mentioned infrequently before 1660. The monk 'Īsā of Alqōsh supervised some renovation work in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1559; a manuscript was copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1569 for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Mīkhā in Alqōsh; and the pilgrim Daniel, son of 'Īsā, of Alqōsh was one of two men who purchased a manuscript for the monastery of Mār Elīyā near Mosul in 1594²³⁴. The monk Elisha' (possibly the priest Elīsha' of Ṭabyātā) copied a sole manuscript in Alqōsh in 1645, and the priest 'Abdīshō', son of the priest Hormizd, one of the earliest representatives of the Shikwānā scribal dynasty, copied a manuscript in the village in 1655²³⁵.

By contrast, the village suddenly emerged as a major source of East Syrian manuscripts in the 1660s, a position which it maintained into the twentieth century. The remarkable burst of activity which took place at this period was almost certainly encouraged by the strongly-traditionalist patriarch Elīyā X Yōḥannān Mārōgin (1660-1700), who unlike his predecessors made no attempt to correspond with the Vatican, and reacted strongly to the success of the Catholic movement in the Āmid region. As many of the manuscripts copied in Alqōsh during his reign were traditionalist service books, copied for the use of the clergy in the Mosul patriarchate, he may well have felt that making such works more widely available, especially in villages dependent on the leadership of a single priest, would be an effective way to counter the growing influence of the Catholics.

Several prolific scribes from Alqōsh flourished during the reign of Elīyā X and his traditionalist successors Elīyā XI Mārōgin (1700-1722) and Elīyā XII Denhā (1722-1778), most of whom were priests or deacons from two local priestly families, the Shikwānā (or Qāshā) and Naṣrō families. These two families, which seem to have remained loyal to the old faith well into the eighteenth century, dominated the scribal profession at Alqōsh for a century and a half. A large number of manuscripts were copied by monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in the first half of the nineteenth century, and by monks of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in the decades before the outbreak of the First World War.

²³⁴ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 271; and MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 63 and Mosul (Magdasi) 4.

²³⁵ MS Jerusalem Syr 6.

The emergence of these centres to some extent eroded the traditional dominance of Alqōsh, but the village remained an important scribal centre up to and beyond the First World War, and members of the Shikwānā and Naṣrō families continued to copy manuscripts in the village into the twentieth century, though in smaller numbers than previously.

The earliest known scribes from the Shikwānā family were the priests 'Abdīshō' and Israel, sons of the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Israel. Their grandfather, the priest Israel, was born in 1541, was the author of a number of poems, and was still alive in 1611. He remained a traditionalist throughout his life, remarking in 1611 that he had preserved the old faith of the Church of the East, 'corrupted by the Jacobites'²³⁶. His grandson the priest 'Abdīshō' copied at least seven manuscripts in Alqōsh between June 1655 and August 1683²³⁷. He may also have been the scribe of the same name responsible for two manuscripts of 1669, one of which was copied for the monastery of Rabban Hormizd²³⁸. 'Abdīshō's' brother the priest Israel copied five manuscripts in Alqōsh between September 1660 and May 1674²³⁹. He was probably also the priest of the same name who paid in 1667 for some restoration work in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, which had been damaged in a fire and an earthquake in the previous year²⁴⁰.

(Figure 2: see p. 244)

The priest Israel, son of the priest Hormizd, had two sons who were also priests and scribes, Ḥōshābā (Ḥaḍbshabbā) and Gīwārgīs. The priest Ḥōshābā was a scribe for just over two decades, and copied thirteen manuscripts in Alqōsh between September 1660 and November 1681, the earliest of which was jointly copied with his father Israel²⁴¹. His brother Gīwārgīs was the secretary of the patriarchs Elīyā XI Mārōgin and Elīyā

²³⁶ Murre-van den Berg, 'A Syrian Awakening: Alqosh and Urmia as Centres of Neo-Syriac Writing' (unpublished paper).

²³⁷ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 29 and 95, Dawrā Syr 194, 498, and 703, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 23, and Paris BN Syr 283.

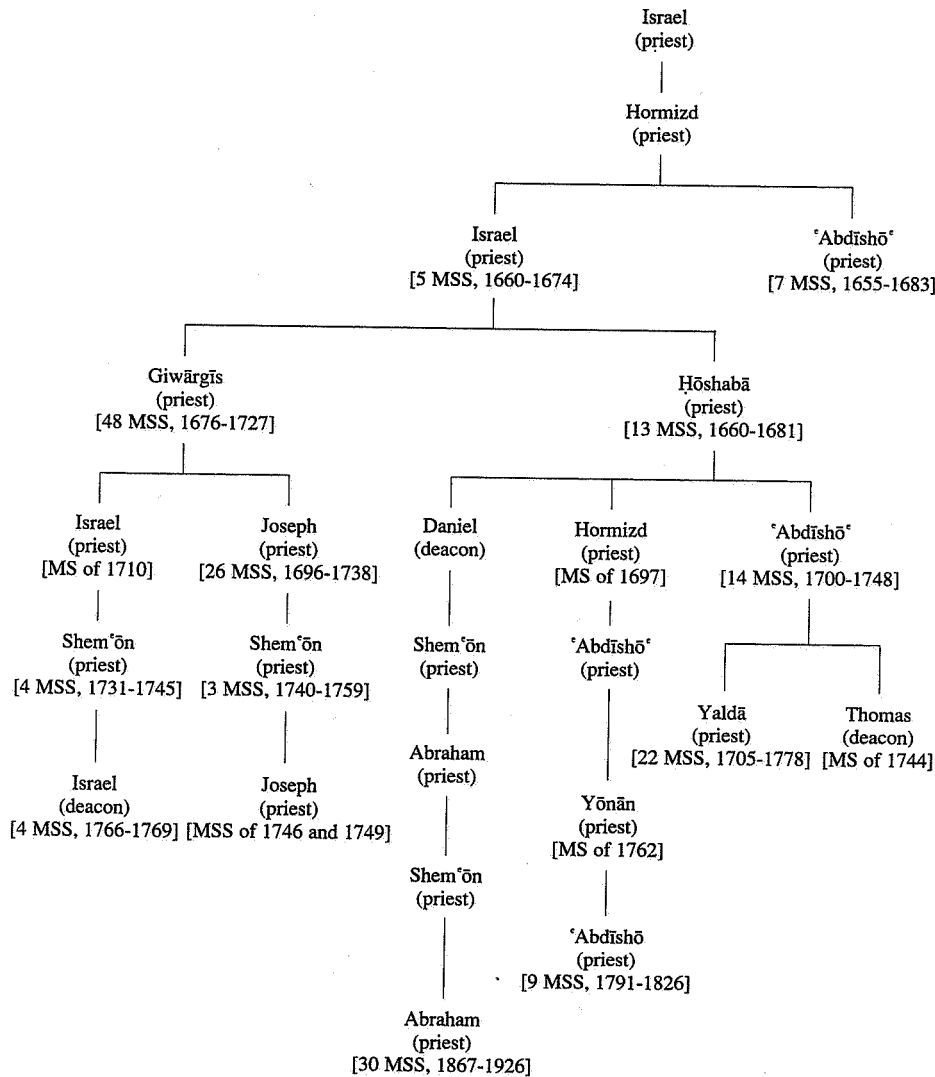
²³⁸ MSS Vat Syr 187 and Cambridge Add. 2002.

²³⁹ MSS Leningrad Syr 60, Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 10, Dawrā Syr 290, Mingana Syr 489, and Borgia (Scher) 1.

²⁴⁰ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 280.

²⁴¹ MSS Leningrad Syr 60, Mār Ya'qōb 14 (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 690), Jerusalem (St Mark's) 93, Dawrā Syr 193, 483, and 588, Ūrmī 70, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 3, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 19 (*Vorlage*), 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 73, Mosul (Magdasi) 5 and 7, and an uncatalogued manuscript of 1670 from Karamlish (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 407).

Figure 2: The Shikwānā (Qāshā) Family of Alqōsh



XII Denḥā. He was easily the most prolific scribe of his day, and copied at least forty-eight manuscripts in a long career between June 1676 and September 1727²⁴². He may also have been the scribe of three other manuscripts of the same period, copied by a scribe named Gīwārgīs in 1691, 1696, and 1699²⁴³. The great majority of these manuscripts were copied in the village of Alqōsh, but a manuscript of 1676 was copied in Telkepe, and five other manuscripts were also copied in Telkepe during the two periods (1706-1707 and 1715-1717) in which the patriarch Eliyā XI Mārōgin and his close entourage took refuge in the village²⁴⁴. Three other manuscripts (of 1677, 1679, and 1710) were copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd²⁴⁵.

Several other members of the Shikwānā family were active as scribes during the final years of the seventeenth century and for most of the eighteenth century. The most prolific was the priest Joseph, son of the priest Gīwārgīs, who copied at least twenty-six manuscripts between July 1696 and May 1738²⁴⁶. All but two of these manuscripts appear to have been copied in the village of Alqōsh, but a manuscript of 1736 was partly copied in Alqōsh and partly in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; and a manuscript of 1738 was also copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, where the scribe was staying ‘at the request of the patriarch Mār Eliyā’²⁴⁷. Joseph’s son Shem‘ōn and grandson Joseph were also priests and scribes. The priest Shem‘ōn copied three manuscripts in Alqōsh in 1740, 1742, and 1759²⁴⁸. His son the priest Joseph copied two manuscripts in Alqōsh in 1746 and 1749²⁴⁹. The priest Israel, another son

²⁴² MSS Mosul (Scher) 11, 17, 31, 88, and 112, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 8, 12, 17, and 24, Vat Syr 153, 574, and 585, Cambridge Add. 2017 and 2018, Borgia (Scher) 34, Jerusalem Syr 1 and 13, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 5 and 13, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 18 and 30, Trichur Syr 27, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 8 and 13, Mosul (Magdasi) 8, 9, 10, and 14, Dawrā Syr 43, 44, 71, 77, 223, and 224, ‘Aqrā (Vosté) 26, ‘Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 93, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 7, 8, and 28, NDS (Scher) 13, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 5 and 6, Assfalḡ Syr 35, Kirkūk (Vosté) 4, 5, 27, and 29, and Mingana Syr 595.

²⁴³ MSS Vat Syr 579, Dawrā Syr 931, and Paris BN Syr 336 (Vorlage).

²⁴⁴ MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 8, Cambridge Add. 2017, Vat Syr 153, Dawrā Syr 224, Mosul (Scher) 31, and Mingana Syr 595.

²⁴⁵ MSS Cambridge Add. 2018 and Jerusalem Syr 1 and 13.

²⁴⁶ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 24, Mosul (Magdasi) 11, Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 18, Cambridge Add. 1976, 1984, and 1991, Borgia (Scher) 22, ‘Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 10, 39, and 65, Mosul (Scher) 39, 76, and 86, Jerusalem Syr 14, Dawrā Syr 197, 226, 235, 432, and 456, Mardīn (Scher) 24, NDS (Vosté) 164, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 1, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 23, Assfalḡ Syr 58, Cambridge Or. 1294, and an uncatalogued manuscript of 1727 from Karamlish (Fiey, AC, ii. 411).

²⁴⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 235 and Cambridge Or. 1294.

²⁴⁸ MSS ‘Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 33, Dawrā Syr 620, and Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 30.

²⁴⁹ MSS Leningrad Syr 43 and Ūrmī 56.

of the priest Gīwārgīs, copied a manuscript in Alqōsh in 1710²⁵⁰. Israel's son Shem'ōn, a deacon by 1731 and a priest by 1745, was the scribe of four manuscripts in Alqōsh between 1731 and 1745²⁵¹. His grandson, a deacon also named Israel, copied four manuscripts in Alqōsh between 1766 and 1769²⁵². No further descendants appear to be recorded from either branch of the family of the priest Gīwārgīs.

Several members of the family of the priest Hōshābā, brother of the priest Gīwārgīs, were also active as scribes during the eighteenth century. One of his three sons, the priest 'Abdīshō', copied fourteen manuscripts between October 1700 and April 1748²⁵³. (One of these manuscripts, copied for the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1718, was commissioned by his sister Ḥazmī, wife of the priest Israel, and her daughter Dallī.) 'Abdīshō' had two sons, Yaldā and Thomas, both of whom were also scribes. The scribe Yaldā, a deacon by 1705 and a priest by 1729, copied twenty-two manuscripts during an exceptionally long career between October 1705 and 1778²⁵⁴. Most of these manuscripts were copied in the village of Alqōsh, but a manuscript of 1741 was copied in Telkepe, and a manuscript of 1744 was copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd²⁵⁵. 'Abdīshō's other son, the deacon Thomas, copied a single manuscript in the Lower Ṭiyārī village of Zawītā in 1744²⁵⁶.

The priest Hormizd, another son of the priest Hōshābā, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1697²⁵⁷. His grandson the priest Yōnān, son of the priest 'Abdīshō', was the scribe of a manuscript of 1762²⁵⁸. Yōnān's son 'Abdīshō', a deacon by 1791 and a priest by 1798, copied nine manuscripts between 1791 and 1826²⁵⁹. No further descendants of Hōshābā's

²⁵⁰ MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 17.

²⁵¹ MSS Cambridge Add. 1996 and 2103, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 40, and a manuscript of 1731 in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 311).

²⁵² MSS Ūrmī 6, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 13 and 76, and Dawrā Syr 373.

²⁵³ MSS Borgia (Scher) 38 and 151, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 32 and 56, Ūrmī 52, 61, and 103, Dawrā Syr 27, 52, and 457, Mardīn (Scher) 44, Trichur Syr 81, Cambridge Add. 1977, and Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 15.

²⁵⁴ MSS Assfalg Syr 7, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 29 and 62, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 66, Paris BN Syr 310, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 15, Mosul (Scher) 10 and 98, Dawrā Syr 33, 84 (*Vorlage*), 227, and 228, Mosul (Magdasi) 16, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 3, Cambridge Add. 1986, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 16, 20, and 101, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 22, 32, and 66, and a manuscript of 1733 in the British Library seen by S.P. Brock.

²⁵⁵ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 20 and Paris BN Syr 310.

²⁵⁶ MS Mīngana Syr 567F.

²⁵⁷ MS Cambridge Add. 2020.

²⁵⁸ A manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 64).

²⁵⁹ MSS Kirkūk (Vosté) 9 and 31, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 11, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 37, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 11 and 21, Ūrmī 3, Dawrā Syr 200, and an uncatalogued manuscript of 1819 from Mengesh (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 64).

sons 'Abdīshō' and Hormizd are known, and the last scribe from the Shikwānā family, the late-nineteenth-century scribe Abraham, was the great-great-grandson of Hōshābā's third son, the deacon Daniel, who does not appear to have been a scribe himself.

Scribes of the Naṣrō family first began to be active in the 1670s. Four brothers, sons of the priest Daniel, son of the priest Elīyā, son of the priest Daniel, began scribal careers between 1677 and 1705. The scribe Yaldā, a deacon by 1679 and a priest by 1693, copied thirty-two manuscripts between 1679 and 1728, all as far as is known in Alqōsh²⁶⁰. The scribe Hōmō (Hormizd), a deacon by 1677 and a priest by 1692, copied twenty-four manuscripts between 1677 and 1728²⁶¹. Most of these manuscripts were copied in Alqōsh, but a manuscript of 1680 was copied in the Khābūr village of Bāsūrīn²⁶². The deacon Hōshābā, evidently somewhat younger, copied nine manuscripts in Alqōsh between 1697 and 1723²⁶³. The youngest of the four brothers was the scribe Gīwārgīs, a deacon by 1695 and a priest by 1715. He copied or restored sixteen manuscripts between 1695 and 1735, the earliest of which he helped his brother Yaldā to copy²⁶⁴. The majority of these manuscripts were copied in Alqōsh, but he also restored a manuscript in Tel Isqōf in 1702, while serving as a deacon in its church of Mār Gīwārgīs, and two manuscripts in the East Syrian monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem in 1724 and 1725, while serving as its sacristan²⁶⁵. By 1730 he had returned to Alqōsh, but commemorated his stay in Jerusalem by styling himself 'pilgrim' in the colophons of his subsequent manuscripts.

In the first half of the eighteenth century these men were joined by three scribes from a second generation of the family, sons of the priests

²⁶⁰ MSS Mīngana Syr 53D and 227, Dawrā Syr 42, 45, 198, 218-9, 259, 462, 541, and 589, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 1, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 9, 31, 34, 41, 49, and 74, Ūrmī 157, Mosul (Scher) 2 and 72, Berlin Syr 87, Kirkūk (Vosté) 8, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 39, Mosul (Magdasi) 13, Borgia (Scher) 39, Karam 1547, four manuscripts in the Mosul (Bīdāwīd) collection (Fiey, AC, i. 293, 300, and 302), and an uncatalogued manuscript from Telkepe (Fiey, AC, ii. 366).

²⁶¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 78, 101, 195, 371, 879, Mār Ya'qōb 10, NDS (Vosté) 325, Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 19 (*Vorlage*), Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 14, Ūrmī 217, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 25, Seert (Scher) 96, Assfalg Syr 55, Mosul (Scher) 1, 3, 29, 59, 109, Paris BN Syr 295 (*Vorlage*), BM Syr (Wright) 922, India Office Syr 9, Vat Syr 175, Leningrad Syr 51, and Cambridge Add. 1981.

²⁶² MS NDS (Vosté) 325.

²⁶³ MSS Mosul (Scher) 38 and 64, Cambridge Add. 1982 and 1994, Dawrā Syr 2, 47, and 514, Vat Syr 183, and Assfalg Syr 22.

²⁶⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 48, 51, 222, 225, 248, and 710, Cambridge Add. 1967, BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 30, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 2, 3, and 20, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 42, Jerusalem Syr 7 and 27, Mār Ya'qōb 15 (Fiey, AC, ii. 720), and a manuscript in the Mosul (Bīdāwīd) collection (Fiey, AC, i. 302).

²⁶⁵ MSS BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 30 and Jerusalem Syr 7 and 27.

Yaldā and Hōmō. The scribe Elīyā, son of the priest Yaldā, a deacon by 1708 and a priest by 1721, copied or restored twelve manuscripts in Alqōsh between 1708 and 1727²⁶⁶. His brother the priest Shem'ōn copied six manuscripts in Alqōsh between 1728 and 1739²⁶⁷. The scribe Ḥannā, son of the priest Hōmō, a deacon by 1728 and a priest by 1731, copied seventeen manuscripts in Alqōsh between 1728 and 1749²⁶⁸.

(Figure 3: see p. 249)

Three scribes from a third generation of the Naṣrō family, sons of the priest Elīyā and the priest Ḥannā, were active in the second half of the eighteenth century. The scribe Denhā, son of the priest Elīyā, a deacon by 1753 and a priest by 1755, copied five manuscripts between 1753 and 1757, the first four in Alqōsh and the fifth in the 'Aqrā village of Khardes²⁶⁹. His brother the priest Joseph was the scribe of a manuscript of 1757, also copied in Khardes²⁷⁰. The scribe Hōmō (Hormizd), son of the priest Ḥannā, a deacon by 1765 and a priest by 1774, copied eighteen manuscripts between 1765 and 1792, all as far as is known in Alqōsh²⁷¹. Thereafter, as with the Shikwānā family, no further scribes are known from the Naṣrō family until the second half of the nineteenth century. The prolific nineteenth-century scribe Elīyā Hōmō was the great-grandson of the priest Hōmō, son of Ḥannā, and his father the deacon Hōmō and grandfather the deacon Isha'yā do not appear to have been scribes themselves, perhaps because they were not Catholics. During the reign of Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd Alqōsh became increasingly a focus for Catholic scribal activity, and is possible that both the Shikwānā and the

²⁶⁶ MSS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 11, 64, 92, Dawrā Syr 46, Mār Ya'qōb 1 (Fiey, AC, ii. 691), Cambridge Add. 1989, Mosul (Scher) 37, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 5, three manuscripts in the Mosul (Bīdāwīd) collection (Fiey, AC, i. 293, 301, and 302), and an uncatalogued manuscript from Baghdad (Fiey, AC, i. 312).

²⁶⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 243, 245, 375, and 463, Mingana Syr 166, and Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 7.

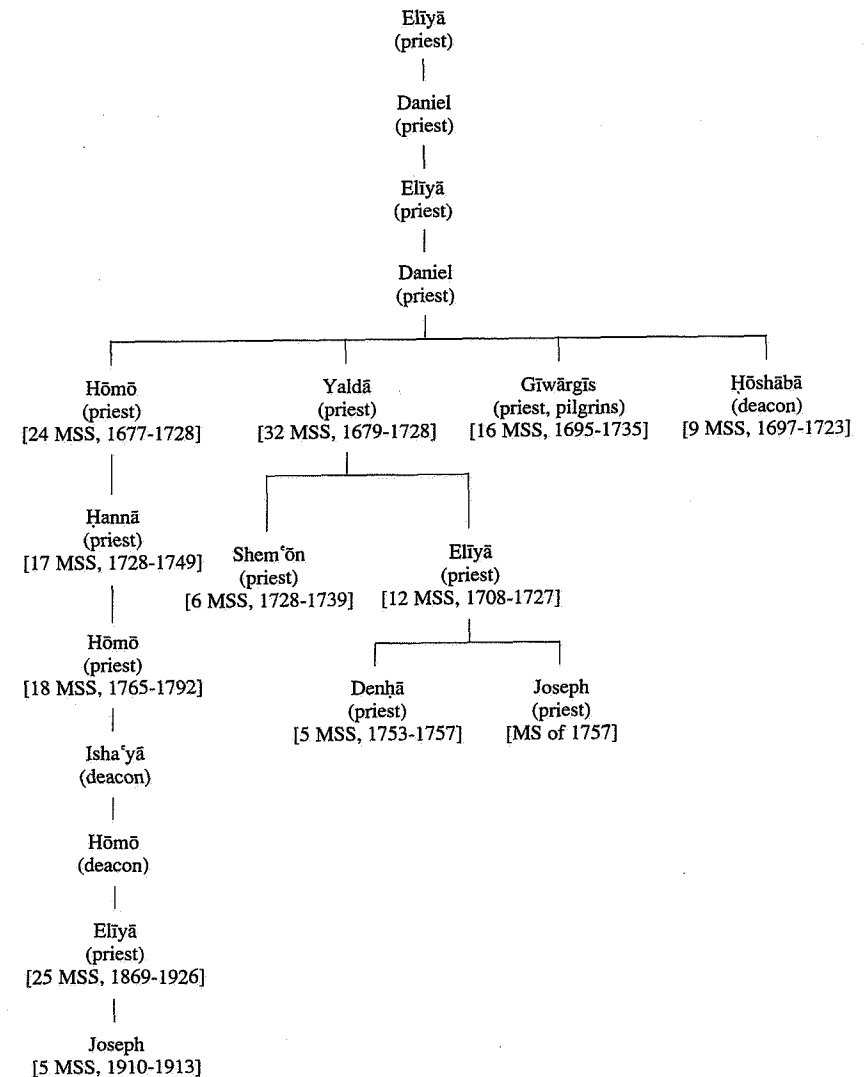
²⁶⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 1, 260, 245, and 536, Mār Ya'qōb 3 (Fiey, AC, ii. 691), Mingana Syr 540, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 19, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 12 and 72, Mardīn (Scher) 7, a manuscript of 1742 seen by S. Brock, Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 1216 (Fiey, AC, i. 287), Mosul (Scher) 18, Mosul (Magdasi) 15, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 61, and two MSS of 1745 in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 311).

²⁶⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 320 and 650, Mardīn (Scher) 31, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 59, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 313).

²⁷⁰ MS Mingana Syr 568B.

²⁷¹ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 4, Dawrā Syr 199 and 306, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 10, 14, and 27, Kirkūk (Vosté) 13 and 22, Mosul (Magdasi) 17, Mosul (Scher) 46 and 85, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 9, 35, 75, and 105, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 66, and 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 23 and 44.

Figure 3: The Naṣrō Family of Alqōsh



Naṣrō families, associated for so long with the traditionalist cause, had for some time no part to play in this movement.

A number of references from the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shed light on the family of the patriarchs Elyā XI Mārōgin (1700-1722) and his nephew Elyā XII Denḥā (1722-1778), who like their predecessors normally resided in Alqōsh or the nearby monastery of Rabban Hormizd. Elyā XI, if he has been correctly identified with the *nāṭar kursyā* ʾIshōʿyahb mentioned in a series of colophons from 1693 to 1700, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1695 before he became patriarch²⁷². A manuscript was copied in Telkepe in 1706 for the patriarch Elyā XI and his brothers the priest Ḥōshābā and the priest Hormizd²⁷³. One of these brothers, the priest Hormizd, was the scribe of two manuscripts of 1727²⁷⁴. The priest Ḥōshābā had a daughter named Shmūni, who commissioned a manuscript for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Mīkhā in Alqōsh in 1722²⁷⁵.

The patriarch Elyā XII Denḥā was consecrated on 25 December 1722 at the age of 22²⁷⁶. His parents were the priest Ḥōshābā, son of Gīwārgīs, and the lady Azdīyā, daughter of Safar, who commissioned two manuscripts for the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1738²⁷⁷. He had a number of brothers, one of whom, the priest Abraham, was the father of the patriarch Elyā XIII ʾIshōʿyahb, and the scribe of a manuscript of 1719²⁷⁸. The future patriarch ʾIshōʿyahb was consecrated as a metropolitan in 1744, and was the scribe of four manuscripts between 1753 and March 1776; while another son, the deacon Mārōge, was the scribe of two manuscripts of 1755 and 1756²⁷⁹. Abraham may have died a few years earlier, as he is not mentioned in a letter to the patriarch Elyā XII written by Khidr of Mosul in 1744 or slightly later, which mentions Elyā's brothers the priest Isaac, Ḥannā, Gīwārgīs, Māmā, Mārōgin, Ḥōshābā, and ʾIshōʿ, and also the priest Hormizd, brother of the patriarch Elyā XI²⁸⁰.

Some of these brothers are mentioned in other sources. An inscription in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd records the death in 1773 of the

²⁷² MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 42.

²⁷³ MS Cambridge Add. 2017.

²⁷⁴ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 92 and 93.

²⁷⁵ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 23.

²⁷⁶ MS Mingana Ar 110.

²⁷⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 226 and 235.

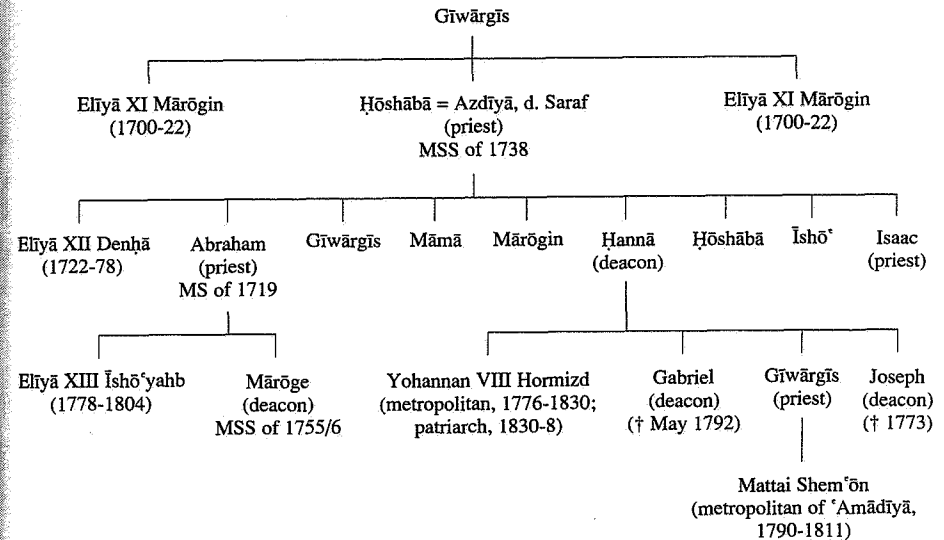
²⁷⁸ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 85.

²⁷⁹ MSS Mosul (Scher) 10 and 84, Dawrā Syr 32, 503, and 504, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 13, and Cambridge Add. 2021.

²⁸⁰ MS Mingana Syr 246, folio 145b.

deacon Joseph, son of the priest Isaac, 'of a great and noble house, of a family of Alqōsh, and brother of Mār Elyā'²⁸¹. The deacon Ḥannā was the father of the patriarch Yōhannān VIII Hormizd, and had at least two other sons: the deacon Gabriel, who died in May 1792; and the priest Gīwārgīs, father of the metropolitan Mattai Shem'ōn of 'Amādiyā, who died in 1780²⁸².

Figure 4: The Abūnā Family of Alqōsh



Besides the members of the Naṣrō, Shikwānā, and Abūnā families mentioned above, a few other individuals from Alqōsh are known from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The priest Hormizd, son of the chief Kākō (Gīwārgīs), probably to be distinguished from the brother of Elyā XI, commissioned a manuscript in 1680 for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Mīkhā, for the use of his son the deacon 'Abdīshō'²⁸³. A manuscript was commissioned in 1701 by an unnamed lady, daughter of a certain 'Abdīshō', of Alqōsh, for her brother the priest Yūhannā²⁸⁴.

²⁸¹ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 266-7.

²⁸² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 150, 153, and 157.

²⁸³ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 13.

²⁸⁴ MS Cambridge Add. 1994.

Two manuscripts were copied in Alqōsh in 1774 and 1781, the first for Peter, son of the priest Ḥōshābā, of Alqōsh; and the second for 'Abdīshō', son of the deacon Gīwārgīs, son of Shābāl, of Alqōsh²⁸⁵.

The priest 'Abdīshō', son of the priest Yōnān, whose last manuscript was copied in 1826, was the only scribe from the Shikwānā and Naṣrō families active around the end of the eighteenth century; but several manuscripts were copied in Alqōsh at this period by other scribes, most of whom were probably Catholics. The Catholic priest Gīwārgīs, son of Ya'qōb, son of the deacon Dōshō, son of Mizzā, of the Yūḥannā family of Alqōsh, copied eight manuscripts between 1791 and 1826²⁸⁶. His son the deacon Yāqō (Yāq'ōb) also copied two manuscripts in 1824 and 1826²⁸⁷. The deacon Īshō', son of the priest Abraham, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1797²⁸⁸. The deacon Marqos, son of the priest 'Abdīshō', nephew of Yaldā, son of Gīwārgīs, of Alqōsh, copied three manuscripts between 1797 and 1807, and may also have been the deacon Marqos, 'of the Rabbō family', who was the scribe of a manuscript of 1811²⁸⁹. The Catholic scribe Gabriel, son of the priest Ḥōshābā, son of the deacon Joseph, of the Kākō family of Alqōsh, copied nineteen manuscripts between 1802 and 1829²⁹⁰. The Catholic deacon Mīkhā (Mīkhā'il), son of Ya'qōb Ḥuzmi, of the al-Masīḥ family of Alqōsh, copied six manuscripts between 1819 and 1848²⁹¹. The scribe Yōḥannān, son of the priest 'Abdīshō', son of Gabriel, of Alqōsh, copied two manuscripts in 1822 and 1824²⁹². The scribe Peter, son of 'Isā Naggarā, of Alqōsh, copied a manuscript in the village in 1824²⁹³. The scribe Ḥōshābā, son of the deacon Yōnān, of the Lajan family, copied a manuscript in 1824²⁹⁴. The scribe Joseph, son of Pātō (Peter), copied a manuscript in 1842 for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in

²⁸⁵ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 35 and Dawrā Syr 306.

²⁸⁶ MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 94, Mīngana Syr 109, Dawrā Syr 76, Mīngana Syr 110G, Mīngana Syr 111, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 87, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 16, and Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 88.

²⁸⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 495 and Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 38.

²⁸⁸ MS Trichur Syr 74.

²⁸⁹ MSS Cambridge Add. 1989, Dawrā Syr 381, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 82, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, ii. 790).

²⁹⁰ MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 63, 70 and 74, Mīngana Syr 94I and 427, Vat Syr 469 and 573, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 26, Dawrā Syr 22, 308 and 713, Mosul (Scher) 6 and 114, Assfalḡ Syr 3, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 45 and 68, and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 2 and 6.

²⁹¹ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 61, 25, 26, 107, and 106, and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 53.

²⁹² MSS Dawrā Syr 321, Vat Syr 579, and Mīngana Syr 426.

²⁹³ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 71.

²⁹⁴ MS Mīngana Syr 266B.

Alqōsh²⁹⁵. The scribe Maṣṣūr, son of Audō, son of Isaac, son of the deacon Hormizd, copied a manuscript in 1849 in the church of Mār Mīkhā in Alqōsh²⁹⁶. Two manuscripts were also copied in Alqōsh in 1845 and 1846 by the priest Gīwārgīs, son of the priest Hōmō, of the Ṭhūmā village of Gundiktā²⁹⁷.

Scribal activity in Alqōsh in the eighteenth and nineteenth century was often against an unsettled background. The village was sacked by the Persians in 1743, and the plague of 1828, which had a devastating effect on the villages of the Mosul plain, is said to have taken the lives of 700 villagers in Alqōsh, including 27 priests and 17 deacons. On 9 March 1832 the village was attacked by the Soran Kurds of Rāwandūz, apparently under the impression that the villagers were Yezidis, in revenge for the murder of a Kurdish chieftain by the Yezidi Mīr of Shaikhān. About 300 Chaldeans were killed in this attack, and its victims also included Gabriel Dambō, the patriarchal vicar Ḥnānīshō', and seven priests. The village itself was sacked, the survivors robbed, and the famous tomb of Nahum destroyed. The village again suffered during a famine in 1879, in which its twelve priests were 'too few to administer extreme unction to the dying'.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century three Catholic scribes from the old Shikwānā and Naṣrō scribal families were active. The priest Abraham, son of the priest Shem'ōn, son of the priest Abraham, son of the deacon Daniel, son of the eighteenth century priest and scribe Ḥōshābā, of the Shikwānā family, copied or restored at least thirty manuscripts between 1867 and 1926²⁹⁸. He was born in Alqōsh in 1849 and died in 1931, at the age of 82, and may have been the scribe of the sole manuscript of the *Chronicle of Erbil*, claimed as a tenth-century manuscript by Mingana. He was also the author of a number of short treatises on astronomy, a number of hymns, and treatises on the psalms and the Chaldean liturgy²⁹⁹. The

²⁹⁵ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 46.

²⁹⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 380.

²⁹⁷ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 2 and 91.

²⁹⁸ MSS Mīngana Syr 47, 50, 52A, and 489, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 15, 33 (part), 48, 54, and 96, Mosul (Scher) 20, NDS (Scher) 55, Cambridge Or. 1300, 1306, 1313, and 1316, Dawrā Syr 50, 397, 398, 403, 404, 505, 506, and 507 (part), Louvain CSCO Syr 4 (part), Paderborn Syr 1 (*Vorlage*) and 5, Assfalḡ Syr 24, Baghdad Syriac Academy 3, Mosul (Magdasi) 20 (part), and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 314-5).

²⁹⁹ Samir, 'Un auteur chaldéen oublié: Abraham Simon Shekwana (1849-1931)', OC, 66 (1982), 215-7.

priest Eliyā, son of the deacon Hōmō, son of the deacon Isha'yā, son of the eighteenth-century scribe Hōmō, of the Naṣrō family, copied or restored twenty-five manuscripts between 1869 and 1926³⁰⁰. He died in 1932. His son the student Joseph copied or restored five manuscripts between 1910 and 1913³⁰¹.

The impressive number of manuscripts copied by the scribe Abraham Shikwānā was rivalled by the output of three other scribes working at Alqōsh at this period. The deacon 'Īsā, son of Isha'yā, son of the deacon Quriāqōs, 'of the village of Eqrōr in the Sindi (Goyan) district', probably the most productive East Syrian scribe ever, copied at least seventy-three manuscripts during his lifetime: five between 1854 and 1861 during his apprenticeship with the priest Mīkhā'īl Rōmānōs in Mosul, and no fewer than sixty-eight between 1867 and 1898 in Alqōsh³⁰². The deacon Joseph, son of Thomas, son of the deacon Sifā, son of the priest Peter, of the Abūnā family of Alqōsh, copied at least fifty manuscripts in Alqōsh between 1894 and 1933³⁰³. Although slightly less productive than the other two scribes, the chief Stephen, son of the chief Gīwārgīs, son of Ḥannā Gōze, son of Joseph, son of Mattai, son of Rāshū, son of Shlemūn, son of the priest Isaac, of the Gōrō family of Alqōsh, also copied fifteen manuscripts between 1880 and 1912³⁰⁴.

A number of other individuals were also the scribes of occasional manuscripts in Alqōsh in the second half of the nineteenth century and

³⁰⁰ MSS Paris BN Syr 309, 404, 423, 424, and 425, Berlin Syr 92, Assfalḡ Syr 7, Louvain CSCO Syr 6, 21, and 22, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 1, 3, 5, 9, 28, and 104, Dawrā Syr 145, 556, 611, 778, and 731, Mīngana Syr 246A, 427, and 594C (*Vorlage*), and Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 15.

³⁰¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 736 and 778, and Mīngana Syr 246A, 437, and 540.

³⁰² MSS Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 1, 8, and 17, Dawrā Syr 38, 65, 107, 108, 186, 384, 385, 400, 402, 405, 407, 409, 410, 518, 628, and 932, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 7, 12, 17, 18, 33, and 52, Vat Syr 504, 598, and 599, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 35 and 89, Mosul (Scher) 19 and 25, NDS (Scher) 54, NDS (Vosté) 195, Berlin Syr 60, 63, 96, and 137, Cambridge Add. 2811, Leeds Syr 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6, CUA Hyvemat Syr 8, 10, and 12; Mīngana Syr 58G, 61A, 61B, 61C, 149, and 587, BL Or. 4082, 9352, 9354a, and 9373, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 14, 32, 84, 87, 88, 102, and 104, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 14, Louvain CSCO Syr 4 (part), a manuscript of 1871 in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *AC*, i. 302), and a manuscript of 1890 seen by Budge (*Book of Governors*, 193-206).

³⁰³ MSS Dawrā Syr 69, 131, 155, 156, 166, 167, 468, 475, 566, 583, 673, 674, 681, 747, 748, 765, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 787, 910, 930, and 976, Mīngana Syr 55D, 179, 195, 581, 586, 604, and 606, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 38, Assfalḡ Syr 21, Vat Syr 494, 501, 502, 509, 511, 520, 521, and 584, Kirkūk (Vosté) 20, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 51, Trichur 65, Paderborn Syr 1, and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 15.

³⁰⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 92, 188, 191, 411, 696, 700, 925, and 950, Mīngana Syr 18, NDS (Vosté) 38 and 235, NDS (Scher) 21, Vat Syr 496 and 497, and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 94.

the years before the First World War. The priest Maṣṣūr, son of Mattai, son of Ḥōshābō, of the Sōrō family of Alqōsh, a pupil of the priest Damiānōs, copied five manuscripts in Alqōsh between 1855 and 1883, the earliest of which was partly copied by his fellow-pupil the deacon Hormizd, son of Quriāqōs, of the Qardash family of Alqōsh.³⁰⁵ The priest Hormizd, son of the deacon Mīkhā'īl, son of the deacon Hormizd, of the Audō family of Alqōsh, copied a manuscript in the 1850s while still a deacon, another in 1861 in the patriarchal residence in Alqōsh, and a third in 1871 for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Mīkhā'³⁰⁶. The scribe 'Abdīshō', son of Ḥōshābā, of Alqōsh, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1871³⁰⁷. The deacon Thomas, son of Peter, son of Sibāni, of Alqōsh copied three manuscripts between 1872 and 1874, and may have been the priest Thomas of Alqōsh mentioned by Budge during a visit to the village in 1881³⁰⁸. The scribe Ezekiel, son of Zakūr, son of Ezekiel, of the Abūnā family, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1874³⁰⁹. The priest and monk Eliyā, son of Babekkā, of Shaqlāwā, copied a manuscript in the church of Mār Mīkhā' in Alqōsh in 1891, 'while he was instructing the children of the village there'³¹⁰. The scribe Israel, son of the priest Hormizd, son of the deacon Mīkhā'īl, of the Audō family of Alqōsh (the future bishop Israel Audō of Mardīn), copied two manuscripts in Alqōsh in 1875 and 1881³¹¹. The deacon Maṣṣūr Kadō, a teacher in the school of Alqōsh, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1877³¹². The priest Gīwārgīs Naggarā of Alqōsh copied a manuscript for the church of Mār Mīkhā' at an unknown date during the patriarchate of Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān (1879-1894), and was also the scribe of a manuscript of 1882³¹³. The deacon Paul and the priest Abraham of Alqōsh, of 'the family of the chief Ḥannā', copied a manuscript in Alqōsh in 1891³¹⁴. The scribe Yōnas Audō copied a manuscript in Alqōsh in 1893³¹⁵.

³⁰⁵ MSS Mīngana Syr 437, Berlin Syr 121, 128, and 129, and Dawrā Syr 784.

³⁰⁶ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 1, 37, and 90.

³⁰⁷ MS Dawrā Syr 133.

³⁰⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 902, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 19, and Karamlish (Jajeeka) 3.

³⁰⁹ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 31.

³¹⁰ MS Dawrā Syr 630.

³¹¹ MSS Mīngana Syr 492 and Harvard Syr (Titterton) 44.

³¹² MS Dawrā Syr 634.

³¹³ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 10 and 57.

³¹⁴ MS Ūrmī 213.

³¹⁵ MS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 27.

The names of other priests and notables of the village at this period are known from manuscript commissions and other references. A number of manuscripts were commissioned for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Mīkhā between 1845 and 1876 by the priest Yōnān, son of the deacon Ḥannā, and by the priest and chief Mattai, son of Ḥannā Gōze, of the Gōrō family of Alqōsh, one of which was given in 1869 to Mattai's brothers Joseph, Karmāti, and Jajjō³¹⁶. Jajjō (Gīwārgīs) later became chief of Alqōsh, and was the father of the chief Stephen, whose scribal career between 1880 and 1912 has already been mentioned. The priest Yōnān, son of the deacon Ḥannā, also purchased a manuscript in 1887³¹⁷. The priest Damiānōs of Alqōsh donated a manuscript to the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1853, was mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of 1855 copied at Alqōsh by his pupils Hormizd Qardash and Maṣṣūr Sōrō, and was the scribe of a manuscript of 1874³¹⁸. A manuscript was copied in 1881 for the priest Abraham, son of Isha'yā, son of Markhō Hākīm, of the Cheikhō family of Alqōsh, which he donated to the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in 1913, and he is also recorded as purchasing manuscripts in 1892 and 1911³¹⁹. After the Chaldean authorities successfully prevented the traditionalist bishop Eliyā Abūnā from taking up residence in Alqōsh in 1910, his supporters in the village were led by a priest named Gabriel³²⁰.

Sixteen men from Alqōsh entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd between 1808 and 1826, the largest number of men from a single village after Telkepe. A number of these men became scribes, and copied ten manuscripts in the monastery between 1819 and 1826, and several others later. The monk Isaac, son of Ḥannā, son of Joseph, of the Mōgā family, copied three manuscripts in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd between 1819 and 1824, and two more in Bidwīl in 1851 and 1852 while serving as the priest of the neighbouring village of Dizzi³²¹. The deacon and monk Maṣṣūr, son of 'Abdīshō', son of Gawrō, of the Sulaimān family, was the scribe of two manuscripts of 1825 and

³¹⁶ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 15, 19, 36, 48, 87, 88, 90, 91, 102, 103, and 107; and Dawrā Syr 12 and 514.

³¹⁷ MSS Dawrā Ar 15, Mīngana Syr 437, and Trichur Syr 51.

³¹⁸ MS Dawrā Syr 12.

³¹⁹ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 14, 59, and 73.

³²⁰ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 312.

³²¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 9, 30, 245 (part), and 715, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, AC, i. 312).

1826³²². The monk Damiānōs, son of Telkō, 'of the family of Sabrīshō', was the scribe of an undated manuscript³²³. The priest and monk Joseph, son of the deacon Hormizd, son of Markhāyā, of the Audō family (the future patriarch Joseph VI Audō) copied four manuscripts in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd between 1817 and 1821, and a fifth in Āmid in 1825 shortly after his consecration as a metropolitan³²⁴. The priest and monk Mīkhā'il Rōmānōs, son of the deacon Mīkhā'il, son of the priest Hōshābā, son of the deacon Joseph, of Alqōsh, copied or restored twenty-nine manuscripts between 1833 and 1874³²⁵. Many of these manuscripts were copied in Mosul, where he served as a priest in the church of Mār Isha'yā, but some were also copied in Alqōsh, in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, and in Telkepe.

Several other men from Alqōsh became monks later in the nineteenth century. The priest and monk Paul, son of Mārōge, son of Hormizd, of the Rāmū family of Alqōsh, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1850³²⁶. The priest and monk Samuel, son of the deacon Stephen, son of the deacon Shem'on Thomas, of the Ḥabidūsh family of Alqōsh, was the scribe of manuscripts of 1854 and 1855, copied in the Shemkān village of Tellā and in Mosul respectively³²⁷. The monk Tobias Bājā of Alqōsh was the scribe of manuscripts of 1881, 1885 and 1888³²⁸. The priest and monk Paul Ḥannōnā, son of Joseph Maksābō, of the Audō family of Alqōsh, was the scribe of three manuscripts between 1855 and 1876³²⁹. The monk Damiānōs, son of Mattai, of the Karrā family of Alqōsh, copied seven manuscripts between 1880 and 1899 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences³³⁰. The priest and monk Ablaḥad of Alqōsh was the scribe of a manuscript of 1897³³¹. The novice monk Augustine, son of Joseph, of the

³²² MSS Dawrā Syr 332 and 810.

³²³ MS Dawrā Syr 671.

³²⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 7, 29, 177, 757, and 893 (part).

³²⁵ MSS Mosul (Scher) 53, Mosul (Magdasi) 19, Trichur Syr 2, Mīngana Syr 102 and 212F, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 16, Dawrā Syr 54, Paris BN Syr 222, Borgia (Scher) 90, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 9, 11, and 34, Dohuk (Vosté) 29, Kirkūk (Vosté) 16, 'Aqrā (Vosté) 30, Bāṭnāyā (Ḥaddād) 17, Alqōsh (Ṣana) 9, 62, 86, 103, and 104, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 2, 9, 14, 25, 36, 46, and 47, and a manuscript of 1868 (probably in the Dawrā collection) copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd.

³²⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 445.

³²⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 382 and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 32.

³²⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 15, 102, and 597.

³²⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 48, 210, and 913.

³³⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 67, 124, 325, 338, 488, 586, and 906.

³³¹ MS Dawrā Syr 771.

Hajji family of Alqōsh copied four manuscripts between 1913 and 1915 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences³³². Isolated manuscripts were copied by the priest Bar Ṣawmā and the monk Shemmī (Shem'ōn), son of Manṣūr, of Alqōsh in 1885 (Shem'ōn, later a priest, was also the scribe of a manuscript of 1928)³³³. Manuscripts were also copied at an unknown date by the monk Shem'ōnā of Alqōsh, and in 1892 by the monk Mikhā'il of Alqōsh³³⁴.

The Chaldean patriarchs Joseph VI Audō and Joseph Emmanuel II Thomas were natives of Alqōsh, and four other Chaldean bishops (Ignatius Dashtō, Jeremy Timothy Maqdasi, Thomas Audō, and Israel Audō) were also natives of the village.

The Monastery of Rabban Hormizd the Persian [Fiey, AC, ii. 533-51]

The monastery of Rabban Hormizd the Persian, prudently situated in a mountain valley several miles to the north-east of the village of Alqōsh, was founded in the seventh century by Rabban Hormizd of Beṭ Lapaṭ, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Bar 'Idtā. The early history of the monastery is recounted in the near-contemporary *Life of Rabban Hormizd the Persian* written by the monk Rabban Shem'ōn, which gives a distinctly hagiographical account of Hormizd's life and of the disputes between the East Syrian monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd and the neighbouring West Syrian communities in the villages of Arsham, Ḥarbā and Kezyōn, and in the monasteries of Bezqīn and Mār Mattai. The monastery of Rabban Hormizd is also mentioned frequently in the tenth-century *Life of Rabban Joseph Busnāyā*, and three of its thirteenth-century scribes are known: the monk Īshō', who copied a manuscript in 1199/1200; the priest and monk Daniel, who copied four manuscripts in the monastery between 1206 and 1211; and Īshō', scribe of a manuscript of 1289³³⁵. A manuscript was also copied in the monastery in 1222 by an unnamed scribe³³⁶. The colophon of a manuscript copied by the priest and monk Daniel in 1208 mentions the metropolitan Sabrīshō' of Beṭ Nūhadrā, implying that the monastery was at that period included in his diocese.

³³² MSS Dawrā Syr 238, 369, 782, and 786.

³³³ MSS NDS (Vosté) 137 and Dawrā Syr 141 and 764.

³³⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 801 and 951.

³³⁵ MSS BM Syr (Wright) 248, Dawrā Syr 24 and 680, Harvard Syr (Titterton) 2, and Diyārbakr (Scher) 10 and 11.

³³⁶ MS Paris BN Syr 365.

Little is known of the monastery's history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. An inscription mentions that the monk David, son of the priest Argunshāh, of Salmas, commissioned some repair work there in 1485, which was carried out by a group of workers led by Ḥannō, son of Īshō', of the Ṭhūmā village of Beṭ Arijai³³⁷. The patriarch Shem'ōn IV was buried in the monastery after his death on 20 February 1497 and his epitaph, which has survived, contains a reference to a young bishop named Ḥnānīshō', perhaps his *nāṭar kursyā*³³⁸. Thereafter it became normal for the East Syrian patriarchs who succeeded him to be buried in the monastery. Besides the tomb of Shem'ōn IV, the monastery contains the tombs of eight of his eleven successors, from Shem'ōn VI (†1538) to Eliyā XIII Īshō'yahb (†1804)³³⁹. The exceptions were his two immediate successors Shem'ōn V (†1502) and Eliyā V (†1504), who were buried in the monastery of Mār Awgin and the church of Mart Meskindā in Mosul respectively, and were perhaps not generally recognised as legitimate patriarchs; and Eliyā XII Denḥā, who died in Alqōsh during a plague in 1778 and was buried in the village, probably because the monastery was deserted at that period.

As has already been mentioned, the monastery was attacked and plundered in 1508 by Murād Bey after the citizens of Alqōsh took refuge there³⁴⁰. It must have recovered quickly, as in 1553 the Catholic patriarch Sulāqā informed Cardinal Maffeo that he had entered the monastery as a child and became its superior in 1540, and that at the time of his election in 1552 it had more than fifty monks³⁴¹. After the schism of 1552 the monastery remained in the hands of the patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb and his traditionalist successors, all of whom took the name Eliyā. It was their normal patriarchal seat throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but because it was isolated and often cut off from the village of Alqōsh by snow during the winter, it never became a permanent residence.

Several manuscripts were copied either in or for the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in the sixteenth century: a manuscript of 1523 copied in the monastery by an unnamed scribe; a manuscript of 1542 copied in Gāzartā by the scribe 'Aṭāyā of Alqōsh for the nun Maryam, daughter of

³³⁷ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 274-5.

³³⁸ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 283-5.

³³⁹ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 286-98.

³⁴⁰ Scher, *Épisodes*, 121-2.

³⁴¹ Van Gulik, 'Die Konsistorialakten über die Begründung des uniert-chaldäischen Patriarchates von Mosul unter Papst Julius III', *OC*, 4 (1904), 261-277.

the priest Hormizd, son of Sulaimān, who donated it to the monastery; a manuscript copied in the monastery in 1545 by the scribe Darwīsh, son of Yōhannān, of the Berwārī village of 'Aqrī; a manuscript copied in the monastery in 1550 by the priest Samuel; a manuscript copied for the monastery in 1554 by the traditionalist metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Nisibis; a manuscript of 1558, also copied by the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Nisibis with the assistance of the priest Shlemūn of Tel Isqōf and the monk 'Abd al-Masīh, begun in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd and completed in the monastery of Mār Awgin; a manuscript of 1562 copied in the monastery by the traditionalist bishop Yahballāhā of Berwārī; a manuscript of 1564 copied, perhaps in Alqōsh, by the priest 'Pontius' for the monk Mārōgin; a manuscript copied in the monastery in 1569 by the scribe Ya'qōb, son of 'Abd al-Masīh, for the churches of Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Mīkhā in Alqōsh; a manuscript of 1572 commissioned from Gāzartā for the monastery by the patriarch Eliyā VII; a manuscript copied in the monastery in 1583 by the deacon Abraham, son of Bad'ā, of Tel Isqōf; and two manuscripts copied in the monastery in 1593, one by an unnamed scribe and the other by the priest Abraham³⁴².

Four sixteenth-century inscriptions in the monastery have also survived. They include the epitaphs of the patriarchs Shem'ōn VI (†5 August 1538), Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb (†1 November 1558), and Eliyā VII (†26 May 1591), and an inscription recording the rebuilding of the wall of the monastery's old church in 1559 by the architect Shlemūn of Beṭ Arijai, brother of the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Nisibis, under the direction of the monk 'Īsā of Alqōsh, and at the expense of the priest Isaac and Maryam, daughter of Mīmā, of Erbil³⁴³.

The patriarch Eliyā VII made a Catholic profession of faith in the patriarchal cell in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd on 23 December 1586, witnessed by the metropolitans Ḥnānīshō' of Mosul, Gabriel of Gāzartā, and Yōhannān of Ūrmī; the monks Ya'qōb, Joseph, Quriāqōs, Stephen and Šlībā; the priest 'Aṭyā, archdeacon of Gāzartā; and 'all the other monks'³⁴⁴.

³⁴² MSS BL Or. 3337, Dawrā Syr 39 and 40, Bātnāyā (Ḥaddād) 35, Mosul (Scher) 80, Jerusalem Syr 8, Cambridge Add. 1988, Berlin Syr 82, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 80, Alqōsh (Šana) 63, Kirkūk (Vosté) 40, and Jerusalem Syr 15 and 21.

³⁴³ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 271, and 286-90.

³⁴⁴ MS Vat Ar (Mai) 141.

The profession of faith was translated into Arabic by Rabban 'Christodulos', probably to be identified with the monk 'Abd al-Masīh of Ṭabyātā. Both the patriarch Eliyā VII and the monk Ya'qōb were included in Leonard Abel's 1587 list of the most literate men in the 'Nestorian nation'³⁴⁵.

The monastery of Rabban Hormizd was mentioned in the report of 1607 and also in the report of 1610, which adds the following details:

We have in the territory of Āṭōr and Nineveh the monastery of our father Hormizd, the seat of our patriarch, whose miracles, signs and great virtues are such that men of all nations far and near flock to him for his blessing. He distributes bread like the sand of the sea and the dust of the earth to all who need it, and often entertains great kings with all their armies, and satisfies all their needs, men and horses alike. That is the seat of our patriarchate, removed there from Babylon on account of the evils of the time and our poverty, and Mār Eliyā our patriarch lives there³⁴⁶.

Despite this reference, little trace of activity in the monastery in the first half of the seventeenth century has survived, but several manuscripts were copied in or for the monastery in the second half of the century, some by scribes from the nearby village of Alqōsh. The surviving seventeenth-century manuscripts copied in the monastery include a manuscript of 1649 by the priest 'Īsā for the church of Tel Ḥesh; a manuscript of 1662 by an unnamed scribe for the monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem; manuscripts of 1677 and 1679 by the noted Alqōsh scribe Gīwārgīs, son of the priest Israel (the first for a patron from Erbil and the second for the monastery of Jerusalem); a manuscript of 1683 by the priest 'Abdīshō'; a manuscript of 1683/4 by the scribe 'Abdīshō', son of the priest Hormizd, of Alqōsh; and a manuscript of 1696 by a scribe named Gīwārgīs³⁴⁷. A manuscript was also copied for the church of the village of Karsāpā in 1629 by the 'monk and superior' Isaac, perhaps (if Karsāpā has been correctly identified with the Mosul plain village of Khōrsābād) the superior of the nearby monastery of Rabban Hormizd³⁴⁸. Manuscripts were also commissioned for the monastery from Alqōsh in 1672 by the patriarch Eliyā X Yōhannān Mārōgin, and at an unknown date after 1694 by the priest Gīwārgīs and his brother Yōhannān, sons of

³⁴⁵ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121-2.

³⁴⁶ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 517 and 109.

³⁴⁷ MSS Assfalg (Syr) 34, Jerusalem Syr 1 and 2, Dawrā Syr 498, Cambridge Add. 2018, and Paris BN Syr 283 and 336 (*Vorlage*).

³⁴⁸ MS Alqōsh (Šana) 50.

the priest Semmānō (possibly the priest of that name from the Ṣapnā village of Arāden)³⁴⁹.

The surviving seventeenth-century inscriptions from the monastery include the epitaphs of the patriarchs Eliyā VIII (†26 May 1617), Eliyā IX (†18 June 1660), and Eliyā X (†17 May 1700); an inscription of 1644 recording the residence of a scribe named 'Abdīshō'; and an inscription of 1667 recording renovation work carried out at the expense of the priest Israel (probably of Alqōsh), following damage to the monastery during a fire and earthquake in the previous year³⁵⁰. The epitaph of Eliyā X mentions that he had rebuilt the monastery's martyrion and baptistery in 1696, and a note in a manuscript copied at Alqōsh in 1697 also mentions the recent reconstruction of the monastery's 'grand martyrion', 'at the expense of the patriarch Mār Eliyā'³⁵¹.

A number of manuscripts were copied in the monastery in the early years of the eighteenth century, including a manuscript of 1710 by the Alqōsh scribe Gīwārgīs, son of the priest Israel; another manuscript of 1710, by an unnamed monk, at the expense of Eddne, daughter of the priest Mārōge; a manuscript of 1736, copied partly in the village of Alqōsh and partly in the monastery, by the priest Joseph, son of the priest Gīwārgīs, of Alqōsh; and two manuscripts of 1738, also by the priest Joseph, 'who was staying in the monastery at the request of the patriarch Mār Eliyā', commissioned by the patriarch's mother Azdīyā, daughter of Safar, of Alqōsh, for the monastery's church³⁵². Two manuscripts were also commissioned from Alqōsh for the monastery: a manuscript of 1718 at the expense of Ḥazmi, daughter of the priest Ḥōshābā and wife of the priest Israel, and her daughter Dallī; and a manuscript of 1722 copied for the priest and monk Īshō³⁵³.

Three manuscript notes mention that the patriarch Eliyā XI was obliged to leave his seat in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd and withdraw to Telkepe in 1706 and again in 1717, because of unrest in 'Amādiyā, accompanied on both occasions by his secretary the priest Gīwārgīs, son of the priest Israel, of Alqōsh³⁵⁴. He later returned to the monastery, and was buried there after his death on 14 December 1722³⁵⁵.

³⁴⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 194 and NDS (Scher) 13.

³⁵⁰ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 270, 280, and 290-4.

³⁵¹ MS Mosul (Scher) 112.

³⁵² MSS Jerusalem Syr 5 and 13, Cambridge Or. 1294, and Dawrā Syr 226 and 235.

³⁵³ MSS Dawrā Syr 52 and 710.

³⁵⁴ Notes in MSS Cambridge Add. 2017, Mosul (Scher) 31, and Mingana Syr 595.

³⁵⁵ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 294-6.

In 1743 Alqōsh was pillaged by the Persian army of Nādir Shāh during its campaign around Mosul. Following this sack the monastery appears to have been kept locked and unoccupied until 1808, although it was occasionally visited. Manuscripts were copied in the monastery in 1744 by the Alqōsh scribe Yaldā, son of the priest 'Abdīshō', and in 1756 by the priest Šlībā, of Telkepe, for his brother the deacon 'Askar'³⁵⁶. In 1773 the deacon Joseph, son of the priest Isaac and nephew of the patriarch Eliyā XII Denḥā, was buried in the monastery, as was the patriarch Eliyā XIII Īshō'yahb in 1804, the last patriarch to be laid to rest there³⁵⁷.

In 1808 the monastery was reopened by Gabriel Dambō for his newly-founded Antonine Order of St Hormisdas, after some dispute. The monastery had a number of mills and pieces of land in its possession, from which the patriarchal family had been receiving an income, and Yōḥannān Hormizd was reluctant to allow Dambō to use it, offering instead the monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs, also unoccupied at this period. However, Dambō was able to win over the Dominican mission and, more importantly, the metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of 'Amādiyā. The monastery belonged to the diocese of 'Amādiyā, and Ḥnānīshō' braved Yōḥannān Hormizd's displeasure and handed over the keys to the monastery to Dambō³⁵⁸.

At first Dambō had only two companions, the priest Hormizd of Daūdiyā and the monk Īshō' Kasākō of Alqōsh, and was obliged to rely for practical support on sympathisers in the village of Alqōsh, including the chief Hormizd Gōrō, the priest Gīwārgīs Yūḥannā, and the deacons Šlībō and Thomas. By 1827, however, the monastery had ninety-three monks, drawn not only from long-established Chaldean centres of Āmid, Mardīn and the villages of the Mosul plain, but also from villages in the 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā regions such as Mengesh and Arenā, which may still have had significant traditionalist communities at this period. Most of the monks were from the villages of Telkepe (twenty-seven), Alqōsh (sixteen), Mengesh (thirteen), and Tel Isqōf (eight), and many of their names are western in form, reflecting the influence of the Latin missionaries at this time.

³⁵⁶ MSS Paris BN Syr 310 and Dawrā Syr 266.

³⁵⁷ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 266-7 and 296-8.

³⁵⁸ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 412-4.

Table 19: Entry of Monks into the Monastery of Rabban Hormizd, 1808-1827

Name	Origin	Name	Origin	Name	Origin	Name	Origin
[1808]		Basil	Telkepe	Mūshe	Bātnāyā	Rōkōs	Mengesh
Gabriel	Mardīn	Antony	Telkepe	[1821]		Samuel	Arenā
Īshō'	Alqōsh	Stephen	Telkepe	Nicholas	Telkepe	Eliyā	Ma'altā
Hormizd	Daūdiyā	Isha'yā	Alqōsh	Abraham	Telkepe	Isaac	Gweṣṣā
Gādō	Mengesh	Isaac Mōgā	Alqōsh	Gīwārgīs	Baghdad	Benedict	Tel Isqōf
Hormizd	Mengesh	[1816]		Stephen	Telkepe	Rōmānōs	Alqōsh
David	Mengesh	Andrew	Alqōsh	Peter	Tel Isqōf	Vincent	Alqōsh
'Abd al-Aḥad	Mengesh	Eusebius	Mengesh	Ambrose	Baghdad	Damiānōs	Alqōsh
Ḥōshābā	Mengesh	Mikhā'īl Dōdā	Alqōsh	Ignatius	Telkepe	Elīsha'	Dohuk
[1809]		Germānōs	Alqōsh	Luke	Mengesh	Cleophas	Telkepe
Yōḥannān	Alqōsh	[1817]		[1822]		[1825]	
Abraham	Alqōsh	Thomas	Tel Isqōf	Zakaryā	Telkepe	Sifā	Alqōsh
Yōḥannān	Bir Sivi	Jeremy	Tel Isqōf	Anselm	Tel Isqōf	Leon	Telkepe
Francis	Tel Isqōf	Rufā'īl	Telkepe	Athanasius	Tel Isqōf	Andrew	Telkepe
Makkōge	Tel Isqōf	Arsenius	Mengesh	Joachim	Telkepe	[1826]	
Tīshā	Piyōz	[1819]		Yōnān	Telkepe	Paul	Telkepe
Peter	Mengesh	Mattai	Mengesh	Joseph	Āmid	Thomas	Bātnāyā
Gīwārgīs	Tāqiān	Luke	Mengesh	Eliyā	Mosul	Mattai	Bātnāyā
Joseph	Shaqlāwā	Ya'qōb	Tel Isqōf	Martin	Alqōsh	Lawrent	Bātnāyā
Yōḥannān	Mosul	Shem'ōnā	Telkepe	Quriāqōs	Alqōsh	Sem'an	Seert
[1810]		Lawrent	Alqōsh	Ephrem	Alqōsh	[1827]	
Tobias	Shaqlāwā	Paul	Telkepe	Philip	Telkepe	Mikhā'īl	Mardīn
Ḥannūsā	Piyōz	Marqos	Telkepe	Louis	Telkepe	David	Mengesh
[1814]		[1820]		Jerome	Telkepe	Peṭiōn	Āmid
Joseph	Alqōsh	'Abd al-Karīm	Mosul	Hieronymus	Telkepe	Yōḥannān	'Amādiya
Bernard	Telkepe	Yōḥannān	Telkepe	[1823]		Manṣūr	Alqōsh
Basil	Telkepe	Eliyā	Telkepe	Clement	Telkepe	Antony	Gwezid

Many of these monks later played an important role in consolidating and spreading the Catholic faith among the villages of the Mosul patriarchate, as Gabriel Dambō was determined to use the monastic order to provide educated priests and deacons for the Chaldean church. Although most of its members were lay brothers, nine monks were already in holy orders when they entered the monastery: the priest Hormizd of Daūdiyā and the deacons Gādō, David, and Ḥōshābā, of Mengesh, in 1808; the deacon Yōḥannān, son of Almō, of Mosul, in 1809; the priest Isaac of

Gweṣṣā, in 1823; and the deacons David of Mengesh, Peṭiōn of Āmid, and Antony of Gwezid, in 1827³⁵⁹. Gabriel Dambō's plans for the order were far more ambitious, however, and in a series of ordinations between 1810 and 1823 at least fifteen other monks were ordained as priests, and probably a similar number as deacons. Among those ordained at this period were the priest David of Mengesh, ordained in Mosul in 1810 by Yōḥannān Hormizd (probably, as Elīsha's history suggests, with ulterior motives); Gabriel Dambō himself, ordained as a priest in Mosul in 1811 by its metropolitan Shem'ōn Sayyegh; the priests Yōḥannān Gwerā, Abraham of Alqōsh and Bernard of Telkepe, and the sub-deacon 'Abd al-Aḥad of Mengesh, ordained in Mardīn on 10 January 1815 by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi; the priests Joseph Audō of Alqōsh, Manṣūr Asmar of Telkepe, Thomas Shō'ā of Tel Isqōf, Augustine of Telkepe, Rufā'īl of Telkepe, Antony of Telkepe, Lawrent of Alqōsh, and the deacon Yōḥannān of Telkepe, ordained in Āmid on 25 March 1822 by Augustine Hindi; and the priests Yōḥannān, Stephen and Andrew, and the deacon Martin of Alqōsh, ordained in Āmid in 1823 by Augustine Hindi³⁶⁰. Several other monks must also have been ordained deacons during this period, as by 1825 the monastery had at least fourteen deacons.

In 1825 Gabriel Dambō was able to send twenty-eight monks out in pairs (normally one priest and one deacon) to several towns and villages with Chaldean communities in need of spiritual encouragement and instruction. Many went only to Mosul and the Mosul plain villages of Alqōsh, Piyōz, Nāṣeriyā, Tel Isqōf, and Bātnāyā; but some were also sent to the more distant Catholic communities in Ma'altā, Dohuk, Qaṣr-i-Yāzdīn, Meze, and Tellā in the 'Amādiyā region; and two pairs to Baghdad and Basra³⁶¹. They were better educated than most traditional East Syrian priests, having learned both Syriac and Arabic in the monastery (the latter under the instruction of the deacon Thomas of Alqōsh), and probably more enthusiastic too, and will have made a deep impression on both the children and the adults whom they taught. The concentration of the literary sources for this period on the feud between Gabriel Dambō and Yōḥannān Hormizd has perhaps obscured these more mundane, but vital, services rendered to the Chaldean church by Dambō's monks.

³⁵⁹ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 114, 116, 414-5, and 416.

³⁶⁰ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 113, 114, 416, 418, and 421.

³⁶¹ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 115.

By 1823 several Chaldean dioceses were vacant, partly as a result of the long suspension of Yōhannān Hormizd. On 17 December 1823, after considering a number of requests from both the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi and Gabriel Dambō, the Vatican empowered Augustine Hindi to consecrate several monks of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd as bishops to fill these vacancies³⁶². As a result five monks were consecrated metropolitans at Āmid by Augustine Hindi between 1824 and 1826: Manṣūr Asmar of Telkepe on 21 April 1824 for 'Amādiyā, under the name Basil; Thomas Shō'ā of Tel Isqōf on 23 April 1824 for Kirkūk, under the name Lawrent; Joseph Audō of Alqōsh on 25 March 1825 for Mosul; Ignatius Dashtō of Alqōsh on 8 September 1826 for Mardīn; and Mikhā'il Kattūlā of Telkepe on 15 September 1826 for Seert³⁶³. Before their consecrations Joseph Audō copied four manuscripts between 1817 and 1821, and Lawrent Shō'ā two manuscripts in 1819³⁶⁴. Gabriel Dambō himself copied a manuscript in 1813³⁶⁵.

Many other monks at this period were also scribes. Three manuscripts were copied in the monastery in 1813 by the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Narsai, of Daūdiyā, in 1819 by David, son of Safar, of Mengesh, and in 1823 by the deacon Gādō of Mengesh³⁶⁶. Eighteen manuscripts were copied between 1817 and 1859 by the Telkepe monks Stephen Jammālā, the priest Bernard Mā'rūf, Augustine Shamse, Clement Brikhō, Andrew Asmar, Yūwānīs Kattūlā, the priest Hieronymus Qāshā, the priest Antony, son of 'Askar, and the deacon Basil³⁶⁷. Five manuscripts were copied between 1824 and 1844 by the Tel Isqōf monks Athanasius, Jeremy, and Anselm, son of Nīsān³⁶⁸. Six manuscripts were copied between 1819 and 1824 by the Alqōsh monks Isaac Mōgā, the deacon Manṣūr Sulaimān, and Damiānōs, son of Telkō³⁶⁹. The priest Mikhā'il Rōmānōs, son of the deacon Mikhā'il, of Alqōsh, also copied a number of manuscripts in the monastery before and after his service as a priest in

³⁶² Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 65.

³⁶³ Brière, *Rabban Hormizd*, 114 and 115; Bello, *Congrégation de S. Hormisdas*, 66 and 69.

³⁶⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 7, 8, 29, 177, 893, and 894.

³⁶⁵ MSS Dawrā Ar 103.

³⁶⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 278, 331, and 755.

³⁶⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 10, 11, 17, 18, 20, 21, 53, 169, 279, 280, 458, 716, 719, and 756, Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 18, Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 46, and a manuscript of 1822 in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd (Fiey, *AC*, ii, 546).

³⁶⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 14, 172, 175, 176, and 718.

³⁶⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 9, 30, 332, 671, 715, and 810.

Mosul, between 1833 and 1868³⁷⁰. At least ten other manuscripts were copied between 1814 and 1825 by unnamed monks of the monastery³⁷¹.

In 1827 a dispute arose in the monastery when Gabriel Dambō went to Rome to seek the approval of the Vatican for his community, leaving Yōhannān Gwerā of Alqōsh as administrator. The famine of 1827 and the plague of 1828 caused great hardship in the monastery, and a party of monks complained of Gwerā's harsh discipline and demanded that he be replaced by the monk Joseph of Āmid. Gwerā's opponents included the monks Isaac Mōgā of Alqōsh, Arsenius of Mengesh, and Elīyā of Mosul (who were ordained priests in Alqōsh by a grateful Yōhannān Hormizd on 19 June 1828), Rufā'il of Telkepe, Damiānōs of Alqōsh, the priest Isha'yā of Alqōsh, and the deacon Clement Brikhō of Telkepe (who died in Tel Isqōf in 1828). Joseph Audō supported Gwerā, and the opposing faction was obliged to take refuge in the village of Alqōsh, where Yōhannān Hormizd promised them his support. For several weeks the dispute divided Alqōsh into two factions, the supporters of Joseph Audō worshipping in the church of Mār Mikhā and those of Yōhannān Hormizd in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs. Attempts to negotiate failed, and Yōhannān Hormizd persuaded the governor of 'Amādiyā to eject the monks from the monastery and arrest and imprison Yōhannān Gwerā and Joseph Audō. Accusing them of secreting a chest of valuables, he bribed the civil authorities to have Audō tortured and Gwerā put to death, but a number of shocked fellow-Chaldeans intervened and procured their release. The dispute was resolved by a settlement in 1830 in which Yōhannān Hormizd was recognised as patriarch, Joseph Audō confirmed as metropolitan of 'Amādiyā, and the role of Gabriel Dambō's monastic order upheld.

The settlement might have been expected to put an end to the feuds which had troubled the monastery since 1808, but in the following years it suffered a number of tragic blows. In 1832 Alqōsh was attacked by the Soran Kurds of Rāwandūz. Dambō, who had recently returned from Rome, happened to be in the village at the time, and was among the hundreds of Chaldeans killed during the subsequent massacre. His body, initially buried in the church of Mār Mikhā in Alqōsh, was transferred to the

³⁷⁰ MSS Mosul (Scher) 53, Trichur Syr 2, Paris BN Syr 222, Borgia (Scher) 90, and Dohuk (Vosté) 29.

³⁷¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 118, 244, 330, 743, 737, and 893 (part), Dawrā Ar 32, 34 and 130, and Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 27.

monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1843. In 1842 the monastery was pillaged by the governor Ismā'īl of 'Amādiyā, whose troops damaged or burned many of its books, maltreated the monks, and arrested Dambō's successor, the superior Yōḥannān Gwerā. He was imprisoned in 'Amādiyā together with the priest Mūshe at the instigation of members of the Abūnā family, and both men died in prison after prolonged torture in September 1842³⁷². Shortly afterwards the patriarch Nicholas I Zay'ā further undermined the monastery's influence by allowing 45 monks to retire into lay life³⁷³. In 1847, according to a note by the scribe Ya'qōb of Barzāne, there were only seventeen monks left: the priests Elīsha', Emmanuel and Paul, and the monks Louis, Samuel, Maṣṣūr Eusebius, Paul, Elīyā, Mīkhā'īl, Abraham, Zakaryā, Gīwārgīs, Yōnān, Shem'ōn, Joachim, Thomas, and Luke³⁷⁴. In 1850 the monastery was again raided by the Kurds, and over 1,000 manuscripts were destroyed when a stream flooded a small building in which they had been stored for safety³⁷⁵. This catastrophe may in part account for the small number of early manuscripts which have survived from the monastery.

Yōḥannān Gwerā was succeeded as superior by the monk Emmanuel (mentioned as superior between 1843 and 1846), and Elīsha' of Dohuk, who became 'superior-general of the Chaldean monasteries' after the completion of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1859. Most of the monks moved to the new monastery, taking the contents of the library of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd with them. Elīsha' died in 1875 and was succeeded as superior-general by the priest Paul 'the Persian' (mentioned between 1876 and 1879), and Abraham 'Abbō of Kirkūk (mentioned between 1879 and 1883). By then the monastery of Rabban Hormizd had its own superior, Yūwānīs (mentioned between 1881 and 1890), who was succeeded by the monk Hormizd (mentioned in 1891), and the monk Ephrem of Khosrōwā (mentioned in 1893)³⁷⁶.

Several manuscripts were copied by monks who entered the monastery of Rabban Hormizd during the troubled decades between the settlement of 1830 and the completion of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1859. The priest and monk 'Abdīshō' of Tellā copied four

³⁷² Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 277-8.

³⁷³ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 169.

³⁷⁴ Note in MS 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 25.

³⁷⁵ Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, 10.

³⁷⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 35, 76, 236, 339, 397, 398, and 891, MSS Mingana Syr 574, Vat Syr 499, Bāṭnāyā (Ḥaddād) 36, and Alqōsh (Ṣana) 4. See also Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 267-8, 270, and 279; and Budge, *The Monks of Kublai Khan*, 10.

manuscripts between 1838 and 1843³⁷⁷. The monk Shem'ōn Louis of Piyōz composed a philosophical work in the monastery in 1831, and was the scribe of six manuscripts between 1843 and 1873³⁷⁸. The monk Anton Sābāh of Mosul copied two manuscripts in 1844³⁷⁹. The priest and monk Joseph was the scribe of a manuscript of 1850³⁸⁰. The priest and monk Paul, son of Mārōge, son of Hormizd, of the Rāmū family of Alqōsh, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1850³⁸¹. The priest and monk Francis was the scribe of a manuscript of 1851³⁸². The monk Augustine, son of Ḥōshābā, of the Ḥāni Bāni family of Telkepe, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1853³⁸³. The monk Maṣṣūr was the scribe of a manuscript of 1855³⁸⁴.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the focus of copying shifted from the monastery of Rabban Hormizd to the new monastery of Notre Dame des Semences. Nevertheless the monastery continued to have its own monks, and a considerable number of manuscripts were still copied there. The priest and monk Abraham, son of 'Abbō, son of Behnām, of the Rūḥū family of Kirkūk, a deacon by 1856 and a priest by 1861, copied or restored twelve manuscripts between 1856 and 1905³⁸⁵. One of these manuscripts was copied in the Shemkān village of Beṭ Bōzi in 1863, but most if not all of the others appear to have been copied or restored in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd. The priest and monk Nicholas, son of the deacon Gīwārgīs, son of Hormizd, of the Nōfāl family of Telkepe, also active in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, copied five manuscripts between 1863 and 1875 in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, and one in 1882 in the 'tower of the vine, half an hour from the monastery of Rabban Hormizd'³⁸⁶. The priest and monk Anselm, son of Mārbehnā 'Azamat, son of 'Īsā, of 'Aīnqāwā, scribe of seven manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences between 1869 and 1877, copied a manuscript in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1873, and is prob-

³⁷⁷ MS Dawrā Syr 35, 134, 725, and 740.

³⁷⁸ MSS Dohuk (Ḥaddād) 31, Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 44, and Dawrā Syr 203, 229, 335, and 428.

³⁷⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 229 and 261.

³⁸⁰ MS Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 16.

³⁸¹ MS Dawrā Syr 445.

³⁸² MS Dawrā Syr 729.

³⁸³ MS Dawrā Syr 110.

³⁸⁴ MS Dawrā Syr 959.

³⁸⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 3, 230, 231, 282, 284, 323, 395, 606, and 861, Kirkūk (Vosté) 28 and 29, and NDS (Vosté) 42.

³⁸⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 37, 232, 317, 399, 465, and 927.

ably to be identified with the priest Anselm who bore the expense of some renovation work carried out in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1883 by the architect Gīwārgīs, son of the deacon Joseph Ḥanōsh³⁸⁷. The priest and monk Ephrem 'the Persian', of Khosrōwā, mentioned as the monastery's superior in 1893, copied or restored eight manuscripts in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd between 1874 and 1911³⁸⁸. The priest and monk Eliyā, son of Babekkā, of Shaqlāwā, whose colophons often mentioned that he was a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, copied at least thirty manuscripts between 1880 and 1933, the majority of which were copied in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd³⁸⁹. The priest and monk Benjamin, son of Ḥannā, son of Gīwārgīs, of the Auzō family of Telkepe, who also described himself as 'a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd' in a colophon of 1887, copied four manuscripts between 1885 and 1904, two of which were copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, one in Seert, and perhaps one in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd³⁹⁰. The priest and monk Gīwārgīs, son of Kalyānā, son of Israel, of the Khābūr village of Tāqiān, copied two manuscripts in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1882 and a third in 1888. He was also the scribe of a manuscript of 1886 copied in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences; a manuscript of 1905 copied in Koī Sanjaq while he was serving in the town as its priest; and three later manuscripts (two copied in 1907 and a third in 1915) whose place of copying was not recorded³⁹¹.

The Monastery of Notre Dame des Semences [Fiey, AC, i. 548-9]

The disadvantages of the choice of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd as the residence of the monks of the order of Saint Hormisdas became apparent during the 1840s. Firstly, the monastery was inconveniently remote, and was cut off from Alqōsh during the winter. More importantly, its isolated and exposed position, as Yōḥannān Hormizd had pointed out in 1808, made it dangerously vulnerable to attack. The monastery of Rabban Hormizd was pillaged twice, in 1842 and 1850, and after the sec-

³⁸⁷ MS Dawrā Syr 393; and Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 267.

³⁸⁸ MSS NDS (Scher) 101, Bātnāyā (Haddād) 36, and Dawrā Syr 223, 453, 466, 542, 615, and 939 (part).

³⁸⁹ MSS Paderborn Syr 3, Assfalḡ Syr 63 and 64, BL Or. 4418, NDS (Vosté) 143, Paris BN Syr 308 and 332, Vat Syr 499, and Dawrā Syr 63, 249, 327, 338, 339, 439, 459, 488, 512, 517, 530, 551, 569, 630, 668, 784, 798, 804, 916, 939 (part), 965, and 968.

³⁹⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 72, 184, 667, and 682.

³⁹¹ MSS NDS (Vosté) 198, and Dawrā Syr 66, 85, 86, 88, 93, 535, and 631.

ond attack the Chaldean church decided to found a new seminary closer to Alqōsh. As a result a new monastery, named Notre Dame des Semences, was built in 1858 with Vatican financial assistance in the plain below the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, and the two monasteries were thereafter often distinguished by the names 'lower monastery' and 'upper monastery' respectively. A commemorative inscription of August 1858 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences mentions that the expense of its construction was borne by the superior-general Elisha' and by Benedict Planchet, apostolic delegate of Mesopotamia³⁹².

Elisha' of Dohuk, the monastery's first superior, died in 1875. He was succeeded in 1890 by Samuel Giamil of Telkepe, who remained superior-general of the Chaldean monasteries until his death in 1917. He was responsible for substantial renovation work in the monastery, commemorated in a number of inscriptions³⁹³. He acquired several manuscripts for the monastery, and was the author of *Genuinae Relationes*, an important collection of source material for the relations between the Vatican and the Church of the East. He was also the scribe of several manuscripts between 1885 and 1902, including the text used by Chabot of Yōḥannān Bar Kaldūn's *Life of Rabban Joseph Busnāyā*³⁹⁴. Both he and his predecessor Elisha' were buried in the monastery, which also contains the tomb of the patriarch Joseph VI Audō, built at the expense of 'the chiefs of the people of Mosul, as proof of their great love for their patriarch'³⁹⁵.

Many of the monks who entered the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in the decades before the First World War were copyists. The brothers Augustine and Joseph Ḥāni Bāni of Telkepe copied fifteen manuscripts between 1853 and 1888³⁹⁶. The priest and monk Anselm, son of Mārbehnā 'Azamat, son of 'Īsā, of 'Ainqāwā copied or restored seven manuscripts in the monastery between 1869 and 1877³⁹⁷. The priest Philip Ya'qōb Abraham of Telkepe (later metropolitan of Malabar, then of Gāzartā) was the scribe of seven manuscripts between 1869 and 1886³⁹⁸. The deacon and monk Isha'yā, son of Peter, of the Mīr Sharīf

³⁹² Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 301.

³⁹³ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 304-5 and 311-14.

³⁹⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 103 and 109 and Vat Syr 467.

³⁹⁵ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 307-11.

³⁹⁶ MSS NDS (Scher) 145, Dawrā Syr 110, 128, 207, 324, 369, 388, 448, 622, 624, 684, 687, 848, and 934, and Trichur Syr 26.

³⁹⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 386, 389, 390, 391, 392, and 528, and Dawrā Ar 61.

³⁹⁸ MSS NDS (Scher) 137, NDS (Vosté) 101 and Dawrā Syr 338, 433, 529, 898, and 901.

family of Arenā was the scribe of eight manuscripts between 1873 and 1890³⁹⁹. The monk Damiānōs, son of Mattai, of the Karrā family of Alqōsh copied seven manuscripts in the monastery between 1880 and 1899⁴⁰⁰. The monk Paul, son of the priest Hormizd, son of Isha'yā, of the Je'dān family of Telkepe, copied twenty-three manuscripts in the monastery between 1891 and 1920⁴⁰¹. The priest and monk Mikhā'il Būtā of Karamlish was the scribe of six manuscripts between 1892 and 1913⁴⁰². The monk Joseph Dādīshō', son of Antony, son of Abraham, 'of the family of Yōhannān Naggarā, of Telkepe', later the monastery's superior, copied six manuscripts in the monastery between 1903 and 1914⁴⁰³. The deacon and monk Mārōge, son of Shābō 'Azamat of 'Aīnqāwā, was the scribe of eight manuscripts between 1907 and 1919⁴⁰⁴.

Several other monks were more occasional copyists. The priest and monk Ḥnānyā, son of Peter, son of Ḥōshō, of the Kurānā family, of the Shemkān village of Ādeḥ, copied four manuscripts in the monastery between 1875 and 1883⁴⁰⁵. The monk Tobias Bājā of Alqōsh was the scribe of manuscripts of 1881, 1885 and 1888⁴⁰⁶. The priest and monk Nicholas, son of the deacon Gīwārgīs, son of Hormizd, of the Nōfāl family of Telkepe, also active in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, copied two manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences in 1875 and 1879⁴⁰⁷. The monk Stephen, son of Mārōge, of Beṭ Qōpā was the scribe of five manuscripts between 1888 and 1895, probably all copied in the monastery⁴⁰⁸. The monk Shem'ōn, son of Maṣūr, son of Mikhā, son of Ḥannā Būlāz, of Alqōsh was the scribe of manuscripts of 1885 and 1928, the second copied as a priest⁴⁰⁹. The monk Thomas, son of Nīsān Gōgō, of Arenā, was the scribe of manuscripts of 1892 and 1894⁴¹⁰. The monk Īshō'yahb, son of the deacon Francis, 'of the family of Gīwārgīs Naggarā of Telkepe', copied five manuscripts in the monastery between

³⁹⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 61, 326, 895, 914, and 939 (part), Mingana Syr 574, and Vat Syr 498 and 500.

⁴⁰⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 67, 124, 325, 338, 488, 586, and 906.

⁴⁰¹ MSS Vat Syr 582 and Dawrā Syr 64, 143, 239, 240, 254, 422, 489, 491, 555, 557, 558, 591, 593, 598, 732, 774, 818, 841, 869, 921, 943, and 973.

⁴⁰² MSS Dawrā Syr 99, 478, 580, 801, 875, and 938.

⁴⁰³ MSS Dawrā Syr 677, 70, 496, 678, and 868, and NDS (Vosté) 66.

⁴⁰⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 140, 149, 555, 613, 619, 735, 739, and 786.

⁴⁰⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 626, 899, 907, and 912.

⁴⁰⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 15, 102, and 597.

⁴⁰⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 61 and 490.

⁴⁰⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 142, 144, 187, 629, and 783.

⁴⁰⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 141 and 764.

⁴¹⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 68 and 763.

1904 and 1937⁴¹¹. Two manuscripts were copied in 1910 by the monk Denḥā, son of Thomas, son of Isha'yā, of 'Aīnqāwā⁴¹². The novice monk Augustine, son of Joseph, of the Hajji family of Alqosh copied four manuscripts in the monastery between 1913 and 1915⁴¹³. The priest and monk Eusebius, son of Yōnān, son of Isaac, of the Ḥānjarū family of the Ṣapnā village of Mengesh, copied three manuscripts in 1880 and 1881, and a fourth in 1925⁴¹⁴.

Several monks of the monastery were infrequent copyists. Isolated manuscripts were copied in 1863 by the monk Shem'ōn, son of Gīwārgīs, son of Hormizd, of the Nōfāl family of Telkepe; in 1866 by the monk Paul, son of Peter, of the Jalīl family, of Khosrōwā; in 1870 by the monk 'A', son of 'Abdīshō', of Alqōsh; in 1877 by the monk Yūhannā, son of the priest Joseph, of Mengesh; in 1881 by the priest and monk Antony; in 1885 by the priest and monk Bar Ṣawmā; in 1887 by the priest and monk 'Abdīshō' of Mengesh and the monk Ḥōshābā of Telkepe; in 1888 by the monk Basil, son of Joseph, son of the deacon Shem'ōn, son of the priest Ḥōshābā, of Shaqlāwā; in 1889 by Basil's brother the priest and monk Hormizd; in 1891 by the priest Abraham, 'of the family of the chief Ḥannā', of Alqōsh and by the monk Andrew, son of the deacon Gīwārgīs, of Telkepe; in 1892 by the priest and monk Louis, son of Joseph, son of Kākīs Shābi, of Mengesh, and by the monk Mikhā'il of Alqōsh; in 1895 by the monk Sargīs, son of Yōnān, son of Sabrīshō', son of Iskander, of Shaqlāwā, and by the monk Marqos, son of the pilgrim Yaldā, son of Yōhannān, of Sharanesh; in 1906 by the monk Sabrīshō' of Tel Isqōf; in 1912 by the monk La'zar 'Askar of Telkepe; and in 1913 by the monk Cleophas of Tel Isqōf⁴¹⁵.

Manuscripts in the monastery's library were also used as exemplars by other scribes, who seem not to have been monks of the monastery. The prolific scribe Eliyā, son of Babekkā, of Shaqlāwā, normally associated with the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, copied at least six manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences between 1882 and 1933⁴¹⁶. Three manuscripts were copied in the monastery in 1885 and 1886, by the priest Yōnān, of the Sōsō family of Arāden; by the priest

⁴¹¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 436, 669, 672, 855 and 921.

⁴¹² MSS Dawrā Syr 639 and 960.

⁴¹³ MSS Dawrā Syr 238, 369, 782, and 786.

⁴¹⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 413, 627, and 892, and NDS (Vosté) 233.

⁴¹⁵ MSS NDS (Vosté) 40 and 137, Dawrā Syr 113, 140, 183, 204, 336, 342, 449, 452, 545, 592, 610, 734, 786, 801, 887, and 926, and Ūrmī 213.

⁴¹⁶ MSS NDS (Vosté) 143, Paris BN Syr 332, and Dawrā Syr 338, 512, 530, and 965.

Joseph, son of Ḥannā, of the Kattūlā family of Telkepe; and by the monk Gīwārgīs, son of Kalyānā, son of Israel, of Ṭāqīān (normally active in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd)⁴¹⁷. The priest Benjamin, son of Ḥannā, son of Gīwārgīs, of the Auzō family of Telkepe, a monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, copied two manuscripts in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, one in 1904 and the other at an unknown date⁴¹⁸.

The monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, as its name implies, was conceived as a seminary for Chaldean priests, and inherited the role played earlier in the nineteenth century by the monastery of Rabban Hormizd. In 1896, according to Chabot, the monastic order of Saint Hormisdas consisted of the superior-general and four assistants, 32 priests, and 33 lay monks. Most of its members were monks of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, though some were resident in the monasteries of Mār Gīwārgīs and Rabban Hormizd. Many others were serving as priests in the towns and villages of the patriarchate of Babylon. Chabot mentioned that 26 of the 61 priests in the patriarchal archdiocese of Mosul and 5 of the 15 priests in the diocese of Zākhō were monks in 1896; and if these proportions were observed elsewhere, perhaps about 80 of the 248 Chaldean priests at that period were monks of the order of Saint Hormisdas. Several of these monks were scribes, and have already been mentioned in connection with the villages in which they served as priests.

⁴¹⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 499 and 692, and NDS (Vosté) 198.

⁴¹⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 184 and 682.

CHAPTER SIX

THE HAKKĀRĪ AND ŪRMĪ REGIONS

(I) INTRODUCTION

After the schism of 1552 the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions (with the important exception of the Salmas district) were normally loyal to the Shem'ōn line of patriarchs, who fixed their seat in the seventeenth century in the Hakkārī village of Qūdshānīs, a few miles to the north-east of Julamerk. The East Syrian population of the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions was estimated by Badger in 1850 at 9,750 families, and by Cutts in 1877 at 10,638 families (about 75,000 individuals). Badger's figures did not distinguish between the Shemsdīn district and the Ūrmī region, but according to Cutt's more detailed figures 6,488 families (about 45,000 individuals) lived in the Hakkārī region and 4,150 families (about 29,000 individuals) in the Ūrmī region. There was also a large Chaldean community in the Salmas district, perhaps 10,000 strong.

Once formed, the geographical frontier between the Mosul and Qūdshānīs patriarchates persisted without substantial change for three centuries. Few missionaries, either Catholic or Protestant, visited these districts before the nineteenth centuries, and as a result their East Syrian communities, particularly those of the Hakkārī region, isolated from the Chaldean villages of the Ṣapnā plain to the south by difficult mountainous terrain, remained for the most part traditionalist in outlook, regardless of the allegiance of their patriarch¹. Although the Chaldean church in the nineteenth century was able to win over the villages of the Berwārī region and some of the Zibār villages, it never seriously shook the hold of the Qūdshānīs patriarchs on the East Syrians of the Hakkārī region. The Catholic missionaries had a little more success in the more accessible villages of the Ūrmī plain, but most of its villagers remained loyal to the Shem'ōn line until the exceptional (and short-lived) defection to the Russian Orthodox church in the 1890s.

Whereas the Mosul patriarchs were simply religious leaders, whose succession depended on the agreement of the Ottoman authorities, the

¹ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 212.

Qūdshānīs patriarchs were also quasi-independent tribal chiefs, enjoying a certain freedom of manoeuvre to balance between the Ottoman authorities and their nominally-subject Kurdish emirs. This dual position gave the Qūdshānīs patriarchate a unique character. Nineteenth-century visitors to Qūdshānīs told of a patriarchal rule which resembled that of a medieval baron. Isabella Bird in 1891 gave a vivid description of the court of the patriarch Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil, who could entertain up to a hundred visitors in his residence, and would give audience in a large room surrounded by his bishops and other satellites, and accompanied by his jester Shlemūn. He derived an income from the farm produce of their parishioners, and took a share of church collections. His rule ultimately rested on the prestige of the patriarchal family, which was recognised by all the East Syrians in the patriarchate, and it was common for them to swear an oath 'by the head of Mār Shem'ōn'². As in the Mosul patriarchate, hereditary succession was normal by the nineteenth century, and each patriarch would consecrate a *nāṭar kursyā*, normally a nephew, from a pool of younger relations, who lived an ascetic communal existence as 'Nazirites'.

The patriarch was assisted by a senior metropolitan, or *muṭrān*, invariably named Ḥnānīshō', in charge of the large diocese of Shemsdīn in the Hakkārī region, who deputised for him and enjoyed a prestige and power second only to his own. The Qūdshānīs patriarchate also had about a dozen other dioceses in the nineteenth century, divided between the Seert, Berwārī and Hakkārī regions in Turkey and the Ūrmī region in Persia. Most of the nineteenth-century bishops of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate were less well-educated and, relying as they did on tithes from the congregations in their dioceses for their support, poorer than the bishops of the Chaldean church. Several of the Hakkārī bishops (Ṣlībā of Gāwār and Denhā of Tīs, for example) could scarcely read, and lived in considerable poverty³. The bishops of the more prosperous Ūrmī region were on the whole better educated and better-off, and several of them (Eliyā of Gügtāpāh, Gabriel of Ardishai, and Yōhannān of Anzel, for example) favourably impressed the English and American missionaries⁴. The clothes worn by the bishops of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, described by several western observers, frequently resembled the dress of a Kurdish chieftain, with minor ecclesiastical additions, and their

² Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 291-3.

³ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 236.

⁴ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 237.

behaviour was influenced in other respects by the precarious environment in which they lived. They habitually travelled armed, accompanied by an armed escort if possible, and occasionally fought at the head of their congregations against Kurdish raiders. Several hoped to win prestige by marrying their relatives into the family of the patriarch, notably the ambitious metropolitan Gabriel of Ardishai, who tried unsuccessfully to betroth his nephew to Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil's niece Sūrmā in 1891⁵.

By the nineteenth century the *nāṭar kursyā* system was applied in most of the dioceses of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, and probably developed as early as the seventeenth century, as a consequence of Shem'ōn X's move to Qūdshānīs. The nineteenth-century bishops Joseph Ḥnānīshō' of Shemsdīn, Īshō'yahb of Berwārī, Gabriel of Ardishai, Yōhannān of Anzel, Ṣlībā of Gāwār, Abraham of 'Armūṭāghāj, Sabrīshō' of Gāwār and Yōnān of Supūrghān certainly had young *nāṭar kursyās*, and there were probably others not mentioned by the various missionary sources⁶. The result, as with the patriarchal succession, was that several bishops took office at a very young age. The metropolitan Gabriel of Ardishai, for example, was only thirteen at the time of his consecration in 1824, and in 1899 Lord Warkworth met the metropolitan Zay'ā Sargīs of Jīlū, then only fourteen, some time after his consecration⁷.

(II) THE HAKKĀRĪ REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

Before the fourteenth century the Hakkārī region seems to have been included in the dioceses of Beṭ Nūhaḍrā, Dāsen, Beṭ Bgāsh and Ḥalāt. The modern village of Halmūn, a few miles west of the Lower Ṭiyārī town of Āshītā, has been identified with the classical village of Halmōn in Beṭ Nūhaḍrā, the home of the seventh-century East Syrian bishop Saḥdōnā; Hūr, some miles to the south-east of Halmūn, with Ōre d'Beṭ Gawsā in Dāsen; Zerani in the Bnemāye district of Ishtazin with Zarn in Beṭ Bgāsh; and Zīrīne in Jīlū, whose villagers called themselves Zeryāye, with the 'Zarzirāye' who formed part of the title of the diocese

⁵ Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 304-5.

⁶ Hornus, *Rapport*, 147; Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 234; and Coakley, *Church of the East*, 106 and 109.

⁷ Perkins, *Residence*, 179; and Warkworth, *Highlands of Asiatic Turkey*, 199.

of Beṭ Bgāsh at one point⁸. The Vān and Wasṭān distincts were included in the East Syrian diocese of Armenia in the province of Nisibis, whose bishops resided in the town of Ḥalāṭ on the northern shore of Lake Vān. The dioceses of Beṭ Bgāsh and Ḥalāṭ, like Beṭ Nūhadrā and Dāsen, are last mentioned in the thirteenth century, with the attendance of their bishops Iṣhō'zḥā and Ḥnānīshō' at the consecrations of Denḥā I in 1265 and Yahballāhā III in 1281 respectively⁹. A colophon of 1490 from the Bāz district mentions the metropolitan Eliyā of Mosul, implying that Bāz, part of the diocese of Jilū in the nineteenth century, was then in the diocese of Mosul¹⁰.

After Shem'ōn X fixed his patriarchal seat at Qūdshānīs around the beginning of the seventeenth century, the East Syrians of the Hakkārī region remained generally loyal to his successors for the next three centuries, though the Mosul patriarchs also had some supporters in the outlying districts of Vān and Tergāwār during the eighteenth century. The important dioceses of Shemsdīn and Jilū, which persisted into the twentieth century, are first mentioned in 1580, and were probably both created after the schism of 1552. These dioceses appear to have been consistently loyal to the Shem'ōn line. The reports of 1607 and 1610 also mention a number of bishops in the Hakkārī region whose dioceses seem to have been ephemeral. The report of 1607, which does not give their allegiances, mentions the metropolitans Denḥā of Lewūn, Yahballāhā of Vān, Shem'ōn of Albaq, and the bishops Joseph of Rustāqā, and Abraham of 'Jorum' (Ṭārōn, or Tergāwār). The report of 1610 mentions the bishop Gīwārgīs of Sat, dependent on Shem'ōn X; and the bishops Abraham of 'Rachni' (probably Raikan) and Abraham of 'the mountains', dependent on Eliyā VIII. A metropolitan of Vān named Ḥnānīshō', dependent on the pro-Catholic patriarch Eliyā VIII, subscribed to the acts of the synod of Āmid in 1616, and the Vān district was claimed later in the seventeenth century by another pro-Catholic patriarch, Shem'ōn XI Iṣhō'yahb, who was styled 'patriarch of the East, of Persia, of Hamadān, of Ḥalāṭ, of Vān, and of Wasṭān' in a colophon of 1638 from Āmid, and who mentioned that the districts of Ḥōshāb, Vān and Wasṭān were under his jurisdiction in 1653¹¹. The influence of the Mosul patriarchs at this period is reflected in colophons of 1601 and 1678 from

⁸ Fiey, *Hakkārī*, 449-50.

⁹ Fiey, *POCN*, 47-8, and 61-2.

¹⁰ MS Leningrad Syr 33.

¹¹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 144; and MS Diyārbakr (Scher) 32.

the Tergāwār villages of Razgā and Mawānā, which mention the patriarch Eliyā¹².

By the middle of the eighteenth century Gāwār had also become a diocese, and by the end of the nineteenth century there appear to have been seven dioceses in the Hakkārī district. The most important was the diocese of the patriarch, which included the Lower and Upper Ṭiyārī, Waltō, Dez, Qūdshānīs, Sīwine, Shwāwūtā and Bilinjāye districts. Next in importance came the diocese of Shemsdīn, administered by the *muṭrān*, the senior metropolitan in the Qūdshānīs hierarchy, which spanned the Turkish-Persian frontier and included the Shemsdīn district in Turkey and the Tergāwār, Mergāwār and Baradost districts in Persia. The *muṭrān* had three suffragan bishops with less-defined responsibilities for small dioceses in the Gāwār, Shemsdīn and Tergāwār districts. The other two dioceses were Jilū and Gāwār, both at least a century old. On the eve of the First World War there appear to have been five bishops at most in the Hakkārī region: the *muṭrān* Isaac Ḥnānīshō' and the bishops Zay'ā Sargīs of Jilū, Denḥā of Ṭīs (then responsible for part of the Ūrmī region), Eliyā Abūnā of Alqōsh (then responsible for the Taimar district), and perhaps Sabrīshō' of Gāwār, last mentioned in 1901.

The Metropolitan Diocese of Shemsdīn

[Fiey, *POCN*, 132]

The diocese of Shemsdīn was almost certainly created after the schism of 1552, possibly by the second Catholic patriarch 'Abdīshō' IV, whose letter of 1562 mentions that the metropolis of Salmas had a dependent diocese named 'Sciabathan', probably a deformation of 'Shāpāṭan', the Shemsdīn district. A metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of 'Rustāqā, Ṭārōn [Tergāwār], and Ūrmī', dependent on the third Catholic patriarch Shem'ōn 'VIII', is mentioned in a colophon of 1577, and a metropolitan of 'Sepatkai' (Shāpāt) named Ḥnānīshō' was one of the signatories of a letter of 1580 from the fourth Catholic patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denḥā to pope Gregory XIII¹³.

The report of 1607 mentions the metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of 'Shapṭan', dependent on the patriarch Eliyā VIII, and the bishop Joseph of Rustāqā. The report of 1610 mentions the metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' of 'Solotam' (Shāpāṭan), dependent on the patriarch Shem'ōn X, and the bishop Joseph of 'Solotam', dependent on the patriarch Eliyā VIII, and possibly to be identified with the bishop Joseph of Rustāqā mentioned in 1607.

¹² MSS Mingana Syr 542C and Leningrad Syr 19.

¹³ MS Karam 1546; and Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90.

A metropolitan of Shemsdīn named Ḥnānīshō' (not necessarily the same man) is mentioned together with the patriarch Shem'ōn in colophons of 1680 and 1715 and in a series of five colophons from 1724 to 1732, all from the Tergāwār district; and a manuscript was copied in 1700 by the priest Habil, son of the priest Hōshābā, 'cousin of the patriarch Mār Shem'ōn and the metropolitan Mār Ḥnānīshō'¹⁴. A manuscript was copied in 1730 by the priest David, 'metropolitan *nāṭar kursyā* of Shemsdīn', presumably a nephew of the metropolitan Ḥnānīshō'¹⁵.

Three other metropolitans of Shemsdīn are known from the eighteenth century. A metropolitan Ḥnānīshō' 'of Rustāqā' is mentioned in colophons of 1743 and 1745, associated with the patriarchs 'Mār Shem'ōn the fifth' and 'Mār Elīyā' respectively; a metropolitan named Īshō'yahb, 'who lives in Mār Īshō' of Rustāqā', is mentioned in a colophon of 1761 from the Tergāwār district; and a metropolitan of Shemsdīn named Ḥnānīshō' is mentioned in colophons of 1786, 1815, and 1818¹⁶.

A metropolitan of Shemsdīn named Ḥnānīshō' was mentioned by Badger in 1850. The metropolitan Joseph Ḥnānīshō' seems to have succeeded him in 1864, and is last mentioned in 1884 by Riley. He was succeeded in 1884 by Isaac Ḥnānīshō', who died in Kermanshah in 1919 during the arduous flight to Hamadān. He was succeeded as *muṭrān* in April 1919 by his nephew Joseph Ḥnānīshō', who was consecrated a bishop at the age of thirty-two on 10 August 1914 by the patriarch Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin¹⁷. He was among the bishops who escaped to Iraq in 1918, where he spent the rest of his life. The diocese lapsed after his death in 1977.

Badger mentioned in 1850 that the *muṭrān* had three suffragan bishops, responsible for the Tergāwār, Mergāwār, and Baradost districts, but unfortunately did not give their names¹⁸. A few years later the *muṭrān* had three suffragan bishops, Sabrīshō' 'of Gāwār', Yōḥannān 'of Tūleki' and Denḥā 'of Tīs', mentioned by Cutts in 1877, by Maclean and Browne in 1884 and by Riley in 1888 (who gave details of their jurisdictions), and by several other sources. Two of the three may well have been conse-

¹⁴ MSS Athens Syr 1800 and 1802, Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 5, Berlin Syr 65 and 85, Cambridge Add. 2047, Vat Syr 569, and Manchester JRL Syr 12.

¹⁵ MS Ūrmī 9.

¹⁶ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 6 and 37, Berlin Syr 50, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 62, Assfalḡ Syr 16, and Leningrad Syr 58.

¹⁷ Solomon, 'Five Decades of the History of Our Church', *Nineveh*, 18, 1 & 2 (1995), 29-30.

¹⁸ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 399.

crated as early as 1850, but the third was 'a very young man, not more than twenty-five' in 1877, and could not have been a bishop for more than about a decade at most¹⁹. Although all three men worked primarily within the *muṭrān*'s diocese of Shemsdīn and Tergāwār, their dioceses were *ad personam* and not territorial, their responsibilities not clearly defined, and their formal titles uncertain.

The bishop Sabrīshō' 'of Gāwār' was responsible for the southern half of the Gāwār plain and 'a few upland villages in Persia, near Ūrmī'. He is last mentioned in 1901, when a group of East Syrians at Ūrmī, disenchanted with the Russian missionaries, wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to propose forming a separate church under his leadership²⁰. The bishop Yōḥannān 'of Tūleki' or 'of Shemsdīn' was responsible only for the village of Tūleki in Tergāwār, which had been detached some years earlier from the *muṭrān*'s diocese of Shemsdīn. His brother Denḥā of Tūleki was the *muṭrān*'s archdeacon, and he was described by the Anglican mission in 1893 as 'a bishop without diocese'²¹. He may have had some responsibility beyond his own village, as he is mentioned in a colophon of 1895 from the nearby village of Sīre in the Baranduz district²². He died shortly before 1911, and was described by Wigram as 'a feeble old man, noted only for possessing in his house the fiercest fleas in all Mergawar'²³. The bishop Denḥā 'of Tīs' or 'of Tergāwār' is first mentioned in 1862, as one of the signatories of Sophoniah's report. His diocese consisted only of the Shemsdīn village of Tīs, detached like Tūleki from the *muṭrān*'s diocese. For several years before 1909 he was responsible for those East Syrians in and around Ūrmī who did not join the Russian Orthodox church, and in 1909 was transferred to the Sulduz district. He was among a group of 45 East Syrian Christians executed by the Turkish army after its capture of Ūrmī in 1915, after an unsuccessful attempt by the Anglican missionary Yaroo Neesan to ransom him²⁴.

The Diocese of Jīlū

[Fiey, *POCN*, 76]

A diocese of Jīlū is first mentioned in 1580, and the Bāz and Jīlū districts seem to have been in the dioceses of Mosul and Salmas respectively before this date. The patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denḥā (1580-1600) is said to have been

¹⁹ Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 204.

²⁰ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 107 and 242.

²¹ Coakley, 'A List of Assyrian Villages in Persia, August 1893', *JAAS*, 7, 2 (1993), 51.

²² MS Manchester JRL Syr 26.

²³ Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, 191.

²⁴ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 226, 238-9, 282-3, 287, and 336-7.

metropolitan of 'Salmas, Seert and Jilū' before his elevation. During his reign he resided at Salmas, which was probably his earlier metropolitan seat. One of his first acts may have been to create a separate diocese for Jilū, as a metropolitan of Jilū named Sargīs, a name which later became traditional, was among the signatories of a letter of 1580 from Shem'ōn IX Denhā to pope Gregory XIII²⁵. A metropolitan Sargīs of Jilū, possibly the same man, is mentioned in the hierarchy of Shem'ōn X in the reports of 1607 and 1610.

One of the eighteenth century Qūdshānīs patriarchs, probably Shem'ōn 'XV Mikhā'il Mukhtas' ('1740-1780'), is said to have been metropolitan of Jilū before his election, and a bishop of Jilū named Sargīs, dependent on Shem'ōn XV, is mentioned in a colophon of 1756²⁶.

In 1842 the diocese of Jilū contained 1,979 families in the Jilū, Bāz, Thūmā, Raikan, Chal, and Tāl districts (Badger). In 1877 the diocese no longer included the Chal district, and contained 1,650 families (Cutts). Both Badger and Cutts mentioned that the diocese was administered on behalf of the patriarch by the metropolitan Sargīs, who resided in the village of Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā in the Jilū district.

The bishop Sargīs of Jilū, probably the same man, is also mentioned in the 1880s by Maclean and Riley. Isabella Bird met him in 1891, and described him as 'a magnificent-looking man with a superb gray beard, the *beau-ideal* of an Oriental ecclesiastic'²⁷. He was approached by the Chaldean church in 1890 and 1895, but on each occasion refused to become a Catholic²⁸. He must have died shortly afterwards, as in 1899 Lord Warkworth met his successor, the fourteen-year-old metropolitan Zay'ā Sargīs, who may have been as young as twelve at the time of his consecration²⁹. The Jilū district was abandoned in the First World War, and he spent most of his episcopate in Iraq, among its Assyrian refugee community. He died of pneumonia on 12 May 1951, and was buried in Baghdad³⁰.

The Diocese of Gāwār

[Fiey, *POCN*, 82]

The diocese of Gāwār is first mentioned in the eighteenth century. A bishop Šlībā of Gāwār, dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XV, is mentioned in a colophon of 1743³¹. Badger mentioned a metro-

²⁵ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90.

²⁶ Fiey, 'Sur un "Traité arabe sur les patriarches nestoriens"', *OCP*, 41 (1975), 57-75; and MS Berlin Syr 42.

²⁷ Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 282 and 306.

²⁸ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 175 and 178.

²⁹ Warkworth, *Highlands of Asiatic Turkey*, 199.

³⁰ Solomon, 'Bishop Mār Esho Sargis' Visit to Habbaniya', *Nineveh*, 16, 3 (1993), 26.

³¹ MS Berlin Syr 48.

politan of Gāwār named Šlībā in 1850, and a metropolitan of Gāwār named Šlībā signed the petition of 1868 and is also mentioned by Cutts in 1877. In 1842 the diocese of Gāwār was centred on the Gāwār, Albaq and Derrenāye districts, but also included the Hānānīs valley and some villages in the Artushi Kurdish district, which seems to have lain between Lewūn and Nördüz, physically detached from the rest of the diocese. In 1877 it also included the districts of Lewūn, Nördüz, and Chal, and its metropolitan resided in the village of Gāgōran in the Gāwār plain.

Maclean and Riley mentioned the bishop Šlībā of Gāwār in the 1880s, responsible for the northern half of the Gāwār plain. Riley mentioned in 1888 that Šlībā had recently fled from his diocese to escape persecution and was living with a small East Syrian community in Erevan in Russian Armenia. He is not mentioned again, and Nasri's claim that a bishop of Gāwār named Šlībā was resident in the village of Gāgōrān in 1913 is not supported by any other source.

The Chaldean Dioceses of Vān and Hakkārī

[Fiey, *POCN*, 143]

The seventeenth-century diocese of Van was revived in 1902 by the Chaldean church to cover Catholic converts made in the Hakkārī region, and the priest Ya'qōb Awgin Mannā of Bet Qōpā, formerly professor of Syriac at the Syro-Chaldean seminary in Mosul, was consecrated bishop of Vān on 30 November 1902 at Mosul. During his episcopate he attempted to undermine the work of the Anglican missionaries active in the East Syrian villages of the Taimar district³².

One of the greatest successes of the Chaldean missionary drive was the conversion in 1903 of the personable Abraham Shem'ōnāyā, the cousin and (since 1883) *nāṭar kursyā* of the patriarch Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil. In 1903 he and his brother Nimrod were received into the Chaldean church in a ceremony at Mosul, and Abraham was consecrated bishop of Hakkārī. Both he and the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Berwārī, who converted at about the same time, are included in Tfinkdji's list of the Chaldean episcopate in 1913. He worked in the Hakkārī region in the years before the First World War under the supervision of Ya'qōb Awgin Mannā. At the beginning of the First World War he returned to the Hakkārī region, but fell ill and died in July or August 1915³³.

³² Coakley, *Church of the East*, 300.

³³ Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 290 and 308; Tfinkdji, *EC*, 468 and 524; Coakley, *Church of the East*, 260 and 395-6; and Alichoran, 'Quand le Hakkari penchait pour le catholicisme', *POC*, 41 (1991), 34-55.

In 1913 the archdiocese of Vān contained 3,850 Chaldeans, with 32 priests and 6 churches (Tfinkdji). Besides the villages listed by Tfinkdji, there was also a substantial Catholic community in Ḥanānīs, the home village of Abraham's brother Nimrod.

Table 20: East Syrian Communities in the Archdiocese of Vān, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Vān	100	10	0	Āshītā	350	1	0
Dizā Gāwār	200	6	1	Zarni	100	1	1
Mār Behīshō'	250	3	1	Rāgūlā d' Šakābakkān	150	13	1
Sat	300	1	1	Other Villages	1,400	4	0
Ebrō	800	2	1				
Julamerk	200	1	0	Total	3,850	32	6

The Hakkārī region suffered terrible devastation in the massacres of 1915, and neither diocese was revived after the First World War.

(b) Topographical Survey

In the nineteenth century the Hakkārī region, centred on the town of Julamerk, was inhabited mainly by Kurdish and Turkish Moslems, with a large minority of East Syrian and Armenian Christians, and a small minority of Jews. A survey conducted by the Vān provincial government in 1900 of the *sanjak* of Hakkārī, which included the Hakkārī region proper and parts of the 'Amādiyā, Berwārī and Gāzartā regions, estimated that there were just over 97,000 East Syrians in the *sanjak*, about a third of its total population of 283,000, of whom about 84,000 lived in the Hakkārī region proper³⁴. This estimate is significantly higher than Cutt's 1877 figure of 6,488 East Syrian families (about 45,000 individuals) for the Hakkārī region, but is in line with other estimates which suggest that the East Syrian population of the Hakkārī region increased appreciably in the final decades before the First World War. Cutts listed 248 East Syrian villages in the Hakkārī region in 1877, and there were also 14 villages in the Taimar district not included in his list. The East Syrian and Armenian churches overlapped in the north of the Hakkārī region, particularly in the

³⁴ Yonan, *Ein Vergessener Holocaust*, 211.

Nördüz, Gāwār, Albaq and Derrenāye districts, but the East Syrians considerably outnumbered the Armenians in the four *cazas* in which both communities were represented, and were the sole Christian community in most of the Hakkārī region.

Table 21: Population of the Hakkārī Sanjak, 1900

Caza	Kurds	East Syrians	Turks	Armenians	Jews	Total
Julamerk	14,100	15,000	2,800	2,000	-	33,900
Albaq	22,500	10,000	3,000	3,000	1,600	42,870
Gāwār and Mār Behīshō'	12,800	9,300	1,900	1,900	300	26,200
Shemsdīn and Neri	13,270	3,000	2,000	-	200	18,400
Nördüz and Mārwanan	11,000	3,000	1,000	2,600	-	17,600
Chal and Āshītā	11,000	32,000	840	-	200	43,890
Beit al-Shabab and Elki	11,000	6,700	900	-	-	18,700
Oramar and Mār Zay'ā	14,000	11,040	870	-	-	25,910
'Amādiyā	13,680	6,000	860	-	1,900	23,940
Mahmedāye	23,200	1,000	2,480	-	500	31,680
Total	146,550	97,040	16,650	9,500	4,700	283,090

The East Syrians of the Hakkārī region were divided into two groups, the free men, or *ashirets*, and their vassals, the *rayyats*. The *ashiret* group was made up of five large clans. The largest of these clans was the Ṭiyārī (which accounted for about half the total population of the Hakkārī East Syrians), whose centre was the village of Chambā d'Mālik in the Upper Ṭiyārī district. The church of Mār Sābā in Chambā was the most famous sanctuary of the mountain district. The other four clans were the small tribe of Dez, responsible for the defence of the patriarch; the large tribe of Jīlū, whose centre was the village of Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā; Bāz, whose chief village was Mātā d'Bāz; and Ṭhūmā, whose chief village was Ṭhūmā Gawāyā. Dependent on these *ashiret* clans were the *rayyats* of Ṭāl, Walṭō, Āshītā, and Ishtazin (Lesser Jīlū)³⁵. The Jīlū and Bāz clans were concentrated in the upper valley of a tributary of the Shamdīnān river, while the other communities lived in narrow belts of fertile land in the mountainous gorge of the Great Zāb and its tributaries. Significant East Syrian communities could also be found in the Lewūn valley and in the Albaq, Nördüz, Vān and Taimar districts, in the Gāwār plain, and in

³⁵ Fiey, *Hakkārī*, 443.

the Shemsdīn district to the east of Jilū. There were also East Syrian communities in the Baradost, Tergāwār and Mergāwār districts, just beyond the unguarded and easily-traversed border between Turkey and Persia, which were physically isolated from the East Syrian villages of the Ūrmī plain to the east and ecclesiastically linked with the mountain communities. The heart of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate was the Jilū district, and its patriarchs and bishops are occasionally described as 'of Jilū', regardless of their provenance³⁶.

In the nineteenth century it was widely believed that these districts were settled by the East Syrians in the late fourteenth century, as a response to persecution in the 1390s by Timur Leng. This view was first put forward by Layard, and was accepted by Badger, who was unable to find any traces of settlement prior to that date³⁷. In fact there is evidence from hagiographies and other sources that the mountain districts were settled well before the fourteenth century. The fourth-century saint Mār Zay'ā is believed to have been buried in a church he founded in the Jilū village of Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā, and a tomb of the martyr Tōmis, traditionally believed to have been a disciple of Mār Mārī, existed in the Gāwār district in the sixth century³⁸. A church or monastery of Mār 'Azizā existed in the village of Zūrīne in Jilū as early as 1213. A manuscript begun in a rock cell in the Waltō district around 1219 by the monk David Gabrōn was stolen by thieves, recovered by monks living in a village in Ṭiyārī, and completed in 1234/5 by a scribe named Paul in an unnamed monastery in the Dāsen or Lower Ṭiyārī district³⁹.

Little is known of the history of the Hakkārī region until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The reports of 1607 and 1610 mention the monasteries of Mār Gīwārgīs, Mār Shallīṭā, Mār Peṭiōn, Mār 'Abdīshō', Mār Qardāgh, Mār Zay'ā, Mār 'Basinna', and Mār 'Abupus' in the Hakkārī region. The last two names are too corrupt to be restored, but five of the first six 'monasteries' in the list were merely the churches of Āshīṭā and the villages of Qūdshānīs, Mazrā'ā, Beṭ 'Azizā, and Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā. The report of 1610 also mentions that the Hakkārī tribes were obliged to provide military service for the Turks when required:

We also have many families which are not subject to the Moslem Turks, but merely accompany them to war when the need arises: 4,000 men of Jilū, and

³⁶ Chabot, *Joseph I*, 83; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 158.

³⁷ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 256-7.

³⁸ Abbeloos, 'Acta Sancti Maris', *AB*, 4 (1885), 43-138.

³⁹ MS Mardīn (Scher) 46.

their leader David; 1,000 men of Sīwīne, and their leader Isaac; 700 men of Ṭiyārī, and their chief 'Cacus'; 700 men of Bohtān, and their chief 'Choscetus'; 300 men of Ṭhūmā, and their leader 'Seriuca'; 200 men of Dāsen (or Dez), and their chief Yōnān; 300 men of Sat, and their chief 'Chartus'; 250 men of Qūdshānīs, and their leader 'Abdīshō'; 200 men of 'Soch', and their leader 'Esdu'; 300 men of Tāl, and their leader Yōnān; 200 men of Raikan, and their chief 'Sached'; 200 men of 'Farson', and their leader 'Cerzus'; 200 men of Waltō, and their leader 'Rova'; 200 men of Gizareh, and their chief 'Carzus'; 400 men of Berwārī, and their chief Ōsh'anā; 500 men of Ishtazin, and their chief 'Caitar'; 800 men of Hōshab, and their chief Ōsh'anā; and 300 men of Bilijāye, and their chief Sargīs. All these men are warriors and mountaineers, one man from each family. We have not listed those who do not take the field, who would be three times as many as those we have listed.

The total number of warriors in this list is 10,750. Assuming that there were roughly the same number of families, the total population of the Hakkārī East Syrians at this time might have been between 50,000 and 100,000. Given that the population of the Hakkārī region in the nineteenth century was roughly similar, this figure seems far more reasonable than the patriarch Shem'on XV's estimate of 40,000 families in 1653, implying a population of over a quarter of a million. The size of the contributions from the various districts is interesting, confirming that the predominance of the Jilū tribe, mentioned in other contexts, was already established at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Until the nineteenth century the authority of the Ottoman government in the Hakkārī region was purely nominal, and the East Syrians were the subjects of practically-independent Kurdish emirs. In the 1840s the Ottoman government extended its authority over the region, and the ambiguous loyalties of the East Syrians in this troubled period encouraged the Kurdish emir Bedr Khan Beg to attack the Christian villages of the Ṭiyārī, Waltō and Dez districts in 1843 and the Ṭhūmā district in 1846.

Catholic missionaries working in the Ūrmī region made several hundred converts in the larger villages of the Tergāwār district in the second half of the nineteenth century, and in the 1880s a number of Anglican mission schools were also opened in the Tergāwār district. There were also brief residences by the American missionaries Samuel Rhea and George Coan in the Gāwār village of Memmekan in the 1850s, and by the Anglican missionary Rudolph Wahl in Qūdshānīs and Dīzā Gāwār in 1881⁴⁰. With these exceptions, the Hakkārī region remained almost unin-

⁴⁰ Hornus, *Rapport*, 32; and Coakley, *Church of the East*, 80-82.

fluenced by western missionaries until the 1890s. Catholic missionaries operating from Mosul made several thousand converts in the Hakkārī region in the two decades before the First World War, who were included in two new Chaldean dioceses, Ūrmī and Vān.

The Lower Ṭiyārī District

There were twenty-three East Syrian villages in the Lower Ṭiyārī district (including Gerāmōn and five other villages to the west of Āshītā, *rāyyats* of the Ṭiyārī clan), containing 1,276 families, with 30 priests and 19 churches, in 1850 (Badger); and 1,198 families, with 50 priests and 20 churches, in 1877 (Cutts).

Table 22: *East Syrian Communities in the Lower Ṭiyārī District, 1850 and 1877*

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Gerāmōn	80 [70]	2 [2]	1 [1]	Ūmrā Taḥtāyā	0 [0]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Halmūn	50 [60]	2 [1]	1 [1]	Zarnī	16 [30]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Challūk	40 [30]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Kārūktā	6 [5]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Ārōsh	17 [20]	0 [0]	0 [1]	Chambā d'Beṭ Šūšinā	25 [18]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Hūr	15 [10]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Mātā d'Qasrā	40 [40]	2 [2]	2 [2]
Chire Rezan	14 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Beṭ Zizō	6 [12]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Āshītā	400 [300]	4 [20]	1 [1]	Lāgippā	20 [20]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Zāwītā	90 [90]	1 [12]	1 [1]	Beṭ 'Ālātā	40 [38]	3 [2]	1 [1]
Mīnyānīsh	60 [50]	2 [2]	4 [4]	Beṭ Rāgūlā	30 [35]	2 [2]	1 [1]
Margin	80 [70]	1 [1]	0 [1]	Shūrd	12 [20]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Kūrḥe	35 [20]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Rāgūlā d'Šalābakkān	120 [200]	5 [1]	1 [1]
Līzan	80 [50]	2 [1]	1 [0]	Total	1,276 [1,198]	30 [50]	19 [20]

The earliest manuscripts from the Lower Ṭiyārī district, from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were copied by scribes dependent on the Elīyā line. They include a manuscript commissioned from Alqōsh in 1674 for the church of Mār Yōḥannān the Arab in Gerāmōn by the priest Stephen, at the expense of the chief Adam; a manuscript copied in Līzan in 1694 by the deacon Sabrīshō', son of the priest Gabriel, son of the pilgrim Hormizd, of Mengesh; a manuscript copied in Zāwītā in 1744 by the deacon Thomas, son of the priest 'Abdīshō', of the Shikwānā family of Alqōsh; and three manuscripts commissioned from Alqōsh for the church of Mart Shmūni in Halmūn: in 1759 by the priests Harūn, Mārōgin, Isha'yā, son of Ōsh'anā, and the priest and pilgrim Īshō', son of Isaac; in

1762 by the priest and pilgrim Īshō'; and in 1777 by the priest Hōmō of Halmūn⁴¹.

By the nineteenth century the Lower Ṭiyārī district was loyal to the Shem'ōn line, and its centre was the small town of Āshītā, the largest East Syrian settlement in Kurdistan. Āshītā was an aggregation of five smaller villages (Jemāne, Jemāne Taḥtāyā, Mātā d'Ūmrā-Ḥātībet, Isrūr and Merwītā), and had a church dedicated to Mār Gīwārgīs⁴². The patriarchs Shem'ōn XVII Abraham and Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil spent a good deal of their time there, and the town was a prime target for the Catholic missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century.

Despite its importance, nothing is known of the history of Āshītā before the nineteenth century. In 1842 Badger met the scribe Abraham, son of Yōnān, of Āshītā, archdeacon of the patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham, who fled to Mosul after the massacre of 1843, where he copied a number of manuscripts for Badger, helped Badger to assemble a series of Syriac manuscripts, and assisted him to compile his statistical survey of the villages of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate. Several of the patriarch's letters to the Anglican authorities in England, given by Badger, were written by him, and he was also the scribe of a manuscript of 1839 and repaired a manuscript for Badger in 1844. He died before Badger's second visit to the Hakkārī region in 1850⁴³. His son the priest Yōnān was the scribe of manuscripts of 1855 and 1862, and his grandson the priest Denḥā copied a manuscript in 1875⁴⁴.

Several manuscripts were copied in Āshītā by other scribes in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: in 1819 by the priest Habil, 'of the *muṭrān*'s family of Shemsdīn'; in 1849 by the priest Denḥā, son of the deacon Shem'ōn and brother of the priest Abraham; in 1856 by the priest Habil, possibly the scribe of 1819; in 1889 by an unknown scribe; in 1890 by Denḥā, son of La'zar; again in 1890 by the priest Joseph, son of the priest Yaldā, son of Nwīyā, son of Yaldā, of the Marqōs family; and in 1906 by Hormizd, son of the priest Thomas, son of the deacon Hormizd, son of the deacon Ba'ūt, who was also the scribe of another, undated, manuscript⁴⁵. A manuscript of 1791 from the Ṭhūmā district

⁴¹ MSS Telkepe (Ḥabbi) 9, Dawrā Syr 460, Alqōsh (Šana) 3, Mingana Syr 567F, and 'Aqra (Ḥabbi) 33 and 66.

⁴² Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 214 and 225.

⁴³ MSS Ūrmī 153 and Cambridge Add. 1981; and Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 217, 219, 286, 292, 294, 296, and 392.

⁴⁴ MSS Mingana Syr 128E and 129C, and a manuscript of 1862 seen by S.P. Brock.

⁴⁵ MSS Ūrmī 99 and 100, Mingana Syr 130K, BL Or. 4398, Dawrā Syr 58 and 473, Manchester JRL Syr 50, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Šapnā*, 60).

was later owned by the priest Sh'ō, son of the priest Shem'ōn, of Āshūtā⁴⁶.

Besides Āshūtā, a number of nineteenth-century manuscripts have survived from the villages of Mīnyānīsh, Gerāmōn, Halmūn, and Rāgūlā d'Ṣālābakkān. Manuscripts were copied in Mīnyānīsh in 1815 by the deacon Mārōgin, son of Ḥannā; in 1816 by the deacon Rūbil, son of the priest Joseph, son of the priest Peṭṭōn; in 1819 by the deacon 'Abdīshō'; and in 1831 by the priest Rūbil (the scribe of 1816)⁴⁷. The colophon of the last manuscript mentions that Mīnyānīsh's four churches were dedicated to Mart Maryam, Mart Shmūni, Rabban Ya'qōb, and Rabban Sāhdā. A manuscript was copied in 1849 for Saffō, son of the deacon Shem'ōn, of Gerāmōn, and his son the priest Shem'ōn copied a manuscript in 1869 at the request of his mother Kasbō for the church of Mār Yōhannān, commissioned a manuscript from Alqōsh in 1885 with his brothers Mūshe and Gīwārgīs for the same church, and copied another manuscript in 1886⁴⁸. Manuscripts were commissioned for the church of Mart Shmūni in Halmūn in 1817 by the priest Mārōgil, son of Gīwārgīs, and in 1855 by the priest Mūshe, son of Nīsān⁴⁹. They were copied in the Berwārī monastery of Mār Qayyōmā and the town of Āshūtā respectively, both loyal to the Shem'ōn line at that period. A manuscript was copied in 1866 in the 'monastery' of Mār Ephrem 'of the Syrians' in the Lower Ṭiyārī district, in fact the church of Rāgūlā d'Ṣālābakkān, by the Ṭhūmā scribe Yōnān, son of the priest Daniel, the celebrated nineteenth-century solitary known as 'Rabban Yōnān'⁵⁰.

Several other details have been preserved by Badger and Fiey. Badger met the priests Kīnā and 'Abdīshō' of Līzan in 1842, and mentioned the property losses of several Lower Ṭiyārī notables in 1843, including the chief Zerwandā and the *mālik* Dīlō (Daniel) of Lāgīppā, the laymen Sulmō and Shem'ōn of Līzan, and the priest Jindō and the *māliks* Barkhō, Gīgō, and Ḥasādō of Beṭ Rāgūlā, Ṣālābakkān, and Beṭ 'Ālātā⁵¹. The villages of Līzan and Kūrḥe had churches dedicated to Mār Gīwārgīs and Rabban Bōkhtizad respectively⁵².

⁴⁶ MS Dawrā Syr 268.

⁴⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 277 and 310, 'Aqra (Vosté) 39, and Ūrmī 88.

⁴⁸ MSS Mingana Syr 130K and 131F, and Bānāyā (Ḥaddād) 11 and 52.

⁴⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 484 and Mingana Syr 129C.

⁵⁰ MS NDS (Vosté) 196.

⁵¹ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 227, 262, 366, and 384-6.

⁵² Fiey, *Hakkārī*, 466 and 468.

The Upper Ṭiyārī and Walṭō Districts

There were thirty-four East Syrian villages in the Upper Ṭiyārī and Walṭō districts, containing 1,028 families, with 44 priests and 16 churches, in 1850 (Badger); and 928 families, with 47 priests and 19 churches, in 1877 (Cutts). By 1877 some of the smaller villages seem to have been abandoned and their surviving inhabitants concentrated in the village of Rūmtā, which had a far larger population in 1877 than in 1850.

Table 23: East Syrian Communities in the Upper Ṭiyārī and Walṭō Districts, 1850 and 1877

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Sārāspīdōn	80 [50]	2 [2]	2 [2]	Dādōsh	35 [25]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Siyādōr	20 [7]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Mabbūwā	20 [20]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Chambā d'Beṭ Eliyā	6 [0]	1 [0]	0 [0]	Kō	30 [27]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Chambā d'Nene	7 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Chambā d'Kūrḥe	10 [0]	1 [0]	0 [0]
Chambā d'Kūrdāye	5 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Beṭ Māriggō	20 [20]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Mazrā'ā	4 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Rōmā Smōqā	5 [2]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Mrātītā	6 [0]	1 [0]	0 [0]	Chambā d'Ḥassō	5 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Beṭ Nahrā	10 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Dārāwā (Ishte d'Nahrā)	30 [20]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Beṭ Zrāqō	10 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Ma'lōtā d'Mālik	20 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Rūmtā	20 [90]	1 [2]	0 [1]	Chambā Ḥadṭā	20 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Jemiātā	10 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Zōrāwā	6 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Reshā d'Nahrā	20 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Serṭā	66 [79]	1 [2]	1 [1]
'Ainā d'Alīle	3 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Shwāwūtā	14 [6]	1 [0]	0 [1]
Dūrā 'Ellāyā	6 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Mātā d'Mart Maryam	100 [60]	1 [2]	1 [3]
Qelāyātā	40 [60]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Ḥadiānā	90 [60]	1 [2]	1 [1]
Mazrā'ā d'Qelāyātā	3 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Reshā d'Nahrā	45 [30]	1 [2]	1 [1]
Chambā d'Mālik	60 [50]	0 [2]	1 [1]				
Beṭ Dālyātā	12 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Total	1,028 [928]	44 [47]	16 [19]

The centre of the Upper Ṭiyārī district was the village of Chambā d'Mālik, whose church of Mār Sābā was a popular centre of pilgrimage in the nineteenth century. Nine small neighbouring Upper Ṭiyārī villages were separately classified by Badger in 1850 as a 'sub-district' of this church. Considering its large East Syrian population and the importance of the cult of Mār Sābā for the East Syrians of the Hakkārī region, regrettably few manuscripts have survived from the district, and consequently little is known of its history.

At least one Upper Ṭiyārī village appears to have been loyal to the Eliyā line in the middle of the eighteenth century. Two manuscripts were commissioned from Alqōsh in 1742 and 1745, the former by the priest Nīsān, son of Ḥōshābō, and the latter by the priest Ḥōshābā, the deacon Aiwaz, and Mīkhā'īl Mārōgin of 'Tubaw', for 'the monastery of Mār Awgin in the region of the Ashetnāye', apparently a church in the Upper Ṭiyārī district⁵³.

A number of other details have been preserved in manuscript colophons and other sources. A manuscript was copied in the Ṭhūmā district in 1809 for Bāne, daughter of the priest Sabrō and sister of the priest Gīwārgīs, from the Ṭiyārī village of 'Dārōsh', probably Dādōsh⁵⁴. A manuscript was copied in 1817 in the church of Mart Maryam in Sīyādōr, and another was commissioned from Āshītā in 1906 by Adam, son of Lajin, for the church of Mart Shmūni in Dādōsh⁵⁵. Badger mentioned the property losses of several Upper Ṭiyārī notables in 1843, including the chief Shīnō of Beṭ Māriggō, the chief Abraham, the *mālik* Ismā'īl and the layman Semmānō of Chambā d'Mālik, and the laymen Kīyyō and 'Abdīshō' of Rūmtā⁵⁶. The petition of 1868 was signed by the Ṭiyārī priests Habsūn Bezzā and Gīwārgīs, and by the deacons Ismā'īl, Nurōnō, Ōsha'nā, and Ḥamīs, and by the *māliks* Ḥōshābā and Jebbō. Fiey interviewed the priests Iṣhō' of Rūmtā and Ḥōshābā of Mabbūwā in 1964, who had fled from their villages in the First World War, and was told that the villages of Rūmtā, Mabbūwā, and Beṭ Māriggō had churches dedicated to Mār Sābā, Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e, and Mār Azdin respectively⁵⁷. In 1915 the Chaldean bishop Abraham Shem'ōnāyā of Hakkārī died in the 'monastery' of Mār Abraham in Chambā d'Mālik, doubtless a church in the village⁵⁸.

The Lewūn and Nōrdūz Districts

There were fifteen East Syrian villages in the Lewūn and Nōrdūz districts, containing 225 East Syrian families, with 7 priests and 9 churches, in 1850 (Badger); and 210 families, 7 priests, and 9 churches, in 1877 (Cutts). In 1850 these districts were occasionally visited by the patriarch,

⁵³ MSS Mardīn (Scher) 7 and Dawrā Syr 536.

⁵⁴ MS BL Or. 14324.

⁵⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 58 and 367.

⁵⁶ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 366.

⁵⁷ Fiey, *Hakkārī*, 450 and 469.

⁵⁸ Alichoran, 'Quand le Hakkari penchait pour le catholicisme', *POC*, 41 (1991), 34-55.

but were not part of a diocese, while in 1877 they were part of the diocese of Gāwār.

Table 24: *East Syrian Communities in the Lewūn and Nōrdūz Districts, 1850 and 1877*

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Erke	23 [25]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Billi	15 [20]	1 [0]	0 [0]
Ḥārgel	20 [15]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Dairā d'Zengel	10 [10]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Mātā d'Ūmrā	6 [15]	1 [2]	1 [1]	Gōḥikki	6 [8]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Nōgwizān	24 [30]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Mārwanān	24 [24]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Zārānīs	10 [2]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Ūlāman	20 [20]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Kānūntā	10 [7]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Tal Jeri	16 [16]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Bailekan	8 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Pārḥīlan	12 [12]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Handāqe	20 [6]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Total	225 [210]	7 [7]	9 [9]

The Christian villages of the Lewūn district, which was the seat of an East Syrian bishop in 1607, were all East Syrian, while the Nōrdūz district also had a number of Armenian communities, particularly in the west of the district. The villages of Pīr Yedelan and Ḥānjarak were Armenian, Mārwanān had a community of 50 Armenians living alongside 500 East Syrians towards the end of the nineteenth century, and the fortified Armenian monastery of Hakots Vank, seat of an Armenian bishop in the eleventh century, lay a few miles north-west of Mārwanān. The Nōrdūz village of Sekūnis to the north-east of Mārwanān, not mentioned by Badger or Cutts, was an East Syrian village in the nineteenth century⁵⁹.

Isabella Bird mentioned the poverty of Mārwanān and Ḥānjarak in 1891, but few other travellers visited these districts⁶⁰. As a result little is known of their East Syrian communities. Manuscript colophons supply only one or two details. A manuscript was copied in 1666 in the Lewūn village of Erke by the scribe Ōsha'nā of Hanere, and a later note mentions the restoration in 1703 of the church of Mār Paul in Ḥārgel; and a manuscript was copied in 1890 at Arāden for the church of Mār Gīwārgīs near Ḥārgel⁶¹.

⁵⁹ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 71.

⁶⁰ Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 327-30.

⁶¹ MSS Cambridge Or. 1293 and Mosul (Bīdāwīd) 1223 (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 54).

The Dez, Shwāwūtā and Bilijñāye Districts

There were twenty-three East Syrian villages in the Dez, Shwāwūtā, and Bilijñāye districts, containing 350 East Syrian families, with 9 priests and 20 churches, in 1850 (Badger); and 285 families, with 6 priests and 22 churches, in 1877 (Cutts).

Table 25: East Syrian Communities in the Dez, Shwāwūtā and Bilijñāye Districts, 1850 and 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Gölözör	25 [33]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Ālögippā	5 [0]	1 [0]	1 [1]
Şūwwā	6 [14]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Shwāwūtā	20 [12]	1 [0]	1 [1]
Kürsen	20 [35]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Sāqerran	18 [10]	1 [1]	1 [4]
Chiri Chārā	40 [30]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Dairikki	6 [4]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Mādes	18 [25]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Derres	15 [12]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Mār Quriāqōs	5 [2]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Āwert	16 [10]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Āqōse	25 [14]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Dāden	16 [0]	0 [0]	1 [0]
Chülchen	6 [12]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Beṭ Respi (a)	14 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Beṭ Shammāshā	32 [40]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Ālāş	20 [2]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Sārāmōs	18 [10]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Nauberi	6 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Rabban Dādīshō*	4 [12]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Beṭ Respi (b)	9 [0]	1 [0]	0 [0]
Mākūtā	6 [4]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Total	350 [285]	9 [6]	20 [22]

Very little is known about the little-visited villages of these districts. Only one catalogued manuscript has survived from the Dez district, copied in the church of Mart Maryam and Mār Shallīṭā in Chiri Chārā in 1785 by the deacon Hayō, son of the deacon Aggai, of the Ṭhūmā village of Gundiktā⁶². Fiey also mentioned an East Syrian church of Mār Abraham near the bridge over the Great Zāb at the entrance to the Dez valley⁶³. In 1843 Badger mentioned the property losses of the *māliks* Nīsān of Gölözör and 'Abdā of Chiri Chārā, and the chief Nakhwāshū of Beṭ Shammāshā⁶⁴.

The Qūdshānīs and Sīwīne Districts

There were twenty East Syrian villages in the Qūdshānīs and Sīwīne districts, containing 313 East Syrian families, with 3 priests and 20

churches, in 1850 (Badger); and 199 families, with 5 priests and 27 churches, in 1877 (Cutts). The almost complete lack of priests in both districts, apart from in Qūdshānīs itself, is striking.

Table 26: East Syrian Communities in the Qūdshānīs and Sīwīne Districts, 1850 and 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Qūdshānīs	35 [50]	3 [4]	2 [2]	Qōtrānīs	25 [24]	0 [1]	1 [2]
Beṭ Nānō	6 [0]	0 [0]	1 [0]	Aḥwānīs	20 [15]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Nerwā	10 [0]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Shmūnīnīs	20 [5]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Tīrqōnīs	20 [15]	0 [0]	4 [4]	Sīwīne	30 [20]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Kīgar	12 [5]	0 [0]	1 [2]	Espen	20 [7]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Sōrīnes	10 [7]	0 [0]	1 [2]	Şallan	6 [4]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Tarmel	16 [9]	0 [0]	1 [2]	Qūrānīs	20 [9]	0 [0]	1 [2]
Beṭ Hājīj	6 [4]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Karme	20 [7]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Peḥḥen	5 [2]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Öret	6 [3]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Chāros	12 [7]	0 [0]	1 [2]				
Hardālānīs	14 [6]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Total	313 [199]	3 [5]	22 [27]

The small village of Qūdshānīs, with its two churches of Mār Shallīṭā and Mart Maryam, was the seat of the patriarchs of the Shem'ōn line by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the majority of the manuscripts which have survived from the Qūdshānīs and Sīwīne districts are from the village. The report of 1610 mentions that Shem'ōn X sat at the village of 'Cogenes', near Julamerk, and although he is at other times associated with the monastery of Mār Yōḥannān in the Salmas district, the report implies that Qūdshānīs was his preferred seat. It also mentions the 'monastery' of Mār Shallīṭā in the Hakkārī region, doubtless the church of that name in Qūdshānīs.

Several manuscripts were copied at Qūdshānīs after it became the patriarchal seat: in 1698 by the scribe Abraham, son of Sulāqā, of Mazrā'ā; in 1706 by the priest 'Abd al-'Azīz; in 1724 and 1731 by the priest 'Abd al-Aḥad; and in 1739 by the priest 'Abdīshō', cousin of the bishop Yōḥannān of Anzel.⁶⁵

Little is known of the family relationships of the patriarchs of the Shem'ōn line before the nineteenth century. Manuscripts were copied in 1700 by the priest Hōshābā, 'cousin of the metropolitan Mār Ḥnānīshō'

⁶⁵ MSS Ūrmī 109, Dawrā Syr 291 and 604, and two manuscripts seen by S.P. Brock.

⁶² MS Berlin Syr 39.

⁶³ Fiey, *Hakkārī*, 468.

⁶⁴ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 367.

and the patriarch Mār Shem'ōn'; and in 1770 by the priest Isaac, son of the deacon Abraham and nephew of the previous patriarch Mār Shem'ōn (assisted by the scribe Yōnādām, son of Abraham, of Ḥānānīs)⁶⁶. Rather more details have survived from the nineteenth century on the patriarchal family. In 1841 Grant mentioned the patriarch's five brothers Zādoq, Yōḥannān, Benjamin, Isaac and Denḥā, and twenty-one other male relatives⁶⁷. Mār Shem'ōn's mother, his brother Zādoq, and his nephew Isha'yā were killed in the Ṭiyārī massacre in 1843⁶⁸.

The most important figures in the patriarchal family in the decades before the First World War, frequently mentioned by the American and English missions, were Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil's popular and much-lamented half-brother Isha'i, who died during a visit to Ūrmī in 1895; his cousin and *nāṭar kursyā* Abraham, son of Martā, who converted to Catholicism in 1903 and was Chaldean bishop of Hakkārī for several years before his death in 1915; Isha'i's son Benjamin, who unexpectedly succeeded him as patriarch in 1903 after Abraham's defection and died in 1918; Abraham's brother Nimrod, who also converted to Catholicism in 1903 and was murdered on Benjamin's orders in 1915; Benjamin's brother Paul, who succeeded him as patriarch and died in 1920 after a reign of only two years; Benjamin's nephew Isha'i by his brother David, patriarch for fifty-five years from 1920 to 1975, when he was murdered in California; and Benjamin's sister Sūrmā, who exercised considerable influence over the Assyrian refugee community in Iraq during the early years of Isha'i's reign. Coakley's *Church of the East* contains numerous references to these and other members of the patriarchal family at this period.

Manuscripts were copied in Nerwā in 1613 by the priest 'Abd al-Masīḥ, son of Peter, son of Khūdādā, for the priest Ōnah, son of Yōnān, of Tirqōnīs, then living in Ḥānānīs; and in the church of Mart Maryam in Espen in 1735 by the priest Īshō' of the Anzel village of Gāwīlan; and a manuscript of 1476 from the Bāz district was later owned by the church of Mār Quriāqōs in the village of Saleḥ, in the Bārwar or Sīwīne district⁶⁹.

The Ṭhūmā District

There were five East Syrian villages in the Ṭhūmā district, containing 510 East Syrian families, with 5 priests and 5 churches, in 1850 (Badger);

⁶⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 267 and Vat Syr 569.

⁶⁷ Grant, *Nestorians*, 179.

⁶⁸ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 366.

⁶⁹ MS Vat Syr 176, Mīngana Syr 148F, and CUA Hyvernat Syr 2.

and 660 families, with 23 priests and 7 churches, in 1877 (Cutts). The substantial rise in the number of priests is striking. Towards the end of the century a sixth village, Ḥāni, was established higher up the Ṭhūmā valley, with 50 East Syrian families in 1909⁷⁰. Manuscript colophons mention churches of Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e in the villages of Beṭ Arijai and Gissā, a church of Mār Ḥnānyā in Gundiktā, and a church of Mār Peṭiōn in Mazrā'ā, a shrine of some importance and doubtless the 'monastery' of that name in the Hakkārī region mentioned in the report of 1607.

Table 27: East Syrian Communities in the Ṭhūmā District, 1850 and 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Gissā	50 [60]	1 [4]	1 [1]	Mazrā'ā	130 [180]	1 [6]	1 [1]
Beṭ Arijai	100 [70]	1 [2]	1 [2]	Gundiktā	110 [150]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Ṭhūmā Gāwāyā	120 [240]	1 [10]	1 [1]	Total	510 [660]	5 [25]	5 [7]

The Ṭhūmā district is first mentioned in two inscriptions preserved in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, recording repair work carried out in 1485 by Ḥannō, son of Īshō', from the Ṭhūmā village of Beṭ Arijai; and in 1559 by Shlemūn of Beṭ Arijai, brother of the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Nisibis. Two manuscripts were copied by Ṭhūmā scribes in the seventeenth century, in 1698 at Qūdshānīs by the scribe Abraham, son of Sulāqā, son of Īshō', son of Abraham, of Mazrā'ā, and in 1699 by the priest Israel, of an unnamed village in the Ṭhūmā district⁷¹.

There was considerable scribal activity in the Ṭhūmā district around the end of the eighteenth century. A number of manuscripts were copied in the church of Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e at Gissā between 1791 and 1809 by the scribe Haydeni, son of the priest Yahbō, son of Mūshe⁷². Manuscripts were also copied in 1785 by the deacon Ḥajō, son of the deacon Haji, son of the priest Gīwārgīs, of Gundiktā, and at Gissā by Haydeni's nephew the priest Thomas, son of Mūshe, son of Yahbō; and in 1796/7 at Beṭ Arijai by the priest Ōsha'nā, son of the priest Ḥōshābā, son of Mūshe.⁷³

⁷⁰ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 138.

⁷¹ MSS Ūrmī 39 and Dawrā Syr 604.

⁷² MSS Dawrā Syr 268, Leningrad Syr 59, Paderborn Syr 4, Mosul (Scher) 22, and BL Or. 14324.

⁷³ MSS Berlin Syr 39, Dawrā Syr 309, Cambridge Add. 1978, and a manuscript seen by S.P. Brock.

Other Thūmā scribes were active later in the nineteenth century. Two manuscripts were copied at Mazrā'ā in 1829 and 1833 by the priest Būdak, son of the deacon Ōsha'nā; and a third in 1862 by the deacon Ōsha'nā, possibly Būdak's son⁷⁴. The priest Gīwārgīs, son of the priest Hōmō, son of Ōsha'nā, son of the priest Yārō, of Gundiktā, copied two manuscripts in Alqōsh in 1844 and 1845, and a third in the Şapnā village of Dehe in 1846⁷⁵. The deacon Ōsha'nā, son of Yāwānīs, of Gundiktā, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1861⁷⁶.

The deacon Yōnān, 'son of the priest Daniel, son of the priest Israel, son of the priest Daniel, son of the priest Israel, son of the priest Daniel, son of the priest and pilgrim Ayyār, born in Thūmā but originally of Erbil', was the scribe of a manuscript of 1866 copied in the church of Mār Ephrem in the Lower Ṭiyārī village of Rāgūlā d'Şālābakkān and a manuscript of 1874 copied in the 'monastery' of Mār Peṭiōn in Mazrā'ā⁷⁷. A celebrated solitary, respected by the western missionaries and warmly spoken of by Cutts in 1877, 'Rabban Yōnān' was one of the few remaining monks in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate in the nineteenth century, and Mazrā'ā was probably his native village.

The petition of 1868 was signed by a large number of clergy from the Thūmā district, probably reflecting the district's sense of insecurity following the massacre of 1846: the priests Ōsha'nā, Ōsha'nā, Shem'ōn, Lajin, Eliazar, Hōshābā, Gīwārgīs, Israel, Yaldā, Ṭūbānā, Yaldā, Şlībā, Yōhannān, Īshō', Şlībā, Hormizd, and Yōnān, and the deacons Benjamin, David, Matlūb, and Gīwārgīs. Some of these men are probably to be identified with several of the scribes mentioned above.

A considerable number of manuscripts were copied at Ūrmī in the 1880s and 1890s for the American mission by the Mazrā'ā scribes Samuel, the deacon Shlemūn of the Qāshā family, the priest Ōsha'nā Sarau and his brother the deacon Ya'qōb, and Yōhannān, son of Ṭalyā; and a manuscript was copied at Qūdshānīs in 1895 by Rabban David, of the Ashkash family, of Mazrā'ā⁷⁸. A manuscript was copied in 1900 in Mazrā'ā by the priest and archdeacon Īshō', son of the priest La'zar, of the Qāshā family of Erbil⁷⁹.

⁷⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 294 and Mingana Syr 570C.

⁷⁵ MSS Alqōsh (Şana) 2 and 91, and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, Şapnā, 54).

⁷⁶ MS Trichur Syr 76.

⁷⁷ MSS NDS (Vosté) 196 and Leningrad Syr 41.

⁷⁸ MSS Ūrmī 71, 114, 117, 120, 122, 125, 126, 141, 147 191, 196, 215, 218, 219, 228, 229, 230, and 232, New York UTS Syr 21, and Paris BN Syr 339.

⁷⁹ MS Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 19.

The Chal, Raikan and Ṭāl Districts

There were seventeen East Syrian villages in the Chal, Raikan, and Ṭāl districts, containing 401 families, with 10 priests and 15 churches, in 1850 (Badger); and eighteen villages (Estep is not mentioned in 1850), containing 283 families, with 14 priests and 20 churches, in 1877 (Cutts).

Table 28: East Syrian Communities in the Chal, Raikan and Ṭāl Districts, 1850 and 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Beṭ Shūqā	15 [14]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Beṭ 'Iqtā	15 [4]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Shawrezā	6 [20]	0 [2]	0 [0]	Beṭ Qūrāye	52 [40]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Beṭ Bīyyā	12 [6]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Beṭ 'Azīzā	40 [20]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Beṭ 'Alāṭā	28 [6]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Rebbat	70 [20]	1 [1]	1 [2]
Hīsh	10 [15]	1 [1]	0 [1]	Ṭalānā	22 [10]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Merkānīsh	8 [7]	0 [0]	0 [2]	Ārewūn	33 [20]	0 [1]	0 [1]
Gebbā	6 [3]	0 [0]	0 [1]	Qō	21 [30]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Erbesh	20 [20]	1 [1]	4 [2]	Erk	28 [15]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Estep	0 [18]	0 [1]	0 [2]				
Beṭ Daire	25 [15]	1 [1]	1 [2]	Total	401 [283]	10 [14]	15 [20]

Very little is known about these districts. The Ṭāl district was connected with the cult of Mār Ṭalyā, and a manuscript was copied in the Thūmā village of Mazrā'ā in 1829 for 'the community of the church of Mār Ṭalyā, of the Tal'ā family in Ṭāl'⁸⁰. The petition of 1868 was signed by the Raikan priests Hāmō and Yaldā.

The church of Mār 'Abdīshō' and Mār Qardāgh near the village of Beṭ 'Azīzā in Ṭāl was a popular centre of pilgrimage and a shrine of some importance. The report of 1607 mentions the 'monasteries' of Mār 'Abdīshō' and Mār Qardāgh in the Hakkārī region, apparently to be distinguished, and the church of Beṭ 'Azīzā was certainly one of these 'monasteries'. In the nineteenth century the church was used by the patriarch Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil as an alternative residence to Qūdshānīs, and was also the normal residence of the admired Thūmā solitary Rabban Yōnān⁸¹.

⁸⁰ MS Dawrā Syr 294.

⁸¹ Maclean and Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, 303.

The Bāz and Jilū Districts

There were twenty-one East Syrian villages in the Bāz and Jilū districts, containing 1,148 East Syrian families, with 9 priests and 17 churches, in 1850 (Badger); and 887 families, with 12 priests and 25 churches, in 1877 (Cutts). According to Wigram there were also a small number of East Syrian villages in the Oramar and Shamdīnan valleys south of Jilū, including Oramar and Ebrō (which also had a Catholic community), which were included in the diocese of Jilū on the eve of the First World War. At an earlier period the large village of Sat in the Jilū district, seat of an East Syrian bishop in 1610, also had an East Syrian community. A note in a manuscript in the Berlin collection, unfortunately undated, mentions that it had been acquired as a dowry for his daughter by the priest 'Abdīshō', son of Zangīsh, from a certain Yōhannān of Sat, in the presence of the priests David, Iyyūb, and Yahb-Māryā⁸².

Table 29: East Syrian Communities in the Bāz and Jilū Districts, 1850 and 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Argeb	90 [50]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Ṭalānā	55 [40]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Qōjījā	20 [30]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Beṭ Bōqrā	20 [20]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Mātā Ṭaḥṭaitā	100 [50]	1 [1]	1 [5]	Nīrek	28 [12]	0 [0]	1 [2]
Shwāwūtā	110 [70]	1 [2]	1 [3]	Ōre	5 [10]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Ōrwantūs	80 [45]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Zīr	100 [80]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Ālṣan	90 [70]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Sarpel	105 [40]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Medhī	5 [10]	0 [0]	0 [1]	Būbāwā	35 [35]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Nahrā	30 [40]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Samsekke	40 [25]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Zīrīne	110 [130]	1 [2]	1 [2]	Mātā d'Ōryāye	28 [18]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā	50 [70]	1 [2]	1 [1]	Muspīran	22 [12]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Ammōd	25 [25]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Total	1,148 [887]	9 [12]	17 [25]

The earliest surviving manuscript from the Bāz and Jilū districts was copied in the 'monastery' of Mār 'Azīzā in the Jilū village of Zīrīne in 1212/3⁸³. The Jilū district was ravaged in 1448 by the Qara Quyunlu, and Zīrīne and perhaps other villages were abandoned for over a century. Jilū was included in the title of the metropolitan of Salmas just after the

⁸² Note in MS Berlin Syr 32.

⁸³ MS Pierpont Morgan 235.

schism of 1552, and a manuscript was copied in the Anzel district in 1563 by the priest Paul of Oramar, and it is therefore possible that the Jilū refugees settled in Persia⁸⁴. The villagers of Zīrīne returned to their village later in the sixteenth century to find the church of Mār 'Azīzā in ruins. They rebuilt the church and acquired a text of the saint's legend from the West Syrian village of Qaraqōsh⁸⁵. The Bāz district, on the other hand, may have been untouched by the Qara Qoyunlu. Two manuscripts were copied in 1476 and 1480 by a scribe named Gabriel for the priest Yōhannān, son of the priest Yōnān, of the village of Beṭ Salam in Bāz, and he may also have been the scribe of a third manuscript, copied in Beṭ Salam in 1490⁸⁶.

No manuscripts have survived from the seventeenth century, but several were copied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by scribes from the Jilū district: in 1717 in Ālṣan by an unnamed priest; in 1756 in Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā by the deacon Daniel, son of Khā'īl, son of the deacon Yōhannān, son of the priest Adam, at the request of the priest Shammū, son of the priest Shāhī, from the village of 'Narā' (apparently to be distinguished from the Jilū village of Nahrā), for its 'monastery' of Mār Sābā; in Zīrīne at an unknown date in the eighteenth century; and in 1845, probably in Ūrmī, by the scholar 'Abdīshō' of Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā⁸⁷. The petition of 1868 was signed by the *mālik* Ahrōn and the deacons Shlemūn and Dāhīd of Jilū, and by the *māliks* 'Abdīshō' and Sem'ān of Bāz. Several other details were given to Fiey by refugees from the Bāz and Jilū districts. The villages of Nahrā, Shwāwūtā, and Oramar had churches dedicated to Mār Brīkhā, Mār Qayyōmā, and Mār Imāmā and his disciple Mār Daniel respectively, and Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā also had a church of Mār Zakkā besides its better-known church of Mār Zay'ā, which was listed as a monastery in the report of 1610⁸⁸.

The Gāwār District

There were twenty-four East Syrian villages in the Gāwār plain, containing 485 East Syrian families, with 10 priests and 20 churches, in 1850 (Badger); and 493 families, with 15 priests and 19 churches, in 1877 (Cutts).

⁸⁴ MS Ūrmī 15.

⁸⁵ Fiey, 'Saint 'Azziza et son village de Zérini', *LM*, 79 (1966), 429-33.

⁸⁶ MSS Vat Syr 176, Diyārbakr (Scher) 72, and Leningrad Syr 33.

⁸⁷ MSS Ūrmī 93 and 119, Berlin Syr 42, and Harvard Syr 164.

⁸⁸ Fiey, *Hakkārī*, 463, 468 and 469.

Table 30: East Syrian Communities in the Gāwār District, 1850 and 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Beṭ Rberre	20 [12]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Bāshirgā	22 [10]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Zirkānīs	16 [14]	0 [1]	1 [1]	Wāzirāwā	19 [35]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Ūriṣhā	20 [14]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Māken Āwā	20 [45]	0 [2]	1 [1]
Dārāwā	20 [12]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Pirzālan	28 [60]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Kiyyet	24 [15]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Qardiwār	30 [25]	1 [2]	1 [1]
Mānūnan	6 [2]	0 [1]	0 [0]	Zizan	21 [30]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Qādiyan	30 [6]	1 [0]	0 [0]	Pā'ilan	20 [5]	1 [0]	1 [0]
Memekkan	13 [17]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Dārā	13 [5]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Sināwā	16 [12]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Pāge	15 [30]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Hūlhūs	16 [10]	0 [0]	1 [1]	Sārdasht	19 [4]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Karpel	20 [10]	1 [0]	1 [1]	Dizā Gāwār	60 [100]	0 [1]	1 [1]
Gāgōran	15 [20]	0 [2]	1 [1]	Total	483 [493]	10 [15]	20 [19]

Very little is known of these communities. Fiey mentions that the church of Ūriṣhā was dedicated to Mār Sābā, and that one of the Gāwār villages had a church of Mār Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e⁸⁹. Gāwār also had a significant Armenian community, and Badger and Cutts mentioned that the Christians of Dizā Gāwār and Karpel were Armenians, but were cared for by East Syrian priests and worshipped in East Syrian churches. The petition of 1868 was signed by the priest Hāmīs and the deacon Tāmū (Tamraz) from the Gāwār district, and Cutts met the priest Yōhannān of Dizā Gāwār in 1877⁹⁰. Other details are supplied by the colophons of the few manuscripts which have survived from the district, none of which is earlier than the eighteenth century. Manuscripts were copied in Pirzālan in 1738 and 1749 (the latter commissioned by the nearby Bilijñāye village of Ālāṣ) by the priest Sulāqā, cousin of the bishop Yōhannān of Aḏārbaigān; in Gāgōran in 1743, 1753 and 1755 by the priest 'Abdīshō' 'of Jilū', another cousin of Mār Yōhannān; in 1795 by the priest Halbi of Hūlhūs; and in 1842 in the church of Mart Maryam in the Tergāwār village or 'town' of Darṣāpā by the deacon Īshō', son of Abraham, son of Īshō', of Bāshirgā⁹¹. A manuscript was also copied in 1743 in the Gāwār village of Kartīnes, not mentioned by Badger, by an unknown scribe⁹².

⁸⁹ Fiey, *Hakkāri*, 450 and 455.

⁹⁰ Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 243.

⁹¹ MSS Ūrmī 17, 29, 45, and 82, Erevan Matenadaran 10 and 729, and Leningrad Syr 35.

⁹² MS Berlin Syr 48.

The Albaq, Derrenāye, Hānānīs, and Artushi Kurdish Districts

There were twenty-two East Syrian villages in the Albaq, Derrenāye, Hānānīs, and Artushi Kurdish districts, containing 582 families, with 8 priests and 12 churches, in 1850 (Badger); and 574 families, with 10 priests and 14 churches, in 1877 (Cutts). The Albaq and Derrenāye districts also had significant Armenian communities. The East Syrian population of the Artushi Kurdish district appears to have been attacked shortly before 1877 by its Kurdish neighbours, as Cutts noted that Geznā was then inhabited by the Kurds, and that Parrāshin and Hārāban had been destroyed. He also mentioned that Hālilā, Hārālūn and Sharīnīs were Armenian villages, whose villagers worshipped in East Syrian churches in neighbouring villages and were cared for by East Syrian priests.

Table 31: East Syrian Communities in the Albaq, Derrenāye, Hānānīs and Artushi Kurdish Districts, 1850 and 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Hōze	25 [30]	0 [1]	1 [1]	Hānānīs Tahtaitā	25 [20]	1 [2]	1 [1]
Erdshi	20 [25]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Silmūan	12 [11]	0 [0]	1 [1]
Ātes	30 [40]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Hālilā	22 [7]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Menjilāwā	12 [20]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Mār Behīshō'	100 [200]	1 [3]	1 [1]
Hārālūn	10 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Ayyel	38 [90]	1 [1]	1 [1]
Shārīnīs	7 [2]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Beṭ Zeqte	25 [0]	1 [0]	1 [1]
Ōzān	12 [12]	0 [1]	0 [1]	Bāsan	20 [8]	1 [0]	1 [1]
Pūsan	14 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]	Geznā	90 [0]	0 [0]	1 [0]
Būrdūk	18 [23]	0 [1]	0 [1]	Parrāshin	20 [0]	1 [0]	1 [0]
'Ālāmīyyān	20 [6]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Hārāban	18 [0]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Qālānīs	24 [20]	1 [3]	1 [3]	Barwes	0 [20]	0 [0]	0 [0]
Hānānīs 'Ellaitā	20 [40]	1 [1]	1 [1]	Total	582 [574]	8 [10]	12 [14]

The large Derrenāye village of Mār Behīshō' had a church of the same name, dedicated to the monk Behīshō' of the monastery of Kamūl in the Gāzartā region. The village was the home of the Qellaitā family, which included a number of important figures in the history of the Church of the East within its ranks. Isabella Bird visited Mār Behīshō' in 1891, and was entertained by the priest Ishaī Qellaitā⁹³. His son Abimalek Timothy, perhaps the most well-known member of the family, was consecrated met-

⁹³ Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 268-74.

ropolitan of Malabar on 15 December 1907, and was one of the few bishops in the Qūdshānīs hierarchy to survive the First World War⁹⁴. He was the scribe of a manuscript of 1906, whose colophon mentioned that his father Ishaī was the son of the deacon Zakaryā, son of the priest Sabrō, son of the priest Rabban⁹⁵. Several other members of the Qellaitā family were also active at this period. The deacon Joseph, son of Eliyā, son of Ya'qōb, a student in the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission school at Ūrmī, copied six manuscripts for David Jenks between 1895 and 1899⁹⁶. Abimalek's cousin Daniel, son of Ishaī's brother Saul, was the scribe of two manuscripts at Ūrmī in 1897 and 1898⁹⁷. Abimalek's nephew Adoniyā, son of Ishaī's son David, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1904 in Vān⁹⁸. A manuscript was also copied at Mār Behīshō' in 1894 by the scribe Abiqam, son of Sabrō⁹⁹.

A manuscript was copied in 1850 for the church of Mār Yōnān and the Beni Shmūni in the Derrenāye village of Ayyel by the priest Shem'ōn, son of the priest Mattā, son of the archdeacon Hormizd, son of the priest Jeremy, son of the priest Thomas, son of the priest Thomas, son of the priest Mār'emneh, son of the priest Shem'ōn, of Ayyel¹⁰⁰.

Very little is known about the villages of the Albaq and Hānānīs districts. A single catalogued manuscript has survived from the Albaq district, copied at Khosrōwā in the Salmas district in 1686 for the church of Mār Šlibā in Būrdūk by its priest Hōshābā, son of Ishō'¹⁰¹. The village of Hānānīs, whose church was dedicated to Mār Gīwārgīs, had a small Chaldean community at the end of the nineteenth century¹⁰².

The Shemsdīn District

According to Badger, the Shemsdīn district and the Ūrmī region together contained 4,500 East Syrian families, with 34 priests and 38 churches, in 1850. It is clear from other sources for the population of the Ūrmī region that this figure is significantly low. Cutts listed twenty-six East Syrian villages in the Shemsdīn district, containing 626 East Syrian

⁹⁴ Mar Aprem, *Mar Abimalek Timotheus: A Biography*, 13.

⁹⁵ MS Trichur 66.

⁹⁶ MSS Assfalḡ Syr 19, Cambridge Or. 1304, 1309, 1320, and 1341, and Mingana Syr 84.

⁹⁷ MSS Assfalḡ Syr 19 (part) and Cambridge Or 1312.

⁹⁸ Fiey, *Šapnā*, 67.

⁹⁹ MS Cambridge Or. 1311.

¹⁰⁰ MS Berlin Syr 45.

¹⁰¹ MS Assfalḡ Syr 29.

¹⁰² Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 259.

families, with 22 churches, in 1877, but did not record which villages had priests.

Table 32: East Syrian Communities in the Shemsdīn District, 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Balqān	7	-	0	Baitūtā	13	-	0
Beṭ Bābe	-	-	1	Būtūr	20	-	1
Beṭ Daiwe	24	-	1	Dārā	4	-	1
Beṭ Garde	12	-	1	Dārōn	20	-	1
Beṭ Tunyō	30	-	1	Dūrī	10	-	1
Hālānā	100	-	2	Dūrū	-	-	0
Harbūnan	40	-	1	Gargāne	-	-	-
Mār Denhā	-	-	1	Īsīrā	30	-	1
Nairdūshā	20	-	1	Kek Perzan	-	-	-
Qātūnā	100	-	1	Mārtā	5	-	1
Rustāqā	25	-	1	Sārūnīs	40	-	1
Sursīre	70	-	1	Shāpūt	20	-	1
Ṭalānā	6	-	1				
Tīs	30	-	1	Total	626	-	22

A respectable number of manuscripts have survived from the Shemsdīn district, particularly from the eighteenth century. The earliest surviving manuscripts from the district come from the end of the sixteenth century: a manuscript of 1582 copied by the scribe Gīwārgīs, son of Shamsō, in the church of Mart Maryam and Mār Christopher in 'Harōnan', possibly Harbūnan; and a manuscript of 1601 copied in the Tergāwār village of Razzgā by the priest Joseph, son of the priest Hormizd, son of Dirbiz, son of Niyazār, of Shāpāt (Shemsdīn), for the pilgrim Darwīsh 'of the tribe of the Behtimnāye', who gave it to the church of Mart Shmūni in the village of Rustāqā¹⁰³.

No other manuscripts have survived from the seventeenth century, but several were copied in the eighteenth century: in 1724 by the deacon 'Azīz of Qātūnā; in 1730 by the priest David; in 1743 by the priest Safar, son of Ishō', of Beṭ Daiwe; in 1745 by an unknown scribe; in 1746 by the priest Shāpūr in the church of Mār Quriāqōs in Beṭ Daiwe; in 1747 by the priest Eliyā of Beṭ Daiwe; and in 1761 and 1786 by the priest

¹⁰³ MSS Assfalḡ Syr 57 and Mingana 542C.

Jalābī, son of Ḥōshō, son of Hazzō, of Beṭ Daiwe, in its church of Mār Quriāqōs and John the Baptist¹⁰⁴.

Several nineteenth-century manuscripts were copied by Shemsdīn scribes: in 1804 in the church of Mār Ya'qōb and Mār Gīwārgīs in the village of Rabnaṭ by the priest Zerwandad, son of Safar; in 1819 in Āshītā by the priest Habil, of the *muṭrān*'s family; in 1826 by Zerwandad, son of Safar; in 1846 by the priest Denḥā of Nairdūshā; and in 1850 in Bethlehem by the pilgrim Abraham of Beṭ Garde¹⁰⁵.

Several other details on the Shemsdīn district have been preserved. After the schism of 1552 the village of Rustāqā (also known as Mār Īshō' or 'Mār Īshō' of Rustāqā'), was the traditional residence of the *muṭrān* Ḥnānīshō'. The village was named for Īshō', the brother of the monk Behīshō' of Kamūl, and appears to have had a church of the same name. According to Fiey the church of Qātūnā was dedicated to Mār Shem'ōn, identified by the villagers with the fourth-century patriarch Shem'ōn Bar Sabbā'e, but perhaps rather Mār Shem'ōn, disciple of Mār Yōnān the Slave¹⁰⁶.

A monastery of Mār Ezekiel, located 'near Rustāqā', and therefore to be sought in the Shemsdīn district, is mentioned in a number of manuscript colophons between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The monastery (not mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610, and perhaps rather a large church) is first mentioned in 1599, when a manuscript was copied for its superior the priest Wardā, son of the deacon Mūshe¹⁰⁷. The bishop Yōḥannān of Anzel, who died shortly before 1755, is mentioned as the monastery's superior in colophons of 1804 and 1815, and is said to have 'built Mār Ezekiel on the border of Daryan' in a colophon of 1824, implying that he was responsible for restoring the monastery¹⁰⁸. The colophon of a manuscript of 1826 by his nephew the priest Zerwandad, son of Safar, mentions that the scribe came from 'the village of Mār Ezekiel of Shemsdīn'¹⁰⁹. A manuscript copied in 1897 in Ūrmī mentions the *muṭrān*'s archdeacon Denḥā of Tūleki, 'archdeacon of the monastery of Mār Ezekiel by Rustāqā'¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁴ MSS Karamlish (Jajeeka) 6 and 37, Berlin Syr 76, Ūrmī 9, 16 and 190, Dawrā Syr 212, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 62, and Mingana Syr 13A.

¹⁰⁵ MSS Mingana Syr 583 and Ūrmī 44, 100, 167, and 227.

¹⁰⁶ Fiey, *Hakkārt*, 449-50.

¹⁰⁷ Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, iii-iv.

¹⁰⁸ MSS Mingana Syr 583, Assfalḡ Syr 16, and Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 1.

¹⁰⁹ MS Ūrmī 44.

¹¹⁰ MS Assfalḡ Syr 19.

The Baradost, Tergāwār and Mergāwār Districts

Cutts listed thirty-one East Syrian villages in the Baradost, Tergāwār and Mergāwār districts in 1877, containing 419 families, with 21 churches. As with the Shemsdīn district, he did not mention which villages had priests. He also failed to mention the significant East Syrian settlement of Mawānā and included the village of Shibānī, which had 25 families without a church or priest, in the list of villages in the Ūrmī diocese of Ardishai.

Table 33: East Syrian Communities in the Baradost, Tergāwār and Mergāwār Districts, 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
'Anbi	30	-	2	Qalōgā	10	-	1
Bālūlan	30	-	1	Qūrānā	8	-	1
Bīterne	?	-	1	Qūrānā	6	-	0
Darband	10	-	1	Rūsna	10	-	1
Dīzgārī	20	-	1	Ṣālōnā	2	-	1
Gangājūn	10	-	0	Shaiḥānī	12	-	1
Gündūkmālāyā	6	-	0	Sīhānī	8	-	0
Haki	20	-	1	Sīrōn	60	-	1
Halbi	7	-	0	Sūsnawā	7	-	0
Heshmāwā	7	-	1	Tūleki	13	-	1
Hūlūtan	6	-	0	Tūlū	15	-	1
Hūrānā	10	-	0	Ūrtīrā	7	-	0
Hūsar	5	-	1	Ūwāsū	10	-	1
Īrīmā	30	-	1	Zangīlan	10	-	1
Nargi	2	-	0	Zīrūwā	40	-	1
Pastā	8	-	0	Total	419	-	21

A considerable number of manuscripts were copied in the Tergāwār and Mergāwār districts between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of them come from villages mentioned by Cutts in 1877, but two villages, Razgā and Hbashkūbe, had East Syrian communities in the eighteenth century or earlier, but were not listed by Cutts. A number of colophons refer to the Tergāwār district either as 'Pīlgāwār' or 'Ṭārōn', and the colophon of a manuscript of 1897 from Mār Behīshō' explains that Ṭārōn was an old name for the Tergāwār district¹¹¹.

¹¹¹ MS Assfalḡ Syr 19.

The Tergāwār district is first mentioned in 1497, when a manuscript was copied by the priest Elīyā of Tūlū¹¹². Several more manuscripts were copied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: in 1596 in the 'monastery' of Mār Ya'qōb in Mawānā by the priest Ya'qōb, son of Sulaimān, of Zībār; in 1600 and 1613 in Darband by the priest Wardā of Darband; in 1601 in the church of Mār Quriāqōs in Razgā by the priest Joseph of Shemsdīn; in 1614 by an unknown scribe; in 1665 and 1678 in the church of Mār Ya'qōb of Qūrānā in Mawānā by the scribe Shem'ōn, son of the priest Ṭalyā, son of the priest Ya'qōb, son of Shem'ōn; in 1680 by the priest Ṭalyā of Qūrānā; and in 1686 in the church of Mart Maryam in Mawānā by the priest Shamsō¹¹³.

In the eighteenth century Darband became an important centre of scribal activity in the Tergāwār district, much as Beṭ Daiwe was in the Shemsdīn district. Three generations of a priestly family originally from the district of Ishtazin were active at Darband from around the end of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The priest David, son of Joseph, copied a manuscript in the church of Mār Ya'qōb in Darband in 1680; his son the priest Shlemūn copied four manuscripts in Darband between 1685 and 1728 (one of them restored later in the eighteenth century by the priest Gōrgō of Darband), and a fourth in Hbashkūbe in 1728; and Shlemūn's son the priest David copied a manuscript for the church of Mār Ya'qōb in Darband in 1725 at the request of its deacon Ya'qōb¹¹⁴. At about the same period ten manuscripts were copied at Darband between 1707 and 1754 by the priest Wardā, son of La'zar, son of Bahdīn, of the Shemsdīn or Tergāwār village of 'Be'ellawin', possibly Bālūlan¹¹⁵. The destination of nearly all his manuscripts is unknown, but a manuscript of 1724 was commissioned for the church of Mart Maryam in Qalōgā by the villagers Shirīnā, Mattai, La'zar, Quriāqōs, Ṭalyā, and Isaac¹¹⁶. Wardā died of cholera in 1757, and his death was commemorated in an elegy composed by the priest Safar of Beṭ

¹¹² MS Ūrmī 23.

¹¹³ MSS Leningrad Syr 14 and 19, Mingana Syr 542C, Berlin Syr 55, Cambridge Add. 2045, Athens Syr 1807, and Ūrmī 1, 4, and 60.

¹¹⁴ MSS Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 5, Ūrmī 8 and 91, Leningrad Syr 58, Berlin Syr 85, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 7, and Cambridge Add. 2047.

¹¹⁵ MSS Ūrmī 26, 34, 57, 69, 214 (*Vorlage*) Berlin Syr 65, Athens Syr 1802, 'Aqrā (Ḥabbi) 40, New York UTS Syr 10, and an uncatalogued manuscript of 1754 (Fiey, AC, ii, 801).

¹¹⁶ MS Athens Syr 1802.

Daiwe¹¹⁷. His son the priest Sabrīshō' copied a manuscript in Darband in 1732¹¹⁸. A number of other manuscripts were copied at Darband at this period: a manuscript of 1730 by a scribe named Mīkhā'il; manuscripts of 1736, 1742, and 1749 by unknown scribes; and a manuscript of 1818 by the deacon Narsai, son of the priest Gōrgō, son of the deacon Benjamin¹¹⁹.

Although Darband was dominant at this period, a number of manuscripts were copied in other villages during the eighteenth century. Manuscripts were copied in 1728 in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Hbashkūbe by the scribe Shlemūn of Darband, for Ezekiel, son of Isaac, of Razgā; in 1761 in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Dīzgārī by the priest Wardā, son of the priest Mīrzā, son of the priest Hormīzd, nephew of the priest Sulāqā, first cousin of the bishop Yōḥannān of Anzel; and in the church of Mār Thomas, Mār Awgin, Mār Quriāqōs and Mār Gīwārgīs in Tūlū in 1790/1 by the archdeacon Elīyā, 'son of Stephen, son of the priest Māmā, son of the priest Shem'ōn, son of the priest Ṭalyā, son of the priest Ya'qōb, of Mawānā'¹²⁰.

Scribal activity continued in the Tergāwār district in the nineteenth century. Three manuscripts were copied in 1803 and 1813 in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Shībāni, and a fourth in 1824 in the church of Mart Maryam, Mār Thomas and Mār Yōḥannān in Bālūlan, by the archdeacon Gīwārgīs, son of Zay'ā, son of the priest Lagin, of the family of the bishop Yōḥannān¹²¹. Manuscripts were also copied in Tūlū in 1832 and 1836 by the priest 'Abdīshō', 'son of the archdeacon Elīyā, son of the priest Ṭalyā, of the family of bishop Yōḥannān of Mawānā'¹²². A manuscript was copied at Mawānā in 1892/3 by the scribe Abraham, of Mār Behīshō'¹²³. Manuscripts were copied in the village of Daršāpā in 1842 by the deacon Īshō' of Bāshīrgā, and in 1898 by Joseph Qellaitā of Mār Behīshō'¹²⁴.

¹¹⁷ MS NDS (Scher) 66.

¹¹⁸ MS Manchester JRL Syr 12.

¹¹⁹ MSS New Haven Rn.Ab32, Andover-Harvard 326, Cambridge Or. 1296, Athens Syr 1800, and folios 111-136 of Leningrad Syr 58.

¹²⁰ MSS Mingana Syr 542C, Cambridge Add. 2047, and Berlin Syr 50.

¹²¹ MSS Cambridge Add. 2037, Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 1, Athens Syr 1805, and Ūrmī 43.

¹²² MSS Athens Syr 1806 and Berlin Syr 43, and a manuscript seen by S.P. Brock.

¹²³ MS Cambridge Or. 1302.

¹²⁴ MSS Cambridge Or. 1309 and Leningrad Syr 35.

The Anglican report of 1893 mentions the priest Yōnān of Bālūlan, the *muṭrān*'s archdeacon Denhā of Tūleki (brother of its bishop, Yōhannān), and the deacon Gīwārgīs of Tūleki. Wigram also mentions the deacon Ablaḥad of Bālūlan, who was killed in 1903 helping to repel a Kurdish attack on Mawānā¹²⁵. Mawānā had an East Syrian population of 200 in 1855, half of whom were Catholics, who had been influenced by a villager who had been converted to Catholicism in the Baranduz village of Bābārūd (Challaye).

The Vān and Taimar Districts

Seventeenth-century references to Vān, Halāt, Wasṭān and Ḥōshāb mentioned earlier imply that there were East Syrian communities in all four towns at that period, but no manuscripts from the last three communities have survived. Two manuscripts were copied in Vān early in the twentieth-century: in 1904 by Adonīyā Qellaitā of Mār Behīshō', and in 1906 by his uncle the archdeacon Abimalek Timothy, shortly before his consecration as metropolitan of Malabar by Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin in 1907¹²⁶.

Before the First World War there were also small East Syrian communities in Serai d'Mahmideh and thirteen neighbouring villages in the Taimar district, founded in the early eighteenth century by migrants from the Jilū and Ṭhūmā districts. These villages were visited by the patriarch Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin in May 1903, a month after his consecration as patriarch, who took the opportunity to ordain as deacons Jonathan, son of Ḥāmō, and the eleven-year-old Gabriel, son of Sulaimān¹²⁷. At this period the thirteen villages were led by *māliks* Yūḥannā Badāwī of the village of Satibak, whose ancestors left Ṭhūmā in 1704, and Safar of Serai, and their chiefs were Malham, son of Rāshō, of Hawshesur; İyyūb, son of Wardā, of Toān; Zay'ā, son of Gīwārgīs, of Seel; La'zar, son of Ḥāmō, of Armānīs; Nisān and Ḥōshābā, of Satibak; Paul and Habil, of Ḥarāshik; Ḥāmō, son of Habil, of Gadalāwā; Nwīyā, son of David, of Ḥinnō; Thomas, of Poḥānīs; Mūshe and Wardā, of Aghjachā; Sālim and Nwīyā, of Rūshan; Aiwaz, son of Zādō, of Serai; and Ḥāmō, of Ḥarab-sorik¹²⁸.

¹²⁵ Wigram, *The Cradle of Mankind*, 192-3.

¹²⁶ MS Trichur 66 and a manuscript in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 67).

¹²⁷ Solomon, 'Visit of Patriarch Mar Benyamin Shimon to Timar', *Nineveh*, 19, 3 (1996), 13.

¹²⁸ Solomon, 'The Establishment and the Abandonment of Assyrian Timar', *Nineveh*, 17, 1 & 2 (1994), 17.

Table 34: East Syrian Communities in the Taimar District, 1914

Name	Name of Church	Name	Name of Church	Name	Name of Church
Hawshesur	Mār Thomas	Ḥarāshik	Mār Peter and Mār Paul	Rūshan	Mār Gīwārgīs
Toān	Mār Shem'ōn	Gadalāwā	Mār Quriāqōs	Serai	Mār Ṣībā
Seel	Mār Gīwārgīs	Ḥinnō	Mār Ṣībā	Ḥarab-sorik	Mār Ṣībā
Armānīs	Mart Maryam	Poḥānīs	Mār 'Abdīshō'		
Satibak	Mār Gīwārgīs	Aghjachā	Mār Tuḥmānō		

With the exception of Hawshesur, little is known of the history of the Taimar villages. Hawshesur is believed to have been founded in the eighteenth century by an East Syrian named Murād, of the village of Zīrīne in the Jilū district, who migrated to Taimar after living for some years in the village of Sūwwā in the Dez district. The village had 19 families in 1903, and a church dedicated to Mār Ṣībā as well as its church of Mār Thomas¹²⁹.

Four scribes from the Taimar district flourished around the end of the eighteenth century. The priest Ṣībō, son of Gammō, 'of Taimar', copied five manuscripts in the Ūrmī region between 1770 and 1803, and seems to have been normally resident in the Salmas district¹³⁰. A manuscript was copied in 1782 in the village of Aghjachā by the scribes Darmān, son of Zay'ā, and Hūmar, and a later note was added by the scribe 'Abdō, son of Shlemūn, of Gadalāwā¹³¹.

(III) THE ŪRMĪ REGION

(a) Ecclesiastical History

The Ūrmī region is first mentioned as the seat of an East Syrian bishop in the twelfth century. A bishop 'Abdīshō' of Ūrmī is mentioned in 1111, and was succeeded before 1132 by an unnamed bishop; and the bishops Yōhannān of Aḍarbaigān, Joseph of Salmas, and Abraham of Eshnūq were present at the consecration of Yahballāhā III in 1281¹³².

¹²⁹ Solomon, 'The Establishment and the Abandonment of Assyrian Timar', *Nineveh*, 17, 1 & 2 (1994), 17.

¹³⁰ MSS Berlin Syr 107, Ūrmī 42 and 97, Leningrad Syr 64, and Cambridge Add. 2035.

¹³¹ MS Assfalg Syr 33.

¹³² Fiey, *POCN*, 127-8, and 141-3.

Nothing is known of the ecclesiastical history of the Ūrmī region between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, except a solitary reference to a bishop named Šlībā, probably bishop of Salmas, in an inscription of 1360 from the Salmas village of Chārā.

The letter of 'Abdīshō' IV Mārōn in 1562 listed four metropolitan dioceses and eight suffragan dioceses in Persia:

Also the metropolis of *Ormi Superior* [Upper Ūrmī], and the dioceses of *Ulcismi* and *Chuchia*; the metropolis of *Ormi Inferior* [Lower Ūrmī] and the dioceses of *Dutra*, *Saldos* [Sulduz] and *Escinuc* [Eshnūq]; the metropolis of *Espurgan* [Supūrghān] and the dioceses of *Nare* [Neri] and *Giennum* [Gawīlān?]; the metropolis of Salmas, and the dioceses of *Baumar*, *Sciabathan* [Shāpāṭān] and *Vasthan* [Wasṭān]. All these regions are subject to the emperor (or Sophi, as he is usually known) of the Persians.

Many of the names in this list cannot be satisfactorily identified, but the four metropolitan provinces seem to have covered the Anzel district, the Baranduz and Sulduz districts, the villages at the mouth of the Nazfū river, and the Salmas plain respectively. A diocese for Salmas certainly existed at this period, which later became the first Catholic diocese in the Ūrmī region and remains in existence to this day. The large diocese of Anzel, whose bishops traditionally took the name Yōḥannān and resided in Gāwīlān, is also attested at this period.

The Ūrmī region had bishops from both the Mosul and Qūdshānīs patriarchates at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The report of 1607, which does not give allegiances, mentions the metropolitan Joseph of Salmas and the bishops 'Abdīshō' of 'Orini' (Ūrmī), Abraham of 'Jorum' (Tārōn, or Tergāwār), and Joseph of 'Arni' (Ūrmī). In 1610 the metropolitan Īshō'yahb 'of the Persian borders' and the bishop Joseph of Ūrmī were dependent on Shem'ōn X, while the bishop 'Abdīshō' of Salmas was dependent on Eliyā VIII. A metropolitan Joseph of Salmas was dependent on Shem'ōn X in 1580, and was probably the metropolitan of 1607. A bishop 'Abdīshō' of 'Tergāwār and Ūrmī', dependent on Eliyā VIII, is mentioned in colophons of 1596 and 1614, and was probably the bishop of Ūrmī mentioned in 1607 and the bishop of Salmas mentioned in 1610¹³³. A 'bishop of Ūrmī' named Joseph, dependent on Eliyā VIII, is mentioned in a colophon of 1600, and may have been the bishop of Ūrmī mentioned in both 1607 and 1610¹³⁴. The bishop Abraham of Tārōn may have been the bishop Abraham of 'Vehdonfores' (a district in

¹³³ MSS Leningrad Syr 14 and Berlin Syr 55.

¹³⁴ MS Mosul (Scher) 40.

Persia seems to be meant) who was present at Eliyā VIII's synod of Āmid in 1616. The metropolitan Īshō'yahb 'of the Persian borders' was probably the 'archbishop of Persia' addressed in a letter of 1614 by Strozza.

The entire Ūrmī region, including Salmas and Sulduz, was claimed by the patriarch Shem'ōn XI Īshō'yahb in 1653, and thereafter seems to have remained basically loyal to the Qūdshānīs patriarchs. Nevertheless there are indications that the Mosul patriarchs continued to take an interest in the region. A colophon of 1723 mentions that several East Syrian women had been captured during a recent raid in the Ūrmī region by the Banu Pushtadar tribe, and had been ransomed by the patriarch Eliyā XII¹³⁵.

By the eighteenth century, and probably earlier, there was also a third stable diocese in the Ūrmī region besides Salmas and Anzel, whose bishops traditionally took the name Gabriel and resided in the Baranduz village of Ardishai. Several other dioceses may have existed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on an *ad personam* basis. An East Syrian bishop with the unusual name of Athanasius, from the Ūrmī village of Gūgtāpāh, visited the East Syrian monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem in either 1644 or 1651¹³⁶. A Catholic metropolitan named Shem'ōn, from the Anzel village of 'Ādā, was sent by the Vatican to India in 1701 to consecrate a Latin vicar apostolic for the Chaldeans of Malabar, and died in India in 1720¹³⁷. In 1734 Khidr of Mosul mentioned an unnamed traditionalist bishop of Salmas, and traditionalist bishops of dioceses in the Ūrmī region named Yōḥannān, Gabriel, Isha'yā, 'Abdīshō', Abraham, and Joseph¹³⁸.

In 1854 Challaye mentioned four traditionalist bishops in the Ūrmī plain: the metropolitans Gabriel and Yōḥannān, responsible for the large dioceses of Ardishai and Anzel, and two other bishops, Joseph and Eliyā, who resided in the large villages of 'Ādā and Gūgtāpāh and were responsible only for these villages. A fifth bishop, Abraham, used to reside in the village of 'Armūtāghāj before his death 'several years' previously¹³⁹. Abraham is probably to be identified with a bishop of that name mentioned in colophons of 1813, 1824, 1832 and 1836 from the Tergāwār villages of Shibāni, Bālūlān and Tūlū, the last of which mentions that he had died in 1833; and with the unnamed 'metropolitan of Ūrmī' to whom a

¹³⁵ MS Telkepe (Vosté) 43.

¹³⁶ Note in MS Jerusalem (St Mark's) 200.

¹³⁷ Samir, K., 'La Relation du voyage en Inde en 1701 du métropolitain chaldéen Simon', *PO*, 9 (1979/80), 277-303.

¹³⁸ MS Mingana Syr 262, folio 142b.

¹³⁹ Hornus, *Rapport*, 133-47.

letter of introduction was written by Christian Rassam for Justin Perkins in 1833, who died shortly afterwards¹⁴⁰. The colophon references suggest that his diocese included some of the Tergāwār villages as well as 'Armūṭāghāj itself, and he may have a suffragan bishop of the *muṭrān*. He had a young *nāṭar kursyā*, who was persuaded to renounce his position by the American missionaries, and in 1862 'Armūṭāghāj was part of the diocese of Anzel¹⁴¹.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the small dioceses of 'Ādā and Gügtāpāh were absorbed into the dioceses of Anzel and Ardishai respectively on the death of their bishops. The bishop Eliyā of Gügtāpāh, vehemently anti-Catholic and a keen supporter of the American mission, died in December 1863¹⁴². The bishop Joseph of 'Ādā converted to Catholicism and was addressed together with Gīwārgīs Augustine Barshīnā, metropolitan of Salmas, as a Catholic bishop in a letter of 1862 from pope Pius IX¹⁴³. He is also mentioned by Cutts in 1877 (who caused some offence by refusing to visit him), and by Chatelet in 1880, in terms which suggest that he was by then no longer a Catholic. It is not clear when he died. A new diocese was established for the large Anzel village of Supūrghān and the neighbouring villages of Ḥānīshān and Mūshābād in 1874. The priest Bābā, son of the priest Mārōgin, was consecrated for Supūrghān at Qūdshānīs by the patriarch Shem'ōn XVIII Rūbil on 2 June 1874, taking the name Yōnān¹⁴⁴. The diocese of Ardishai came to an end after the murder of its bishop Gabriel in 1896, and the diocese of Anzel effectively ceased to exist when its last bishop, Yōḥannān, left Persia in 1881 to take refuge in England.

The success of the Russian Orthodox mission in the 1890s swept away what remained of the traditional East Syrian hierarchy in the Ūrmī region. The bishop Yōnān of Supūrghān joined the Russian Orthodox church in 1896, and continued to administer his diocese as a Russian Orthodox bishop until his death in 1908¹⁴⁵. The priest Eliyā, a nephew of the metropolitan Gabriel of Ardishai, also joined the Russian Orthodox church in 1904, and was consecrated Russian Orthodox bishop 'of Tergāwār' in the same year, although he resided in Ūrmī and his work was among the

¹⁴⁰ MSS Athens Syr 1805 and 1806, Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 1, and Berlin Syr 43; and Perkins, *Residence*, 52.

¹⁴¹ Hornus, *Rapport*, 147.

¹⁴² Sado, 'Nestorians of Urmī in the 1860s', *JAAS*, 6, 2 (1992), 56.

¹⁴³ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 417-9.

¹⁴⁴ Note in MS Karam 1547.

¹⁴⁵ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 230, 240-3, and 337.

recent Orthodox converts in and around the city. He survived the First World War, and died in Ūrmī on 1 February 1928, aged 75¹⁴⁶.

The Qūdshānīs patriarchate responded to these developments by sending the bishop Denḥā of Tīs to Ūrmī with responsibility for its remaining East Syrians. In 1909 he was transferred to the Sulduz district, where he remained until the outbreak of the First World War. His place at Ūrmī was taken by the patriarch Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin's archdeacon David, consecrated bishop of Ūrmī in October 1909 under the name Ephrem, who worked harmoniously with the Anglican mission in Ūrmī and cared for the minority of East Syrians in the Ūrmī region and the Tergāwār district who did not convert to Russian Orthodoxy¹⁴⁷.

The Diocese of Salmas

Salmas appears to have been in the Catholic sphere of influence for several decades after the schism of 1552. An unnamed bishop of Salmas was among the supporters of Sulāqā in 1552, and Salmas was listed by his successor 'Abdīshō' IV in 1562 as the seat of a metropolitan. Shem'ōn IX Denḥā was metropolitan of 'Salmas, Seert and Jīlū' before he became patriarch in 1580, and a metropolitan of Salmas named Joseph, presumably recently consecrated, was among the signatories of a letter of the same year from the new patriarch to pope Gregory XIII announcing his election¹⁴⁸. He was probably the metropolitan Joseph of Salmas mentioned in the report of 1607.

The patriarchs Shem'ōn IX Denḥā (1580-1600) and Shem'ōn X (1600-1638), both Catholics, resided in the Salmas district, and were probably able to fend off opposition from their rival Eliyā VIII. The metropolitan Īshō'yahb 'of the Persian borders', dependent on the patriarch Shem'ōn X, is mentioned in the report of 1610, and was probably the 'archbishop of Persia' of the same name addressed in a letter of Peter Strozza of 1614¹⁴⁹. He may have been a bishop of Salmas, as the name later became traditional. Eliyā VIII's bishop 'Abdīshō' of Salmas, mentioned in the same report, is elsewhere styled bishop of Ūrmī and Tergāwār, and his title in 1610 may have been chosen simply for effect.

The metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Khosrōwā, dependent on one of the seventeenth-century Qūdshānīs patriarchs named Shem'ōn, is mentioned

¹⁴⁶ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 243 and 337.

¹⁴⁷ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 286-7, 318-9, 321, 325, and 329-30.

¹⁴⁸ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90.

¹⁴⁹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 129.

in colophons of 1667, 1678, and 1686¹⁵⁰. As a patriarch named Shem'ōn politely rebuffed an approach from the Vatican in 1670, it is likely that Īshō'yahb should be distinguished from a Catholic bishop of the same name attested in 1709.

According to Tfinkdji 'the Nestorians of Persia' wrote to the Āmid patriarch Joseph II in 1709 to assure him of their adherence to the Catholic faith and their dependence on the leadership of Mār Īshō'yahb, a Catholic bishop of Salmas. He is probably to be identified with a metropolitan of the same name who fled 'on account of the destruction of his diocese by Oz Beg' to the Catholic village of Şedūh near Seert in 1751, 'where he long remained'¹⁵¹.

A metropolitan of Salmas named 'Abdīshō', mentioned neither by Tfinkdji or Fiey, was the scribe of a manuscript of 1716, and in 1734 Khidr of Mosul referred to an unnamed metropolitan of Salmas and also to a bishop 'Abdīshō' of an unnamed diocese in the Ūrmī region, possibly Salmas¹⁵². If the Catholic bishop Īshō'yahb was metropolitan of Salmas between 1709 and 1751, 'Abdīshō' was presumably a traditionalist bishop consecrated by one of the Qūdshānīs patriarchs.

The decisive shift to Catholicism in the Salmas district seems to have been made in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, thanks to the efforts of the metropolitan Īshō'yahb Shem'ōn (1777-1789), who entered into communion with the Catholic Joseph line at Āmid, bringing with him the majority of the East Syrians of the region. During his reign he resided at Khosrōwā. According to his tombstone in the cemetery of Khosrōwā, he died on 10 April 1789 and his father's name was Gīwārgīs. His epitaph stated that he 'preached and spread the faith of the church of Rome in the country of the Persians of Azerbaijan'¹⁵³.

Īshō'yahb Shem'ōn was succeeded as metropolitan of Salmas in 1795 by Īshō'yahb Isha'yā Yōhannān Gabriel, born in Khosrōwā in 1758 and educated at the College of the Propaganda. He was ordained a priest early in 1795, taking the name Yōhannān, and was consecrated for Salmas at Baghdad on 8 November 1795 by Yōhannān Hormizd, then metropolitan of Mosul. His appointment was resisted by a party in the Salmas district, who wanted as their bishop the priest Isaac, a nephew of the late metropolitan Īshō'yahb Shem'ōn. They sent Isaac to the patriarch Shem'ōn

¹⁵⁰ MSS Athens Syr 1801, Leningrad Syr 67, and Assfalg Syr 29.

¹⁵¹ Note in MS Seert (Scher) 54.

¹⁵² MS Ūrmī 136.

¹⁵³ Hornus, *Rapport*, 297.

XVI Yōhannān, who consecrated him bishop of Salmas at Qūdshānīs, giving him the name Īshō'yahb Melchisedec. Eventually, following an approach by Yōhannān Hormizd to the Persian authorities, Īshō'yahb Gabriel was able to assert his authority and administer his diocese without opposition. As metropolitan of Salmas he was recognised as vicar with jurisdiction over the East Syrians of Malabar by the Vatican in 1801¹⁵⁴, and in 1804 he consecrated Augustine Hindi metropolitan of Āmid and patriarchal administrator in Mardīn. According to his epitaph in the cemetery of Khosrōwā, whose inscription gives his father's name as 'Jonas' (Yōnān), he died on 13 July 1832.

Gabriel's successor was his old rival Īshō'yahb Melchisedec. Possibly because of the affection in which he had been held by many of the Chaldeans of Salmas, the Chaldean authorities felt it worthwhile to win him over, and he was consecrated metropolitan of Salmas by Yōhannān Hormizd in 1833, remaining in office until his death on 23 August 1859. According to his epitaph in the cemetery of Khosrōwā, he was the son of Īshō'yahb Shem'ōn's brother the priest Isaac, who died in 1800, and was styled 'metropolitan of Salmas and administrator of Adārbaigān'¹⁵⁵. Melchisedec was already elderly at the time of his consecration, and was assisted by the future patriarch Nicholas Zay'ā, an outstanding pupil of the college of the Propaganda, who was consecrated bishop of 'Adārbaigān' and coadjutor with the right of succession in 1836 by Yōhannān Hormizd.

After Nicholas Zay'ā became patriarch in 1839, Melchisedec seems to have been left temporarily without supervision, but a second coadjutor, Gīwārgīs Augustine Barshīnā of Khosrōwā, was consecrated for Salmas on 11 July 1848. After Melchisedec's death in 1859 he succeeded him as metropolitan of Salmas, remaining in office until his death in 1889.

He was succeeded in 1894 by Isaac Yahballāhā Hūdabaḥash, who had been a priest in the district since 1887. While a priest he attracted attention during a dispute in 1894 over the ownership of a number of churches in the district, which embroiled the rival East Syrian churches, the Catholic, Anglican and American missionaries, and the consular representatives of France and Britain¹⁵⁶. He resigned in 1908 and retired to Cairo, where he subsequently became patriarchal vicar of its Chaldean community.

¹⁵⁴ Puliurumpil, *A Period of Jurisdictional Conflict in the Suriani Church of India*, 46; and Hornus, *Rapport*, 291.

¹⁵⁵ Hornus, *Rapport*, 297.

¹⁵⁶ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 179-85.

He was succeeded in 1910 by Peter Raffō 'Azīz of Mosul, previously patriarchal vicar for the Chaldean community of Aleppo, and the first bishop of Salmas who was not a native of the district. He assisted at the funeral of the murdered Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin in 1918, and was transferred to the diocese of Zākhō in 1928.

The Diocese of Anzel

The history of the diocese of Anzel, whose bishops traditionally took the name Yōhannān, can be traced back to the late sixteenth century. In 1586 Yōhannān, metropolitan of 'Ūrmī', was one of three metropolitan bishops who witnessed the Catholic profession of faith of Eliyā VII in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Alqōsh¹⁵⁷.

A bishop Yōhannān 'of Mawānā' composed a number of works in 1662¹⁵⁸, and a bishop Yōhannān 'of Tārōn, Tergāwār, Arne and Aḍārbaigān' is mentioned together with the catholicus Eliyā in the dating formula of a manuscript copied at Mawānā in 1686¹⁵⁹. He is probably to be identified with the bishop Yōhannān, 'gatekeeper of Aḍārbaigān', who copied a manuscript in 1694¹⁶⁰.

A bishop Yōhannān of Aḍārbaigān was mentioned by Khidr of Mosul in 1734¹⁶¹. A bishop Yōhannān 'of Aḍārbaigān', who died shortly before 1755 and was probably the same man, is also mentioned in the colophons of a number of manuscripts copied by relatives from the Gāwār and Tergāwār districts¹⁶². He is first mentioned in 1738 in the colophon of a manuscript copied by his first-cousin the priest Sulāqā¹⁶³. This reference enables him to be identified with the 'Mār Yōhannān of Aḍārbaigān, cousin of the priest Sulāqā', who composed a number of poems preserved in a manuscript in the Mingana collection. The colophons of manuscripts of 1804, 1815, and 1824 mention that he was the superior of the monastery of Mār Ezekiel in the Shemsdīn district, that he was the son of Abbā, son of the priest Wardā, son of the priest Abraham, and that he was responsible for restoring the monastery¹⁶⁴. He

¹⁵⁷ MS Vat Ar (Mai) 141.

¹⁵⁸ MS Ūrmī 51 (*Vorlage*).

¹⁵⁹ MS Cambridge Add. 2045.

¹⁶⁰ MS Cambridge Add. 2045.

¹⁶¹ MS Mingana Syr 262, folio 142b.

¹⁶² MSS Ūrmī 17, Erevan Matenadaran 10 and 729, Berlin Syr 50, Assfalḡ Syr 16, and Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 1.

¹⁶³ MS Ūrmī 17.

¹⁶⁴ MSS Mingana Syr 583, Assfalḡ Syr 16, and Bodley Syr (Margoliouth) 1.

was therefore probably the owner of a manuscript copied in 1569 for the monastery's superior, which later belonged to 'Mār Yōhannān of Anzel and Jāmālābād'¹⁶⁵. He is mentioned as 'the deceased Mār Yōhannān' in a colophon of 1755¹⁶⁶.

A bishop Yōhannān, dependent on the patriarch Shem'ōn XVI Yōhannān, is mentioned in a colophon of 1803 from Yangījā¹⁶⁷. Another bishop named Yōhannān was bishop of Anzel between 1826 and 1874. In 1831 he had been a bishop for five years, and resided in the village of Jāmālābād rather than, as customary, in Gāwīlan (Smith). Perkins recorded that he made a visit to Russia as bishop in 1826. He is mentioned in a colophon of 1837 from Yangījā as bishop of 'one region of Ūrmī'¹⁶⁸. In 1841 he disrupted an attempt by the Lazarist missionary Eugène Boré to persuade the patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham to convert to Catholicism¹⁶⁹. He was on friendly terms with the American missionaries, and visited the United States in 1842 with Justin Perkins. He is also mentioned by Challaye in 1854, and was one of the signatories of Sophoniah's report in 1862 and an appeal to Queen Victoria for British protection in 1863¹⁷⁰. According to his epitaph in the church of Mart Maryam in Ūrmī he was the son of the priest Gīwārgīs and died on 28 May 1874 at the age of seventy.

He was succeeded by his nephew Yōhannān, who took refuge in England in 1882 after the village of Gāwīlan was attacked by the Kurds, where he was befriended by the clergyman F. W. Tremlett, and appeared at a public meeting at Lambeth Palace in July 1882 held to raise funds for the Anglican mission. Although provided with funds to return to Persia, he travelled only to Hamburg, after which he disappeared from view¹⁷¹. A few years later Riley described him as 'insane', and rumoured to be living either in England (1884) or Russia (1888). He is not mentioned again and it is not known when or where he died. He left a *nāṭar kursyā*, but as he was too young to be consecrated the administration of his diocese was by 1888 in the hands of the bishop Yōnān of Supūrghān (Riley).

¹⁶⁵ Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, iii-iv.

¹⁶⁶ MS Erevan Matenadaran 729.

¹⁶⁷ MS Cambridge Add. 2035.

¹⁶⁸ MS Berlin Syr 51.

¹⁶⁹ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 187.

¹⁷⁰ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 53.

¹⁷¹ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 82-3 and 86.

The Diocese of Ardishai

The Ūrmī diocese of Ardishai is first mentioned in 1831, but its history must go back at least as far as the eighteenth century, as in 1876 the Anglican priest Edward Cutts saw the tombs of 'several' bishops in the church of Ardishai and its adjoining cemetery¹⁷². Unfortunately, there are only two references to Persian metropolitans named Gabriel earlier than the nineteenth century. An East Syrian bishop named Gabriel, 'metropolitan of Aḏārbaigān', arrived in Malabar in 1708 and made a Catholic profession of faith on 5 October 1712; and Khidr of Mosul mentioned a bishop Gabriel of one of the dioceses in the Ūrmī region in 1734¹⁷³.

The American Presbyterian and French Lazarist missions in Ūrmī were frequently in contact with the metropolitan Gabriel of Ardishai, who was born in 1810 and became metropolitan in 1824 at the age of thirteen¹⁷⁴. He was described in 1835 by Justin Perkins as 'a bishop fair in form but of restless spirit', and was said to have been over-fond of drink. In Challaye's report of 1854 he is presented as resentful of the American missionaries and sympathetic towards the Lazarists, whom he had allowed to build a Catholic church in Ardishai, but he may well have tried to balance between both missions¹⁷⁵. He was one of the signatories of Sophoniah's report in 1862 and, according to Sado, died on 11 October 1871.

He was succeeded by another metropolitan named Gabriel, again well-known as a result of his contact with the English and American missionaries. In 1875, at the age of about thirty, he converted to Russian Orthodoxy, but returned to his old faith in the following year. His *nāṭar kursyā* the deacon Abraham, brother of the priest Ablaḥad of Ardishai, was mentioned by the Anglican mission in 1893¹⁷⁶. Gabriel was assassinated by Shaikh Saddik d'Nehri, grandson of Obeidallah, in June 1896, and was not replaced, presumably because most of the East Syrians in the diocese converted to Russian Orthodoxy shortly afterwards¹⁷⁷.

The Chaldean Archdiocese of Ūrmī

There were a number of small Catholic communities in the Ūrmī region before the arrival of the French Lazarist mission in 1840, probably

¹⁷² Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 265.

¹⁷³ Le Quien, OC, ii. 1283-4; and MS Mingana Syr 262, folio 142b.

¹⁷⁴ Perkins, *Residence*, 179; and Smith, *Researches*, ii. 244.

¹⁷⁵ Hornus, *Rapport*, 133-7.

¹⁷⁶ Bird, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, ii. 304-5.

¹⁷⁷ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 213.

founded in the eighteenth century by Catholic converts supported by the Āmid patriarchate. Khidr of Mosul mentioned a Catholic community in Supūrghān in 1734, led by the village's *māliks* Sarkabsh and David, and the Lazarist mission discovered Catholic minorities in Ūrmī, Ardishai, Bābārūd, and Chahārgūshi, and one or two smaller villages¹⁷⁸. The Lazarists established a mission station at Ūrmī in the 1840s, which persisted up to the outbreak of the First World War. This mission, despite being considerably smaller than its American rivals, made a number of converts in the East Syrian villages of the Ūrmī plain and the Sulduz district, particularly under the popular superior Augustin-Pierre Cluzel (1852-1882)¹⁷⁹. The total Catholic population of these districts was estimated at 1,500 persons in 1854 (Challaye) and 2,000 in 1859 (Chatelet). The success of Chaldean proselytising in the Ūrmī region led to the creation of a Chaldean archdiocese of Ūrmī in 1890. Its first bishop was Thomas Audō, who was consecrated for Ūrmī in 1890, and died in 1917. The archdiocese had a population of 6,000 Chaldeans, with 40 priests and 18 churches or chapels, in 1896 (Chabot); and 7,800 Chaldeans, with 43 priests and 13 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). Tfinkdji listed the larger communities in 1913, but did not provide details for several villages (including 'Abdūlakandi) with smaller congregations.

Table 35: East Syrian Villages in the Archdiocese of Ūrmī, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Ūrmī	500	18	2	Bardishok	80	1	0
Gūlpāshan	600	3	1	Eshnūq	200	1	0
Chahārgūshi	500	1	1	Mawānā	300	2	0
Gūgtāpāh	700	3	2	Shimshājeyan	320	1	0
Ardishai	330	1	1	Nāqādā	180	0	0
Dārālik	450	2	1	Bābārūd	120	0	1
Dīzā	350	1	1	Anhar	270	1	0
Dīgālā	400	1	1	Chāhārbāḥsh	200	0	0
'Ādā	700	3	1	Nāzi	300	1	0
Supūrghān	350	2	1	Others	800	0	0
Takā	150	1	0	Total	7,800	43	13

¹⁷⁸ MS Mingana Syr 262, folio 142b; and Hornus, *Rapport*, 295.

¹⁷⁹ Babakhan, 'Protestantisme et catholicisme chez le peuple nestorien', *ROC*, 4 (1889), 428-43.

(b) Topographical Survey

Towards the end of the nineteenth century about 60,000 East Syrian and Armenian Christians were living in Persian territory to the east of the Hakkārī region in nearly 200 villages in the Salmas, Ūrmī and Sulduz plains between the mountains of Hakkārī and Lake Ūrmī, alongside perhaps 300,000 Moslems. There were about 20,000 Christians living in the Salmas plain to the north-west of Lake Ūrmī, half of whom were Armenians and most of the remainder Chaldeans, living in 12 villages alongside an isolated traditionalist East Syrian community in the village of Ūlā. Nearly 40,000 Christians lived in the fertile Ūrmī plain to its south, about 10,000 of whom were Armenians, and most of the remainder traditionalist East Syrian Christians loyal to the Qūdshānīs patriarchs. The Armenian community in the Ūrmī plain, formerly much larger, had been reduced by Armenian migration to Russia in 1828. Physically, the Ūrmī plain was divided into three districts from north to south, centred around the valleys of the Nazlū (Anzel), Berdesur and Baranduz rivers, and contained about 300 villages, half of which were inhabited by East Syrian Christians. A little over a third of the East Syrian population of the Ūrmī plain lived in about fifty villages in the Anzel district, and the remainder in Ūrmī itself and about seventy villages in the Baranduz district, the largest of which were Gāwīlan, Supūrghān and 'Ādā in the Anzel district, and Ardishai, Chāhārbahsh, Dīgālā, Dīzātakā, Gūgtāpāh and Gūlpāshān in the Baranduz district. By the end of the nineteenth century many of the villages in the Ūrmī plain also had Chaldean communities, and the total Chaldean population of the Ūrmī plain was estimated at 6,000 in 1913. To the south of the Ūrmī plain, about 3,000 East Syrians of the traditional faith lived in Eshnūq and twenty-three other villages in the Sulduz district.

Several regions in Iran had East Syrian bishops between the fifth and thirteenth centuries, but the province of Aḏārbaigān, of which the Ūrmī region was a part, is not mentioned before the twelfth century. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century the patriarchs Denḥā I and Yahballāhā III were resident for part of their reigns in Aḏārbaigān, and the towns of Eshnūq, Ūrmī, Salmas, Marāghā, Hamadān, Sultaniyyeh, Tabrīz and Shanqlābād also had significant East Syrian communities at this period. The *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos* mentions an old East Syrian church of Mār Shallīṭā in Marāghā, rebuilt in 1285 by the patriarch Yahballāhā III; a new church of Mār Mārī and Mār Gīwārgīs, built in Marāghā in 1292 by his friend Rabban Ṣawmā, and apparently

destroyed during the persecution of 1295; and the monastery of St John the Baptist two miles to the north of the city, built by Yahballāhā III between 1294 and 1301 and used by him as his patriarchal residence until his death in 1317, and soon afterwards 'occupied' by the Moslems, probably during the reign of his successor Timothy II. Hamadān had an East Syrian church and a patriarchal cell, which were both destroyed in the persecution of 1295¹⁸⁰. A manuscript from the reign of Yahballāhā III has survived from Marāghā, copied in 'the patriarchal cell' in 1292/3¹⁸¹. A manuscript was copied in the church of Mart Maryam, Mār Stephen and Mār Gīwārgīs in Tabrīz in 1262 by the priest and doctor Sabrīshō', 'a refugee from Erbil'; and the East Syrian community in the city, in which a church and a patriarchal cell were destroyed in the persecution of 1295, was visited on several occasions between 1295 and 1305 by Yahballāhā III¹⁸². Its large East Syrian and Armenian communities were also mentioned by Odoric of Pordenone in the 1330s. The town of Sultaniyyeh, capital of the il-khans, was said by Clemens Galanus to have had twenty-five Christian churches in the 1330s, and would have had an East Syrian community. The village of Sīdōs near Tabrīz, which had a monastery of Mār Dādā with a library and several monks in residence, is mentioned in 1473 by the continuator of the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus. A manuscript was copied in 1439 by the priest and solitary Gīwārgīs of Shanqlābād, a town near Ardabīl, and a number of works have survived by the fifteenth-century chronicler and poet Shem'ōn of Shanqlābād¹⁸³.

By the sixteenth century East Syrian Christianity in Persia was practically confined to the Ūrmī region, though East Syrians from Tabrīz were among the supporters of Sulāqā in 1552, and Hamadān was included in the title of the patriarch Shem'ōn XI Īshō'yahb in 1638. A bishop of Salmas was among the supporters of Sulāqā in 1552, and in 1562 the entire Ūrmī region was claimed by his successor 'Abdīshō' IV. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the fourth Catholic patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denḥā abandoned the western regions and fixed his seat at Salmas. This move, although losing his successors the support of the East Syrians of the Āmid, Mardīn and Seert regions, won over the more numerous population of the Ūrmī region.

¹⁸⁰ *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 223 and 236.

¹⁸¹ MS Mosul (Scher) 99.

¹⁸² MS Mosul (Scher) 26 (*Vorlage*); *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 214, 223, 236, 240, 249, 256, and 304.

¹⁸³ MS Ūrmī 24 (*Vorlage*).

The report of 1607 mentions the 'monasteries' of Mār Peter and Mār Paul, Mār Sargīs, and Mār Abraham of Eshnūq in the Ūrmī region, and the report of 1610 mentions the monastery of Mār Peter and Mār Paul 'in the territory of Persia'. The first site has not been localised, but the 'monastery' of Mār Sargīs was doubtless the well-known church of that name in the Baranduz village of Sīre. The third site was presumably in Eshnūq.

Although a large proportion of the East Syrians of the Salmas district became Catholics in the eighteenth century, most of the East Syrians of the Ūrmī and Sulduz plains remained loyal to the Qūdshānīs patriarchs until the last decade before the First World War. Although they occasionally suffered oppression from their Moslem landlords, the villages of the fertile Ūrmī plain were prosperous farming communities, and far better off than their neighbours in the Hakkārī region¹⁸⁴.

The Ūrmī region became the scene of competition between a number of western missions in the nineteenth century. An American Presbyterian mission was established at Ūrmī in 1834, which worked without interruption until the outbreak of the First World War. This mission, headed by Justin Perkins until 1869, and thereafter by J. H. Shedd, was easily the largest mission in the field, with ten missionaries as early as 1854 and several more later¹⁸⁵. Despite the suspicion of many East Syrians of a church which had no bishops, the Presbyterian missionaries made enough converts to establish a separate Reformed Nestorian Church in 1874. A much smaller Catholic Lazarist mission from France was established in the Ūrmī region in 1840, which established stations at Khosrōwā and Ūrmī and worked both among the Chaldean villages of the Salmas district and the traditionalist villages of the Ūrmī plain¹⁸⁶. In 1886 a small Anglican mission was established at Ūrmī under Arthur Maclean, which also competed for influence with the Americans among the East Syrian villages in the Ūrmī plain and the Tergāwār district. As the Anglican church had bishops, and as the mission's aim was to educate but not proselytise, it was more acceptable to the East Syrian hierarchy than its American rivals. The young *nāṭar kursyās* of the bishops Yōnān of Supūrghān and Šlībā and Sabrīshō' of Gāwār attended the Anglican mission school at Ūrmī, and the mission was also able to influence several other members of the East Syrian

¹⁸⁴ Joseph, *Nestorians*, 38.

¹⁸⁵ Hornus, *Rapport*, 26-9.

¹⁸⁶ Hornus, *Rapport*, 301-5.

hierarchy, particularly the metropolitan Gabriel of Ardishai and the bishop Ephrem of Ūrmī¹⁸⁷.

These earlier missions were overshadowed by the Russian Orthodox mission established in 1898 on the invitation of the bishop Yōnān of Supūrghān, which was warmly welcomed by the East Syrians. Mār Yōnān converted to Russian Orthodoxy, and by 1900 Russian missionaries had built an Orthodox church at Ūrmī and set up a system of parishes and schools in his diocese, shortly afterwards consecrating another Orthodox bishop for the Tergāwār district. Although the American mission stayed on, the Russian successes persuaded the Anglicans to move their headquarters to Vān in 1903. The prestige of the Orthodox mission was temporarily eclipsed after Russia's defeat by Japan in 1905, which encouraged several Protestant and Catholic groups in the United States and Europe to set up small missions in Ūrmī in the final years before the First World War, including a Lutheran mission which made several influential converts¹⁸⁸. In 1909 the Russians occupied Persian Azerbaijan, and their military presence in and around Ūrmī strengthened the appeal of the Orthodox church. In 1912 Russian missionaries extended their activities to the Tergāwār, Sulduz and Salmas districts, and by 1914 the majority of the East Syrians in the Ūrmī region had joined the Russian Orthodox church¹⁸⁹.

The Salmas District

The Salmas district, at least as early as the thirteenth century, was inhabited by both Armenian and East Syrian Christians, with the Armenians preponderating. A large number of Armenians emigrated in 1828, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the community was losing its former dominance. The village of Gūlīzan, for example, was originally an Armenian village, but was deserted early in the nineteenth century and by 1855 had been taken over by Chaldean Christians, who used its old Armenian church (Challaye). On the eve of the First World War the two communities were roughly the same size. In 1913 the East Syrian Christians of the Salmas district, mostly Chaldeans, numbered just over 10,000 and lived in 12 villages; in 1908 there were about 10,000 Armenians, living in 23 villages. The main Armenian village in the district was Haftvan, which also had a Chaldean community¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸⁷ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 109 and 329.

¹⁸⁸ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 281-4.

¹⁸⁹ Joseph, *Nestorians*, 123.

¹⁹⁰ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 67.

The Chaldean diocese of Salmas had a population of 150 families in 1850 (Badger); 2,000 Chaldeans in 1854 (Challaye); 8,000 Chaldeans in 1867 (Martin); 10,000 Chaldeans in 1896 (Chabot); and 10,460 Chaldeans, with 24 priests and 12 churches, in 1913 (Tfinkdji). Although Ūlā is listed as a Chaldean village in 1913, at a slightly earlier period most of its villagers were loyal to the Qūdshānīs patriarchs (it was included in the Qūdshānīs diocese of Anzel), and as an isolated traditionalist bastion in the Salmas district in the nineteenth century was known as 'the faithful village' by East Syrian sympathisers in the Ūrmī region. The diocese also included for convenience the isolated village of Gāwīlan in the extreme north of the Anzel district.

Table 36: East Syrian Communities in the Diocese of Salmas, 1913

Name	Believers	Priests	Churches	Name	Believers	Priests	Churches
Salmas	500	3	2	Hānāgā	270	0	0
Khosrōwā	3,700	7	3	Zewajik	280	1	0
Patawūr	2,800	4	2	Satūrā	240	1	0
Gāwīlan	1,000	3	1	Sarnā	490	2	1
Ūlā	400	2	1	Kuilavar	230	0	0
Gūlīzan	300	0	1				
Chārā	250	1	1	Total	10,460	24	12

Although the first literary mention of the Salmas district in the East Syrian sources is not until the thirteenth century, three Christian tombstones with Syriac inscriptions demonstrate that Khosrōwā had an East Syrian Christian community as early as the seventh century and Sarnā in the eleventh; and an inscription in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Chārā, composed by the sacristan Abūn, mentions its restoration in 1360 by Mār Šlībā, probably bishop of Salmas¹⁹¹. In 1485 repairs were made in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd near Alqōsh at the expense of Rabban David, son of the priest Argunshāh, of the Salmas district.

Several East Syrian inscriptions have survived from the church of Mār Quriāqōs in Salmas, a thriving medieval town but little more than a village by the end of the nineteenth century, most of whose Christians were Armenians. Two undated inscriptions preserved in the church record its construction (probably in the seventeenth century) 'in the time of Mār

¹⁹¹ Duval, *Inscriptions*, 39-52.

Īshō'yahb, metropolitan of Salmas', by the master mason 'Abdā, and its restoration at the expense of 'the wife of 'Amr'; and a third inscription records a further restoration in 1770 by the nobleman Kerman, son of Dumsheq, and the priest David. An elaborate tombstone from the church's cemetery records the death in 1642 of the lady Nāze, daughter of 'the glorious' Aumig of Salmas and wife of Mas'ūd, son of Denhā¹⁹².

Shem'on IX Denhā was elected in 1580 in the 'monastery' of Mār Yōhannān near Salmas. His profession of faith in 1585 was also written there, and sent by a messenger to Leonard Abel because he was being detained by the Kurdish chief 'Zaynalbak'. Shem'on X also made a Catholic profession of faith on 29 July 1619 in the 'monastery of Khananes', in the territory of the Kurdish Christian chief Zacharias Abach. The 'monastery' may have been a large church, possibly the church of Mār Yōhannān in the Anzel village of Gāwīlan.

The majority of manuscripts from the Salmas district are from the village of Khosrōwā. Four manuscripts were copied in its church of Mār Gīwārgīs in the seventeenth century: in 1600 by an unknown scribe, for the archdeacon Emmanuel, son of the chief Zangīsh; in 1677 and 1688 by unknown scribes; and in 1686 by the priest Yaldā, son of Shem'on and the daughter of Spanjā, of the Galūtā family of Khosrōwā, for the Albaq village of Būrdūk¹⁹³. A letter from the patriarch Shem'on XI to pope Innocent X was also copied in the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Khosrōwā in 1653 by the scribe 'Abdīshō', son of Peter¹⁹⁴.

Five manuscripts were copied at Khosrōwā in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: in 1778 by the scribe Abraham, nephew of the metropolitan Īshō'yahb of Salmas; in 1790 by the deacon Peter, son of Francis, son of the priest Ablahad, 'who went to Rome'; in 1833 by the scribe 'Abdīshō'; and in 1832 and 1845 by the priest Nathaniel¹⁹⁵.

Two other Salmas villages are mentioned in manuscript colophons. A manuscript was copied in 1667 in the church of Mār Sargīs in the village of Rūgāmīsh, not mentioned in the 1913 statistics, by 'Abdīshō', son of the priest Isaac, son of the priest Joseph, of the Anzel village of Supūrghān¹⁹⁶. Copies of two anti-Catholic tracts composed by the traditionalist priest Sābā of Ūlā were made in Ūlā in 1829 and 1842 by him-

¹⁹² Duval, *Inscriptions*, 54-7.

¹⁹³ MSS Leningrad Syr 18, 66, and 67, and Assfalg Syr 29.

¹⁹⁴ Le Quien, *OC*, ii. 1162.

¹⁹⁵ MSS Assfalg Syr 30, Bodley Syr e.8, and Ūrmī 187, 206, and 182.

¹⁹⁶ MS Athens Syr 1801.

self and his son the deacon La'zar, who later succeeded him as the village's priest¹⁹⁷.

A considerable number of nineteenth-century Chaldean bishops and other notables came from the Salmas village of Khosrōwā. Until the second half of the nineteenth century the diocese of Salmas was the only Chaldean diocese in Persian territory and (perhaps because the Persian authorities were at that period unwilling to accept a bishop who was not a Persian subject) most of its nineteenth-century bishops (Īshō'yahb Shem'ōn, Īshō'yahb Isha'yā Yōhannān Gabriel, Īshō'yahb Melchisedec, the future patriarch Nicholas Zay'ā, Gīwārgīs Augustine Barshīnā, and Isaac Yahballāhā Hūdabāhash) were natives of Khosrōwā. Two other Chaldean bishops (Gīwārgīs Peter di Natale and Peter Mikhā'il Bartatar) were also natives of Khosrōwā, as were the superiors-general Paul and Ephrem of the monastic Order of Saint Hormisdas. Isolated as it was from the main centres of the Chaldean church, Khosrōwā had its own seminary in the nineteenth century, ran by the priests of the Lazarist mission.

The Anzel District

The Anzel district lay north-east of Ūrmī on both banks of the Nazlū Chai, and its main centres were the large villages of Gāwīlan (also known as Anzel), Supūrghān, and 'Ādā. The total number of villages with East Syrian communities in the Anzel district in the nineteenth century may have been slightly under fifty. Thirty-four villages were listed in 1862 by Sophoniah, and thirty-seven villages in 1877 by Cutts. A list compiled shortly before the First World War by B. Nikitine, the Russian consul in Ūrmī, mentioned thirty-six villages in the Anzel district, ten of which appear to be small villages not included in the earlier lists: Gardābād, Hūnek, Ḥaydarlūi, Ḥerābād, Īsālūi, Janalmas, Kfarbe, Nakchivan Tepe, Takīdābād, and Tāzākand (to be distinguished from the village of the same name in the Baranduz district)¹⁹⁸. According to this list most of the larger villages in the district ('Ābdūlakandi, Chāmākī, Gāwīlan, Kūsi, Mūshābād, Qārājālū, Supūrghān, and Yangījā) and a few smaller villages (Gardābād, Ikīāghāj, Nakchivan Tepe, Qārāqīs, Shīrābād, Takīdābād, Tāzākand, and Zūmalān) were entirely Christian. The large villages of 'Ādā and Nāzi and several smaller villages (Armūtāghāj, Bādīlbū, Bālū, Haṣār d'Bābāganjā, Hūnek, Ḥānīshān, Ḥaydarlūi, Ḥerābād, Īsālūi,

¹⁹⁷ MSS Cambridge Add. 2051 and 2052, and Ūrmī 58.

¹⁹⁸ Nikitine, 'Family Life among the Assyro-Chaldeans of the Plain of Urmiah', *JAAS*, 7, 1 (1993), 51-67.

Jamālābād, Janalmas, Jenīzā, Kfarbe, Qārāgōz, and Yāghmūrālūi) had mixed populations of Moslems and Christians. The Anzel villages tended to be less prosperous, according to Nikitine, than the villages around Ūrmī, but were richer than the villages in the Baranduz district.

In 1862 Sophoniah listed thirty-four East Syrian villages in the Anzel district (plus the isolated village of Ūlā in the Salmas district), containing 1,541 families, with 25 priests, and 29 churches.

Table 37: East Syrian Communities in the Anzel District, 1862

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
'Ābdūlakandi	62	1	Mār Gīwārgīs	Mūshābād	72	1	Mār Sabriṣhō'
'Ādā	184	0	Mār Daniel	Nāzi	65	1	Mart Maryam
			Mār Yōhannān	Pāqaibaiglū-Hachnabat	30	0	
Anhar	50	1	Mart Maryam	Paqabajlūi-Bozlū	30	0	
Anhar	72	1	Mart Maryam	Qārājālū-Ābājālūi	200	3	Mart Maryam
'Armūtāghāj	35	1	Mār Gawrā	Qārāqīs-Ikīāghāj	-	-	
Bādīlbū	5	1		Qīzil'āshīq	40	1	Mār Gīwārgīs
Bālū	30	1	Mār Quriāqōs	Samsalūi	15	0	
Chāmākī	50	2	Mart Maryam	Shīrābād	40	2	Mār Shallīṭā
Gāwīlan	55	0	Mār Yōhannān	Supūrghān-Ḥānīshān	172	2	Mār Gīwārgīs
Haṣār-Qārāgōz	40	0		Ūlā	52	1	Mār Gīwārgīs
Jāmālābād	33	1	Mār Yōhannān	Yāghmūrālūi	20	0	Mār Quriāqōs
Jenīzā	20	1	Mār Stephen	Yangījā	65	1	Mart Maryam
			Mār Gīwārgīs	Zānālūi	15	1	Mār Gawrā
Kūsi	50	1	Mart Maryam	Zūmalān	35	1	Mart Maryam
Mār Nūhā	4	0	Mār Thomas	Total	1,541	25	24

The district's East Syrian priests in 1862 were Shem'ōn of Anhar; Elīyā of Anhar; Benjamin, son of Isaac, of 'Ābdūlakandi; Shem'ōn of 'Armūtāghāj; Shem'ōn of Bādīlbū; Paul of Bālū; Yōhannān and Tamraz of Chāmākī; Isaac of Jāmālābād; Shem'ōn of Jenīzā; Aiwaz of Kūsi; Aziyā, son of the priest Elīyā, of Mūshābād; Aiwaz, son of Benjamin, of Nāzi (still alive in 1897); Shem'ōn, son of the priest Mattai, of Pāqaibaiglū-Hachnabat (also still alive in 1897); Murādhān, son of Yatgar, his son Paul, and La'zar, son of Ḥōshābā, of Qārājālū; Paul of Qīzil'āshīq; Israel and 'Abdishō' of Shīrābād; Mārōgin, son of the priest

Yōnān, and Gīwārgīs, son of Badal, of Supūrghān; La'zar, son of the priest Sābā, of Ūlā; Ya'qōb, son of Yōhannān, of Yangjā; Shem'on of Zānālūi; and Aiwaz of Zūmalān. A number of East Syrians from the Anzel district helped with the translation work of the American mission, including the priest Yōhannān of Kūsi (from the early 1830s until his death in 1845), and the deacons Yōnān of 'Ādā (from 1845 until his death in 1880) and Bābā of Kūsi (mentioned in 1886)¹⁹⁹. In 1877 Cutts also mentioned the priest Ḥōshābā of 'Ādā²⁰⁰. Some of the smaller villages did not have their own priests in 1862, and (from their position in the report of 1862) appear to have been cared for by the priests of the larger villages: Haṣār, Qārāgōz, Paqaibajlūi and Bozlu by the priest Paul of Bālū; Samsalūi by the priest Eliyā of Anhar; Ābājālūi, Qārāqīs, and Ikīāghāj by the priests Murādḥān, Paul and La'zar of Qārājālū; Yāghmūralūi by the priest Paul of Qīzil'āshīq; Mār Nūḥā by the priest Benjamin of 'Ābdūlakandi; and Ḥānīshān by the priests Mārōgin and Yōnān of Supūrghān.

The report of 1862 was also signed by several village notables, including David, Binnō, Saggū and La'zar of Anhar, and the *mālik* Yatgar of Anhar, '*mālik* of all the villages in the Nazlū valley'; the deacon Perā, son of Gīwārgīs, and Badal, son of Aṣlan, of 'Ābdūlakandi; Badal, son of Sargīs, 'Ishō', son of Daniel, Khūdū, son of Iryānā, Yatgar, Gīwārgīs, Thomas and Hormizd of 'Ādā; Murād, Shem'on, Bākōs, the pilgrim 'Ishō', Bākōs, Tamraz and Benjamin of 'Armūtāghāj; Joseph, Wardā and Gīwārgīs of Bālū; Badal of Bādīlbū; Thomas, Zay'ā and Joseph of Chāmākī; Joseph, Lagin, Ya'qōb and Binnō of Haṣār-Qārāgōz; Zay'ā, son of Mīnas, and Tarwerdī, son of Alkhas, of Jāmālābād; Shem'on and Bābōnā, son of Yōnān, of Jenīzā; Ablaḥad, Bābā, Wardā, Ūrshān and Gīwārgīs of Kūsi; Gīwārgīs and Thomas of Mār Nūḥā; Wardā, Benjamin, Agassi, 'Ishō', and the deacon 'Ishō', son of the priest Eliyā, of Mūshābād; Wardā, Mār Ābā, Mirzā, Bākōs, Aiwaz, Yatgar, Tamraz and Ḥōshābā of Nāzi; 'Ishō', Hormizd, Wardā and Benjamin of Pāqaibaiglū-Hachnabat; Abbas, son of 'Abdīshō', and Gīwārgīs, son of Yōnān, of Qārājālū; Ūrshān and Yatgar, son of Yaldā, of Qīzil'āshīq; 'Ishō' and Benjamin of Samsalūi; the *nzīrā* Bābā, son of the priest Mārōgin (the future bishop Mār Yōnān), and Bābā, son of Mīnas, of Supūrghān; Badal, Sargīs, Joseph and 'Abdīshō' of Shīrābād; the *mālik* Yatgar and his brother the deacon Bābū, sons of the *mālik* Mūshe, Hormizd, son of the

mālik Alkhas, Badal, son of 'Abdīshō', and Shābā, son of Eliyā, of Yangjā; Yatgar and Benjamin of Yāghmūralūi; Shem'on, Aḥḥā, and Badal of Zānālūi; and Daniel, Ya'qōb, Joseph, son of Shlemūn, Athanasius and Tarwerdī of Zūmalān.

In 1877 Cutts listed thirty-seven East Syrian villages in the Anzel district, containing 1,262 families, with 23 priests and 25 churches. Several villages mentioned in 1862, including the large village of Anhar, are not mentioned. By 1893, according to the Anglican missionaries, Qārājālū had a church of Mār Gīwārgīs, not mentioned in 1862.

Table 38: East Syrian Communities in the Anzel District, 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Ābājālūi	15	0	1	Mūshābād	100	0	1
'Ābdūlakandi	52	1	1	Mūshābād	88	2	1
'Ādā	126	3	2	Nāzi	50	1	1
'Armūtāghāj	33	1	1	Pāqaibaiglū	15	0	0
Bādīlbū	5	0	0	Qārāgōz	31	0	0
Bālū	38	0	1	Qārājālū	80	1	1
Chāmākī	50	1	1	Qārāqīs	10	0	0
Gāwīlan	44	3	1	Qāwālā	18	0	0
Gūrjālūi	6	0	1	Qīzil'āshīq	22	1	1
Haṣār	5	0	0	Qīzlii	8	0	0
Haṣār d' Bābāganjā	4	0	0	Shīrābād	31	2	1
Hūbābqū	1	0	0	Supūrghān	150	1	1
Ikīāghāj	12	0	0	Takālūi	5	0	0
Jāmālābād	15	0	1	Yāghmūralūi	18	0	1
Jenīzā	26	2	2	Yāhūshāpāṭ	5	0	0
Keyīkīlūi	14	0	1	Yangjā	42	1	1
Ḥānīshān	40	0	0	Zānālūi	16	0	1
Kūsi	38	0	1	Zūmalān	44	3	1
Mār Nūḥā	5	0	0	Total	1,262	23	25

The earliest references to villages in the Anzel district are from the colophons of sixteenth-century manuscripts. The priest Paul, of the Jīlū village of Oramar, copied a manuscript in the village of Nāzi in 1563; and the priest Joseph of Nāzi was the scribe of manuscripts of 1589 and 1591²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁹ Murre-van den Berg, 'The Missionaries' Assistants: The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic', *JAAS*, 10, 2 (1996), 3-17.

²⁰⁰ Cutts, *Christians under the Crescent*, 278.

²⁰¹ MSS Ūrmī 2 and 15.

Three seventeenth-century manuscript colophons refer to the Anzel district. A manuscript copied at Āmid by the priest Isaac, son of Gabriel, of Supūrghān, was donated in 1612 to the monastery of Mart Maryam in Jerusalem²⁰². A manuscript of 1698 was copied by the scribe Tamraz of 'Ādā²⁰³. A manuscript was also copied for the church of Mār Šlibā in the village of Aḥasīm in 1683²⁰⁴. A later note mentions that the village had been attacked and that the inhabitants had been forced to sell the manuscript to pay their debts and because no priests or readers remained, and they were unable to maintain their church. The manuscript later belonged to the church of Mār Gīwārgīs in Supūrghān, and Aḥasīm was therefore probably a village in the Anzel district.

A number of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century manuscripts are connected with the Anzel district, including a manuscript of 1712 from Nāzi by the priest Šlibā, 'archdeacon of Salmas'; a manuscript of 1735 from Espen in the Sīwīne district by the priest Īshō' of Gāwīlan; manuscripts of 1801 from Qārājālū and 1803 from Yangtjā by the priest Šlibō, son of Gammō, from the Taimar district; a manuscript of 1837 from Yangtjā by the priest Yōḥannān, son of Gōlū, nephew of the deacon Sābā, nephew of the deacon Shem'ōn; a manuscript of 1846 by the deacon Īshō' of 'Ādā; and a manuscript of 1850 from Anhar by the priest Shem'ōn, son of Mattā, of the Derrenāye village of Ayyel (perhaps to be identified with the priest of the same name of Pāqaibaiglū recorded in 1862)²⁰⁵.

Several scribes from the Anzel district flourished in the decades before the First World War, including the priest Gīwārgīs of Qārājālū, scribe of a manuscript of 1877; the priest La'zar of Qārājālū, who copied a manuscript in Rome in 1886; the scribe Joseph, son of the priest Tamraz, of Chāmākī, who restored a manuscript in 1887 in Supūrghān; and the scribe Pākō, son of Bābū, son of Amrīs, of 'Ādā, scribe of a manuscript of 1898²⁰⁶. The priest Gīwārgīs of Qārājālū, also responsible for the village of Ābājālū, was also mentioned by one of sisters of the Anglican mission in 1891, as 'a rich pleasant man, who has evidently had some connection with the French'²⁰⁷.

²⁰² MS Jerusalem Syr 17.

²⁰³ MS Ūrmī 77.

²⁰⁴ MS Karam 1547.

²⁰⁵ MSS Berlin Syr 45 and 51, CUA Hyvernat Syr 2, Ūrmī 143 and 227, Leningrad Syr 64, and Cambridge Add. 2035.

²⁰⁶ MSS Ūrmī 46 and 59, Karam 1547, and Harvard Syr 80.

²⁰⁷ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 157.

The Baranduz District

The total number of villages with East Syrian communities in the Baranduz district in the nineteenth century may have been about seventy. Forty-nine villages were listed in 1862 by Sophoniah, and sixty-five villages in 1877 by Cutts. A survey of villages in the Ūrmī region conducted in 1914 by the priest Mirzā Benjamin Kaldāni (who visited them personally) mentioned four villages absent from the earlier lists: the large villages of Ali Kōme (50 families), Alwach (92 families with a church, also mentioned by the Anglican missionaries in 1893), and Rayhānābād (79 families); and the small village of Baranduz (20 families)²⁰⁸. Several more villages probably appear in Nikitine's list, but it is difficult to be sure how many.

Nikitine mentioned sixty villages in the Baranduz district just before the First World War. Many of them can be confidently identified with villages mentioned in the earlier lists, but at least one identifiable village (Shemlikan; a few miles to the south-west of Ūrmī) is not mentioned either by Sophoniah or Cutts. About a third of the villages listed by Nikitine are not marked on the readily-available maps of the Ūrmī region and cannot easily be identified with the remaining villages in the 1862 and 1877 lists. Some of them might, like Shemlikan, have been small villages overlooked by the priests who compiled the statistics, while others (bearing in mind that some villages may have had different Syriac, Turkish and Persian names) were probably included in the statistics under another name. According to Nikitine's list the largest villages in the district (Ardishai, Chahārbāsh, Gūgtāpāh, Gūlpāshān, and Rayhānābād) and one or two smaller villages (Chahārgūshi, Dīzā d' Āghā 'Ālī, Sangar, and Shimshājeyan) were entirely Christian, while most of the medium-sized villages ('Ālyābād, Bābārūd, Bālānōsh, Darbarūd, Dīzā, Mūrād'ālūi, Qārāghāj, Qārāsanlūi, and Sārālan) and small villages (Chichaqlūi, Īlāzlūi, Qārālārī, Qūrtāpāh, Sā'ātlūi, Sīre, Takā, Tarmāni, and Tasmālūi) had mixed populations of Moslems and Christians. Dīgālā and Dīzātākā were the only large villages with a mixed population.

In 1862 Sophoniah listed forty-nine East Syrian villages in the Baranduz district and two parishes (Jūlpāt 'Ālīhān and Mart Maryam) in the city of Ūrmī, containing 2,153 families, with 16 priests and 20 churches.

²⁰⁸ Benyamin, 'Assyrians Residing in Urmia, Salamas, Targawar and Anzal in 1914 and 1942', *Nineveh*, 16, 3 (1993), 28-9.

Table 39: East Syrian Communities in the Baranduz District, 1862

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Ālqāye	40	2	Mār Addaī	Ĥedrābād	30	0	
Anhar	40	0		Ĥürmābād	20	0	
Ardishai	183	0	Mār Ĥnānyā	Mart Maryam	103	1	
			Mār Shallīṭā	Mūrāshkārī	15	0	
			Mart Maryam	Mūrād'alūi	20	0	
			Malakā Gabriel	Nāzārābād	20	0	
Bādālābād	20	0		Noyli	5	0	
Bābārūd	60	0		Patōlā	12	0	
Chahārgūshi	30	0	Mār 'Abdīshō'	Qārāghāj	43	0	Beni Shmūni
Chāhārbāhsh	105	2	Mār Quriāqōs	Qārālāri	40	0	
			Mart Maryam	Qūrtāpāh	12	0	
Chichaqlūi	12	1	Mār Gīwārgīs	Sā'atlūi-'Ālyābād	70	1	Mār Ĥnānyā
Dagbagi	15	0		Sangar	40	0	
Darbarūd	20	0		Sarībajlūi	10	0	
Dizā	30	0		Sārālan	35	0	
Dizā	30	0		Sārījūq	20	0	
Dizā-Wazīrābād	50	1	Mār Gīwārgīs	Sarochoq	15	0	
Dīdān	10	0		Shīnābād	30	0	
Dīgālā	205	1	Mart Maryam	Shimshājeyan	30	0	Beni Shmūni
Dizātākā	110	1	Mār Shallīṭā	Shōqūr	15	0	
Gūgtāpāh	200	1	Mār Zay'ā	Takālūi	10	0	
Jūlpat 'Ālīḥān	40	1	Mart Maryam	Takā	31	0	Mār Sabrīshō'
Gūlpāshān	160	2	Mart Maryam	Tarmāni	10	0	
Haṣār	20	0		Tūtrāsh	20	1	
Haṣār-Bezbagi, Sire	30	1	Mār Sargīs	Zīwik	20	0	
Iryāwā	55	0					
Ĥatailū	12	0		Total	2,153	16	20

The district's priests in 1862 were Shallīṭā, son of the priest Ismā'il, and Bābā of Ālqāye; Eliyā and Sargīs of Chāhārbāhsh; Mirzā of Chahārgūshi; Mikhā'il of Chichaqlūi; Mikhā'il of Dīgālā (who converted to Russian Orthodoxy in 1859); Sargīs of Dizā-Wazīrābād; Sāhdā, son of the priest Shem'on, of Dizātākā; Shem'on of Gūgtāpāh; 'Abdīshō' and Yatgar of Gūlpāshān; Sulaimān of Jūlpat 'Ālīḥān; La'zar of Mart Maryam; Shem'on of Sā'atlūi-'Ālyābād; and Ḥosrō of Sire. Several East

Syrians from the Baranduz district helped with the work of the American mission, including the priests Abraham of Gūgtāpāh (from 1831 until his death in 1871) and Joseph of Wazīrābād (mentioned in 1886), and the deacon Joseph of Dīgālā (from 1843 until his death in 1864)²⁰⁹. In 1893 the Anglican mission mentioned the priests Ablahad of Ardishai, Benjamin of Chāhārbāhsh, Bābilā of Gūlpāshān, and Gabriel of Mār Sargīs (a brother of the bishop Sabrīshō' of Gāwār).

As in the Anzel district, some of the smaller villages did not have their own priests in 1862, and (from their position in the report of 1862) appear to have been cared for either by the bishop Mār Gabriel or the priests of the larger villages: Anhar, Sangar, Dizā, Bādālābād, Patōlā, Takā, Takālūi, Sarībajlūi, Nāzārābād, Shīnābād and Qūrtāpāh by the bishop Mār Gabriel of Ardishai; Qārālāri, Mūrāshkārī, Bābārūd, Darbarūd, Ĥedrābād, Zīwik, and Mūrād'alūi by the priests Shallīṭā and Bābā of Ālqāye; Haṣār-Bezbagi by the priest Eliyā of Chāhārbāhsh; Tarmāni by the priests 'Abdīshō' and Yatgar of Gūlpāshān; Haṣār, Sārījūq, Tūtrāsh, Sarochoq, Shimshājeyan, Sārālan, Dīdān and Ĥatailū by the priest Mirzā of Chahārgūshi; Ĥürmābād, Noyli and Shōqūr by the priest Shem'on of Sā'atlūi-'Ālyābād; and Dagbagi by the priest La'zar of the Ūrmī parish of Mart Maryam. Most of these small villages are not marked on any surviving map of the Ūrmī region, but must have been within a few miles of the larger villages whose priests served their congregations.

The report of 1862 was also signed by several village notables, including the visitor Yōhannān and Binnō of Chāhārbāhsh; Manṣūr and Thomas of Chichaqlūi; Binnō and Joseph of Dagbagi; Wardā, Aiwarz, Perā, Ḥōshābō, Benjamin, and Ya'qōb of Dīgālā; Sulaimān, Bābā, Yōhannān and Zay'ā, son of Badal, of Dizā-Wazīrābād; Gawrā and Yatgar of Dizātākā; Badal, Ya'qōb and Mārōgil of Gūgtāpāh; Shem'on, son of Kinnō, and Mūshe, son of Yāqō, of Gūlpāshān; Badal and Aiwarz of Iryāwā; Gīwārgīs and Badal of Jūlpat 'Ālīḥān; the deacon Badal, Yatgar and Khūdā, son of Maqdasi, of Mart Maryam; Badal and Yōhannān of Qārāghāj; Alaverdi, Hormizd, and Karīm, son of Abbas, of Shimshājeyan; and Yatgar of Takālūi.

In 1877 Cutts listed sixty-five East Syrian villages in the Baranduz district (including Ikīwailāri and several other large villages not mentioned in 1862), containing 2,544 families, with 27 priests and 34 churches.

²⁰⁹ Murre-van den Berg, 'The Missionaries' Assistants: The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic', *JAAS*, 10, 2 (1996), 3-17.

Table 40: East Syrian Communities in the Baranduz District, 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Ālqāye	32	2	2	Mamartāyartūlā	9	0	0
ʿĀlyābād (i)	22	0	1	Mār Sargīs	11	0	1
ʿĀlyābād (ii)	34	1	2	Mūrāshkārī	13	0	0
Ardishai	160	2	5	Mūrādʿālūi (i)	30	0	0
Bādālābād	12	0	0	Mūrādʿālūi (ii)	1	0	1
Baitlāre	9	0	0	Nāzārābād	7	0	0
Bālānōsh	37	0	0	Qārāghāj	30	1	1
Bābārūd	115	0	0	Qārālārī	21	0	0
Bardeki	3	0	0	Qārāsanlūi	24	0	0
Bezwāge	10	0	0	Qūlārāhwi	6	0	0
Būrāshān	14	0	0	Qūrtāpāh	20	0	1
Būrhānlūi	13	0	0	Sangar	38	0	0
Chahārgūshi	42	1	1	Sansālūi	13	0	0
Chāhārbaḥsh	108	5	2	Sārālan	35	0	0
Darbarūd	50	0	0	Sārdārūd	30	0	0
Dīdān	11	0	0	Sarībajlūi	11	0	0
Dīgāl (i)	70	1	1	Sārījūq	10	0	1
Dīgālā (ii)	154	1	1	Sāʿātlūi	44	0	1
Dīzā dʿĀghā ʿĀlī	30	1	1	Shaiṭānābād	20	0	1
Dīzār	18	0	0	Shimshājeyan	38	0	1
Dīzatakā	154	1	2	Sīger (i)	18	0	0
Gūgtāpāh	190	4	1	Sīger (ii)	29	0	0
Jūlpat ʿĀlīḥān	60	0	0	Sīre	27	1	0
Gūlpāshān	160	1	2	Takā	90	3	2
Haṣār (i)	18	0	0	Takālūi	20	0	0
Haṣār (ii)	13	0	0	Tarmāni	18	0	1
Ikīwailārī	100	0	0	Tasmālūi	18	0	0
Īlāzlūi	3	0	0	Tāzākand	7	0	0
Iryāwā	100	1	1	Tūpzābād	7	0	0
Ḥedrābād (i)	11	0	0	Tūtrāsh	13	1	0
Ḥedrābād (ii)	18	0	0	Wazīrābād	54	0	1
Ḥūrmābād	30	0	0	Zīwik	16	0	0
Kūlyā	15	0	0	Total	2,544	27	34

Ūrmī

Despite the proliferation of foreign missions in Ūrmī around the end of the nineteenth century, the town, which had a population of about 40,000, had only a modest East Syrian community.

An East Syrian presence in Ūrmī is first attested in the twelfth century, when the town was the seat of a bishop, and a manuscript was copied in Ūrmī in 1243²¹⁰. In 1284 the patriarch Yahballāhā III visited the church of Mart Maryam in Ūrmī, where he is said to have had foreseen in a vision the death of the il-khan Aḥmad²¹¹.

During the second half of the nineteenth century a large number of manuscripts were copied at Ūrmī by East Syrian scribes employed by the American mission, many of whom came from the Thūmā village of Mazrāʿā or the Baranduz village of Dīgālā. The scribes concerned were the priest Ōshʿanā Sarau of Mazrāʿā, who copied five manuscripts between 1851 and 1889; the deacon Shlemūn of Mazrāʿā, scribe of a manuscript of 1857; Isaac of Dīgālā, scribe of a manuscript of 1878; David of Dīgālā, scribe of a manuscript of 1885; Abshalom of Dīgālā, scribe of a manuscript of 1885; Samuel of Mazrāʿā, who copied six manuscripts between 1886 and 1891; David of ʿĀlyābād, scribe of a manuscript of 1886; Sargīs of Gūgtāpāh, scribe of two manuscripts of 1887 and 1892; Yōhannān, son of Talyā, of Mazrāʿā, who copied seven manuscripts between 1888 and 1894; the deacon Rūbil of Anhar, scribe of two manuscripts of 1888 and 1896; the deacon Yaʿqōb Sarau, of Mazrāʿā, scribe of a manuscript of 1889; Theodore ʿof Bohtānʿ, who copied three manuscripts in 1890 and 1891; Samuel of Dīgālā, scribe of a manuscript of 1892; and the scribe Wardā, who copied a manuscript in 1893²¹².

Several other scribes were also active at this period. The scribe Abiqam, son of Sabrō, of Mār Behīshōʿ copied a number of manuscripts at Ūrmī and elsewhere between 1894 and 1897, mostly for David Jenks²¹³. The scribe David, son of ʿAbdīshōʿ, copied two manuscripts in 1896²¹⁴. The deacon Augustine, son of the deacon Joseph, of the family

²¹⁰ MS Leningrad Syr 22.

²¹¹ *History of Rabban Šawmā and Marqos*, 162.

²¹² MSS Ūrmī 11, 24, 35, 38, 71, 106, 108, 112, 114, 117, 120-21, 125-6, 141, 147, 185-6, 191, 196, 211, 214-5, 218-9, 224-5, 228, 229-30, New York UTS Syr 21, and Paris BN Syr 339.

²¹³ MSS Cambridge Or. 1303, 1307-8, 1311, and 1314, and Cambridge (Pembroke College Library) 311.

²¹⁴ MSS Cambridge Or. 1305 and 1310.

of the priest Thomas, of Khōrsābad (apparently a village in the Ūrmī region, to be distinguished from the Salmas village of Khosrōwā), copied a number of manuscripts at Ūrmī between 1897 and 1911²¹⁵.

Villages in the Baranduz District

While the town of Ūrmī is mentioned as early as the twelfth century, the earliest references to East Syrian villages in the Baranduz district are from manuscript colophons no earlier than the sixteenth century. The small number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts from the district include manuscripts of 1594 and 1598 from Ālqāye by the deacon Ḥnānīshō' of Shāpāt; a manuscript of 1600 from the church of Mār Quriāqōs 'in the region of Dūre' by the priest Hormizd, son of the priest Yaldā, whose colophon mentions the patriarch Eliyā and the bishop Joseph of Ūrmī; and a manuscript of 1686 begun in Mawānā and completed in Gūgtāpāh by the priest Shamsō of Mawānā²¹⁶.

Rather more manuscripts have survived from the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, including a manuscript of 1727/8 from Alqōsh for the deacon Kīyyā from the village of Hawasan, probably in the Ūrmī region; a manuscript of 1746 from Beṭ Daiwe for the church of Mār 'Abdīshō' in Gūlpāshān; manuscripts of 1778 and 1785 from Takā by the scribe Īshō'; manuscripts of 1794 and 1826 by the priest Hormizd of Dīgālā; and a manuscript of 1813 from Shībāni commissioned by a certain Ḥnānīshō' of Gūlpāshān, for a woman named Daris Sargīs; and a manuscript of 1846 by the scribes Mūshe of Gūgtāpāh²¹⁷. Two manuscripts were copied in 1834 and 1855 in Gūgtāpāh and Khūdā of Mart Maryans and a third in 1851 in Sīre by the deacon Aşlan, son of Mukhtas, of the Yōnān family of Gūgtāpāh, helped in 1851 by the priest Yōnān, son of Tamraz²¹⁸.

After the establishment of the American mission in the Ūrmī region a number of local scribes were attracted to work for the mission in Ūrmī. The various missions in the region also stimulated scribal activity in some of the Baranduz villages, and a considerable number of manuscripts were copied in the decades before the First World War, particularly in the villages of Sīre and Gūgtāpāh. A manuscript was copied in 1871 in

²¹⁵ MSS Assfalg Syr 11-14 and 97.

²¹⁶ MSS Ūrmī 14, Trichur Syr 25, Mosul (Scher) 40, and Cambridge Add. 2045.

²¹⁷ MSS Leningrad Syr 51, Berlin Syr 76, Ūrmī 76, 89, 158, 161, and 227, and Athens Syr 1805.

²¹⁸ MSS Berlin Syr 41 and 62, and Assfalg Syr 61.

Chāhārbaḥsh by an unknown scribe²¹⁹. Seven manuscripts were copied in Sīre and one in Ḥaydarlūi between 1881 and 1899 by the priest David, son of the deacon Ya'qōb, of the Tergāwār village of 'Anbi²²⁰. Two manuscripts were copied in 1885 in Gūgtāpāh by the scribe Yōḥannān, son of Badal²²¹. Eight manuscripts were copied between 1885 and 1891 by the scribe Isha'yā, son of the chief Yōnān, of Gūgtāpāh²²². A manuscript was copied in 1893 in the Anglican school in Sīre by the scribe Shem'ōn, son of the deacon Yōḥannān, of Mār Behīshō'²²³. A manuscript was copied in Sīre in 1895 by the deacon Gīwārgīs of Qūrtāpāh²²⁴. Two manuscripts were copied in 1896 and 1897 by the scribe Thomas Qellaitā of Mār Behīshō', the first in Sīre and the second in Ardīshai²²⁵. The colophons of two of these manuscripts mention churches of Mār Gīwārgīs in Qūrtāpāh and Mār Sabrīshō' in Ardīshai in the 1890s. Neither church is mentioned in the 1862 statistics, and the second reference was probably to the church of Mār Sabrīshō' in Takā. The priest Yōḥannān Pashā of Dīgālā copied a number of manuscripts in Berlin in 1907²²⁶.

The Sulduz District

The Sulduz plain lay to the south-east of the Baranduz river. Whereas the Moslem population of the Salmas and Ūrmī plains consisted mainly of Turkish-speaking, Shi'ite Azeris, the Sulduz plain was dominated by Sunni Kurds, who had here managed to gain a foothold in the coastal plain east of the mountains. Besides the Kurds there was also a community of Shi'ite Karapapak Turks, transplanted from Georgia by the Persian government after the disastrous series of wars against the Russians at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The East Syrian settlements in the Sulduz plain are less well documented than in other districts of the Ūrmī region. Eshnūq was the seat of a bishop in 1281, who was present at the consecration of the patriarch Yahballāhā III. Sulduz and Eshnūq are mentioned as East Syrian centres

²¹⁹ MS Berlin Syr 54.

²²⁰ MSS Ūrmī 111, 138, 152, 222, and 231, Teheran Issayi 1 and 4, and Harvard Syr (Titterton) 4023.

²²¹ MSS Cambridge Or 1301 and Ūrmī 37.

²²² MSS Ūrmī 47, 122, 140, 149, 160, and 193 and BL Or 4401 and 9394 (part).

²²³ MS Manchester JRL Syr 51.

²²⁴ MS Manchester JRL Syr 26.

²²⁵ MSS Mingana Syr 538.

²²⁶ MSS Assfalg Syr 98-100.

in 'Abdīshō' IV's letter of 1562; the report of 1607 mentions a 'monastery' of Mār Abraham of Eshnūq; and Sulduz was claimed in 1653 by the patriarch Shem'ōn XI Īshō'yahb. Denis de le Couronne d'Épines mentioned that there were 'five or six Nestorian villages' in the Sulduz district in the middle of the seventeenth century²²⁷.

Thereafter further information is not available until the nineteenth century. Only nine 'Nestorian' families remained around Eshnūq in 1838, according to Rawlinson, who also mentioned that the village of Sirgan to its west was a popular place of pilgrimage for the East Syrians. Ainsworth mentioned the East Syrian village of Chām just to the north of Eshnūq in 1841²²⁸. Justin Perkins wrote of Sulduz in 1849 as a district from which East Syrian Christianity was on the verge of disappearing, and mentioned only the village of Dārālīk near Sauj Bulak, which had a population of Armenians and 'Nestorians'. According to the archimandrite Sophoniah, 200 East Syrian families lived in the Sulduz district in 1862, plus a further 30 families in Dārālīk, which he listed separately. Their priest, Wardā, was from the village of Chiyānā, and they had a church of Mār Gawrā, probably in the same village. The report of the Anglican mission in 1893 mentions 'the few small Syrian villages lying in the plain of Sulduz', and there was then an Anglican school in the Sulduz village of Gol²²⁹. According to Curzon, there were about 3,000 'Nestorians' and Chaldeans in the Sulduz district towards the end of the nineteenth century, who mostly lived in the Gader valley in the north-west part of the plain, around Nāqādā and Eshnūq, with a small outlying community around the caravan town of Sauj Bulak in the territory of the Mokri Kurds. In 1912 Renault mentioned the mixed Kurdish and 'Nestorian' village of Māmityār, slightly to the north-west of Sauj Bulak.

The only detailed statistical information available on the Sulduz district was provided by Cutts in 1877, who listed 24 villages in the Eshnūq and Sulduz districts, inhabited by 323 families, as part of the diocese of Ardishai. The information given in this statistic is in line with the estimates made by Sophoniah and Curzon. Nāqādā, Māmityār, Chiyānā and Dārālīk were the largest villages in the district, and there was only a small East Syrian community in Eshnūq itself.

²²⁷ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 52.

²²⁸ Ainsworth, *Visit to the Chaldeans*, 62.

²²⁹ Coakley, 'A List of Assyrian Villages in Persia, August 1893', *JAAS*, 7, 2 (1993), 46.

Table 41: East Syrian Communities in the Eshnūq and Sulduz Districts, 1877

Name	Families	Priests	Churches	Name	Families	Priests	Churches
Ājāpshīr	5	0	0	Nāqādā	50	1	1
Ālmālīk	5	0	0	Qūrnābād	15	0	0
Bāim Qa'īlā	10	0	0	Qūrnābālgūzli	8	0	0
Bārānī	12	0	0	Qūzūlqūbi	8	0	0
Chiyānā	25	1	1	Rāktānā	12	0	0
Chūpūl	8	0	0	Sanjābālū	10	0	0
Dilmār	2	0	0	Tāpā	10	0	0
Dārālīk	30	0	1	Ṭūpūzābād	6	0	0
Dūchail	8	0	0	Ūchwār	23	0	1
Dūrgā	8	0	0	Ūrgāzāyābād	4	0	0
Hasān Ālōwi	8	0	0	Eshnūq	10	0	1
Kārwansār	6	0	0				
Māmityār	40	0	1	Total	323	2	6

Only one manuscript has survived from the Sulduz district. The Taimar scribe Šlībō, son of Gammō, copied a manuscript in 1770 for 'Īsā and his wife Šanam, of the Sulduz village of Dārālīk²³⁰.

²³⁰ MS Berlin Syr 107.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CHURCH OF THE EAST, 1318-1913:
STRUCTURE AND SIZE

(I) INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters the available evidence for the ecclesiastical organisation of the Church of the East in its heartland between 1318 and 1913 has been discussed region by region. In this concluding chapter the overall structure of the Church of the East is discussed, with brief reference where appropriate to developments in the 'exterior provinces' beyond its heartland. The chapter also considers a number of other topics, including the patriarchal succession, the institution of hereditary succession in both the patriarchate and the episcopate, the population of the Church of the East at different periods, and the quality of its clergy. It also attempts to compare the resources and influence of the Mosul, Qūdshānīs and Āmid patriarchates at different periods.

(II) THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE EAST,
1318-1552

Between the fifth and fourteenth centuries the East Syrian church probably had more than a hundred dioceses at any one time, organised into over twenty metropolitan provinces, each of which contained six to twelve suffragan dioceses. At the end of the ninth century, according to a list given by the metropolitan Elīyā of Damascus, the church was organised into a province of the patriarch, consisting of a number of dioceses in the Beṭ Aramāye region south of Baghdad, five important 'interior' provinces whose metropolitans formed the electoral college ('Īlām, Nisibis, Adiabene [Mosul and Erbil], Maishān, and Beṭ Garmāi), and rather more 'exterior' provinces extending eastwards through Persia and Central Asia to India and China and westwards to Palestine, Egypt and Cilicia¹.

¹ Assemani, *BO*, ii. 458-9.

At the end of the thirteenth century the Church of the East still extended across Asia to China. Two surviving thirteenth-century manuscripts, one copied in 1276 by a monk named Gīwārgīs in the monastery of Mār Yōnān on the Euphrates, near the town of Anbār, and the other a magnificently-ornamented manuscript of the Gospels copied in 1298 by the priest and monk Paul for the princess Sarah of the Christian Ōngut tribe in northern China, are an eloquent reminder of the horizons of the Church of the East at this period². Twenty-two bishops were present at the consecration of the patriarch Yahballāhā III in 1281, and while most of them were from the dioceses of northern Mesopotamia, the metropolitans of Jerusalem, 'Īlām, and Tangūt (north-west China), and the bishops of Susa and the island of Soqōṭrā were also present³. The metropolitan Shem'ōn Bar Qalīj of Tangūt was detained by the patriarch Denḥā I shortly before his death in 1281 'together with a number of his bishops', implying that the remote province of Tangūt had several dioceses⁴. Yahballāhā was consecrated metropolitan of 'Kaṭai and Ōng' (northern China) shortly before his election, and he and Rabban Ṣawmā were offered hospitality by an unnamed bishop of Ṭūs in north-eastern Persia during their journey from China in 1279⁵. India had a metropolitan named Ya'qōb at the beginning of the fourteenth century, mentioned together with the patriarch Yahballāhā III (called 'the fifth, the Turk') in a colophon of 1301⁶. In the 1320s Yahballāhā's biographer praised the achievement of the Church of the East in converting the Indians, Chinese and Turks without suggesting that it was under threat⁷. In 1348 'Amr listed twenty-seven metropolitan provinces stretching from Jerusalem to China, and although his list may be anachronistic in several respects, he was surely accurate in portraying a church whose horizons still stretched far beyond Kurdistan⁸. Although some dioceses lapsed and others were created during this millennium, the provincial structure of the church in 1348 was much the same as it was in 400, and many of the fourteenth-century dioceses had existed, though perhaps under a different name, nine hundred years earlier.

² MSS Harvard Syr (Titterton) 7 and Vat Syr 622.

³ Assemani, *BO*, ii. 456.

⁴ Bar Hebraeus, *Ecclesiastical Chronicle*, ii. 450.

⁵ *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 139-40, and 148.

⁶ MS Vat Syr 22.

⁷ *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 122-3.

⁸ Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, ii. 72-3.

During the same period, however, there were significant changes which were only partially reflected in the organisational structure of the church. Between the seventh and fourteenth centuries Christianity gradually disappeared in Arabia, Fārs, southern and central Iraq (the ecclesiastical provinces of Maishān, Beṭ Aramāye and Beṭ Garmāi), and central and eastern Persia. There were at least five dioceses in northern Arabia in the seventh century and nine in Fārs at the end of the ninth century, only one of which (the isolated island of Soqōṭrā) survived into the fourteenth century⁹. There were twelve dioceses in the patriarchal province of Beṭ Aramāye at the beginning of the eleventh century, only three of which (Beṭ Wāzīq, Beṭ Dārōn, and Ṭirhān, all well to the north of Baghdad) survived into the fourteenth century¹⁰. There were four dioceses in Maishān (the Basra region) at the end of the ninth century, only one of which (the metropolitan diocese of Prāt d'Maishān) survived into the thirteenth century, to be mentioned for the last time in 1222¹¹. There were at least nine dioceses in the province of Beṭ Garmāi in the seventh century, only one of which (the metropolitan diocese of Dāqūqā) survived into the fourteenth century¹². There were perhaps twenty East Syrian dioceses in central and eastern Persia (Media, Ṭabaristān, Khorāsān and Segestān) at the end of the ninth century, only one of which (Ṭūs in Khorāsān) survived into the thirteenth century, to be mentioned for the last time in 1279¹³. The disappearance of these dioceses was a slow and apparently peaceful process (which can be traced in some detail in Beṭ Aramāye, where dioceses were repeatedly amalgamated over a period of two centuries), and it is probable that the consolidation of Islam in these districts was accompanied by a gradual migration of East Syrian Christians to northern Iraq, whose Christian population was larger and more deeply rooted, not only in the towns but in hundreds of long-established Christian villages.

By the end of the thirteenth century the districts of northern Mesopotamia covered in this study were clearly regarded as the heartland of the Church of the East. When the monks Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos (the future patriarch Yahballāhā III) arrived in Mesopotamia from China in the late 1270s, they visited several East Syrian monasteries and churches:

⁹ Fiey, *Communautés syriaques*, 177-219.

¹⁰ Fiey, *AC*, iii. 151-262.

¹¹ Fiey, *AC*, iii. 272-82.

¹² Fiey, *AC*, iii. 54-146.

¹³ Fiey, *Communautés syriaques*, 75-104 and 357-84.

They arrived in Baghdad, and from there they went to the great church of Kōkhe, and to the monastery of Mār Mārī the apostle, and received a blessing from the relics of that country. And from there they turned back and came to the country of Beṭ Garmāi, and they received blessings from the shrine of Mār Ezekiel, which was full of helps and healings. And from there they went to Erbil, and from there to Mosul. And they went to Sinjār, and Nisibis, and Mardīn, and were blessed by the shrine containing the bones of Mār Awgin, the second Christ. And from there they went to Gāzartā d'Beṭ Zabdaī, and they were blessed by all the shrines and monasteries, and the religious houses, and the monks, and the fathers in their dioceses¹⁴.

With the exception of the patriarchal church of Kōkhe in Baghdad and the nearby monastery of Mār Mārī, all these sites were well to the north of Baghdad, in the districts of northern Mesopotamia where East Syrian Christians could still be found in the sixteenth century. A similar pattern is evident several years later. Eleven bishops were present at the consecration of the patriarch Timothy II in 1318: the metropolitans Joseph of 'Īlām, 'Abdīshō' of Nisibis, and Shem'ōn of Mosul; and the bishops Shem'ōn of Beṭ Garmāi, Shem'ōn of Ṭirhān, Shem'ōn of Balad, Yōhannān of Beṭ Wāzīq, Yōhannān of Sinjār, 'Abdīshō' of Ḥnītā, Isaac of Beṭ Dārōn, and Īshō'yahb of Tellā and Barbellī. Timothy himself had been metropolitan of Erbil before his election as patriarch. Again, with the exception of 'Īlām (whose metropolitan, Joseph, was present in his capacity of *nāṭar kursyā*) all the dioceses represented were in northern Mesopotamia.

The exterior provinces of the Church of the East, with the important exception of India, collapsed during the second half of the fourteenth century. Although little is known of the circumstances of the demise of the East Syrian dioceses in Central Asia (which may never have fully recovered from the destruction caused by the Mongols a century earlier), it may have been due to a combination of persecution, disease, and isolation. Several contemporaries, including the papal envoy John of Marignolli, mention the murder of the Latin bishop Richard and six of his companions in 1339 or 1340 by a Moslem mob in Almaliq, the chief city of Tangūt, and the forcible conversion of the city's Christians to Islam¹⁵. The last tombstones in two East Syrian cemeteries discovered in Mongolia around the end of the nineteenth century date from 1342, and several commemorate deaths during a plague in 1338¹⁶. In China, the last

¹⁴ *History of Rabban Ṣawmā and Marqos*, 142-3.

¹⁵ Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, iii. 31-3, and 212.

¹⁶ Nau, 'Les pierres tombales nestoriennes du Musée Guimet', *ROC*, 18 (1913), 3-35.

references to East Syrian and Latin Christians date from the 1350s, and it is likely that all foreign Christians were expelled from China soon after the revolution of 1368, which replaced the Mongol Yüan dynasty with the xenophobic Ming dynasty¹⁷. The collapse of East Syrian Christianity in Asia was probably so complete because it had always been the custom of the Church of the East to send out bishops from Mesopotamia to the dioceses of the 'exterior provinces'. In the chaos which followed Abū Sa'īd's death in 1335 it may have been unable to send out fresh bishops to Central Asia, and without leaders of their own, the absorption of these communities by Islam was inevitable.

It is possible that several East Syrian dioceses in Iraq were destroyed during the savage campaigns of Timur Leng in western Asia between 1380 and 1405. The city of Tagrūt in the Ṭirhān district was sacked by Timur, ending its importance as the residence of the West Syrian maphrians, and the neighbouring East Syrian communities in Beṭ Garmaī and Adiabene may have been treated in a similar fashion¹⁸. In the absence of a better context the disappearance of the traditional East Syrian dioceses of Beṭ Wāzīq, Beṭ Dārōn, Ṭirhān, and Dāqūqā, all of which had bishops earlier in the fourteenth century, may have been a result of Timur's campaigns. In 'Īlām the metropolitan diocese of Jundishapur (last mentioned in 1318) and the dioceses of Susa and Shūshter (last mentioned towards the end of the thirteenth century) may also have come to an end at this period.

By contrast, East Syrian Christianity continued to flourish in northern Mesopotamia. Although East Syrian communities disappeared from several villages in the Nisibis and Mosul regions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, patterns of settlement seem generally to have persisted without radical disturbance. Although insufficient information has survived to be certain, the evidence discussed in previous chapters suggests that there may have been a continuous succession of bishops in the dioceses of Nisibis, Mosul, and Erbil, and perhaps also those of Ḥesnā d'Kīfā, Gāzartā, Salmas and Ūrmī. Timur's campaigns may have stimulated a migration of East Syrian Christians from the plains into the hills of the Seert, Hakkārī and Berwārī regions, as a new diocese was created in the fifteenth century for Ātel and Bohtān, and probably also for Berwārī. By the middle of the fifteenth century there was also a diocese for the East Syrian merchant community in Cyprus, whose bishop Timothy became a Catholic in 1445¹⁹.

¹⁷ Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550*, 216-40.

¹⁸ Fiey, *Communautés syriaques*, 289-342.

¹⁹ Fiey, *POCN*, 71.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the East Syrian communities in India were all that survived of the Church of the East's exterior provinces, though the names of the old provinces of Armenia, Arzun, Jerusalem and China (Beṭ Šināye) persisted or were later revived in the titles of the metropolitans of Nisibis, Ḥesnā d'Kīfā, Āmid, and India respectively. In the west there were small East Syrian communities in Jerusalem, Aleppo, and Cyprus, but without bishops. Small communities could still be found in the Erbil, Kirkūk and Tabrīz regions, but the main strength of the church was confined to northern Mesopotamia, in the districts which had earlier comprised the metropolitan provinces of Nisibis and Mosul. The traditional dioceses of Beṭ Nūhadrā, Beṭ Bgāsh, Margā (Tellā and Barbellī), Ḥnītā, and Salāh in the province of Mosul, and Balad and Ṭamānōn in the province of Nisibis, ceased to exist at an unknown date during this period, even though there remained significant East Syrian communities in these districts.

The disappearance of so many old dioceses was probably a consequence of the introduction of hereditary succession in the middle of the fifteenth century by the patriarch Shem'ōn IV, which eventually resulted in a shortage of bishops in the Church of the East. Although five bishops were consecrated for the remote East Syrian communities in India around the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Mesopotamian dioceses seem to have been reserved for members of the patriarchal family. The patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb (1539-1558) is said to have entrusted the administration of some vacant dioceses to laymen, and to have consecrated as metropolitans two nephews aged twelve and fifteen respectively, presumably because no older relatives were available. In 1552 the Church of the East had only three bishops, for Salmas, Erbil, and Aḍārbaigān, who all supported Sulāqā's election.

The patriarchal succession between 1318 and 1552, in contrast to earlier centuries, cannot be satisfactorily determined. The conventional lists of its patriarchs given by Fiey and others rest on very dubious evidence, and the few known facts are set out here. The patriarch Yabballāhā III died in November 1317, probably on Saturday 12 November²⁰. His successor Timothy II, according to the acts of his synod, was consecrated in February 1318. He was still alive in 1328, but probably died two or three years later, to be succeeded after an uncertain interval by Denḥā II in 1336/7, who himself died in 1381/2²¹. Denḥā II is conventionally believed to have been suc-

²⁰ *History of Rabban Šawmā and Marqos*, 305-6; Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, ii. 97 and 99; and Moule, *Christians in China Before the Year 1550*, 126-7.

²¹ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 70, Jerusalem Syr 10, and Mingana Syr 561 (folio 43a).

ceeded by the patriarchs Shem'ōn II, Shem'ōn III, and Eliyā IV, but a fifteenth-century list of patriarchs mentions only a single patriarch named Shem'ōn between Denhā II and Eliyā IV, and is probably to be preferred²². Eliyā IV was succeeded by Shem'ōn IV at an unknown date in the first half of the fifteenth century. Eliyā's death has conventionally been placed in 1437 but must have been earlier, as a patriarch named Shem'ōn is mentioned in a colophon of 1429/30²³. Shem'ōn IV died on 20 February 1497 and was buried in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd²⁴. He was succeeded by two short-reigned patriarchs: Shem'ōn V, first mentioned in a colophon of 1500/1, who died in September 1502, and was buried in the monastery of Mār Awgin; and Eliyā V, elected in 1503, who died in 1504 and was buried in the church of Mart Meskintā in Mosul²⁵. He was succeeded by the patriarch Shem'ōn VI (1504-1538), who died on 5 August 1538, and was buried in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd²⁶. The patriarchal throne was still vacant on 19 October 1538²⁷. Shem'ōn's brother the metropolitan Īshō'yahb Bar Māmā, who had been *nāṭar kursyā* throughout his reign, succeeded him shortly afterwards, and is first mentioned as patriarch in a colophon of 1539²⁸. He died on 1 November 1558 and was buried, like his predecessor, in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd²⁹.

(III) THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH OF THE EAST, 1552-1830

In 1552 a section of the Church of the East rebelled against the patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb and elected a rival patriarch, Yōhannān Sulāqā. The Vatican was told that the prime movers in the rebellion were unnamed bishops of Erbil, Salmas and Aḏārbaigān, who were supported by many priests and monks from Baghdad, Kirkūk, Gāzartā, Nisibis, Mardīn, Āmid, Ḥesnā d'Kifā, 'and many other nearby places'; while according to Leonard Abel, writing in 1587, Sulāqā's support came primarily from the towns of Āmid and Seert, and the neighbouring country

²² Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, 119.

²³ MS Paris BN Syr 184.

²⁴ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 283-5.

²⁵ MSS Diyārbakr (Scher) 102, Paris BN Syr 25, and Vat Syr 204a.

²⁶ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 286.

²⁷ MS Vat Syr 83.

²⁸ MS Vat Syr 339.

²⁹ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 286.

districts³⁰. Sulāqā is said to have consecrated five metropolitans and bishops during his brief patriarchate³¹. They were almost certainly the metropolitans Eliyā Asmar Ḥabīb and 'Abdīshō' Mārōn, consecrated by Sulāqā for Āmid and Gāzartā respectively in 1554, Sulāqā's brother Joseph, consecrated for Seert but soon afterwards sent to India, and the metropolitans Gabriel of Ḥesnā d'Kifā, and Ḥnānīshō' of Mardīn.

According to Leonard Abel, 'Abdīshō' IV Mārōn 'created many priests, bishops and archbishops, and many towns of Nestorian Chaldeans previously loyal to his rival placed themselves under his authority'³². Abel may have gained this impression from a notorious letter which accompanied a Catholic profession of faith sent by 'Abdīshō' to pope Pius IV in 1562. This letter, which survives in three slightly different Latin translations of a lost Syriac original, purports to contain a list of thirty-eight metropolitans and bishops who recognised his authority:

I, 'Abdīshō', son of Yōhannān, of the house of Mārī of the city of Gāzartā on the Tigris river, was once a monk of the monastery of Saint Antony and of the brothers Mār Aḥḥā and Mār Yōhannān, but am now, thanks to God and to the Apostolic See, Primate or Patriarch of the eastern city of Mosul in Āṭōr, under whose jurisdiction are many metropolitans and bishops. These include the metropolis of *Arbel* [Erbil], and the dioceses of *Sirava* [Shirāwā] and *Hancava* ['Aīnqāwā]; the metropolis of *Cheptian* [Telkepe] and the dioceses of *Charamleys* [Karamlish] and *Achusch* [Alqōsh]; the metropolis of *Nassibin* [Nisibis], and the dioceses of *Macchazin* [Ma'arrīn], *Tallescani*, and Mardīn; the metropolis of Seert, and the diocese of *Azen* [Ḥesnā d'Kifā]; the metropolis of *Elchessen* [Gāzartā], and the dioceses of *Zuch* [Zākhō] and *Mesciara* [Manšūrīyā]; the metropolis of *Gurgel* [Gwerkel], and the diocese of *Esci* [Shāḥ]; and the metropolis of *Amed* [Āmid], and the dioceses of *Chiaruchia* [Sharūkhīyā], *Hain* and *Tannur* ['Aīn Tannūr]. All these regions are under Turkish rule.

Also the metropolis of *Ormi Superior* [Upper Ūrmī], and the dioceses of *Ulcismi* and *Chuchia*; the metropolis of *Ormi Inferior* [Lower Ūrmī] and the dioceses of *Dutra*, *Saldos* [Sulduz] and *Escinuc* [Eshnūq]; the metropolis of *Espurgan* [Supūrghān] and the dioceses of *Nare* [Neri] and *Giennum* [Gāwīlan?]; the metropolis of Salmas, and the dioceses of *Baumar*, *Sciabathan* [Shāpāṭan] and *Vasthan* [Wastān]. All these regions are subject to the emperor (or Sophi, as he is usually known) of the Persians.

Furthermore in India, subject to the Portuguese, are the metropolitan dioceses of Cochin, Cranganore, and Goa; and the diocese of Calicut, which also includes the Coromandel region, still in the hands of heathen natives.

³⁰ Assemani, *BO*, i. 524; and Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 116.

³¹ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 92.

³² Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 117.

The status of this letter has long been recognised as problematical, as the fourth Catholic patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denhā had only fourteen bishops in 1580, and it is unlikely that 'Abdīshō' had a far larger hierarchy several years earlier. The locations of the fourteen metropolitan dioceses listed (with the exception of Telkepe) have a certain plausibility, but several of the suffragan dioceses were little more than villages. None of them, as far as is known, had previously been the seat of a bishop, and the bishops they supposedly had in 1562 are not mentioned in any other source. It is possible that 'Abdīshō' merely claimed to have fourteen dioceses (the same number as his successor), whose metropolitans or bishops were responsible for the various localities listed under each metropolis, and that the translator misunderstood his meaning. Alternatively, he may have deliberately exaggerated the size of his hierarchy to impress the Vatican. In either case, while perhaps confirming the existence of East Syrian communities in certain districts and villages at this period and indicating the areas where 'Abdīshō' claimed support, the letter cannot be trusted as evidence for the number of bishops in his hierarchy.

As a guide to 'Abdīshō''s support the letter must be treated with caution. His claim to the western regions (Āmid, Mardīn, and Seert had Catholic bishops, and he also controlled the monasteries of Mār Peṭiōn in the Mardīn region and Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse in the Seert region) was perfectly reasonable, and he certainly had two metropolitans in India. His claim to the Erbil and Ūrmī regions (including the Salmas district) may also have been justified, in view of the support for Sulāqā from their bishops. Alqōsh, however, was the stronghold of his rival Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb, who also controlled Telkepe and Karamlish. 'Abdīshō' perhaps felt obliged, as 'patriarch of Mosul', to assert a claim to the Mosul region, and may have had a bishop nominally responsible for the villages of the Mosul plain.

Several metropolitans and bishops mentioned in other sources can be plausibly assigned to 'Abdīshō''s hierarchy, and it is interesting to notice that their dioceses match many of the metropolitan dioceses listed by 'Abdīshō' in 1562: Sulāqā's brother Joseph, metropolitan of Seert, responsible also for India from 1555; Eliyā Asmar Ḥabīb, metropolitan of Āmid from 1554 to 1582; Abraham, metropolitan of Angamale in India; Ḥnānīshō', metropolitan of Nisibis and Mardīn; the future patriarch Shem'ōn VIII, metropolitan of Gāzartā; Yōḥannān of Ātel and Bohtān ('Abdīshō''s 'Gwerkel'), martyred in 1572; the future

patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denhā, metropolitan of Salmas, Seert and Jīlū; and Gabriel (and perhaps his successor Sabrīshō'), bishop of Ḥesnā d'Kīfā.

The fourth Catholic patriarch Shem'ōn IX Denhā (1581-1600), under pressure from his traditionalist rival Eliyā VII, abandoned the western regions of Āmid and Mardīn which had supported the union with Rome, and governed his church from the remote 'monastery' of Mār Yōḥannān in the Salmas district. During his own lifetime he retained the loyalty of the western bishops, and strengthened the hierarchy he had inherited by creating several new dioceses beyond the western regions. His supporters, mentioned in a letter of 1580 to pope Gregory XIII shortly after his consecration, included not only the western bishops Eliyā of Āmid, Ḥnānīshō' of Mardīn, Joseph of Seert, Yōḥannān of Ātel, and Joseph of Gāzartā (earlier loyal to Eliyā VII), but also the metropolitans Joseph of Salmas, Sargīs of Jīlū, Ḥnānīshō' of Shemsdīn, 'Abdīshō' of 'Koma' (probably the monastery of Mār 'Abdīshō' in the 'Amādiyā region), three men (two named Denhā and one named Addāi) listed merely as metropolitans, and the bishop Yōḥannān of 'Chelhacke', a district which cannot be confidently localised.

The patriarch Shem'ōn VII Īshō'yahb (1538-1558), who continued to reside in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, the traditional patriarchal seat, responded to Sulāqā's challenge by consecrating two metropolitans, Īshō'yahb for Nisibis, nominally with jurisdiction also over Āmid and Mardīn, and Joseph for Gāzartā. Īshō'yahb was probably unable to exercise his authority in Āmid and Mardīn, both of which had Catholic metropolitans, but Joseph seems to have been accepted in Gāzartā. Shem'ōn's nephew Eliyā remained metropolitan of Mosul and *nāṭar kursyā*, and the Mosul and 'Amādiyā regions certainly remained loyal to Shem'ōn VII. Several years later his successor Eliyā VII (1558-1591) had a hierarchy of at least seven bishops: his brother Ḥnānīshō', metropolitan of Mosul and *nāṭar kursyā*, and probably to be identified with Leonard Abel's Ḥnānīshō' of Mansūriyā; Yahballāhā, bishop of Berwārī; the bishops Joseph and Gabriel of Gāzartā; Īshō'yahb, metropolitan of Nisibis, and Yōḥannān, metropolitan of Ūrmī (Anzel). Mosul was the chief citadel of the traditionalist group, and Leonard Abel remarked in 1587 that although Sulāqā and his three successors had all been consecrated patriarchs 'of Mosul', none had been able to wrest the city from

³³ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121.

their 'Nestorian' rivals³³. It now became customary in the Mosul patriarchate for the patriarch's *nāṭar kursyā* to be also metropolitan of Mosul.

The allegiance of several districts shifted dramatically on the accession of the traditionalist patriarch Shem'ōn X in 1600, who divided his residence between Salmas and Qūdshānīs. Shem'ōn's return to the old faith was welcomed in some districts, enabling him to consecrate bishops for the Ātel district and the Berwārī region, previously dependent on the Mosul patriarchs. On the other hand the western bishops transferred their loyalty to the Mosul patriarch Eliyā VIII, mainly because he was felt to be more enthusiastic for the union with Rome than his rival, but perhaps also because they did not wish to be governed by a patriarch unable or unwilling to leave the remote Salmas district. These shifts gave the Mosul patriarchate control of a wide swathe of lowland territory stretching from Āmid to Erbil, including the important towns of Āmid, Mardīn, Seert, Gāzartā, 'Amādīyā, and Mosul, while Shem'ōn X was left with the mountainous Berwārī and Hakkārī regions, the whole of the Ūrmī region, and a number of villages in the Bohtān valley.

The hierarchies of the two patriarchs were given in the report of 1610. In 1610 Eliyā VIII had six metropolitans (Eliyā Bar Tappe of Āmid and Seert, Gabriel of Ḥesnā d'Kifā, Ya'qōb of Nisibis, Joseph of Gāzartā, Ḥnānīshō' of Mosul, and the *nāṭar kursyā* Shem'ōn), and nine bishops (Denḥā of Gwerkel, Yōhannān of Abnāye, Ephrem of the Ātel diocese of 'Ungi', Īshō'yahb of Seert, Yōhannān of Ātel, 'Abdīshō' of Salmas, Joseph of 'Solotam' (Shemsdīn), Abraham of Raikan, and Abraham of 'the mountains'). This was a considerably larger hierarchy than his predecessors possessed, but all the metropolitans and several of the bishops are attested elsewhere, and there is no need to doubt its genuineness. Some of the dioceses are not mentioned again, and at least one bishop, Īshō'yahb of Seert, was the nephew and *nāṭar kursyā* of a metropolitan, for whom an *ad hoc* diocese ('Ḥezzō and the Gordlāye') had to be created. Shem'ōn X had only five metropolitans (Ḥnānīshō' of Shemsdīn, Sargīs of Jilū, Īshō'yahb of 'the Persian borders', Sabrīshō' of Berwārī, and the *nāṭar kursyā* Addai, perhaps the metropolitan mentioned as a member of his predecessor's hierarchy in 1580), and three bishops (Joseph of Ūrmī, Gīwārgīs of Sat, and 'Abdīshō' of Ātel).

Other sources mention several other bishops at this period. Although the two reports largely overlap, the report of 1607 mentions several bishops omitted from the report of 1610, including the metropolitans 'Glanan Imech' of Sinjār, Shem'ōn of Erbil, Denḥā of Lewūn, Yahballāhā of Vān,

and Shem'ōn of Albaq; and the bishops Joseph of Nahrawān, Yōhannān of 'Vorce', Yahballāhā of Berwārī, and Abraham of Tergāwār. The report did not mention their allegiances, but Yahballāhā of Berwārī is known to have been dependent on Eliyā VIII, and it is likely that the metropolitans of Sinjār and Erbil were also among his hierarchy. The metropolitans Ḥnānīshō' of Vān and Abraham of the Persian district of 'Vehdonfores', probably the bishop of Tergāwār mentioned in 1607, were present at Eliyā VIII's synod of Āmid in 1616.

The two reports also mentioned that the Church of the East used to have more than a hundred 'monasteries', and listed more than forty separate buildings still in use at the beginning of the seventeenth century, most of which can be readily identified. The term 'monastery' seems to have been used by the Vatican scribes to translate the Syriac word *'ūmrā*, which could also mean a large church, and at least thirteen of these 'monasteries' (particularly those in the mountainous Hakkārī region), were merely churches: Mār Ya'qōb in Nisibis, Mār Gīwārgīs in Gāzartā, Mār Pinḥas in Ḥawsar, Mār 'Abdīshō' in Nerem, Mār Ṭahmasgard, Mār Peṭiōn and Mār Thomas in Kirkūk, Mār Gīwārgīs in Ashūtā, Mār Shallītā in Qūdshānīs, Mār 'Abdīshō' and Mār Qardāgh in Beṭ 'Azīzā, Mār Peṭiōn in Mazrā'ā, Mār Zay'ā in Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā, and Mār Sargīs in Sīre. Others, however, were genuine monasteries, and manuscript colophons confirm that many of them did indeed have monks at this period.

The genuine monasteries in the two lists (the most important of which were Mār Abraham the Mede, Mār Awgin, Mār Abraham of Kashkar, Mār Peṭiōn, Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse, Mār Aayyōmā, Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian, Mār Aḥḥā, Rabban Bar 'Idtā, Mār Ya'qōb of Beṭ 'Ābe, Mār Mīkhā'īl, Mār Eliyā of Hirtā, Rabban Hormīzd the Persian, and Mār Sabrīshō' of Beṭ Qōqā), most of which had long and proud histories, were all loyal to Eliyā VIII at this period. The colophons of the surviving manuscripts discussed in previous chapters confirm that monasticism persisted, if on an increasingly small scale, in the Mosul patriarchate into the eighteenth century (and was decisively revived in the nineteenth century by Gabriel Dambō), and that it hardly existed in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate. About 30 traditionalist monks are known from the monasteries of the Mosul patriarchate between 1552 and 1743, when the three surviving monasteries in the Mosul region were closed, and about 150 Catholic monks in the Chaldean monasteries after 1808. Of the many scribes known from the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, only one, the nineteenth-century solitary Rabban Yōnān, described himself as a monk.

Table 42: East Syrian 'Monasteries' in 1607

Region	Name	Region	Name	Region	Name
Nisibis	Mār Awgin	Gāzartā	Mār Yōhannān	Erbil	Mār Bōkhtīshō'
Nisibis	Mār Khudāhwī	Gāzartā	Mār Gīwārgīs	Kirkūk	Mār Ṭāhmasgard
Nisibis	Mār Yōhannān	Gāzartā	Mār Ōsha'nā	Kirkūk	Mār Peṭiōn
Nisibis	Mār Abraham	Gāzartā	Mār 'Cratos'	'Amādiyā	Mār 'Abdīshō'
Nisibis	Mār Yahballāhā	Gāzartā	Mār Ḥnānyā	Hakkārī	Mār Gīwārgīs
Seert	Mār Ya'qōb	Gāzartā	Mār Yahballāhā	Hakkārī	Mār 'Abdīshō'
Seert	Mār Yōhannān	Mosul	Mār Daniel	Hakkārī	Mār Peṭiōn
Gāzartā	Mār Pinhas	Mosul	Rabban Hormizd	Hakkārī	Mār Qardāgh
Gāzartā	Mār Aḥḥā	Mosul	Mār Abraham the Mede	Ūrmī	Mār Peter and Mār Paul
Gāzartā	Mār Yōhannān	Mosul	Mār Mīkhā'īl	Ūrmī	Mār Sargīs
Gāzartā	Mār Isaac	Mosul	Mār Elyā	Ūrmī	Mār Abraham of Eshnūq
Gāzartā	Mār Ya'qōb	'Aqrā	Rabban Bar 'Idtā		

The possession of these important monasteries gave the Mosul patriarchate access to the talents of a literate and educated elite, and the treasures of East Syrian literature preserved in their libraries were exploited by the traditionalist patriarch Elyā X Yōhannān Mārōgin, whose encouragement seems to have launched the careers of several scribes from the Shikwānā and Naṣrō families of Alqōsh. There were, of course, literate scribes and priests and old manuscripts to be found in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, but far fewer. The existence of an educated elite of scribes and monks, coupled with the descent of its patriarchs from the old patriarchal family, gave the Mosul patriarchs a prestige (fully appreciated by the Vatican) which its Qūdshānīs rivals could never hope to match.

Table 43: East Syrian 'Monasteries' in 1610

Region	Name	Region	Name	Region	Name
Kirkūk	Mār Ezekiel	Gāzartā	Mār Aḥḥā	Mardīn	Mār Peṭiōn
Kirkūk	Mār Thomas	Gāzartā	Mār Gīwārgīs	Seert	Mār Ya'qōb
Erbil	Mār Sabrīshō'	Gāzartā	Mār Yōhannān	Ūrmī	Mār Peter and Mār Paul
'Aqrā	Mār 'Abdīshō'	Gāzartā	Mār Isaac of Nineveh	Hakkārī	Mār Zay'ā
'Aqrā	Mār Yazdit	Gāzartā	Mār Yōhannān	Hakkārī	Mār 'Basinna'
'Aqrā	Mār Ya'qōb	Gāzartā	Mār Patris	Hakkārī	Mār Shallīṭā
Mosul	Mār Elyā	Gāzartā	Mār Pinhas	Hakkārī	Mār 'Abupus'
Mosul	Mār Mīkhā'īl	Nisibis	Mār Ya'qōb	Hakkārī	Mār Gīwārgīs
Mosul	Mār Abraham	Nisibis	Mār Awgin	'Amādiyā	Mār 'Abdīshō'
Mosul	Rabban Hormizd	Nisibis	Mār Yōhannān	Berwārī	Mār Qayyōmā

Given the resources it controlled, it is hardly surprising that the seventeenth century was a period of solid achievement for the Mosul patriarchate. The Catholic movement lost its vigour in both patriarchates and although the conversion of the metropolitan Joseph of Āmid in 1672 revived Catholic hopes, this unexpected development came after several decades in which the Mosul patriarchs had recovered their old authority in the western districts, consecrating traditionalist bishops for the Catholic dioceses founded by Sulāqā a century earlier. Scribal activity, previously concentrated in the Gāzartā region, shifted to Mosul, to the nearby villages of Telkepe and Tel Isqōf, and above all to Alqōsh, whose Shikwānā and Naṣrō families emerged during the reign of Elyā X Yōhannān Mārōgin (1660-1700) to establish a dominance which was not seriously challenged until the second half of the nineteenth century.

The patriarch Elyā IX (1617-1660) did not consecrate bishops for the historic dioceses of Erbil, Nisibis, and Ḥesnā d'Kifā, probably because their East Syrian communities were no longer large enough to need a bishop, and during his reign the Mosul patriarchate consisted of six metropolitan dioceses: Āmid, Mardīn, Gāzartā, Seert, Mosul, and Salmas. Although he corresponded cordially with the Vatican, he was not prepared to abandon the traditional East Syrian christological formula. As Shem'ōn X had similar reservations, the Catholic communities in the Church of the East were left without Catholic bishops for several decades.

The patriarchal succession after the schism of 1552 is certain in the case of the Mosul patriarchate, because up to the beginning of the nineteenth century all but one of its patriarchs were buried in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd and their epitaphs, which give the date of their deaths, have survived. Shem'ōn VII's successor Elyā VII died on 26 May 1591; Elyā VIII on 26 May 1617; Elyā IX on 18 June 1660; Elyā X Yōhannān Mārōgin on 17 May 1700; Elyā XI Mārōgin on 14 December 1722; and Elyā XIII Iṣhō'yahb in 1804³⁴. Elyā XII Denḥā died of plague in Alqōsh on 29 April 1778, and was exceptionally buried in the village rather than the monastery, practically abandoned for several decades after the Persian attack in 1743³⁵. Fiey's list includes the patriarch 'Elyā VI', who supposedly reigned from 1558 to 1576, but the epitaph of the patriarch Elyā VII (1558-1591) states that he had been a metropolitan for 15 years and patriarch for 32 years (that is, since 1558). This statement, and the absence of an epitaph or any other reference, strongly suggests that the patriarch 'Elyā VI' never existed.

³⁴ Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 287-98.

³⁵ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 151.

The information available on Sulāqā and his successors is much less exact. The date of Sulāqā's election in 1552 is not known, but he was confirmed as 'patriarch of Mosul' by the Vatican on 28 April 1553, and was martyred at the beginning of 1555, probably (according to a contemporary poem of 'Abdīshō' IV) on 12 January³⁶. The date of 'Abdīshō' IV's succession in 1555 is not known, but a colophon mentions that he died on 11 September 1570³⁷. The dates of the succession and death (presumably in 1570 and 1580 respectively) of Shem'ōn 'VIII' (called Yahballāhā by the Vatican but Shem'ōn in contemporary colophons) are not known. Shem'ōn IX Denhā was elected patriarch in 1580 and (according to Assemani) died in 1600³⁸. Shem'ōn X, elected in 1600, is said to have died in 1638, according to a letter of Eliyā XIII cited by Tisserant³⁹.

Information on the patriarchal succession in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate for the remainder of the seventeenth and the whole of the eighteenth century is equally scanty. Several of the Qūdshānīs patriarchs who succeeded Shem'ōn X corresponded with the Vatican, but the surviving correspondence does not enable individual patriarchs to be distinguished. For most of this century the following list of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Qūdshānīs patriarchs has conventionally been adopted, most recently by Fiey: Shem'ōn XI (1638-1656), Shem'ōn XII (1656-1662), Shem'ōn XIII Denhā (1662-1700), Shem'ōn XIV Shlemūn (1700-1740), Shem'ōn XVI Mīkhāil Mukhtas' (1740-1780), and Shem'ōn XVI Yōhannān (1780-1820)⁴⁰. These names and reign-dates were first given towards the end of the nineteenth century by the Anglican missionary Wigram⁴¹. A recently-discovered list of Qūdshānīs patriarchs compiled after the First World War by the bishop Eliyā of Alqōsh, however, gives a completely different set of dates: Shem'ōn X (1600-1639); Shem'ōn XI (1639-1653); Shem'ōn XII (1653-1692); Shem'ōn XIII Denhā (1692-1700); and Shem'ōn XIV Shlemūn (1700-1717)⁴². It is not yet clear

³⁶ Van Gulik, 'Die Konsistorialakten über die Begründung des uniert-chaldäischen Patriarchates von Mosul unter Papst Julius III', *OC*, 4 (1904), 261-277; and Habbi, 'Signification de l'union chaldéenne de Mar Sulaqa avec Rome en 1553', *OS*, 9 (1966), 115.

³⁷ Note in MS Mosul (Scher) 53.

³⁸ Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 88-90; and Assemani, *De Catholicis seu patriarchis Chaldaeorum et Nestorianorum Commentarius*, 229.

³⁹ Tisserant, *Église nestorienne*, 263.

⁴⁰ Fiey, *POCN*, 37-9.

⁴¹ Tfinkdji, *EC*, 474.

⁴² Coakley, 'The East Syrian Patriarchate in the Seventeenth Century' (unpublished paper).

whether either list is based on a reliable source, and the patriarchal succession must for the time being remain uncertain.

The extent of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate in the middle of the seventeenth century is known from a letter of 29 June 1653 from Shem'ōn XI to pope Innocent X:

Many indeed are the Chaldean Christians under Mār Shem'ōn, in the following districts: Julmar [Julamerk], Barur [Qūdshānīs and Sīwīne], Gur [Gāwār], Galu [Jīlū], Baz [Bāz], Dasen [Dāsen], Tachuma [Tḥūmā], Jatira [Tiyārī], Valta [Walṭō], Talig [Tāl], Batnura [Beṭ Tannūrā, *i.e.* Berwārī], Luun [Lewūn], Nudis [Nōrdūz], Salmes [Salmas], Albac [Albaq], Hasaph [Ḥōshāb], Van [Vān], Vagan [Wasṭān], Arne [Neri, *i.e.* Shemsdīn], Suphtan [Shāpātan], Targur [Tergāwār], Urmī [Ūrmī], Anzel, Saldus [Sulduz], Asnock [Eshnūq], Margo [Mergāwār], Amid [Āmid], and 'Gulna'. In these regions are 40,000 families, all children of the cell of Mār Shem'ōn.

As expected, most of the localities listed are in the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions, but Āmid and Vān are interesting inclusions. Both localities were dependent on the patriarch Eliyā VIII earlier in the century, but their dependence around the middle of the seventeenth century on the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, probably because of Shem'ōn XI's Catholic sympathies, is confirmed by several colophons. With these two exceptions, the Qūdshānīs patriarchate covered roughly the same area in 1653 as it had in 1610. The figure of 40,000 families seems far too high.

A number of bishops of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate are mentioned in the colophons to manuscripts, and their names and the names of their dioceses foreshadow the organisation described by western observers in the middle of the nineteenth century. There are frequent references throughout the eighteenth century to metropolitans named Ḥnānīshō', who resided in the village of Mār Īshō' (also known as Rustāqā) in the Shemsdīn district, and whose jurisdiction covered both the Shemsdīn and Tergāwār districts. Colophons also refer to a bishop of Berwārī in 1731 named Yahballāhā, a bishop of Gāwār in 1743 named Šlībā, and a bishop of Jīlū in 1756 named Sargīs. Khidr of Mosul mentioned a number of bishops from the Ūrmī region in 1734, also with names which are paralleled in the nineteenth century: Gabriel, Yōhannān, 'Abdīshō', Joseph, Abraham, and Isha'yā⁴³.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Mosul patriarchate had lost its influence in the Catholic strongholds of Āmid and Mardīn, but still

⁴³ MS Mingana Syr 246.

retained the loyalty of a considerable section of the Church of the East which wished to retain its traditional beliefs. It is clear from manuscript colophons that most of the numerous East Syrian villages in the Seert, Gāzartā, 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā regions were loyal to the Eliyā line at this period, as were the surviving East Syrian communities in the Erbil and Kirkūk regions. Mosul and several villages in the Mosul plain had important Catholic communities, but the traditionalists remained in the majority, and the monastery of Rabban Hormizd remained the focus of opposition to the Catholic movement until it was abandoned in the 1740s. Curiously, the Mosul patriarchate had very few bishops to administer these large territories. Apart from the patriarch himself and his *nāṭar kursyā*, responsible for the Mosul region, only Gāzartā and Seert had bishops at the beginning of the century, and no effort appears to have been made to consolidate the loyalty of other districts by giving them bishops. The policy of Eliyā XII Denḥā seems to have been to preserve the *status quo*. He responded sharply to an attempt by Joseph III to consecrate a Catholic metropolitan for Mosul in 1724, and after the consecration of the Catholic bishop Shem'ōn Kemō for Seert around 1730 sent one of his own bishops to the district during Joseph's absence in Rome, but on both occasions was merely reacting to a Catholic challenge. This inertia was an important factor in the ultimate success of the Catholic movement.

The lack of initiative shown by the Mosul patriarchs in the eighteenth century in the face of the Catholic challenge is also reflected in the decline of monasticism in the Mosul patriarchate at this period. Although many of the thirty or so 'monasteries' listed in the reports of 1607 and 1610 were no more than churches, several were important monasteries, with thriving monastic communities. This study has noted scribal activity in the early seventeenth century in many of these monasteries, particularly the monasteries of Mār Peṭiōn in the Mardīn region, Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse in the Seert region, Mār Aḥḥā and Mār Yōḥannān in the Gāzartā region, Rabban Hormizd and Mār Gīwārgīs in the Mosul region, but also elsewhere. The monasteries of Mār Gīwārgīs and Rabban Hormizd seem to have remained active until 1743, but no other monastery was continuously occupied during the eighteenth century. The Persian raid on the Mosul region in 1743 resulted in the closure of the monasteries of Rabban Hormizd, Mār Gīwārgīs, and Mār Abraham the Mede, and at about the same period the monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse was taken over by the Catholics and the monastery of Mār

'Abdīshō' near 'Amādiyā handed over to the Dominican mission. In 1808 the Mosul patriarchate claimed only the monasteries of Rabban Hormizd, Mār Gīwārgīs and Mār Abraham the Mede in the Mosul region, all of which had been unoccupied since 1743. The circumstances in which many of the other monasteries mentioned in the reports of 1607 and 1610 were abandoned remain unclear, but the apologetic comments in the report of 1610 on the declining status of the monasteries of Mār Ya'qōb of Bet 'Ābe in the 'Aqrā region and Mār Sabrīshō' near Erbil, quoted in earlier chapters, hint at the difficulties of sustaining monastic life at that period in the more isolated monasteries in a country often distracted by war and brigandage.

For the Āmid patriarchate, the eighteenth century was one of almost unbroken success. At the beginning of the century it had only a single metropolitan, for Āmid itself. Although rebuffed in his attempt to consecrate the priest Khidr of Mosul metropolitan for the Catholics of Mosul in 1724, Joseph III consecrated metropolitans for Mardīn and Seert before his departure for Rome in 1731, and also secured recognition for the Catholic minorities in Mosul and the villages of the Mosul plain. During his reign the Catholics brought over many villages in the Seert region from their previous dependence on the Eliyā line and acquired the prestigious monastery of Mār Ya'qōb the Recluse near Seert. In 1757 La'zar Hindi estimated that there were just under 20,000 Catholics in the Āmid patriarchate, of whom about 8,000 lived in the Āmid and Mardīn regions, 5,000 in the Seert region, and 6,000 in the Mosul region⁴⁴. As the East Syrian population of the Mosul patriarchate at this period is unlikely to have exceeded 50,000, of whom perhaps 10,000 lived in the Mosul region, the Catholics by then were probably in the majority in and around Mosul. The scale of the Catholic penetration doubtless encouraged Eliyā XII to open negotiations with the Vatican in the 1770s, and Yōḥannān Hormizd to convert to Catholicism.

During the reign of Yōḥannān VIII Hormizd Catholic metropolitans were consecrated for 'Amādiyā, Kirkūk, and Salmas, and a traditionalist metropolitan of Gāzartā consecrated by Eliyā XII was supplanted by the Catholic metropolitan Gīwārgīs Peter Di Natale. From 1812 onwards, during Yōḥannān's suspension, the Āmid and Mosul patriarchates were effectively governed as a single entity by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi. In 1830 the patriarchates were united, giving Yōḥannān

⁴⁴ MS Vat Lat 8063, folio 345.

VIII Hormizd a hierarchy of eight dioceses with Catholic bishops: Āmid, Mardīn, Seert, Gāzartā, Mosul, 'Amādiyā, Kirkūk, and Salmas. The task for the Chaldean church thereafter was to consolidate its position in the border regions (Gāzartā, 'Amādiyā, and 'Aqrā), many of whose villages remained loyal to the traditional faith. The triumph of Catholicism in the Mosul patriarchate tended to polarise opinions, and around the middle of the nineteenth century several villages in the Gāzartā and 'Aqrā regions gave their allegiance to traditionalist bishops dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarch Shem'ōn XVII Abraham, abandoning three centuries of loyalty to the patriarchs of the Eliyā line. This phenomenon was noted by Badger in 1850:

The fact is that the greatest confusion exists with respect to the extent of the two patriarchates, and the only rule now obtaining is this: such villages as still adhere to Nestorianism look up to Mar Shimoon as their head; and, on the other hand, those who join the seceders place themselves under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Chaldean Patriarch⁴⁵.

(IV) THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION OF THE CHALDEAN CHURCH,
1830-1913

Despite the internal turbulence of the reigns of Yōhannān VIII Hormizd, Nicholas I Zay'ā and Joseph VI Audō, the second half of the nineteenth century was a period of considerable growth for the Chaldean church, in which its territorial jurisdiction was extended, its hierarchy was strengthened, and its membership nearly doubled. In 1850 Badger recorded the population of the Chaldean church as 2,743 Chaldean families, or just under 20,000 persons. It is clear from the colophons of numerous surviving manuscripts from the villages of the Mosul patriarchate, particularly those in the 'Amādiyā and 'Aqrā regions, that he classified as 'Nestorian' a considerable number of villages with significant Chaldean communities, and also failed to include several important Chaldean villages in other dioceses. As his contacts with the Chaldean hierarchy were brief and relatively superficial, these distortions may simply reflect the inadequacy of his sources, but there is also the possibility that they were deliberate. He was anxious to persuade the Anglican authorities to establish a mission to the 'Nestorians', and may have deliberately underestimated the resources of the Chaldean church, for which he had little

⁴⁵ Badger, *Nestorians*, i. 173.

respect, to strengthen his case. At all events his statistics for the Chaldean church, although providing useful indications if treated with due caution, seriously underestimate the Chaldean population at this period.

Table 44: Population of the Chaldean Church, 1850

Diocese	Villages	Churches	Priests	Families	Diocese	Villages	Churches	Priests	Families
Mosul	9	15	20	1,160	Seert	11	12	9	300
Baghdad	1	1	2	60	Gāzartā	7	6	5	179
'Amādiyā	16	14	8	466	Kirkūk	7	8	9	218
Āmid	2	2	4	150	Salmas	1	2	3	150
Mardīn	1	1	4	60	Total	55	61	64	2,743

Paulin Martin's statistical survey in 1867, after the creation of the dioceses of 'Aqrā, Zākhō, Basra and Sehnā by Joseph VI Audō, recorded a total church membership of 70,268, more than three times higher than Badger's estimate. The population figures in these statistics have certainly been rounded up to the nearest thousand in most cases, and may be slightly exaggerated as well.

Table 45: Population of the Chaldean Church, 1867

Diocese	Villages	Priests	Believers	Diocese	Villages	Priests	Believers
Mosul	9	40	23,030	Mardīn	2	2	1,000
'Aqrā	19	17	2,718	Seert	35	20	11,000
'Amādiyā	26	10	6,020	Salmas	20	10	8,000
Basra	-	-	1,500	Sehnā	2	1	1,000
Āmid	2	6	2,000	Zākhō	15	-	3,000
Gāzartā	20	15	7,000				
Kirkūk	10	10	4,000	Total	160	131	70,268

A statistical survey of the Chaldean church made in 1896 by Chabot included details of several patriarchal vicariates established since 1872 for the small Chaldean communities in Aleppo, Adana, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Kermanshah, Teheran, and Urfa; for the mission stations established in the 1890s in several villages in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate; and for the newly-created Chaldean archdiocese of Ūrmī. The small diocese of Basra, established by Joseph VI Audō in 1860 to enable Thomas Rōkōs to be consecrated as visitor for the Chaldeans of Malabar, had a tit-

ular archbishop, Ya'qōb Mīkhā'īl Na'mō, from 1888 until his death in 1895, but was administered after 1892 by the patriarchal vicar Israel Audō, who became metropolitan of Mardīn in 1910. Besides a parish for Basra itself it contained stations at Amara, Ashshar (later given a separate patriarchal vicar), Nāṣerīyā, and Kut.

Table 46: Population of the Chaldean Church, 1896

Diocese	Churches	Priests	Believers	Diocese	Churches	Priests	Believers
Baghdad	1	3	3,000	'Amādiyā	16	13	3,000
Mosul	31	71	23,700	'Aqrā	12	8	1,000
Basra	2	3	3,000	Salmas	12	10	10,000
Āmid	4	7	3,000	Ūrmī	18	40	6,000
Kirkūk	16	22	7,000	Sehnā	2	2	700
Mardīn	1	3	850	Vicariates	3	6	2,060
Gāzartā	17	14	5,200	Missions	1	14	1,780
Seert	21	17	5,000				
Zākhō	20	15	3,500	Total	177	248	78,790

The last pre-war survey of the Chaldean church was made in 1913 by the Chaldean priest Joseph Tfinkdji, after a period of steady growth since 1896. The Chaldean church on the eve of the First World War consisted of the patriarchal archdiocese of Mosul and Baghdad, four other archdioceses (Āmid, Kirkūk, Seert and Ūrmī), and eight dioceses ('Aqrā, 'Amādiyā, Gāzartā, Mardīn, Salmas, Sehnā, Zākhō, and the newly-created diocese of Vān). Four new patriarchal vicariates were established between 1896 and 1913 (Rome, Ahwaz, Ashshar, and Deir al-Zor), and one (Urfa) transferred to the diocese of Āmid, giving (with Basra and the vicariate of Constantinople, founded in 1885 but omitted in Chabot's statistics) a total of thirteen vicariates in 1913. These vicariates were included for administrative convenience in the patriarchal archdiocese.

Table 47: Population of the Chaldean Church, 1913

Diocese	Villages	Churches	Priests	Believers	Diocese	Villages	Churches	Priests	Believers
Mosul	10	21	45	31,900	'Amādiyā	17	10	19	4,970
Baghdad	3	1	11	7,260	Gāzartā	17	11	17	6,400
Vicariates	13	4	15	3,730	Mardīn	6	1	6	1,670
Āmid	9	5	12	4,180	Salmas	12	12	24	10,460
Kirkūk	9	9	19	5,840	Sehnā	1	2	3	900
Seert	37	31	21	5,380	Vān	10	6	32	3,850
Ūrmī	21	13	43	7,800	Zākhō	15	17	13	4,880
'Aqrā	19	10	16	2,390	Total	199	153	296	101,610

Tfinkdji's grand total of 101,610 Catholics in 199 villages is slightly exaggerated, as his figures included 2,310 nominal Catholics in twenty-one 'newly-converted' or 'semi-Nestorian' villages in the dioceses of Āmid, Seert, and 'Aqrā, but it is clear that the Chaldean church had grown significantly since 1896. With a membership of around 100,000 in 1913, the Chaldean church was only slightly smaller than the Qūdshānīs patriarchate (probably 120,000 East Syrians at most, including the population of the nominally Russian Orthodox villages in the Ūrmī region). Its congregations were concentrated in far fewer villages than those of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate, and with 296 priests, a ratio of roughly three priests for every thousand believers, it was rather more effectively served by its clergy. Only about a dozen Chaldean villages, mainly in the Seert and 'Aqrā regions, did not have their own priests in 1913.

Tfinkdji's statistics also highlight the effect on the Chaldean church of the educational reforms of Joseph VI Audō. The Chaldean church on the eve of the First World War was becoming less dependent on the monastery of Rabban Hormizd and the College of the Propaganda for the education of its bishops. Seventeen Chaldean bishops were consecrated between 1879 and 1913, of whom only one (Stephen Yōḥannān Qaynāyā) was entirely educated in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd. Six bishops were educated at the College of the Propaganda (Joseph Gabriel Adāmō, Thomas Audō, Jeremy Timothy Maqdasi, Isaac Yahballāhā Hūdabāhash, Theodore Msayeh, and Peter Raffō 'Azīz), and the future patriarch Joseph Emmanuel Thomas was trained in the seminary of Ghazir near Beirut. Of the other nine bishops, two (Addāi Scher and Francis David) were trained in the Syro-Chaldean Seminary of Saint John in Mosul, and seven (Philip Ya'qōb Abraham, Ya'qōb Yōḥannān Sahhar, Eliyā Joseph Ḥayyāt, Shlemūn Mūshe al-Sabbagh, Ya'qōb Awgin Mannā, Hormizd Stephen Jibri, and Israel Audō) in the Patriarchal Seminary of Saint Peter in Mosul.

Mention has already been made of the patriarchal vicariates created by the Chaldean church for its diaspora in the eastern Mediterranean and elsewhere, details of which were given by Chabot in 1896 and Tfinkdji in 1913. The first vicariate was established for Aleppo in 1872 by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō, followed by vicariates for Constantinople in 1885, Cairo in 1890, Adana in 1891, Basra in 1892, Damascus, Beirut, Teheran and Kermanshah in 1895, Deir al-Zor in 1906, Ashshar in 1907, and Ahwaz in 1909. In 1913 the vicariates of Teheran and Kermanshah were vacant, but there were patriarchal vicars for the other eleven vicariates: Paul David, procurator-general of the Antonine order of Saint Hormisdas, for Rome; Isaac Yahballāhā Hūdabāhash, formerly bishop of Salmas, for

Cairo and the small Chaldean community in Alexandria; Abraham Bannā for Ahwaz; Thomas Bajāri for Constantinople; Maṣūr Kajāji for Basra; Yōhannān Nīsān for Ashshar; Stephen Awgin for Deir al-Zor; Mīkhā'il Chāyā for Aleppo; Joseph Tawīl for Beirut; Mārūtā Šlībā for Damascus; and Stephen Maksābō for Adana.

Table 48: The Chaldean Patriarchal Vicariates, 1913

Vicariate	Churches	Chapels	Priests	Believers	Vicariate	Churches	Chapels	Priests	Believers
Rome	0	0	1	-	Ashshar	0	1	1	450
Cairo	1	0	1	400	Deir al-Zor	0	1	1	60
Teheran	0	1	1	120	Aleppo	1	0	2	400
Kermanshah	0	1	1	320	Beirut	0	0	1	300
Ahwaz	0	1	1	230	Damascus	0	0	1	300
Constantinople	0	1	1	300	Adana	1	1	1	350
Basra	1	0	2	500	Total	4	7	15	3,730

Most of the vicariates were small, with chapels instead of churches, but the Chaldean communities of Cairo, Basra and Aleppo were sufficiently wealthy to build substantial churches. The churches in Cairo and Basra were dedicated to Mār Antony and Mār Thomas respectively. The Chaldean community in Beirut, which had neither a church nor a chapel, worshipped in its Syrian Catholic church. The vicariate of Adana had a population of 600 Chaldeans in 1896, many of whom were killed during attacks on the city's Armenian Christians in 1909.

(v) THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANISATION OF THE QŪDŠHĀNĪS
PATRIARCHATE, 1830-1913

Reports made in the 1830s and 1840s by a number of English and American visitors (particularly Grant, Ainsworth, and Badger) mention at least fourteen dioceses in the Qūdshānīs patriarchate. Besides a large diocese in central Kurdistan under the direct control of the patriarch and the diocese of Shemsdīn, under the *muṭrān* Ḥnānīshō', there were dioceses for Berwārī, Gāwār, and Jīlū, whose bishops (Īshō'yahb, Šlībā, and Sargīs) resided in the villages of Dūre, Gāgōran, and Mātā d'Mār Zay'ā respectively. In the 1840s there was also a short-lived diocese of 'Aqrā and Zībār, whose metropolitan Abraham resided in the village of Nerem.

The Gāzartā region had a metropolitan, Joseph, who had been obliged to withdraw to the monastery of Isaac of Nineveh near Shāh, where he died in 1846, and in 1850 there were two other traditionalist bishops in the Ātel district, Shem'ōn and Thomas.

By 1877 the *muṭrān* Joseph Ḥnānīshō' had three suffragan bishops, probably all consecrated some years earlier, responsible for a number of villages in Shemsdīn, Tergāwār and elsewhere: Denḥā of Tīs, Yōhannān of Tūleki, and Sabrīshō' of Gāwār. There were also four dioceses in the Ūrmī region, whose bishops (Yōhannān, Joseph, Gabriel, and Elīyā) resided at Gāwīlan and 'Ādā in the Anzel district, and Ardishai and Gūgtāpāh in the Baranduz district respectively. (A fifth bishop, Abraham, resided in the village of 'Armūtāghāj and was responsible for a number of villages in the Tergāwār district until his death in 1833.) While the dioceses of Mār Yōhannān and Mār Gabriel each contained numerous villages, and appear to have been traditional, the other two bishops were responsible only for the large villages where they sat, and their dioceses may also, like the *muṭrān*'s suffragan dioceses, have been created *ad personam*. By this period the bishops of the historic dioceses regularly took a distinctive name associated with their dioceses (Ḥnānīshō' of Shemsdīn, Īshō'yahb or Yahballāhā of Berwārī, Sargīs of Jīlū, Šlībā of Gāwār, Yōhannān of Anzel, and Gabriel of Ardishai), and these dioceses were clearly felt to be different from the *ad personam* dioceses in the Shemsdīn district and the Ūrmī region which existed by their side.

The Ūrmī dioceses of 'Ādā and Gūgtāpāh lapsed after the death of their bishops, but a new diocese was established for the large Anzel village of Supūrghān in 1874, whose bishop, Yōnān, joined the Russian Orthodox church in 1896. The elderly bishop Īshō'yahb of Berwārī died probably not long after 1850, and by 1868 the Berwārī region had three bishops (his *nāṭar kursyās* Īshō'yahb and Yahballāhā, and a third bishop, Yōnān, who resided in the village of 'Aqrī). Yahballāhā died between 1877 and 1884, and the Qūdshānīs hierarchy at the end of the 1880s contained fifteen bishops: the *muṭrān* Isaac Ḥnānīshō' (consecrated after the death of his predecessor Joseph in 1884) and the *nāṭar kursyā* Abraham (consecrated in 1883); five bishops in the Hakkārī region (Sargīs of Jīlū, Šlībā of Gāwār, and the *muṭrān*'s three suffragans, Yōhannān of Tūleki, Denḥā of Tīs, and Sabrīshō' of Gāwār); two bishops in the Berwārī region (Īshō'yahb of Dūre and Yōnān of 'Aqrī); three bishops in the Ūrmī region (Gabriel of Ardishai, Yōhannān of Anzel,

and Yōnān of Supūrghān); and three bishops in the Seert and Gāzartā regions (Joseph, Shem'ōn, and Thomas, residing respectively in the villages of Ḥaṣṣen, Shāḥ, and Gweri Ātel), who appear to have replaced the three traditionalist bishops in these regions mentioned by Badger in the 1840s.

The diocese of Anzel effectively ceased to exist after its bishop Yōḥannān left for England in 1881, and the other historic Ūrmī diocese, Ardishai, came to an end with the murder of its bishop Gabriel in 1896. The (Russian Orthodox) bishop Yōnān of Supūrghān died in 1908, and in 1913 the Ūrmī region had three East Syrian bishops, one Russian Orthodox (Eliyā of Tergāwār) and two dependent on the Qūdshānīs patriarchate (Denḥā of Tīs and Ephrem of Ūrmī). There were also several changes in the Hakkārī region and the outlying western regions in the final decades before the outbreak of the First World War. The *nāṭar kursyā* Abraham Shem'ōnāyā converted to Catholicism in 1903 and shortly afterwards became a Chaldean bishop. The bishop Šlībā of Gāwār fled to Erevan shortly before 1892, and did not return to his diocese, and the bishop Yōḥannān of Tūleki died shortly before 1911. In the Berwārī region Iṣhō'yahb of Dūre, after a brief flirtation with the Chaldean church, was replaced in 1907 by Yaldā Yahballāhā. The bishop Eliyā Abūnā was consecrated for Alqōsh in 1908, and was soon afterwards sent to administer the villages of the Taimar district. The bishop Joseph Thomas Kasristō of Gweri Ātel converted to Catholicism in 1896, and while the two other traditionalist bishops in the Seert and Gāzartā regions are not mentioned after 1884, an unnamed traditionalist bishop residing in Zokait was mentioned in 1891. Compared with the twelve bishops mentioned by Maclean, Browne, and Riley in the 1880s, the Qūdshānīs hierarchy on the eve of the First World War seems to have consisted of at most eight bishops: the *muṭrān* Isaac Ḥnānīshō' of Shemsdīn; the bishops Yaldā Yahballāhā of Berwārī, Zay'ā Sargīs of Jilū, Denḥā of Tīs, Ephrem of Ūrmī, and Abimalek Timothy (consecrated for Malabar in 1907); and, if they were still alive, the bishops Sabrīshō' of Gāwār (last mentioned in 1901) and Yōnān of 'Aqrī (last mentioned in 1903).

An article published by P. Nasri in 1913 claimed that the Qūdshānīs hierarchy at that date also included a bishop of Gāwār named Šlībā and unnamed bishops of Āshītā, Mar Behīshō', Waltō, Thūmā, Bāz, Tāl and Ṭiyārī, and also mentioned that a bishop named Stephen, 'of Zirabad' (an otherwise unknown village in the Gāwār district) had died recently, and

that his young *nāṭar kursyā* was then studying in the patriarchal residence in Qūdshānīs⁴⁶. This list (although cited in Fiey's *Pour un Oriens Christianus Novus*) cannot be regarded as genuine, as none of these bishops is mentioned by Tfindji or by the western missions in Kurdistan before 1914, or by any source thereafter. The course of the fighting in the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions during the First World War is well-documented, and is impossible to believe that nine Hakkārī bishops disappeared without trace during this period. In fact three members only of the Qūdshānīs hierarchy are known to have died during or immediately after the First World War (Denḥā of Tīs in 1915, the patriarch Shem'ōn XIX Benjamin in March 1918, and the *muṭrān* Isaac Ḥnānīshō' in 1919), and the hierarchy of the patriarch Shem'ōn XX Paul in 1919 consisted of four bishops: the *muṭrān* Joseph Ḥnānīshō', consecrated in April 1919, and the bishops Zay'ā Sargīs of Jilū, Yaldā Yahballāhā of Berwārī, and Abimalek Timothy of Malabar, all consecrated before the First World War⁴⁷.

The first reasonably scientific population estimates of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate were made in the nineteenth century, but because in most cases the data recorded not individuals but families (defined normally as six, but occasionally as few as five or as many as ten individuals), attempts to extrapolate a total in terms of individuals could vary markedly. In the 1830s Eli Smith estimated the East Syrian population of the Hakkārī region (apparently excluding the Shemsdīn and Tergāwār districts) at 10,000 families (60,000 individuals), with a further 25,000 'Nestorians' and Chaldeans living in the Ūrmī region⁴⁸. In 1850 Badger calculated the population of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate at 11,378 families, or about 70,000 individuals, of whom 21,000 lived in the tribal territories. Badger's figures, provided by the patriarch's archdeacon Abraham and reduced by a third as a result of his own observations, are more trustworthy than his low estimates for the Chaldean church. He was unable to supply detailed information on the Shemsdīn district and the Ūrmī region, but estimated that there were about 23 villages in the Bohtān district, in the traditionalist diocese of Gāzartā, and supplied the names of 222 villages in the other dioceses.

⁴⁶ Nasri, 'On the Origin of the present-day Nestorians', *al-Mashriq*, 16 (1913), 491-504.

⁴⁷ Coakley, *Church of the East*, 545.

⁴⁸ Chevalier, *Montagnards chrétiens*, 126.

Table 49: Population of the Qūdshānīs Patriarchate, 1850

Diocese	Villages	Churches	Priests	Families	Diocese	Villages	Churches	Priests	Families
'Aqrā	15	13	9	249	Gāwār	45	34	18	1,082
Berwārī	27	20	18	348	Shemsdīn & Ūrmī	-	38	34	4,500
Gāzartā	23	23	16	220	Lewūn & Nōrdūz	15	9	7	222
Patriarch's	100	75	62	2,778					
Jīlū	18	14	10	1,168	Total	-	249	188	11,378

Badger's figures for 1850 are usefully complemented by the statistics provided by Edward Cutts in 1877. Cutt's statistics did not include the East Syrian villages in the Berwārī and 'Aqrā regions and the Bohtān district mentioned by Badger, but gave detailed figures for the villages in the Shemsdīn and Tergāwār districts and the Ūrmī region, for which Badger had no reliable information.

Table 50: Population of the Qūdshānīs Patriarchate, 1877

Diocese	Villages	Churches	Priests	Families	Diocese	Villages	Churches	Priests	Families
Patriarch's	96	88	81	2,274	Anzel	34	23	22	972
Jīlū	21	38	37	1,650	Supūrghān	3	2	1	290
Gāwār	74	56	43	1,497	Ardishai	90	40	28	2,888
Shemsdīn	57	43	36	1,067	Total	375	290	248	10,638

These two statistics, although more than twenty years apart, broadly agree where they overlap, and the 1877 statistics are also in line with the statistics compiled in 1862 by Sophoniah for the Ūrmī region. Sophoniah's estimate of 4,050 East Syrian families in the Ūrmī region in 1862 is very close to Cutt's figure of 4,150 families in 1877. Given the broad agreement of these three separate sources, a rough estimate of the total population of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate in 1877 can be made by adding Badger's statistics for the dioceses of Berwārī and Gāzartā in 1842 to Cutt's figures for the other dioceses, giving a total of just over 11,000 families, or between 80,000 and 100,000 individuals, living in around 425 villages. With 248 priests, a ratio of roughly one priest for every 400 believers, the Qūdshānīs patriarchate could not serve its congregations as effectively as the Chaldean church, and nearly half its villages (admittedly the smaller ones) did not have priests of their own.

Cutts also gave the names of 279 East Syrian churches in the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions in 1877, but unfortunately did not mention where they were, though his source probably had this information. Manuscript colophons and other sources discussed previously have supplied the names of 104 churches in these regions (plus a further 13 churches in the Taimar district and 5 Chaldean churches in the Salmas district, omitted by Cutts), and as the names of all the East Syrian churches in the Ūrmī region (with the exception of one or two churches in the Sulduz district) are known from Sophoniah's report of 1862, nearly all the 175 churches as yet unidentified must have been in the Hakkārī region.

Table 51: Churches in the Qūdshānīs Patriarchate, 1877

Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.	Name	No.
Mār Giwārgīs	63	Mār Abraham	3	Mār Šlibā	4	Mār Shōnā	2
Mart Maryam	61	Mār Nathaniel	1	Mār David	1	Mār Īshō'	1
Mār Quriāqōs	26	Qadishtā	1	Mār Zirwandā	2	Mār Ezekiel	1
Mār Yōhannān	13	Mār Sargīs	5	Rabban Peṭiōn	1	Mār Yōnān	2
Mār Mūshe	2	Rabban Mār 'Azīz	1	Mār Mikhā'īl	1	Mār Daniel	1
Beni Shmūni	8	Rabban Barburatū	1	Mār 'Azīzā	1	Mār Sabrīshō'	4
Rabban Ya'qōb	1	Mār Mārī	1	Mār 'Abdīshō'	3	Mār Gabriel	3
Rabban Sāhdā	1	Mār Addaī	2	Mār Joseph	2	Malakā Gabriel	1
Mār Sābā	5	Mār Shallīṭā	12	Rabban Bar Šawmā	1	Mār Zay'ā	1
Mār Shem'ōn	20	Mār Masfirne	2	Mār Thomas	4	Mār Peter / Mār Paul	1
Mār Sarapiōn	1	Mār Ya'qōb	2	Mār Behīshō'	1	Mār Gawrā	1
Mār Babaī	1	Mār Hnānyā	2	Mār Qardāgh	1	Names Unknown	16
Mār Isaac	1	Mār Stephen	7	Mār Ṭalyā	1	Total	279

As with the Chaldean church, the population of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate (including the Ūrmī communities which temporarily converted to Russian Orthodoxy) seems to have risen appreciably in the decades before the First World War. A number of contemporary estimates were made, ranging from as low as 18,000 to as high as 190,000, with the majority of estimates falling somewhere between 70,000 to 150,000, and informed opinion favouring a figure of about 100,000⁴⁹. In 1923 Tfinkdji estimated its population in 1914 at about 95,000, 60,000 in Turkey and 30,000 in Persia. The evidence of two surveys of 1900 and 1914 suggests

⁴⁹ Vine, *The Nestorian Churches*, 184.

that the true figure may have been between 100,000 and 120,000. The provincial government of Vān estimated that there were 97,040 East Syrians in the the *sanjak* of Hakkārī in 1900, and the East Syrian priest Benjamin Kaldāni estimated the East Syrian population of the Ūrmī region at 6,155 families, about 30,000 individuals, in 1914⁵⁰. The 1900 official statistics probably include several thousand Chaldeans, and Kaldāni's figures include a number of Chaldean villages in the Salmas district. Allowing for the necessary deductions, the total population of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate on the eve of the First World War may have been between 100,000 and 120,000. If so, it was still slightly larger than the Chaldean church, but the gap was narrowing.

APPENDIX ONE

A CONCORDANCE OF MANUSCRIPT
CATALOGUE NUMBERS(1) CONCORDANCE OF CATALOGUE NUMBERS IN THE VOSTÉ AND ḤABBI
CATALOGUES OF MANUSCRIPTS FROM 'AQRĀ

The manuscript collection of the Chaldean diocese of 'Aqrā was first catalogued by Vosté in 1939, who listed 67 manuscripts. Several manuscripts in the collection were subsequently transferred to the patriarchal seminary in Mosul. The 'Aqrā collection was again catalogued by Ḥabbi in 1981, who listed 97 manuscripts, 50 of which had been previously included in Vosté's catalogue.

Vosté	Ḥabbi	Vosté	Ḥabbi	Vosté	Ḥabbi	Vosté	Ḥabbi	Vosté	Ḥabbi
1.1	1	12	21	32	41	-	61	-	81
1.2	2	16	22	-	42	40	62	-	82
-	3	18	23	-	43	-	63	58	83
-	4	-	24	-	44	44	64	59	84
2	5	-	25	24	45	43	65	-	85
4	6	21	26	-	46	45	66	61	86
-	7	-	27	-	47	-	67	-	87
-	8	-	28	-	48	46	68	62	88
5	9	-	29	23	49	-	69	64	89
6	10	22	30	34	50	-	70	-	90
-	11	27	31	35	51	48	71	-	91
7	12	28	32	-	52	49	72	67	92
-	13	-	33	-	53	51	73	65	93
8	14	29	34	36	54	52	74	-	94
9	15	31	35	37	55	47	75	-	95
-	16	-	36	38	56	54	76	-	96
-	17	-	37	39	57	-	77		97
10	18	-	38	41	58	-	78		
11	19	-	39	-	59	55	79		
-	20	42	40	-	60	56	80		

⁵⁰ Yonan, *Ein Vergessener Holocaust*, 211; and Benjamin, 'Assyrians Residing in Urmia, Salamas, Targawar and Anzal in 1914 and 1942', *Nineveh*, 16, 3 (1993), 28-9.

(II) CONCORDANCE OF CATALOGUE NUMBERS IN THE SCHER, VOSTÉ, AND
HADDĀD CATALOGUES OF MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE MONASTERY OF
NOTRE DAME DES SEMENCES, ALQŌSH

The manuscript collection of the Chaldean monastery of Notre Dame des Semences near Alqōsh, which included many manuscripts transferred from the monastery of Rabban Hormizd in 1869, was first catalogued by Scher in 1906, who listed 153 manuscripts. In 1928 the collection was catalogued by Vosté, whose catalogue listed 330 manuscripts, including all but seven of the manuscripts previously catalogued by Scher. Most of the collection (including many manuscripts seen neither by Scher nor Vosté) has now been transferred to the Chaldean monastery of Dawrā near Baghdad. Haddād's 1988 catalogue of just under 1,200 Syriac and Arabic manuscripts in the monastery of Dawrā includes 292 manuscripts previously catalogued by Vosté (including the 146 manuscripts in his catalogue previously listed by Scher) and hundreds more which were copied either in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd or in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, and were clearly part of the collection of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences.

Scher	Vosté	Haddād	Scher	Vosté	Haddād	Scher	Vosté	Haddād
-	1	1	14	19	28	-	37	66
1	2	3	17	20	39	-	38	-
2	3	7	16	21	40	-	39	67
3	4	9	18	22	41	-	40	-
4	5	10	-	23	43			
5	6	13	-	24	46	-	41	68
7	7	20	19	25	47	-	42	-
-	8	21	-	26	50	-	43	70
6	9	23	-	27	55	27	44	77
-	10	14	-	28	56	24	45	78
8	11	18	-	29	-	33	46	82
-	12	19	-	30	-	-	47	83
-	13	22	-	31	-	30	48	71
-	14	294?	-	32	63	29	49	72
10	15	24	35	33	61	26	50	80
9	16	25	22	34	62	-	51	169
12	17	26	28	35	64	49	52	170
11	18	27	20	36	65	50	53	171

Scher	Vosté	Haddād	Scher	Vosté	Haddād	Scher	Vosté	Haddād
-	54	173	-	91	149	-	128	323
-	55	174	53	92	370	-	129	325
45	56	89	56	93	371	-	130	327
-	57	90	57	94	372	86	131	328
46	58	175	58	95	376	-	132	291
-	59	176	-	96	379	59	133	309
47	60	177	-	97	383	60	134	268
-	61	178	-	98	384	-	135	277
-	62	-	-	99	391	-	136	310
-	63	179	-	100	399	-	137	-
48	64	180	-	101	-	-	138	312
52	65	181	-	102	408	-	139	248
-	66	-	-	103	456	70	140	428
-	67	182	76	104	457	-	141	393
-	68	183	75	105	463	-	142	435
-	69	191	-	106	464	69	143	-
36	70	92	-	107	465	-	144	236
37	71	93	-	108	459	-	145	238
42	72	97	-	109	-	74	146	258
42	73	98	-	110	471	73	147	259
-	74	99	-	111	472	-	148	261
39	75	107	81	112	425	72	149	329
51	76	192	-	113	-	71	150	367
41	77	-	-	114	438	80	151	482
41	78	94	64	115	194	83	152	-
-	79	101	-	116	195	84	153	485
43	80	102	-	117	197	-	154	484
40	81	108	65	118	198	-	155	486
44	82	111	-	119	199	38	156	487
-	83	113	61	120	223	79	157	488
-	84	114	-	121	227	82	158	489
-	85	105	-	122	242	-	159	193
-	86	142	67	123	243	31	160	490
-	87	144	-	124	245	32	161	491
-	88	145	-	125	321	-	162	492
-	89	164	-	126	322	88	163	493
-	90	165	78	127	324	87	164	-

Scher	Vosté	Ḥaddād	Scher	Vosté	Ḥaddād	Scher	Vosté	Ḥaddād
-	165	495	-	202	583	-	239	682
-	166	497	99	203	536	129	240	683
-	167	496	-	204	537	-	241	684
66	168	212	100	205	611	128	242	686
90	169	509	-	206	612	-	243	687
-	170	512	-	207	943	-	244	685
-	171	515	101	208	634	124	245	690
-	172	-	-	209	-	125	246	692
-	173	516	-	210	620	116	247	694
91	174	517	-	211	635	126	248	695
92	175	520	113	212	621	127	249	697
93	176	498	-	213	623	127	250	698
-	177	499	112	214	628	127	251	699
94	178	525	96	215	-	123	252	703
-	179	530	-	216	629	122	253	704
25	180	535	-	217	630	121	254	710
143	181	539	-	218	631	-	255	-
-	182	540	-	219	632	130	256	711
98	183	588	-	220	553	119	257	-
97	184	589	-	221	554	-	258	715
-	185	597	111	222	-	-	259	715
-	186	595	-	223	-	118	260	716
-	187	613	-	224	-	-	261	718
102	188	602	-	225	561	-	262	719
103	189	604	-	226	667	120	263	720
109	190	541	-	227	668	-	264	723
110	191	542	-	228	669	-	265	726
-	192	544	-	229	672	-	266	757
-	193	-	-	230	673	-	267	730
104	194	545	-	231	674	-	268	123
95	195	-	115	232	675	-	269	740
105	196	-	-	233	-	-	270	818
106	197	-	-	234	677	-	271	774
108	198	-	114	235	-	-	272	775
107	199	578	-	236	678	-	273	776
-	200	580	-	237	680	-	274	777
-	201	-	-	238	681	-	275	778

Scher	Vosté	Ḥaddād	Scher	Vosté	Ḥaddād	Scher	Vosté	Ḥaddād
-	276	779	-	295	895	-	314	922
-	277	780	134	296	898	85	315	921
-	278	781	-	297	897	-	316	925
-	279	782	136	298	901	34	317	926
-	280	731	-	299	899	-	318	927
-	281	733	137	300	900	-	319	930
-	282	736	-	301	-	-	320	69
-	283	738	-	302	906	152	321	931
-	284	795	-	303	907	-	322	932
150	285	875	-	304	908	145	323	934
141	286	876	135	305	-	146	324	935
141	287	877	-	306	-	142	325	-
132	288	880	-	307	610	-	326	-
131	289	885	-	308	-	153	327	939
139	290	-	149	309	911	-	328	965
138	291	579	-	310	912	-	329	938
140	292	886	-	311	913	147, 151	330	-
-	293	893	148	312	915			
133	294	894	-	313	920			

(III) CONCORDANCE OF CATALOGUE NUMBERS IN THE SCHER,
BĪDĀWĪD AND MAGDASI CATALOGUES OF
MANUSCRIPTS FROM MOSUL

The manuscript collection of the Chaldean patriarchate in Mosul was first catalogued by Scher in 1907, who listed 116 manuscripts. The collection was again catalogued in the 1950s by Rufā'īl Bīdāwīd, then bishop of 'Amādiyā. His catalogue (which, judging from their catalogue numbers, appears to have listed several thousand manuscripts) was destroyed in 1961 before it could be published, but 48 manuscripts listed in the catalogue were cited by Fiey in *Assyrie chrétienne, Mossoul chrétienne, Nisibe*, and one or two smaller articles (notably *Ṣapnā* and *Hakkārī*), 15 of which had previously been listed by Scher. The 1988 Syriac Academy catalogue of manuscripts from Iraq included 22 manuscripts from the Chaldean patriarchate listed by Magdasi, all but three of which had previously been listed either by Scher or Bīdāwīd.

Scher	Bīdāwīd	Magdasi	Scher	Bīdāwīd	Magdasi	Scher	Bīdāwīd	Magdasi
13	1	1	-	3119	6	-	4	14
-	3	2	48	3110	7	-	2	15
106	901	3	41	332	8	-	364	16
74	74	-	-	7	10	49	317	17
55	341	-	51	-	11	98	6016	-
54	3124	-	52	3117	-	81	6031	-
16	1210	4	56	6025	12	6	116	-
-	352	5	-	3118	13	-	314	18
17	1213	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

(IV) CONCORDANCE OF CATALOGUE NUMBERS IN THE VOSTÉ AND ḤABBI
CATALOGUES OF MANUSCRIPTS FROM TELKEPE

An unpublished catalogue of about 70 manuscripts from Telkepe was compiled before the Second World War by Vosté, 10 of which were cited by Fiey in *Assyrie chrétienne* and other works. The 1988 Syriac Academy catalogue of manuscripts from Iraq included 60 manuscripts from Telkepe listed by Ḥabbi, 7 of which had been previously catalogued by Vosté and cited by Fiey.

Vosté	Ḥabbi	Vosté	Ḥabbi	Vosté	Ḥabbi	Vosté	Ḥabbi	Vosté	Ḥabbi
-	1	-	21	-	41	63	61	-	81
-	2	-	22	-	42	-	62	-	82
-	3	10	23	-	43	-	63	-	83
-	4	-	24	-	44	-	64	-	84
-	5	-	25	-	45	-	65	-	85
32	6	-	26	-	46	42	66	-	86
58	7	-	27	-	47	-	67	-	87
-	8	-	28	-	48	-	68	-	88
-	9	-	29	-	49	-	69	-	89
-	10	-	30	-	50	-	70	-	90
-	11	-	31	-	51	-	71	-	91
43	12	-	32	-	52	-	72	-	92
-	13	-	33	-	53	-	73	-	93
24	14	-	34	-	54	-	74	-	94
-	15	-	35	-	55	-	75	-	95
-	16	-	36	-	56	-	76	-	96
-	17	-	37	-	57	-	77	-	97
-	18	-	38	-	58	-	78	-	98
-	19	-	39	37	59	-	79	-	99
-	20	-	40	-	60	-	80	-	100

(V) CONCORDANCE OF CATALOGUE NUMBERS IN THE VOSTÉ AND ḤADDĀD
CATALOGUES OF MANUSCRIPTS FROM DOHUK

An unpublished catalogue of at least 44 manuscripts from Dohuk was compiled before the Second World War by Vosté, 19 of which were cited by Fiey in *Assyrie chrétienne* and other works. The 1988 Syriac Academy catalogue of manuscripts from Iraq included 58 manuscripts from Dohuk listed by Ḥaddād, 34 of which had been previously catalogued by Vosté and cited by Fiey.

Vosté	Ḥaddād	Vosté	Ḥaddād	Vosté	Ḥaddād	Vosté	Ḥaddād	Vosté	Ḥaddād
23	1	-	13	1	25	-	37	15	49
44	2	-	14	27	26	37	38	-	50
-	3	-	15	-	27	7	39	-	51
-	4	-	16	19	28	-	40	19	52
-	5	-	17	4	29	20	41	-	53
25	6	-	18	5	30	33	42	16	54
40	7	-	19	-	31	-	43	9	55
41	8	32	20	-	32	12	44	21	56
38	9	30	21	-	33	-	45	11	57
24	10	-	22	12	34	-	46	-	58
35	11	-	23	17	35	14	47	13	-
-	12	3	24	10	36	18	48	29	-

APPENDIX TWO

A LIST OF EAST SYRIAN MANUSCRIPT
COLOPHONS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The list which follows contains a selection of colophons and inscriptions, all but a few East Syrian. The great majority of the manuscripts listed were copied between 1318 and 1913, and their colophons have been used in this study. However, the list also includes details of several manuscripts copied before the thirteenth century. Some of these manuscripts have colophons which supply valuable topographical information, and have also been discussed in this study. Others contain historical information which, while not directly relevant to the theme of this study, may be of interest to students of other aspects of the history of the Church of the East. Of particular interest is a manuscript of 899, whose dating formula mentions the East Syrian bishop Ya'qōb of Ḥarrān and Callinicus, unknown to Fiey¹.

The list also includes several manuscripts copied by East Syrian scribes in the Malabar region of India, which was excluded from the scope of this study. They include a manuscript of 1301, copied in the church of Mār Quriāqōs in Cranganore by the fourteen-year-old deacon Zakaryā, son of Joseph; manuscripts of 1504 and 1510 copied by the bishop Ya'qōb, one of the bishops sent to India by the patriarch Shem'ōn IV; and several manuscripts copied in the 1550s by the East Syrian bishop Joseph and other scribes².

The Mosul district remained relatively undisturbed in the First World War, and the Chaldean village of Alqōsh and the monasteries of Rabban Hormizd, Notre Dame des Semences, and Mār Gīwārgīs have remained important centres for the copying of manuscripts. Although few manuscripts copied after 1913 were of direct relevance for this study, details have been included in this Appendix of about 109 manuscripts copied after the start of the First World War in the hope that they might be of interest to students of the history of the Church of the East in the twentieth

century. All the manuscripts concerned were the work of Chaldean scribes, most of them monks of the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences. The most prolific post-war scribes were the deacon Paul, son of Hormizd, son of the priest Mattai, of the Qāshā family, of Alqōsh, who copied or renewed thirty-two manuscripts between 1916 and 1958³; the monk Louis, son of Paul, of the Ḥannōnā family, of Karamlish, scribe of thirteen manuscripts between 1932 and 1959⁴; the monk Mūsā, son of Isha'yā, son of the priest Peter, of the Qāshā scribal family of Bāṭnāyā, scribe of six manuscripts between 1931 and 1955⁵; and the monk Ablāhad, son of Thomas Īshō', of the 'Aqrā village of Mallabarwān, who copied ten manuscripts between 1955 and 1984⁶.

Other more occasional scribes included the priest and monk Thomas, son of Ḥannā 'Abd Allāh, of Karamlish, active in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences between 1915 and 1929⁷; the monk Arsenius, son of the priest Joseph, son of the deacon Shem'ōn Kākā, of 'Aīnqāwā, scribe of a manuscript of 1918 and perhaps also of a manuscript of 1964⁸; the monk Sargīs, son of Gīwārgīs Dōshō, of Tel Isqōf, scribe of three manuscripts in 1926 and 1927⁹; the deacon Mattai (or Mattīkā), son of Joseph, son of Mikhā, of the Ḥaddād family, of Alqōsh, scribe of three manuscripts in 1924 and 1925 and a fourth in 1958¹⁰; the monk Ablāhad, son of Yōnān, of the Bālō family, of Alqōsh, who copied four manuscripts in 1927¹¹; the monk Yahballāhā, son of David, son of 'Abdīshō', of the 'Azīz family, of Tel Isqōf, scribe of five manuscripts between 1928 and 1948¹²; the monk Gīwārgīs, son of Jānī Jarāh, of Kirkūk, scribe of three manuscripts between 1931 and 1937¹³; the deacons Peter 'Arbō and

³ MSS Dawrā Syr 157, 158, 216, 524, 554, 798, and 862, Alqōsh (Ṣanā) 53, 58, 88, 89, 97, 98, 99, 102, 103, 104, and 111, Bāṭnāyā (Ḥaddād) 12, 15, 21, 22, and 41, Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 7, Vat Syr 59, 523, 587, and 595, Mīngana Syr 601, and three manuscripts in the 'Amādiyā collection (Fiey, *Ṣapnā*, 67).

⁴ MSS Dawrā Syr 79, 81, 106, 115, 368, 538, 503, 549, 550, 616, 665, 933, and 962.

⁵ MSS Bāṭnāyā (Ḥaddād) 56, Beṭ Qōpā (Ḥaddād) 2, and Dawrā Syr 431, 531, 657, and 971.

⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 60, 250, 414, 430, 594, 659, 660, 797, 881, and 963.

⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 504, 555 (part), 650, 652, 782, NDS (Vosté) 207 (part) and 223, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 13; and Vosté, *Inscriptions*, 314.

⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 656 and 858.

⁹ MSS Dawrā Syr 168, 255, and 603.

¹⁰ MSS Dawrā Syr 474 and 977, NDS (Vosté) 330, and a manuscript of 1958 from Alqōsh (Fiey, *AC*, ii. 393).

¹¹ MSS Dawrā Syr 255, 500, 501, and 599.

¹² MSS Dawrā Syr 234, 344, 642, 723, and 917.

¹³ MSS Dawrā Syr 246, 262, and 796.

¹ MS BM Syr (Wright) 161.

² MSS Vat Syr 3, 4, 17, 22, 45, and 128, Paris BN Syr 25, and a note in Borgia (Scher) 52.

Gabriel 'Azīz of Tel Isqōf, who copied three manuscripts in 1932 and 1933¹⁴; the monk Andrew, son of Ḥannā, son of Shem'ōn, son of Eliyā, of Koī Sanjaq, scribe of manuscripts of 1935, 1953 and 1968¹⁵; the priest and monk Samuel Joseph Shawrīz of Tel Isqōf, scribe of four manuscripts between 1946 and 1950¹⁶; the monk Dādīshō', son of the deacon David, of the family of Shem'ōn Kīḥō, of Karamlish, scribe of four manuscripts between 1950 and 1955¹⁷; the monk Yōnān, son of Shābā Markhāyā, of Zākhō, scribe of four manuscripts between 1952 and 1961¹⁸; and the priest Joseph Thomas of Alqōsh, who copied a manuscript in 1972 and restored another in 1976¹⁹.

Isolated manuscripts were copied or restored in 1918 by the scribe Lawrent, son of the priest Shem'ōn, son of the priest 'Abd Allāh, of the Seert village of Berke; in 1924 by the novice monk Quriāqōs, of Karamlish; in 1925 by the deacon Būyā, son of Jijō, son of Binā, of 'Ainqāwā; in 1927 by the scribe Paul Jajeeka of Karamlish and the monk Samuel, son of Hormizd, of Telkepe; in 1928 by the priest Shem'ōn, son of Maṣṣūr, son of Mīkhā, son of Ḥannā Būlāz, of Alqōsh; in 1930 by the monk 'Azariyā and by the monk Eliyā, son of Paul Jajeeka, of Karamlish; in 1933 by the deacons Ḥannā, son of Ḥōshābā, and Mattai, son of Peter, of Karamlish; in 1934 by the monk Shlemūn, son of the deacon Isaac, of the Shābū Shalli family, of the Ṣapnā village of Mengesh; in 1936 by the scribe Ignatius, son of Yōnān, of the Gāzartā village of Harbōl; in 1936 and 1942 by the monk Ablāhad, son of Āzō Lāzō, of Alqōsh; in 1947 by the monk Ṣlibā, son of Hormizd, son of Joseph, of the Mūsi family, of Shaqlāwā; in 1948 by the monk Sargīs, son of Ya'qōb, of Tel Qabīn; in 1962 by the deacon Ḥannā Marqos, son of the deacon Shem'ōn Ḥamā; in 1964 by the scribe Mūshe David of Tel Isqōf; in 1967 by the monk Shlemūn, son of Emmanuel, son of Bākōs, of the Lower Ṭiyārī village of Āshītā; in 1970 by the priest and monk Joseph Kakmīkhā; and in 1976 by the deacon Eliyā 'Īsā Sakmānī, of Alqōsh, and the priest Joseph Shammāshā²⁰.

¹⁴ MSS Mingana Syr 593 and 598, and Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 10.

¹⁵ MSS Dawrā Syr 575, 819, and 859.

¹⁶ MSS Dawrā Syr 151, 477, 547, and 663.

¹⁷ MSS Dawrā Syr 502, 546, 548, and 574.

¹⁸ MSS Dawrā Syr 476, 573, 860, and 865.

¹⁹ MSS Alqōsh (Ṣana) 100 and Bāṭnāyā (Ḥaddād) 15.

²⁰ MSS Vat Syr 596 (part), Dawrā Syr 255, 362, 560, 584, 600, 617, 662, 676, 764, 795, 820, 857, 945, 967, 972, and 974, Louvain CSCO Syr 1, Karamlish (Jajeeka) 58, Bāṭnāyā (Ḥaddād) 15 and 20, and Tel Isqōf (Ḥaddād) 5 and 9.

The list of colophons which follows does not pretend to be exhaustive, but is intended to provide useful historical information. It includes (where known) a manuscript's date, the name of its scribe, the place where it was copied, the name of the person who commissioned it, the church, monastery or individual for whom it was copied, its dating formula, and any notes of historical value. It does not contain, for reasons of space, a description of the manuscript, and omits dated manuscripts whose scribe and place of copying are unknown. Several undated nineteenth-century manuscripts listed by Scher, Vosté, and Ḥaddād, copied in either the monastery of Rabban Hormizd or the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences by anonymous monks, have also been omitted. A number of manuscripts copied by West Syrian scribes (most by the deacon Mattai, son of Paul, of Mosul) have been included when they were commissioned by an East Syrian patron.

Catalogue Number	Date [AD]	Copied at	Name of Scribe(s)	Other Details
BM Syr (Wright) 77	615	East Syrian College, Nisibis	Unnamed scribe	Time of Mār Bāshā metropolitan of Nisibis; Mār Mattai head of the college; Mār Ahhā lecturer; Mār Bar Sāhdā teacher
Inscription [Duval, <i>Inscriptions</i> , 44-47]	697	Cemetery of Khosrōwā, Salmas district, Ūrmi region	Unnamed scribe	Epitaph for Sulaimān (student), son of Khosrō (d. 697, December)
Inscription [Duval, <i>Inscriptions</i> , 47-8]	698	Cemetery of Khosrōwā, Salmas district, Ūrmi region	Unnamed scribe	Epitaph for 'Amlad (deacon), son of Khosrō (priest) (d. 698, April)
New York Pierpont Morgan 236	759/60	'Amādiyā region	Unnamed scribe	Time of Mār Ya'qōb patriarch; Mār Ephrem bishop of Beṭ Nūhadrā
BM Syr (Rosen-Forshall) 13	768	Monastery of Mār Sabrishō', Erbil region	Sabrishō' (monk)	Copied for his fellow-monk Iṣhō'zḥā Time of Melchisedec (priest) superior
BM Syr (Wright) 243	862	Not known	Ya 'qōb (priest), son of Yōhannān, son of Mār Šlibā, of Balad	Commissioned by Bishr, son of Bahr, for the church of Mār Yōhannān, Fostat, Egypt
Paris BN Syr 342 [Seert (Scher) 7]	894	Monastery of Rabban Joseph, Awānā, Beṭ 'Arabāye region	Šlibā-zḥā	Not recorded

Catalogue Number	Date [AD]	Copied at	Name of Scribe(s)	Other Details
BM Syr (Wright) 161	899	Monastery of Mār Gabriel, Harrān	Bāba' (deacon)	Commissioned by Dōdōn of Dūrā, for his sons Sisin (deacon) and Makikikhā Time of Mār Yōhannān patriarch; Mār Ya'qōb bishop of Harrān and Callinicus
Mingana Syr 502B	912	Monastery of Mār Yōhannān the Egyptian, Gāzartā region	Unnamed scribe	Time of Mār Abraham patriarch; Mār Iṣhō'yahb bishop of Gāzartā; Qāmishō' superior; Benjamin, David of Sanyā, Yōhannān, Sabrishō', and Yaqqirā directors
Inscription [Fiey, <i>AC</i> , i. 168]	925	Church of Mār Giwārgīs, 'Aī nqāwā, Erbil region	Unnamed scribe	Epitaph for Hormizd (priest), of 'Aī nqāwā (d. 925, October 4)
Vat Syr 1	928/9	Monastery of Mār Eliyā, Mosul region	Eliyā (monk)	Copied for scribe's friend Awmāsā, of the Mārhasan family
Leningrad Syr 8	981, April 16	Nisibis	Abraham (priest), son of Nathaniel (priest), son of Denhā (priest)	Not recorded
Inscription [Fiey, <i>MC</i> , 120]	1023	Church of Mār Giwārgīs, Mosul	Unnamed scribe	Epitaph for Mōmāg, son of Yōhannān, son of Zagal (d. 1023, February 10)
Inscription [Duval, <i>Inscriptions</i> , 48-52]	1098	Samā, Salmas district, Ūrmi region	Unnamed scribe	Epitaph for Zay'ā, son of Šlibā and nephew of Bākōs (d. 1098)

Catalogue Number	Date [AD]	Copied at	Name of Scribe(s)	Other Details
Alqōsh (Sāna) 100	1972	Alqōsh, Mosul region	Joseph Thomas (priest)	Not recorded
Note in Dawrā Syr 856 (of 1923)	1973	Alqōsh, Mosul region?	Rūfā'īl Shawrīz (priest)	MS acquired by scribe
Note in Dohuk (Haddād) 33	1973	Dohuk, Amādiyā region	Giamil Nisān (priest of Dohuk)	MS restored by scribe
Note in Tel-Isqōf (Haddād) 9	1976	Telkepe, Mosul region?	Joseph Shammāshā (priest)	MS restored by scribe
Note in Bātmāyā (Haddād) 15	1976	Alqōsh, Mosul region?	Joseph Thomas (priest), and Eliyā 'Isā Sakmāni (deacon), of Alqōsh	MS restored by scribes for Shlemūn (priest)
Dawrā Syr 797	1984, March 4	Monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, Mosul region	Ablahād (monk), son of Thomas Ishō', of Mallabarwān	Not recorded

APPENDIX THREE

EXTRACTS FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE EAST SYRIAN PATRIARCHS

All but one of the following passages, which list the episcopal hierarchies of several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century East Syrian patriarchs and the districts under their control, have been extracted from Italian or Latin translations of letters from the East Syrian patriarchs which have been preserved in the Vatican. Unfortunately, the Syriac originals of these letters have not survived, and while most of the proper names and place names mentioned in these passages can be readily recognised despite the distortions they have undergone at the translator's hands, a number of names cannot be confidently restored. As these passages have been frequently cited in this work as evidence for the organisation of the rival hierarchies in the Church of the East, and in view of the element of subjectivity involved in restoring some of the names they contain, the reader may find it helpful to have the relevant extracts from the surviving Latin and Italian translations conveniently assembled here. An extract from Leonard Abel's description of the East Syrian church in 1587 is also included.

(i) *The Hierarchy of 'Abdīshō' IV, 1562*

[Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 64-5]

Ego Abd-Isu filius Johannis de domo Martia Civitate Gezirae in Tigri flumine, olim monachus Sancti Antonii, monasterii SS. Rabae et Joannis fratrum, nunc Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratias Primas, sive Patriarcha Civitatis Muzal in Assyria Orientali, sub cuius iurisdictione multi Metropolitae et diocesani continentur, videlicet Arbel Metropolis, Sirava, Hancava episcopatus, Cheptiam Metropolis, Charamleys, Aschusc episcopatus; Nassibin Metropolis, Macchazzin, Tallescani, Mardin episcopatus; Elchessen metropolis, Zuch et Mesciara episcopatus; Gurgel Metropolis, Esci episcopatus; Amed metropolis, Charuchia, Yhayr, Tannur Episcopatus, quae omnes simul regiones subsunt Turcarum imperio. Ormi superior Metropolis, Ulcismi et Cuchia Episcopatus; Ormi inferior Metropolis, Durasoldos, Escinuc Episcopatus; Espurgan Metropolis,

Nare, Giennum Episcopatus; Salmas Metropolis, Baomar, Sciabathan, Vasthan Episcopatus; omnes Persarum regi vulgo Sophi nuncupato subiecti. In India vero Lusitanis subiecta, Cuscim Metropolis, Cananor Metropolis, Goa Metropolis, Calicuth Episcopatus, cui subest Caronngol Civitas, quae adhuc ab Idolatris et Ethnicis hominibus possidetur.

(ii) *The Hierarchy of Shem'ôn IX Denhâ, 1580* [Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 90]

SIMON Indignus. Mar DENKHA Metropolitanus. Mar JOSEPH Metropolitanus Selemest. Mar DENKHA Metropolitanus. Mar SERGHIS Metropolitanus de Gelu. Mar EUSEBIUS Metropolitanus de Gazarta. Mar ADDAI Metropolitanus. Mar JOANNES Metropolitanus de Attel. Mar JOANNES JESU Metropolitanus de Sepatke. Mar ABDJESU Metropolitanus de Koma. Mar JOANNES JESU Metropolitanus de Mardin. Mar JOSEPH Episcopus de Seert. Mar JOANNES Episcopus de Chelhacke.

(iii) *The Rival Hierarchies, 1587* [Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 121-2]

Questa Nattione Assiria ha hauto quatro Patriarchi, delli quali tre sono stati confirmati dalla Sede Apostolica, e benche habbiano havuto il titolo della chiese di Musal in Babilonia, non di meno non hanno possuto sin al presente pigliare la possessione di quella, perchè l'altro Patriarca loro Aversario l'ha tenuta sempre, e tiene occupata, e perciò questi Patriarchi hanno fatto residenza in diversi luoghi, chi in Caramit, chi in Seert, e questo ultimo in Zeinalbak nelli confini della Persia, e resta questa Nazione sin' hora divisa sotto dui Patriarchi, questi chiamati da noi Caldei Assiri Orientali, e gli altri Nestoriani.

Di questi Caldei Orientali, li più ricchi, e potenti sono nella città di Caramit, li quali con li loro Prelati hanno professione di conservar' e crescere l'obedientia della Sede Apostolica, et hanno già sin' hora tirati a loro, et aggregatosi li Nestoriani di molte terre, e ville, e sono già in gran numero, Di questi Prelati li più letterati sono Iosepho Elia Arcivescovo di Caramit, e Mardin, Hunanjesuis e Serchis Arcivescovi. Fra Giacomo Priore del Monastero di Seert, e prete Abdelhad da Caramit, e Frate Abdelmesih de Tabiata.

Ma li più ricchi e potenti delli Nestoriani sudditi al Patriarca Aversario sono quelli di Musal e Gizire in Babilonia sotto il qual Patriarcato vi è maggior numero di gente. Il Patriarca che vive al presente si chiama Mar

Elia e fa residenza nel Monastero patriarcale de Santo Ermete appresso la detta città di Musal. Questo Patriarca non vi è memoria, che altre volte Egli abbia dato obediencia alla Sede Apostolica. Manda non di meno hora un frate con la sua professione et lettere dirette a Vostra Santità per trovar modo di reconciliare, et unirsi con le sudetti Assirii, havendolo io reccomandato su la stessa nave Venetiana. Li più litterati di questa Nattione Nestoriana sono

ELIA Patriarca del Musal
GABRIELE Arcivescovo de Gesira
HANNON IESU Arcivescovo della Mansurie
GIACOBO Arcivescovo di Santo Eugenio
Frate ISA nel Monastero di Santo Michael e nel Musal
Frate GIACOBO del Monastero di Santo Ermete
Prete THOMASSO nel Musal
Prete AATALLA della Gesira
Prete HOSCIABE della villa Telchefe
Prete GIOANNE del Musal.

(iv) *The Hierarchy of Elîyâ VIII, 1587* [Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 506]

Exarata et absoluta est ista fidei professio in sacrosancto Rabban Hormisdæ Persæ Monasterio, Sede Patriarchali Orientis, feria sexta ante festum Nativitatis, die vigesima quarta Canun anni millesimi quingentesimi quinquagesimi tertii ab Ascensione Domini nostri in coelum, et secundum Graecorum computationem, millesimi octingentesimi septimi, jussu ac praesentia Patriarchae et Episcoporum et Presbyterorum, Mar-Annanjesu videlicet Mosulae, et Gabrielis Gazartae, et Mar-Johannan Urmiae, nec non Rabban Jacobi et Rabban Cyriaci et Ataje presbyteri, atque humilis Josephi, et quod reliquum est, millies sit vobis salus totius sanctae Catholicae Ecclesiae. Amen.

(v) *The Hierarchy of Elîyâ VIII, 1607* [Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 514-5]

Il Patriarca si chiama Helia et è Monaco di S. Antonio et ha potestà nel spirituale sopra tutti li Christiani, et religiosi et Vescovi et ha sotto di lui 13 Metropolitane che così si chiamano essi, et 12 Vescovi, che in numero sono 25.

Il P.º Metropolitanò risiede nella Città di Himet e si dimanda Mar Helia.

- 2º Nella Città Meridin et si chiama Mar Giacomo.
- 3º Nella Città Kesri et si domanda Mar Gabriele.
- 4º Nella Città Gitora et dimandasi Mar Giosef.
- 5º Nella Città sciugar et si dimanda Mar Glanan Imech cioè Cristoforo.
- 6º Nella Città Arbel si dimanda Mar Simone.
- 7º Nella città Giulmar Mar Saurischioh cioè imagine di Gesù.
- 8º Nella città Leun Mar Dencha.
- 9º Nella città Vuann et si chiama Mar Javalah cioè dono di Dio.
- 10º Nella città di Salmesta et si chiama Mar Giosefe.
- 11º Nella città di Albac et si chiama Mar Simone.
- 12º Nella città de Gielo Mar Sergis nel quale l'Arcivescovato son tutti Christiani senza niun'altra nazione de Infedeli fra di loro, et li trovano in quello degli huomini d'armi solo quindici mila, che dell'anime comuni non ce ne numero.
- 13º Nella Città Sapatàn Mar Kanan Jesu cioè gratia di Gesu.

Vescovi, il primo nella città di Seret si chiama Mar Isicaia.

- 2º Nella città Narman si chiama Mar Joseph.
- 3º Nella città di Atel si chiama Mar Aprem.
- 4º Nella Città di Vorce si chiama Mar Gionann.
- 5º Nella Città di Gurgel si chiama Mar Benakan.
- 6º Nella Città di Abenai si chiama Mar Gionann.
- 7º Nella Città di Bettanàn si chiama Jababelania cioè dono di Dio.
- 8º Nella città di Rustaca si chiama Mar Joseph.
- 9º Nella città d'Orini si chiama Abdi-Jesu cioè servo di Gesù.
- 10º Nella città di Jorum si chiama Mar Abram.
- 11º Nella città di Arni si chiama Mar Joseph.

(vi) *The Rival Hierarchies*, 1610

[Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 114]

Nomina autem Patrum nostrae regionis ista sunt: Dominus Elias Patriarcha, et Archiepiscopi illius Dominus Gabriel Castelli, et Dominus Elias Amed; Dominus Iacob Nisibi, Dominus Ioseph Insulae, Dominus Misericordia Iesus, Assiriae; Dominus Simeon Custos Sedis, et Episcopi eius sunt. Dominus Epiphanius, Garghel, et Dominus Ioannes Abanita, et Dominus Efrengi, Dominus Iesusdedit Segret, Dominus Ioannes

Otel, Dominus Servijesus Salmi, Dominus Ioseph Solotam, et Dominus Abraham Rachni, Dominus Abraham Montium. Etiam Dominus Simeon Catholicus, Dominus Misericordia Iesus Solotam, Dominus Sergius Geli, Dominus Iesusdedit terminorum Persiae, et Dominus Spes mea Iesus Baruariae, et Dominus Addeus inserviens sedi. Isti autem sunt Archiepiscopi domini Simeonis, et Episcopi illius. Dominus Ioseph Ormi, et Dominus Georgius Sat, Dominus Servi Iesus Otel, Et confines Domini Eliae Patriarchae ab Amed usque ad Assiriam, et Babilonem, et Bassaram, et ducit usque ad Arbil et Accarum usque ad Persiam, Et confines Domini Simeonis Catholici, a Persia usque ad Giolomargh, et Segret usque ad Amed, et inter istos confines innumerabiles sunt regiones, omnes ex nostra professione inter quos Aulus alienigena ex altera professione habitat.

(vii) *The Hierarchy of Eliyā VIII*, 1616

[Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 143-4]

Et si dixeritis, Nestorium non assentiri huic sententiae; manifestum est enim ipsum mortuum esse, et non posse resurgere de sepulchro, et mutare nos a nostra sententia. Et nos refutamus quodcumque est in libris nostris, si non convenit cum hac sententia. Verum nomen Nestorii adhaesit nobis, et non possumus illud rejicere, quantumvis contendamus, ut scripsimus ad Vestram Sanctitatem, cum Fide Domini Timothei, etiam de hac re, ex nostris libris antiquis Syriace, et Arabice. Et haec facta sunt per subscriptiones omnium nostrum.

Ego Elias per gratiam Dei Patriarcha Orientis, subscripsi.

Ego imbecillis Gabriel Archiepiscopus Hesnae, subscripsi.

Ego imbecillis Elias Archiepiscopus Sehert, subscripsi.

Ego imbecillis Joseph Archiepiscopus Insolae subscripsi.

Ego humilis Timotheus Archiepiscopus Jerusalem, et Amed subscripsi.

Ego Abraham Episcopus Vehdonfores subscripsi.

Item ego Joannes Jesu Archiepiscopus loci Civitatis Van, veni post Congregationem; et subscripsi.

(viii) *The Hierarchy of Eliyā IX*, 1617

[Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 186-7]

Haec autem nomina Theodori et Nestorii non est possibile auferre et abradere a libris nostrorum Orientalium. Deque omnibus operibus aliis, ecce, subscripsimus ac acceptavimus, et sigillo munivimus.

Imbecillis Elias per gratiam Domini nostri Patriarcha Orientis.

Ego autem Joannes-Jesus qui per gratiam sum Archiepiscopus Custos Sedis.

Ego autem Joseph, qui per gratiam sum Archiepiscopus Insulae.

Ego autem Jesus-datus, qui per gratiam sum Archiepiscopus Sehert.

Ego autem Timothaeus, qui per gratiam sum Archiepiscopus Jerusalem.

E cubiculo Patriarchali orationes et benedictiones concedantur vobis.

(ix) *The Qūdshānīs Patriarchate, 1653* [Assemani, *BO*, iii. 622]

Pax divina, charitas Domini, Christianus honor ex ore Domini Simeonis Catholici Patriarchae Chaldaeorum, ad Patrem patrum, & Pastorem pastorum, nectentem diademata, ungentem pontifices, santum Papam Innocentiam, caput totius Christianitatis. Nec exiguus est numerus Chaldaeorum D. Simeonis qui degunt in regionibus sequentibus, nempe Gulmar, Barur, Gur, Galu, Baz, Dasen, Tachuma, Jatira, Valta, Talig, Batnura, Luun, Nudis, Salmes, Albac, Hasaph, Van, Vasgan, Arne, Suphtan, Targur, Urmi, Anzel, Saldus, Asnock, Margo, Amid, Gulnca. In his autem regionibus quadraginta familiarum millia sunt, omnes filii cellae D. Simeonis. Nos omnes quidem amplectimur & suscipimus sedem Petri & Pauli.

(x) *The Hierarchy of Elīyā X, 1669* [Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes*, 540]

Datum die Dominico, 22. Novembris 1669, in habitaculo sancto Divi Patris nostri Hermetis Persae. A secretis Simeon.

Ego Elias Dei gratia Patriarcha Orientis.

Ego Simeon Dei gratia Custos Sedis Adeaei a secretis.

Ego Joseph Dei gratia Metropolitan Gazartensis.

Ego Johannes Dei gratia Metropolita Sandrensis.

Ego Abedjesu Dei gratia Metropolita Amedensis.

APPENDIX FOUR

THE CHALDEAN EPISCOPATE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The following list includes details, mostly extracted from Tfinkdji's *Église chaldéenne*, of the careers of over forty nineteenth-century Chaldean bishops, who are listed in chronological order according to the dates of their consecrations. Tfinkdji's article remains an indispensable source for the Chaldean episcopate, but his sources were naturally fuller and more reliable for the second half of the nineteenth century than for the first. His dates for several bishops who flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century were wrong, and have been corrected here in the light of subsequent research in the Vatican archives by Bello, whose *Congrégation de St Hormisdas*, published in 1939, examined the affairs of the Chaldean church in the first half of the nineteenth century in great detail. Several later details appear in the prefaces to Vosté's manuscript catalogues.

Needless to say, information of comparable quality is wholly lacking in the case of the contemporary traditionalist bishops of the Qūdshānīs patriarchate.

Īshō'yahb Yōhannān Gabriel (1758-1833): Born Khosrōwā, 1758; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest in 1795; metropolitan of Salmas 1795-1833 (consecrated 8 November 1795); died 15 July 1833, Khosrōwā.

Basil Asmar (1789-1844): Born Telkepe, c.1789; christened Manšūr; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest 1819; metropolitan of 'Amādiyā, 1824-1828 (consecrated on 21 April 1824 in Āmid, under the name Basil, by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi); metropolitan of Āmid, 1828-1842; died 1844, Āmid.

Lawrent Shō'ā (1792-1853): Born Tel Isqōf, c.1792; christened Thomas; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest, 1821; metropolitan of Kirkūk, 1824-1853 (consecrated 23 April 1824 in Āmid, under the name Lawrent, by the patriarchal

- administrator Augustine Hindi); died 23 August 1853, Mosul; tomb in the church of Mart Meskintā, Mosul.
- Joseph Audō (1790-1878):** Born Alqōsh, 1790; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, 1814-1822; ordained priest, 1818; metropolitan of Mosul, 1825-1830 (consecrated on 25 March 1825 in Āmid by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi); metropolitan of 'Amādiyā, 1830-1847; patriarch of Babylon, 1847-1878 (elected 28 July 1847, confirmed 11 September 1848); died 14 March 1878, Mosul; tomb in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, near Alqōsh.
- Ignatius Dashtō (1794-1866):** Born Alqōsh, 1794; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest, 1821; metropolitan of Mardīn, 1826-1868 (consecrated 8 September 1826 in Āmid by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi); died 12 July 1868, Mardīn.
- Mikhā'il Kattūlā (1792-1855):** Born Telkepe, c.1792; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest 1823; metropolitan of Seert, 1826-1855 (consecrated 15 September 1826 in Āmid by the patriarchal administrator Augustine Hindi); died 1855, Seert.
- Gīwārgīs Peter di Natale (d.1867):** Born Khosrōwā; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 1830; bishop of Gāzartā and vicar-general of the patriarchate of Babylon, 1833-1842 (consecrated 1833 by the patriarch Yōhannān VIII Hormizd); metropolitan of Āmid, 1842-1867; died 13 August 1867, Albano, near Rome.
- Nicholas Zay'ā (d.1855):** Born Khosrōwā; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained c.1830; metropolitan of Salmas, 1836-1839 (consecrated 1836 in Baghdad by the patriarch Yōhannān VIII Hormizd, with title of archbishop of Aḏārbaigān and coadjutor with right of succession); patriarch of Babylon, 1839-1846 (confirmed 27 April 1840); resigned, 1846; died 1855, Khosrōwā.
- Gīwārgīs Augustine Barshīnā (1814-1889):** Born Khosrōwā, 1814; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 1841 in Rome, under the name Gīwārgīs; metropolitan of Salmas, 1848-1889 (consecrated 11 July 1848 in Mosul, under the name Augustine, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); died 1889.
- 'Abdīshō' Thomas Dirshō (d.1859):** Monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest c.1850; bishop of 'Amādiyā, 1851-1859

- (consecrated 1851, under the name Thomas, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); died 1859.
- Jerome Paul Hindi (1814-1873):** Born Āmid, 1814; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 1840 in Rome, under the name Jerome; metropolitan of Gāzartā, 1852-1873 (consecrated 23 February 1852 in Mosul, under the name Paul, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); died 1873, Āmid.
- Jerome Shem'on Sinjari (1798-1886):** Born Telkepe, c.1798; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest c.1850, in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, under the name Jerome; bishop of Sehnā, 1853-1885 (consecrated 7 September 1853 in Mosul, under the name Shem'on, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); resigned 1885; died 1886, monastery of Mār Gīwārgīs, near Mosul.
- Yōhannān Tamraz (1803-1881):** Born Telkepe, c.1803; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest 1834; metropolitan of Kirkūk, 1854-1881 (consecrated 14 September 1854 in Mosul by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); died 13 September 1881, Kirkūk.
- Peter Mikhā'il Bartatar (1809-1884):** Born Khosrōwā, c.1809; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 1836, in Rome; in Baghdad, 1836-1841; in Mosul, 1841-1858; metropolitan of Seert, 1858-1884 (consecrated 7 November 1858 in Mosul, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); died 1884, Pīrōz, Seert region; buried in Seert.
- Emmanuel Asmar (1801-1875):** Born Telkepe, 1801; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest 1832, in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, under the name Emmanuel; bishop of Zākhō, 1859-1875 (consecrated 1859 by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); died 1875, Zākhō.
- Gīwārgīs 'Abdīshō' Ḥayyāṭ (1828-1899):** Born Mosul, 1828; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 1855; metropolitan of 'Amādiyā, 1860-1863 (consecrated 23 September 1860, under the name 'Abdīshō', by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); patriarchal vicar of Mosul and vicar-general, 1863-1870; metropolitan of Āmid, 1874-1894; patriarch of Babylon, 1894-1899 (elected 28 October 1894, confirmed 28 March 1895); died 6 November 1899, Baghdad.
- Thomas Rōkōs (d.1888):** patriarchal vicar of Basra, 1860 (consecrated 23 September 1860 by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō; in Malabar, 1860-1875; died 1888.

- Yōhannān Eliyā Mellus (1831-1908):** Born Mardīn, 19 September 1831; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest 21 September 1856; bishop of 'Aqrā, 1864-1890 (consecrated 5 June 1864, under the name Eliyā, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō; in Malabar, 1874-1882; in Mosul, under suspension, 1882-1890); metropolitan of Mardīn, 1890-1908; died 16 February 1908, Mardīn; buried in the church of Rabban Hormizd, Mardīn.
- Gabriel Farsō (1831-1873):** Born Mardīn, 15 January 1831, son of Gīwārgīs; educated by the Capuchin mission, Mardīn; ordained priest 1857 in Mardīn by Ignatius Dashtō, metropolitan of Mardīn; metropolitan of Mardīn, 1870-1873 (consecrated 30 January 1870 in Rome by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); died 27 June 1873, Mardīn.
- Peter Timothy 'Attar (1833-1891):** Born Āmid, 3 February 1833; educated at the Ghazir Seminary, Beirut, from 29 November 1851, and at the College of the Propaganda, Rome, from 27 May 1854; ordained priest 1 January 1862 in Āmid, under the name Peter, by Gīwārgīs Peter di Natale, metropolitan of Āmid; metropolitan of Āmid, 1870-1872 (consecrated 30 January 1870 in Rome, under the name Timothy, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); metropolitan of Mardīn, 1873-1883; vicar apostolic after the death of Joseph VI Audō in 1878; resigned 1883; died 6 October 1891, Āmid.
- Mattai Paul Shamīnā (1835-1893):** Born Telkepe, 1835; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest c.1870; bishop of 'Amādiyā, 1874-1879 (consecrated 24 May 1874 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, under the name Paul, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); bishop of Zākhō, 1879-1885; patriarchal vicar of Sehnā, 1885-1892; died 1893, Mosul.
- Eliyā Peter 'Abūlyōnān (1840-1894):** Born Mosul, 1840; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome, 1855-1857; ordained priest 1865 in Mosul, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō; metropolitan of Gāzartā, 1874-1878 (consecrated 24 May 1874 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, under the name Peter, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); patriarch of Babylon, 1879-1894 (elected 1878, confirmed 28 February 1879); died 27 June 1894, Mosul; tomb in the church of Mart Meskintā, Mosul.
- Quriāqōs Gīwārgīs Gōgā (1820-1911):** Born Telkepe, 15 January 1820; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest 1855, in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; bishop of Zākhō, 1875-1979

- (consecrated abusively 25 July 1875 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, under the name Gīwārgīs, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); metropolitan of 'Amādiyā, 1879-1892; bishop of Sehnā, 1893-1911; died 18 January 1911, Mosul.
- Philip Ya'qōb Abraham (1848-1915):** Born Telkepe, 3 January 1848; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; educated at the Patriarchal Seminary, Mosul; ordained priest 1873 in the Patriarchal Seminary, under the name Philip; bishop of Malabar, 1875-1881 (consecrated abusively 25 July 1875 in the monastery of Notre Dame des Semences, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō); metropolitan of Gāzartā, 1882-1915; died violently 1915, Gāzartā.
- Joseph Gabriel Adāmō (1851-1899):** Born Seert, 1851; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 21 April 1878, in Rome; metropolitan of Kirkūk, 1883-1899 (consecrated 26 August 1883 in Mosul, under the name Gabriel, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān); elected patriarch of Babylon in 1894, but declined the office; died 4 June 1899, Kirkūk.
- Ya'qōb Mikhā'il Na'mō (1837-1895):** Born Mosul, c.1837; ordained priest 1863, under the name Ya'qōb, by the patriarch Joseph VI Audō; director of the Patriarchal Seminary, Mosul, 1867-1875; patriarchal vicar of Baghdad, 1875-1885; metropolitan of Seert, 1885-1888 (consecrated 12 July 1885 in Mosul, under the name Mikhā'il, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān); patriarchal vicar of Baghdad and titular archbishop of Basra, 1888-1895; died 1895, Baghdad.
- Stephen Yōhannān Qaynāyā (1845-1889):** Born Telkepe, c.1845; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd; ordained priest 5 May 1872, in the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, by Yōhannān Eliyā Mellus, bishop of 'Aqrā; bishop of Zākhō, 1886-1889 (consecrated 1886 in Mosul, under the name Yōhannān, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān); died 1889, Zākhō.
- Jeremy Timothy Maqdasi (1847-1929):** Born Alqōsh, 13 January 1847; monk of the monastery of Rabban Hormizd, from 1864; educated at the College of the Propaganda Rome, from 1869; ordained priest 1 June 1879, in Rome; patriarchal vicar, diocese of Seert, 1888-1890; bishop of Zākhō, 1892-1929 (elected 1890, consecrated 24 July 1892 in Mosul, under the name Timothy, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān); died 1929.

- Thomas Audō (1855-1917):** Born Alqōsh, 11 October 1855; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome, from 1870; ordained priest 1880, in Rome; patriarchal vicar of Aleppo, 1880-1890; metropolitan of Ūrmī, 1892-1917 (elected 4 September 1890, consecrated 1 May 1892 in Mosul, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān); died 1917.
- Joseph Emmanuel Thomas (1852-1947):** Born Alqōsh, 8 August 1852; educated at the Ghazir Seminary, Beirut, from 1869; ordained priest 10 July 1879 in Mosul by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; Director of the Patriarchal Seminary, Mosul, 1879-1892; metropolitan of Seert, 1892-1900 (elected 4 September 1890; consecrated 24 July 1892 in Mosul, under the name Emmanuel, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān); patriarch of Babylon, 1900-1947 (elected 9 July 1900, confirmed 17 December 1900); died 1947.
- Ya'qōb Yōhannān Sahhar (1852-1909):** Born Mosul, 23 March 1852; educated at the patriarchal seminary, Mosul, from 12 January 1883; ordained priest 2 May 1886 in Mosul, under the name Ya'qōb, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; patriarchal vicar of Basra, 1887-1892; bishop of 'Aqrā (and, from 23 April 1895, 'Amādīyā), 1893-1909 (elected 2 September 1892, consecrated 25 March 1893 in Mosul by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān); died 13 June 1909, 'Aqrā.
- Eliyā Joseph Hayyāt (1856-1903):** Born Baghdad, 1856; educated at the patriarchal Seminary, Mosul; ordained priest 1882, under the name Eliyā, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; patriarchal vicar of Constantinople, 1885-1893; patriarchal vicar of Mosul, patriarchal vicar-general and titular archbishop of Nisibis, 1894-1900 (consecrated 11 November 1894 in Mosul by Yōhannān Eliyā Mellus, metropolitan of Mardīn); metropolitan of Kirkūk, 1900-1903; died 2 February 1903, Kirkūk.
- Isaac Yahballāhā Hūdabāhash (1859-1940):** Born Khosrōwā, 18 October 1859; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 28 February 1887 in Rome; metropolitan of Salmas, 1894-1901 (consecrated 11 November 1894 in Mosul by Yōhannān Eliyā Mellus, metropolitan of Mardīn); patriarchal vicar of Cairo, 1908-1930; archbishop of Ūrmī and Salmas, 1930-1940; died 1940.
- Shlemūn Mūshe al-Sabbagh (1865-1929):** Born Mosul, 1 April 1865; educated at the Patriarchal Seminary, Mosul; ordained priest 8 April

1888 by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; metropolitan of Āmid, 1897-1921 (elected 6 June 1897, consecrated 19 September 1897 by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān); died June 1929, Āmid; tomb in the church of Mār Peṭiōn, Āmid.

- Addai Scher (1867-1915):** Born Shaqlāwā, 3 March 1867; educated at the Syro-Chaldean Seminary, Mosul, from 1880; ordained priest 15 August 1889 in Mosul, under the name Addai, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; episcopal vicar, diocese of Kirkūk, 1889-1902; metropolitan of Seert, 1902-1915 (elected 15 August 1902, consecrated 30 November 1902 in Mosul, by the patriarch Emmanuel II Thomas); died violently 20 June 1915, Ṭanze, Seert region.
- Joseph Ya'qōb Awgin Mannā (1867-1927):** Born Beṭ Qōpā, 1867; christened Joseph; educated at the Patriarchal Seminary, Mosul, from 1885; ordained priest 15 August 1889, under the name Ya'qōb, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; professor of Syriac, Syro-Chaldean Seminary, Mosul, 1895-1902; titular archbishop of Talbora and patriarchal administrator of Vān, 1902-1918 (elected 27 August 1902, consecrated 30 November 1902 in Mosul); metropolitan of Basra, 1921-1927; died 1927.
- Hormizd Stephen Jibri (1870-1952):** Born Mosul, 1870; educated at the Patriarchal Seminary, Mosul; ordained priest 4 June 1893, under the name Hormizd, by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; patriarchal vicar of Mosul and patriarchal vicar-general and titular archbishop of Nisibis, 1902-1917 (consecrated 30 November 1902 in Mosul, under the name Stephen); metropolitan of Kirkūk, 1917-1952; died 1952.
- Theodore Msayeh (1837-1917):** Born Baghdad, c.1837; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 1870, in Rome; patriarchal vicar of Baghdad; metropolitan of Kirkūk, 1904-1917 (elected 13 August 1904, consecrated 16 October 1904 in Mosul, by the patriarch Emmanuel II Thomas); died 26 May 1917, Kirkūk.
- Israel Audō (1859-1941):** Born Alqōsh, 6 August 1859; educated at the patriarchal seminary, Mosul, from 1883; ordained priest 2 May 1886 in Mosul by the patriarch Eliyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; patriarchal vicar of Basra, 1892-1909; metropolitan of Mardīn, 1910-1941 (elected 11 May 1909, consecrated 27 February 1910 in Mosul by the patriarch Emmanuel II Thomas, took possession of his diocese 19 March 1910); died 1941.

Peter Raffō 'Aziz (1866-1937): Born Mosul, 6 April 1866; educated at the College of the Propaganda, Rome; ordained priest 1890, in Rome; director of the Patriarchal Seminary, Mosul, 1894-1897; chorepiscopus and patriarchal vicar of Aleppo, 1897-1910; bishop of Salmas, 1910-1928 (elected 25 January 1910, consecrated 15 August 1910 in Mosul by the patriarch Emmanuel II Thomas); bishop of Zākhō, 1929-1937; died 1937.

Francis David (1870-1939): Born Arāden, 14 October 1870; educated at the Syro-Chaldean Seminary, Mosul, from 1883; ordained priest 4 June 1893 in Mosul, by the patriarch Elīyā XII 'Abūlyōnān; later vicar-general, diocese of 'Amādīyā; metropolitan of 'Amādīyā, 1910-1939 (elected 25 January 1910, consecrated 15 August 1910 in Mosul by the patriarch Emmanuel II Thomas); died 1939.

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As nearly all the East Syrian primary sources used for this study were written in Syriac rather than Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, the names of East Syrian settlements in Kurdistan have as a rule been given in their Syriac forms, even where (in the case of some towns and large villages) they are better known under a different name: thus Āmid, not Diyārbakr; Gāzartā, not Jazīra or Cizre; Ḥesnā d'Kifā, not Ḥiṣn Kayf; and Telkepe, not Tel Kayf. The reader should note that this practice differs from that of Fiey, who often used the Arabic form of place names. In the case of villages, the Syriac name has in many cases been derived from manuscript colophons. Trivial variants of the same name have been ignored, but substantial variants (Kherpā for Ḥerpā, for example) have normally been noted. The Syriac forms of the names of most of the villages in the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions, few of which are mentioned in manuscript colophons, have been taken from an article by Senacherīb Abraham published in the *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society* in 1993, which reproduced in Syriac the list of East Syrian villages in these regions compiled by Cutts in 1877.

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INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

The compilation of this index has involved a number of compromises. The names of many of the individuals listed were recorded in the various sources, particularly the Syriac colophons, in a diminutive or colloquial form: thus Dīlō for Daniel; Gawrō or Gāwō for Gabriel; Hōmō for Hormizd; Ḥannā for Yōhannān; Ḥōshābā for Ḥaḍbshabbā; Pātō for Peter; Tāmō for Tamraz; Yāqō for Ya'qōb; and so on. In some cases the name of a single individual was also recorded in one or more variant forms: scribes named Yōhannān occasionally used forms such as Īwānīs, Yūwānīs and Yūhannā in addition to the diminutive Ḥannā, and variant forms of name endings are often found, such as Ḥōshābō for Ḥōshābā, and 'Abdīsh for 'Abdīshō'.

Proper names have normally been given in full, both in the main text and in this index, when both the diminutive and the fuller form of the name occur in the sources, but in the diminutive form when it alone is attested. Similarly, the most common form of a name has normally been given when it occurs in more than one form. However, some exceptions have been made to this practice. The Alqōsh scribes Hormizd, son of Daniel, Ḥaḍbshabbā, son of Israel, and Yōhannān, son of Hormizd, are so well known under the diminutive names Hōmō, Ḥōshābā, and Ḥannā, that it would have been eccentric to list them under their fuller names. Because of these and other exceptions variant forms of names are signalled in the index, and the reader is advised to check possible variants if he is unable to locate an individual under one particular form of his name.

Many East Syrian converts to Catholicism took western Christian names — Constans, Louis, Luke, Hieronymus, and Teresa, for example. Even without other indications, an individual can often be identified as a Catholic simply by his Christian name. Many of the Chaldean monks of the monasteries of Rabban Hormizd and Notre Dame des Semences in the nineteenth century took the names of prominent historical figures in the Catholic church, which were given unfamiliar Syriac transliterations. These names have normally been given in their more familiar forms: thus Clement, not Aklimandōs, and Hieronymus, not Gerānimōs.

It is hoped that this index will be of interest to students of onomastics. Indeed, a detailed study of the geographical distribution of proper names might well help to determine the provenance of a number of scribes whose villages are unknown. Several East Syrian names (Aiwaz, Bābā, Badal, Wardā and Yatgar) are rarely found beyond the Ūrmī region and the adjacent Shemsdīn, Tergāwār and Taimar districts, while a number of scribes from the lowland centres of Āmid and Mosul have Arabic names ('Abd Allāh and 'Abd al-Ḥaḍad, for example) hardly ever used among the East Syrians of the Hakkārī and Ūrmī regions.

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