Les chrétiens de tradition syriaque à l'époque ottomane

Collection Études Syriaques

Couverture

Réfugiés à Ourmia, 1907 (Archives de la Congrégation de la Mission, Paris).

ISBN : 978-2-7053-4064-3

Composition de la couverture
Chloé Heinis

ÉTUDES SYRIAQUES

17

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Remerciements

Ce volume est issu de la dix-septième table ronde de la Société d'études syriaques, organisée par Bernard Heyberger, qui s'est tenue le 15 novembre 2019 à Paris, avec le soutien de l'École pratique des hautes études, de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, du labex RESMED, de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes (IRHT, UPR 841 du CNRS), du Laboratoire d'études sur les monothéismes (LEM, UMR 8584 du CNRS), du Centre d'études en sciences sociales du religieux (CéSor, UMR 8216 du CNRS) et du Laboratoire Orient et Méditerranée (UMR 8167 du CNRS). Elle a bénéficié, comme les tables rondes des années précédentes, du généreux accueil de l'Institut protestant de théologie de Paris.

Nous remercions en outre chaleureusement le Laboratoire Orient et Méditerranée (UMR 8167 du CNRS) pour son soutien à la réalisation de ce volume.

Nous exprimons notre gratitude envers nos collègues Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, Alain Desreumaux, Muriel Debié, Margherita Farina, Flavia Ruani et David Taylor, qui ont contribué à la préparation du volume, notamment par leur relecture des textes. La photo de couverture nous a été fournie par Florence Hellot-Bellier, à qui nous adressons nos plus amicales pensées. La mise en pages a été réalisée par Emmanuelle Capet (Laboratoire Orient et Méditerranée, UMR 8167 du CNRS), qui a également relu les articles avec attention. Qu'elle en soit remerciée.

Les textes syriaques ont été composés avec les polices de caractères meltho élaborées par Beth Mardutho, The Syriac Institute [www.bethmardutho.org].

Yawsep I of Amida (d. 1707) and the Invention of the Chaldeans[1]

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In 1617, Pietro Strozzi (1569-1625), the secretary of Pope Paul V, published a pamphlet containing various texts relating to a synod that had taken place in the Church of the East in the previous year.[2] At the synod, Eliya VII (patriarch 1591-1617) and the bishops of the Church of the East, whose members Pietro Strozzi generally refers to as the Chaldeans, had discussed and approved the profession of Catholic faith which their envoy, the priest Adam, had brought back from a visit to Rome. The basic aim of Strozzi's pamphlet was to show the devotion of the Church of the East to the papacy and their fervent desire to become orthodox Catholics. To this end, he includes in his pamphlet a poem apparently written after this synod by the Chaldean bishop Gabriel in honour of Paul V.[3] The poem, in classical Syriac, is highly artful and artistic, written in the shape of the sun. Strozzi is keen for his Italian readers to appreciate the poem, and provides a Latin translation of it in the same shape, attributed to the Maronite Isaac

1. This article was prepared and written as part of the project "Stories of Survival: Recovering the Connected Histories of Eastern Christianity in the Early Modern World", which is supported by funding from a European Research Council Starting Grant under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 638578). I completed this article while funded as a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow; I am very grateful to the British Academy for supporting my research. I would like to thank John-Paul Ghobrial, Celeste Gianni, Aurélien Girard, Bernard Heyberger, Feras Krimsti, Rosie Maxton and Vevian Zaki for their very helpful comments on earlier versions of this article. I owe special thanks to Rosie Maxton for her assistance in reading a garshuni manuscript. Any remaining errors are of course my own.

2. Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorum*.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-60.

Les chrétiens de tradition syriaque à l'époque ottomane, B. Heyberger (éd.), Paris, 2020 (Études syriaques 17), pp. 121-152.

Sciadrensis (d. 1663).[4] He proceeds to state that the Chaldeans had a very ancient custom of praying for the papacy and for the Catholic Church, as he had been informed by Thomas of Novara (1585-1632), the Guardian of the Franciscans in Aleppo.[5] After this, Strozzi continues to print, apparently as proof of this claim, the "prayers composed by ʿAbdišoʿ patriarch of the Assyrians ordained by Pius IV, [composed] in such a way that they can be adapted to the particular Highest Pontifex of the time."[6] Again, he provides the Syriac text of this poem, an alphabetical acrostic with every strophe ending with the phrase "the Pope of Rome," and gives a Latin translation for the benefit of his western audience.

As was usually the case when Catholics of this time showed interest in eastern Christianity, Pietro Strozzi's enthusiasm to share the news of the Chaldean devotion to the papacy must be viewed in the context of internal European confessional polemics.[7] In the preface to the pamphlet, Strozzi relates that the primary motivation for his publication was anti-Protestant in inspiration: he states that he knows that "the news of this Babylonian business *[Negotium Babylonicum]* has brought no little solace to those who stand before the wall of God against the Innovators of this time, and continually refute their blasphemies against the Holy Apostolic See, and their calumnies against the Highest Pope."[8] Another text he publishes in the pamphlet gives these events a different, but equally ideologically charged spin: a letter by Thomas of Novara interprets the Chaldean turn to Rome in openly eschatological terms, as a sign that the peoples are all beginning to flock to the one true Catholic Church.[9] Strozzi's pamphlet is

4. On Isaac Sciadrensis (or Isḥāq al-Šedrāwī) see GEMAYEL 1984, vol. 1, pp. 355-365.
5. Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorum*, p. 61. On Thomas of Novara, see GUARDI 2015.
6. "Preces compositas [...] ab Abdiesu Assyriorum Patriarcha ordinato a Pio Quarto [...] eo tamen modo, ut aptari possint cuique Summo Pontifici pro tempore existenti." Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeorum*, pp. 61-67, at p. 61.
7. We could compare for example an earlier pamphlet by Cardinal Marcantonio Amulio published in 1562 on the occasion of the "Chaldean" patriarch ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta's visit to Rome at the time of the council of Trent; Amulio reports that ʿAbdišoʿ's account of his people's customs refutes "the inane fabrications of the wicked heretics *(inania improborum haereticorum commenta)*". Amulio, *R.D. Patriarchae Orientalium Assyriorum*, side 2. On ʿAbdišoʿ's visit to Rome, see BASKINS 2013.
8. "Negocii huius Babylonici notitia non mediocre attulit iis solatium, qui pro muro Dei stant adversus huius temporis Novatores; & eorum blasphemias in sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, & calumnias in Summum Pontificem continenter refellunt." Strozzi, *Synodalia Chaldaeoruum,* preface. Strozzi calls Eliya VII the patriarch of Babylon, so "Babylonian business" refers to the negotiations with Eliya and his Church.
9. *Ibid*., pp. 6-10.

not, then, a straightforward collection of documents relating to an event in distant Mesopotamia, but rather an active intervention into ongoing debates in Europe. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the picture of "Chaldean" devotion to the papacy which he draws is, from a historical perspective, deeply problematic. The doctrine of papal primacy, far from being a long and widely accepted belief in the Church of the East, had been much debated, both in theoretical terms long before there was any realistic discussion of granting any authority to the distant person of the pope in Rome, and, even more hotly, after this became a live issue within the Church in 1552-3.[10] 1552 saw a schism in the Church of the East, when one part of the Church broke away and in 1553 entered into union with the papacy, while the other side remained independent. The two poems quoted by Strozzi were in fact written by bishops, Gabriel and ʿAbdišoʿ, who served in these two rival ecclesiastical hierarchies after the schism. Whether deliberately or through ignorance, Strozzi elides these different hierarchical positions, instead presenting a simplified picture of Chaldean deference towards the papacy.

This should immediately alert us that "Chaldean" is a problematic and historically-determined term with flexible and changing meanings, not necessarily clearly associated with a particular set of doctrines or a specific ecclesiological position. Strozzi's usage here is reflective of wider trends in not only early modern writing but in modern discourses and scholarship. "Chaldean" has come to mean any member of the East Syriac tradition who entered into union with the Catholic Church. Historically there were at least three communities, separate in time, space and beliefs, for which the term Chaldean has been used in scholarship.[11] The first group commonly referred to as the "Chaldeans" was the breakaway Church formed after the schism of 1552, whose first patriarch was Yoḥannan Sulaqa, confirmed in his position in Rome by Pope Julius III in 1553.[12] His successor, ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta, author of the poem quoted by Strozzi, also visited Rome and was confirmed in his position by the papacy. Connections between this patriarchal line, whose patriarchs after ʿAbdišoʿ all adopted the patriarchal name "Šemʿon," and the papacy continued for some years, but lapsed in

10. On earlier debates about papal primacy in the Church of the East, see Teule 2003, 2013, and 2016; Murre-van den Berg 2005.

11. For a narrative of all three sets of events, see Murre-van den Berg 2015, pp. 44-78.

12. On the events of this schism, see Habbi 1966.

the early seventeenth century.[13] The second movement commonly referred to as "Chaldean" arose in contrast within the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Church which remained independent in 1553, in opposition to Yoḥannan Sulaqa, whose patriarchs instead adopted the name Eliya. In the late seventeenth century, after sustained missionary efforts by the Capuchins in the area, the bishop of Amida (Diyarbakır), Yawsep, converted to Catholicism and was in 1681 confirmed as patriarch of the Chaldeans by Pope Innocent XI, while the Eliya patriarchs remained independent.[14] Yet the modern "Chaldean" Church was arguably not founded until the nineteenth century, when, after a complicated series of events, the Eliya patriarchs had also converted to Catholicism and their followers and those of the Yawsep line were reunited, not without conflict, under the patriarch Yoḥannan Hormizd, officially confirmed by the papacy in 1830.

We can see, immediately, that calling all these movements "Chaldean" is rather imprecise and risks conflating various separate processes. Inevitably, to be Chaldean meant something different in these three different chronological, geographical and political contexts. Each of these groups was engaged in its own processes of self-fashioning and identity formation. In the case of the sixteenth-century Chaldeans led by Yoḥannan Sulaqa, their identity does not seem to have been founded on a particular set of doctrines or beliefs; in fact they continued at least in some contexts to express their traditional beliefs and venerate non-Catholic saints such as Nestorius. Rather, the main factor that differentiated them from the Church group from which they had separated was their acceptance of the primacy of the papacy over the other patriarchates of the Church. In the pursuit of this they developed largely imagined histories of earlier East Syriacs receiving ordination from the see of St. Peter. By the late seventeenth century and the "second" Chaldean movement, that founded in Amida by Yawsep I, Chaldean had come to mean something very different; Yawsep and his circle clearly associated it with orthodox Catholic beliefs, with a rejection of Nestorianism and a conversion to this different, purer, confession. But Yawsep's circle was also keen to fashion a history for themselves and their movement, which involved presenting Sulaqa and his followers as their predecessors in the struggle against Nestorianism. As part of this process of confession-building they copied, but also "corrected," sixteenth-century pro-papal literature to bring it in line with Catholic

13. This line has retained a distinctive ecclesiastical hierarchy until the present day and indeed now forms the only independent non-uniate Assyrian Church of the East.

14. On Yawsep of Amida, see esp. Lampart 1966.

beliefs. This deliberate creation of a—largely imagined—Chaldean history has so far received little scholarly attention. But it provides an opportunity to explore processes of identity formation and confession building which are sometimes taken for granted.[15]

The early modern history of the Syriac Churches has generally been relatively neglected compared to their medieval and modern histories.[16] The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Chaldeans are thus at risk of being misunderstood when viewed through the lens of modern understandings of what the Chaldean Church should be. As Bernard Heyberger has argued with reference to other eastern Christian Churches, we must avoid assuming that different "confessions" had fixed or stable identities across many centuries.[17] But to a certain degree modern scholars treat the Church groups in this way because they have inherited traditions created by figures like Yawsep of Amida who deliberately erased some of these ambiguities, discontinuities and irregularities in order to create a picture of a smooth Chaldean history. A distinct Chaldean identity stretching over centuries was invented in a particular social and political context, as Yawsep, the leader of a fledgling Church, sought to differentiate his followers from the Church from which they had split and to invest them with a long-standing history. This Chaldean history was not invented out of thin air. Yawsep and his followers' commemoration of Sulaqa and his circle raises the question of what they knew about their imagined predecessors and how this knowledge was transmitted. The role of individual institutions—in particular the church of Mar Peṯion in Amida—and even of individual manuscripts becomes very apparent. Both the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Chaldeans copied manuscripts at Mar Peṯion and it seems to have been there that Yawsep and his circle gained much of their knowledge about their predecessors. Rather, then, than locating a Chaldean identity in a particular set of doctrines or a profession of faith, it seems that relationships with a particular church building and a particular set of manuscripts created a certain degree of continuity. These geographical and textual links gave material to these groups in their constant processes of self-fashioning and refashioning, and of reimagining and reinventing their predecessors' actions.

15. One important study of the development of Chaldean identity over time, from an ecclesiological perspective, is Girling 2017.

16. The most important studies of the early modern Church of the East include Murre-van den Berg 2015 and Wilmshurst 2000.

17. Heyberger 2003, pp. 37-38.

The first Chaldeans: Yoḥannan Sulaqa and his followers

> "Wherefore know, Our chosen Lord Father, i.e. the Pope [...] that we your wretched sinful Nestorian servants are orphans without a father and without a captain."[18]

In 1552, part of the Church of the East broke away from the existing patriarch, Šemʿon VII bar Mama, and chose the monk Yoḥannan Sulaqa as their new leader. Sulaqa travelled to Rome to seek ordination as patriarch by the pope; Julius III confirmed Sulaqa as patriarch in 1553 and he returned to Mesopotamia. But his opponent, the old patriarch Bar Mama, apparently roused the local authorities against him, and Sulaqa was executed in 1555. Sulaqa has often been referred to as the first Chaldean patriarch, sometimes even as a martyr for the Chaldean Church.[19] But the events of the 1550s and the Church founded by Sulaqa differed in significant ways from the later Chaldean Church(es) as led by Yawsep of Amida and later Yoḥannan Hormizd. The letter that Sulaqa's electors sent with their newly chosen leader to Rome in 1552 is immediately revealing of some of these differences. First, the impetus for the union of 1553 seems to have come from the eastern side, from Sulaqa's supporters. There is no evidence of Catholic missionary work in the heartlands of the Church of the East (south-east Turkey and northern Iraq) immediately before the schism, nor of papal initiatives to contact members of this Church. Rather, internal dissensions within the Church of the East, for which unfortunately almost no evidence survives, must be seen as key to the schism.[20] This is quite different from the seventeenth-century example of Diyarbakır, where Capuchin missionary work seems to have been crucial to the conversion of Yawsep of Amida and his followers.[21] Second and still more significantly, Sulaqa's electors refer to themselves in this letter as "Nestorians." The veneration of Nestorius, the fifth-century patriarch of Constantinople, was a key point of dissension between the Church of the East and the Catholic Church; the Catholic Church viewed Nestorius as a heretic who had wrongly refused to call Mary the Mother of God and who had excessively

18. "Quapropter scito Domine Pater noster electe, hoc est Papa [...] quod nos servi tui miseri peccatores Nestoriani sumus pupilli absque patre et absque gubernatore." ed. in Gulik 1904, p. 269. See Parker 2018, p. 1428 n. 34.

19. See e.g. Vosté 1931, p. 98.

20. For a nuanced discussion of the possible causes of the schism, see Murre-van den Berg 2015, pp. 44-50.

21. See e.g. Lampart 1966, pp. 85-103.

separated the humanity from the divinity in Christ.[22] The electors' choice to refer to themselves as Nestorians—and the lack anywhere in their letter of any reference to doctrine—immediately suggests that they did not see their desired relationship with the pope involving any change to their traditional beliefs and practices. Indeed, Sulaqa's followers seem to have retained reverence for Nestorius and did not perceive themselves to have "converted" or to have changed their religion. This differs strikingly from the later groups referred to as Chaldeans. If we try to pinpoint what was distinctive about Sulaqa and his followers when compared to the Church from which they had broken away, one thing alone stands out: their acceptance of the primacy of the papacy over the eastern Churches and their veneration of the pope as the highest Christian authority on earth.

A brief discussion of terminology is necessary here. Sulaqa and his successor ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta (d. 1570) do not seem to have referred to themselves as Chaldeans or as Catholics. We do find one sixteenth-century bishop from this line, Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb, in a report of 1581 referring to the members of his Church as Chaldeans, and even submitting a request to the papacy that "they should not be called Nestorians but East Chaldeans of Assyria, Catholic and obedient to the Apostolic See."[23] It is possible that by this later date the followers of this Church line had come to see themselves as Chaldeans. It is equally probable, however, that since this was a document written in Italian for a Roman audience in which Bishop Eliya makes several requests from the papacy, including the granting of more rights to his community in Jerusalem, that it may have been worded with local Italian assistance in order to appeal to the papacy and to their expectations of this group. Because Chaldean was not widely used by these eastern Christians at the time, some historians have preferred to use different labels for this community; David Wilmshurst calls them "Catholics," while Kristian Girling tends to refer to the group as "Sulaqites."[24] Whatever label is used, the more important point is to examine what it meant for these Christians to belong to this particular Church line—and what it did not mean, when contrasted with later understandings of the Chaldean confession.

The label "Catholic" or "Chaldean" tends to be associated with a particular set of doctrinal beliefs, specifically with the rejection of East Syriac traditions viewed as heretical by western Catholics such as the

22. On the position of Nestorius within the Church of the East, see Brock 1996, and for a contrasting view Seleznyov 2010.

23. "Non siano chiamati Nestoriani, ma Caldei orientali dell'Assiria, catholici et obedienti alla Sede Apostolica": ed. in Beltrami 1933, p. 203.

24. Wilmshurst 2000, p. 4; Girling 2017 *passim*.

veneration of Nestorius and the profession of Christ's two *qnōmē*. But this is not applicable to the sixteenth-century followers of Sulaqa, among whom there was no uncomplicated or total acceptance of Catholic doctrines. Sulaqa's successor ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta was a prolific writer and thus many of the sources that survive for this schism cluster around him. ʿAbdišoʿ repeatedly refers to Nestorius as a saint: in three poems which he wrote on Sulaqa he twice compares the holy Sulaqa to Nestorius, while also commenting negatively on Cyril of Alexandria, Nestorius's opponent, whom Catholics venerated as a saint.[25] A short, unstudied, poem seemingly attributed to ʿAbdišoʿ, consoles someone named ʿAbdallāh who has been deposed, saying that he should view his deposition like "the expulsion of Nestorius by Cyril" since he had not sinned at all and there was no good reason for his deposition.[26] In his first poem on Sulaqa, equally, ʿAbdišoʿ presents the patriarch making a traditional East Syriac profession of faith, including the acknowledgement of Christ's two *qnōmē*.[27] He claims that the cardinals who questioned Sulaqa accepted this profession with pleasure, although in fact the Catholic Church rejected the doctrine of the two *qnōmē*, professing one hypostasis (and later Chaldeans too professed one *qnōmā*).[28] He thus elides any difference between the "Nestorian" and "Catholic" positions. Chaldean identity in the sixteenth century cannot be associated with the rejection of Nestorianism and traditional East Syriac doctrines.

Indeed, there is no sense in these early writings from Sulaqa's circle that there was any difference between their traditional faith and that

25. These poems have yet to be edited but have been translated into French in Vosté 1931. Vosté also provides an important discussion of the poems, including their Nestorian references, in Vosté 1930. I am currently preparing an edition of the three poems on the basis of the two surviving sixteenth-century manuscripts, Vat. sir. 45 (copied in 1556), and Borg. sir. 21. When I cite them here I provide quotations from my edition and folio references to the earliest manuscript, Vat. sir. 45. ʿAbdišoʿ's positive references to Nestorius are found in poem 2, verse 64 (Vat. sir. 45, f. 165r) and in poem 3, verse 6 (f. 169v). Another negative reference to Cyril of Alexandria is found in poem 1 verse 19 (f. 135r).

26. The manuscript, now kept in the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin, has been digitised by the Hill Museum and Manuscript library (henceforth HMML), with the project number CCM 00398. It was previously located in Diyarbakır and was catalogued by Scher 1907, number 95, at pp. 395-398. The reference to Nestorius and Cyril is on f. 254v: ܟܕܢܝ ܢܣܛܘܪ ܕܡܢ ܣܢܕܝ

27. Poem 1, verse 143 (Vat. sir. 45 f. 145v).

28. Poem 1, verse 166 (f. 147r-v). For the later Chaldeans' profession of Christ's one *qnōmā*, see for instance ʿAbd al-Aḥad's *Life of Yawsep of Amida*, as preserved in a manuscript available on HMML, project number CCM 00012, f. 275r. On this text and this manuscript, see below note 42.

of the papal Church, and thus that there was any need for conversion to Catholicism. We might link this to a wider trend in their thought towards a kind of ecumenism, or at least a lack of rigid boundaries and hostility between Church groups.[29] ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta certainly had close relations with some members of the Syriac Orthodox Church, including its sometime patriarch Ignatius Niʿmatallāh, and he composed poems in praise of his Syriac Orthodox friends' piety.[30] He wrote in his first poem on Sulaqa that when in Jerusalem Sulaqa received blessings from all the Churches represented there, including the Greek, Melkite, Ethiopian, Georgian, Armenian, Jacobite and Coptic Churches.[31] ʿAbdišoʿ did clearly recognise that these eastern Christian groups were part of distinctive and different communities, but did not think that this precluded friendship between them or the acknowledgement of holiness across boundaries. In the case of the western Catholics, there is no indication even that these limited boundaries were perceived. There is no solid evidence for Sulaqa, ʿAbdišoʿ and their supporters changing their traditional professions of faith or regarding themselves as having "converted" or as having become Chaldean or Catholic. We must thus be careful if using these kinds of terms not to create a false impression of continuity with the later Chaldeans, for whom conversion, heresy, Catholicism and Nestorianism become much more relevant concepts. The sixteenth-century Chaldeans did not have a strongly confessionalized view of different religious groups in stark opposition.

What, then, did it mean to be one of Sulaqa's followers? The factor that really distinguished their writings from those of the group from which they had seceded was the much stronger emphasis placed on the primacy of the papacy over the other patriarchates of the Church, and on the special significance of Rome to Christianity.[32] There had been an ongoing debate within the Church of the East for centuries about the status of the papacy, but Sulaqa and his followers took a clear stance on this topic, unambiguously granting to the pope the leadership of the Christian Churches.[33] When Sulaqa's followers defended their secession from the traditional Church, their apologetic was based on arguments about the papacy: thus ʿAbdišoʿ's first poem on Sulaqa contains elaborate sections

29. Parker 2018, Part V.

30. See for example Pritula 2019, pp. 305-310; Parker 2018, pp. 1438-1439, 1441 n. 92.

31. Poem 1, verses 74-75 (ff. 139v-140r).

32. Girling 2017 has also emphasised this point; see e.g. 101.8, 103.3, 725.6.

33. For the earlier debate, see the references above note 10.

defending the pope's historic rights over the East Syriac Church, linking the pope to Peter, and showing Rome as a great pilgrimage centre.[34] "Nobody has authority over [the pope], and he is in authority in every community," he writes; subsequently, on Rome, he states "all scholarship is there; the speaking of every language is there. Christ our Lord is there, the see of sees is there."[35] ʿAbdišoʿ also wrote several short poems in praise of the pope, including the one printed by Pietro Strozzi.[36] It was not only ʿAbdišoʿ who wrote in this vein; other contemporary Chaldeans also exalted the status of the see of St. Peter. The scribe of Borg. sir. 21, one of the two sixteenth-century manuscripts of ʿAbdišoʿ's poems on Sulaqa, copied before ʿAbdišoʿ's poems a series of texts excerpted from East Syriac canons relating to papal primacy.[37] This scribe is almost certainly to be identified with Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb, an important figure in the Chaldean movement in this period: he was ordained a bishop and metropolitan by Sulaqa after Sulaqa's return from Rome; he subsequently travelled to India together with bishop Yawsep, Sulaqa's brother, and he later acted as the envoy of one of Sulaqa's successors, Šemʿon Denḥa, to Rome in 1581.[38] We thus find another of Sulaqa's bishops engaged in promoting the belief in papal supremacy. Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb was also the scribe of Vat. sir. 149. In the colophon he wrote that the manuscript had been copied "in the days of the diligent and assiduous shepherd and valiant warrior and wise helmsman [...] Mar ʿAbdišoʿ Catholicos Patriarch [...] who was made Catholicos in the great Rome [...] by the father of fathers the holy Julio."[39] Most of the epithets

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[34] Poem 1, esp. verses 204-229, 237-306 (Vat. sir. 45, ff. 150v-152v, 153r-159r); see for discussion PARKER 2018, pp. 1436-1438.

[35] ܘܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐܢܫ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܡܫ̈ܠܛܘܬܐ. ܘܫܠܝܛ ܗܘ ܒܟܠ ܡܕ̈ܒܪܢ Poem 1, verse 221 (Vat. sir. 45, f. 252r); ܬܡܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܟܠ ܝܘܠܦܢ. ܬܡܢ ܡܡ̣ܠܠܐ ܕܟܠ ܠܫܢ. ܬܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ. ܬܡܢ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܟܘܪ̈ܣܘܬܐ܀ Poem 1, verse 304 (Vat. sir. 45, f. 159r).

[36] See PRITULA 2018.

[37] Borg. sir. 21, pp. 204-229. I discuss this passage in more detail in PARKER *forthcoming*.

[38] Important sources on Eliya's life include an account of his ordination in a short history attached to ʿAbdišoʿ's three poems on Sulaqa in manuscript Borg. sir. 21, pp. 290-291; Eliya's report of 1581 to Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro, published in BELTRAMI 1933, pp. 199-203; the report by Leonard Abel to Pope Sixtus V in 1587, preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, AA.Arm.I-XVIII, 2095, at ff. 11v-12r; see also BORBONE & FARINA 2014; WILMSHURST 2000, p. 50. Eliya certainly owned Borg sir. 21, since he donated it to the church of Mar Peṭion (see Borg. sir. 21, p. 305); the handwriting is also consistent with other manuscripts known to have been copied by him.

[39] ܒܝ̈ܘܡܝ ܪܥܝܐ ܚܦܝܛܐ ܘܫܩܝܕܐ ܘܓܢܒܪܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܚܟܝܡܐ... ܡܪܝ ܥܒܕܝܫܘܥ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ...ܕܐܬܩܬܠܩ ܒܪ̈ܗܘܡܝ ܪܒܬܐ [...] ܡܢ ܐܒܘܢ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܒ̈ܗܬܐ ܓܘܠܝܘ ܩܕܝܫܐ Vat. sir. 149, f. 332r. Most of the colophon seems to be based on that of Vat. sir. 148, the source text for the manuscript, but

applied here to ʿAbdišoʿ are conventional, but the note that he was ordained in Rome by the pope is to my knowledge exceptional, and suggests again that this was an important part of the Chaldeans' claim to legitimacy. An anonymous *madraša* composed in honour of ʿAbdišoʿ after his death again emphasises this theme; it excerpts a passage from ʿAbdišoʿ's own *madraša* in honour of Yoḥannan Sulaqa, including: "Let the Pope of Rome weep, the fount of fragrances, who made you the chief of prefects, and head of the Church of the nations; let the ranks of beloved Cardinals mourn."[40] Sulaqa, ʿAbdišoʿ and their followers thus claimed their legitimacy as a community on the basis of their ordination by the papacy, head of all Churches. They did not see this as entailing conversion to a different set of religious beliefs; rather, in this period, to belong to this Chaldean Church involved a particular attitude towards the Roman see.

Whatever labels are used to refer to its participants, the schism of 1552 should be studied on its own terms. The context for the events was different from those of the seventeenth-century Chaldean movement in Diyarbakır; in particular, the absence of Catholic missionary work immediately before 1552 seems very important. Sulaqa, ʿAbdišoʿ, and their followers do not seem in any straightforward sense to have begun consistently to profess "orthodox" Catholic views, and did not perceive themselves as having turned from Nestorianism to another confession or religion. ʿAbdišoʿ's surviving writings thus contrast significantly from those of later Chaldean leaders such as the patriarchs Yawsep I and II of Amida, and the bishop ʿAbd al-Aḥad. But despite these differences, these later Chaldeans came to depict Sulaqa as their predecessor, and to draw upon some of the literature produced by this papal East Syriac circle. In the process, they, consciously or otherwise, transformed and reimagined the significance of the sixteenth-century schism, and created a fictive Chaldean heritage.

Yawsep of Amida and the second Chaldean movement

> "As is mentioned in the histories, Mar Šemʿon al-Gūlakī in the year 1553 from the incarnation of Christ went to Rome and was appointed patriarch by Pope Julius before the cardinals, and he and his successor purified

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the reference to the ordination in Rome is original. ʿAbdišoʿ was in fact confirmed not by Pope Julius (d. 1555) but by Pius IV.

[40] ܢܒܟܐ ܗܘ ܦܦܐ ܕܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ܆ ܡܒܘܥܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܚܐ. ܕܥܒܕܟ ܪܫܐ ܕܗܘܦܪ̈ܟܐ܆ ܘܪܫ ܥܕܬܐ ܠܥܡ̈ܡܐ. ܘܢܐܒܠܘܢ ܛܟ̈ܣܐ܆ ܕܟܪ̈ܕܝܢܠܐ ܪ̈ܚܝܡܐ.
I found this *madraša* in honour of ʿAbdišoʿ in a manuscript from Mardin (HMML CCM 00402). These lines appear on ff. 116v-117r. Some of the poem is original, whereas some parts are excerpted from ʿAbdišoʿ's own third poem on Sulaqa; these lines originally appeared in the latter, verse 5 (Vat. sir. 45, f. 169r).

> the people from this apostasy. After that in the year 1616 as is written in the histories there was a synod in the city of Mardin in the mountain in the church of Mar Peṭion the martyr. The deputy of our Lord Pope Paul, Padre Toma, and Mar Eliya the patriarch and all of his bishops were present at it. And they accepted everything that the holy Church prescribed, and they promised and pledged that they would nullify the name of Nestorius and would pluck out all his corrupted seed. While they were sleeping, the devil the enemy, father of strife and discord, sowed darnel in the field of the city of Mosul and its environs and it extended and got stronger until it would have strangled all the good seeds, if the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ had not risen and stirred and selected Mar Yawsep the Catholic, Chaldean bishop of Amida, in order to pluck out and uproot the darnel, and oppose the Devil and his followers."
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> ʿAbd al-Aḥad, *Life of Yawsep*, 1719[41]

The second movement commonly dubbed Chaldean by scholars was that founded by Yawsep, the metropolitan bishop of Amida, who converted to Catholicism in 1670, and whom Innocent XI confirmed as patriarch of the Chaldeans in 1681. Yawsep, like Sulaqa, faced considerable opposition from his rival traditionalist patriarch, but unlike Sulaqa he avoided execution and remained in his role until 1694, when he left his flock in the care of his successor Yawsep II and moved to Rome. His resignation as patriarch was officially confirmed in 1696 and he remained in Rome until his death in 1707. One of the main sources for Yawsep's career is a biography of him written by ʿAbd al-Aḥad, a bishop from his Chaldean hierarchy, in 1719. This biography has only to date been published in a French translation and a problematic Arabic edition, but it is available in three garshuni manuscripts from the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin.[42] In the *Life*, ʿAbd al-

41. حمز ٥٥ مجحة حنكەنقيح ني مذ عصكم نكيەكحب ق هدة ١٥٥٣ مح هكهج نكعصس. مجز نكب ذهمز. مذهمز تهكذة مح نكتنة مح نكحنيمنكس. مذم مكعصم ممكم نكحنيمنكس مذم مكعصم مكقعة مكعكصم ٥٥٥ مذهمز نكحمنكم مح ٥ك حقذ. مصحج ذلح ق هدة ١٦١٦ ههه حمز ٥٥ مسذة حنكەنقيح ٤ذ مكعصد ق مجمدة مذنجم ق نكيحتك ق حصهة مذ قهمم نكحمجم. مسهّذة ق٥ مصك هجمز نكتنة حەكم قنجّذ ٥٥مز. ٥مذة نكب نكحهقة مصك ههمكة مصكصم. مصكصم حكمز ذهصه نكحصهة نكصمجهة. مصنجمز مذنكهة مجمز نكحكم ههم مكهكم نكصمجهة. مصكصم نكصكههج. مصصمز مذهمز. نز نحكم نكحجه نحه نكقعم مذنكعنمز. وذك ومذم ق سمك مجمدة حك وذك نكصكههج. مصصمز مذهمز. نز نحكم نكحجه نحه نكقعم مذنكعنمز. وذك ومذم ق سمك مجمدة مصكصم مصمنسمز. مهنك ٥٥مم سهم حنم مصم حك نكوذك نكيجم. كمكز منم ذمس هجمز مصمد نكصمس مصكصم مذهمز مذ مصهم مهقنم نمج نكحنمصكصم نكحكينس. حم مصم نكومذم مصكصم. مذنجم نكحم مصحم مذحصمز مذ مصهم مهقنم نمج نكحنمصكصم نكحكينس. حم مصم نكومذم مصكصم. مذنجم نكحم مذحصمز. CMM 00012, f. 274r-v. On this text and manuscript see the following note.

42. French translation by Chabot 1896; Arabic edition by Cheikho 1921. On the *Life* see also Lampart 1966, pp. 105-106. Neither Chabot nor Cheikho gives adequate information about the manuscript sources for the text. Both describe the text simply as Arabic, with no reference to the script, but Rosie Maxton and I have discovered three garshuni manuscripts of the text in the digitised collections of

Aḥad presents a continuous history of the Chaldean movement, starting with Sulaqa ("Šemʿon al-Gūlakī") in 1553 "purifying" the people from the apostasy of Nestorianism, proceeding to the synod of 1616—the same synod described in Pietro Strozzi's pamphlet—and culminating with Yawsep of Amida's battle against the devil's seed. All these events are depicted as part of a continuous struggle against the apostasy of Nestorianism. But even as ʿAbd al-Aḥad presents this narrative, we can see that he is reframing the past events through his contemporary perception of what the Chaldean Church represents. Like Pietro Strozzi, ʿAbd al-Aḥad is uninterested in details of different ecclesiastical lines; commitment to Catholicism supersedes any practical differences in organisation. More significantly, he seems to project back onto the sixteenth century an early eighteenth-century confessionalized understanding of the stark difference between pure "orthodox" Catholicism and a wicked devilish Nestorianism. Sulaqa and ʿAbdišoʿ are presented 'purifying' the people from the Nestorian apostasy, although, as we have seen, this is not at all how they seem to have understood and represented their own actions. The kind of language used by ʿAbd al-Aḥad here and elsewhere in the *Life*—Chaldean, Catholic, Nestorianism, heresy, apostasy, purification, weeds, tares, and so on—is strikingly different from that employed by the sixteenth-century schismatics he claims as predecessors. By presenting Yawsep as the culmination of a generations-long struggle between the "orthodox" Church and the devil, ʿAbd al-Aḥad further glorifies Yawsep and subsumes the battle of his fledgling Church for survival into the existential Christian struggle between good and evil. Fashioning this continuous Chaldean history thus contributes to the development of a distinct Chaldean identity and confession. ʿAbd al-Aḥad was not the only Chaldean from this period to draw upon and refashion the history of Sulaqa and ʿAbdišoʿ. Yawsep I of Amida himself copied texts and manuscripts written by this circle, presumably in an effort to explore and expand upon the history of his predecessors. He too, however, like ʿAbd al-Aḥad, refashions these texts to make them more suitable for an orthodox Catholic Church. This was part of a wider process of creating a Chaldean Catholic literary corpus. This process of remembering and refashioning the sixteenth-century Chaldeans as orthodox Catholics required access to earlier manuscripts and texts. Many of these texts seem to have been transmitted through the church of Mar Peṯion in Amida. Thus geography as well as manuscript culture proves

the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin and it seems likely that this was its original form of composition. We are currently preparing a study of the text. I cite it here from manuscript CCM 00012, which is likely to be the autograph manuscript of the text.

crucial to the fashioning of a Chaldean identity. An institution and the manuscripts it contained created direct links between the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century groups, despite their very different perspectives on union with the Roman Church.

From its early stages, the Amida Chaldean movement of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century showed interest in its Chaldean predecessors.[43] Yawsep I in 1701, after his renunciation of the patriarchate and retirement to Rome, made a manuscript copy of ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta’s three poems on Yoḥannan Sulaqa, now preserved in Rome as Vat. sir. 63. These poems survive to my knowledge in only two sixteenth-century manuscripts, Vat. sir. 45 and Borg. sir. 21, and in no seventeenth-century manuscripts; Vat. sir. 63 is the only eighteenth-century example. It was thus an unusual decision by the retired patriarch to copy these texts, which reveals Yawsep’s special interest in Sulaqa as a previous patriarch from the East Syriac tradition who had been confirmed in Rome. Jean-Marie Vosté demonstrated convincingly that Yawsep copied Vat. sir. 63 on the basis of Borg. sir. 21, which was probably, as mentioned above, copied by the Chaldean bishop Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb.[44] As discussed above, these poems by ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta included several references to Nestorius as a saint as well as a profession of traditional two-*qnōmē*, one will, East Syriac Christology. At some point, someone introduced Catholicising “corrections” to the text of the poems contained in Borg. sir. 21. Not only are the offending passages removed, but they are replaced with Catholic versions added in the margin. In verse 143, for instance, where the original text reads “thus the union remained two natures and two *qnōmē*, which are not separable in any way, now and for all eternity,” in Borg. sir. 21 this has been crossed out and replaced with “the union of the Son of the Most High remained in two natures and one *qnōmā*, and two wills, as his living Gospel attests.”[45] Unfortunately, it is impossible to be sure when and by whom these “corrections” were made. Vosté argued that they were the work of ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta himself, when “better instructed in Catholic

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[43] I refer to the Chaldean group under the leadership of Yawsep I as the “Amida Chaldeans” partly for clarity, but also because the movement arose within the very particular context of Amida in this period and the work there by the Capuchin missionaries.

[44] Vosté 1930, pp. 516-517. See above note 38.

[45] ܘܗܟܢܐ ܦܫܛ ܬܪܝܢ ܟܝܢܝܢ. ܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܩܢܘܡܝܢ. ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܫܝܢ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܙܢܝܢ. ܗܫܐ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ܀܀܀܀ ܗܟܢܐ ܚܕܝܘܬܗ ܕܒܪ ܡܪܝܡܐ ܒܬܪܝܢ ܟܝܢܝܢ ܘܚܕ ܩܢܘܡܐ. ܘܬܪܝܢ ܨܒܝܢܝܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ܇ ܕܡܣܗܕܐ ܚܝܐ ܣܒܪܬܗ The original text is visible in Vat. sir. 45, f. 145v; the Borg. sir. 21 text is on p. 249.

doctrine."[46] I find it more likely, however, that the corrections were made at a later date, very possibly by Yawsep I himself as part of a process of Catholicising these earlier Chaldean texts.[47]

In any case, it is certainly true that not only did Yawsep copy this "corrected" version of the manuscript, but he also himself introduced certain additional changes to make the text more confessionally rigorous and anti-Nestorian. In poem I verse 19, for example, the original text reports that a synod assembled against the wicked patriarch Yawsep bar Šila "and they excommunicated him by the command of the Just One, like Cyril the Egyptian," a reference to the Catholic saint Cyril of Alexandria.[48] In Borg. sir. 21 "like Cyril the Egyptian" has simply been crossed out, but Yawsep in Vat. sir. 63 has replaced this with the words "like the accursed Nestorius"[49]; not only has the offensive reference to Cyril been removed, but the added attack on Nestorius completely inverses the sense of the line to give it a strong anti-Nestorian feeling. This passage in fact supports the theory that Yawsep himself was the author of the changes to Borg. sir. 21. The erasing in Borg. sir. 21 is so thorough that it is impossible now to read the words "like Cyril the Egyptian." And yet Yawsep's replacement line seems to have been inspired by the original, since he too begins with "like" and continues to a comparison to a fifth-century expelled patriarch. It thus seems likely, although not certain, that he could in 1701 still read the original text of the manuscript, and that he himself was the author of the "corrections" which he then reproduced in his own manuscript copy.[50] Elsewhere he again makes additional changes in Vat. sir. 63. In the original poem 1 verse 75, ʿAbdišoʿ reports that Sulaqa when in Jerusalem "looked at the Church of the Greeks, and of the Melkites, and of the

46. "mieux instruit des dogmes catholiques": Vosté 1931, p. 189.

47. I have argued elsewhere that ignorance does not explain ʿAbdišoʿ's inclusion of these "Nestorian" passages in the text (Parker 2018, pp. 1428-1429, 1434-1440). There is no evidence to suggest that he was responsible for the changes to Borg. sir. 21. Vosté states that the corrections to the text were made in the same hand as the original manuscript (probably that of Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb) and thus are almost contemporary with the text. I am not convinced, however, that the handwriting is the same. It is admittedly hard to be certain from a small sample of text written in the margins in limited space, but the marginal insertion seems to me to be written in a smoother and more rounded hand than the main text of Borg. sir. 21.

48. ✣ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܦܘܡܗ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܐܬܦܠܓ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܦ ܟܝܪܠܘܣ ܡܨܪܝܐ. Vat. sir. 45, f. 135r.

49. ܐܦ ܟܝܪܠܘܣ ܡܨܪܝܐ: Borg. sir. 21, p. 232; Vat. sir. 63, f. 71v.

50. Other explanations are possible but seem less likely, for example that he had read the original text in Vat. sir. 45 and was inspired by it, or that he came up with a similar formula coincidentally.

Kushites [Ethiopians], and of the Georgians and the Armenians, and the Jacobites and the Copts."[51] This verse is left untouched in Borg. sir. 21, but Yawsep I has omitted it in Vat. sir. 63, presumably because he did not deem it appropriate to refer approvingly to these non-Catholic congregations. Yawsep's decision to copy ʿAbdišoʿ's poems on Sulaqa suggests that he was interested in preserving the memory of this previous uniate East Syriac patriarch, but was uncomfortable with some passages in the text and therefore amended them, recasting Sulaqa as an orthodox Catholic Chaldean patriarch. Yawsep's manuscript thus simultaneously contributes to the forging of an imagined Chaldean history, while also revealing the considerable differences between the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century movements.

In the same year, 1701, Yawsep copied in Rome another manuscript, now Vat. sir. 43, which also shows the influence of the sixteenth-century Chaldeans. The manuscript contains assorted liturgical texts, including some dismissal prayers by ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta. Yawsep also copied in this manuscript a series of short canonical texts from the East Syriac tradition chosen carefully to prove the supremacy of the Roman Pope and his rights over the patriarchs of the other Churches. After this series of canonical excerpts in favour of the papacy we find a short passage entitled "anyone who doubts about the greatness of the honour and the ordination of the patriarch of Rome, let him know these things which are written."[52] This is followed by a list which purports to represent patriarchs of the Church of the East who had been ordained by the Roman see, finishing with Yoḥannan Sulaqa himself. The list is extremely similar to a list contained within ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta's poems on Sulaqa, and is largely fabricated—historically there is no evidence for any East Syriac patriarch before Sulaqa being ordained in Rome.[53] Again, Yawsep seems to have copied this series of texts from Borg. sir. 21, in which they precede ʿAbdišoʿ's poems on Sulaqa so as to form a cohesive apologetic for the decision to have Sulaqa confirmed by the papacy.[54] We thus find a two-stage invention of a Chaldean lineage: first ʿAbdišoʿ and Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb, the probable scribe of Borg. sir. 21, compiled an inaccurate list of East Syriac ordinations in Rome to conceal the innovation in how Sulaqa was ordained and to give him legitimacy; then, in the early eighteenth century, Yawsep I, in search for his Church's

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[51] ܥܡ ܠܥܕܬܐ ܕܟܘܫܝ̈ܐ. ܘܕܓܘܪ̈ܓܝܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܡܢܝܐ. ܘܝܥܩܘ̈ܒܝܐ ܘܩܘܦܛ̈ܝܐ❖: Vat. sir. 45, f. 140r.

[52] ܘܡܢ ܕܡܬܦܠܓ ܥܠ ܪܒܘܬ ܐܝܩܪܐ ܘܣܝܡ ܐܝܕܗ ܕܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܝ ܢܕܥ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܬܝܒܢ. Vat. sir. 43, ff. 94r-106, quote at f. 101v.

[53] See HABBI 1966, pp. 201-203; PARKER 2018, p. 1426 n. 24.

[54] Borg. sir. 21, pp. 204-229, list of patriarchs on 221.

ancestors, recopied this list, shorn from its original context. Again, we find that Yawsep has made some small changes to his sixteenth-century source manuscript. Some of these are simply the correction of copying errors from Borg. sir. 21; he omits a repeated canon, and a nonsensical word found in the list of patriarchs. But some are more significant. Among the texts he copies in Vat. sir. 43 from Borg. sir. 21 we find a work entitled "About the Church ranks and distribution of the talents," attributed to patriarch Išoʿyahb III of Adiabene.[55] Again this serves the function of highlighting the special position of the Roman papacy. But a particular doctrinal phrase within the original seems to have disturbed Catholic readers of the text. A reader called Yawsep Gabriel has written in Borg. sir. 21 "Nestorian error" in the margin, next to the original phrase "in the *qnōmā* of his humanity."[56] Another word shortly before this phrase has been erased. The reference to Christ's human *qnōmā* transgresses Catholic doctrine since it implies the existence of two *qnōmē*, one human and one divine. Yawsep of Amida has omitted the word "of his humanity" in his copy of the text, thereby sidestepping this problem. Again, therefore, we see Yawsep drawing inspiration from the manuscripts and texts associated with the sixteenth-century papal East Syriac movement, but simultaneously correcting and updating the texts to conform more neatly with his more orthodox Catholic position.

The Chaldean interest in Sulaqa and ʿAbdišoʿ was not confined to Yawsep himself. We have seen that one of his bishops, ʿAbd al-Aḥad, referred to Sulaqa in his biography of Yawsep. An early eighteenth-century manuscript probably copied by ʿAbd al-Aḥad, now preserved in the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin, is a veritable treasury of Chaldean texts: it includes not only what may be the autograph copy of ʿAbd al-Aḥad's *Life of Yawsep* but also various miracles stories including several stories relating to miraculous items bestowed by the Virgin Mary on the Carmelite monks.[57] Most of the texts in the manuscript are in garshuni but towards the end the scribe copies some short Syriac poems in praise of the papacy, three of them attributed to ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta. The scribe provides a short preface to these poems in garshuni which demonstrates convincingly that he viewed ʿAbdišoʿ as one of the forefathers of his Chaldean Church:

> "Know, oh brother, that our Chaldean people firstly were following the Roman Church, and their patriarchs were ordained by our Lord the Pope,

55. ܟܬܒ ܦܩܘܕ ܕܒܝܬ ܟܢܫܐ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ ܕܚܩܢ Borg. sir. 21, pp. 221-229; Vat. sir. 43, ff. 102r ff.

56. ܣܛܝܪܐ ܢܣܛܘܪܝܐ Borg. sir. 21, p. 226; compare Vat. sir. 43, f. 104v.

57. HMML project number CCM 00012.

> just as the thread [?] of histories informs us, and just as it is known in the faith which our fathers sent, and especially Mar ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta who was ordained patriarch by our Lord the Pope."[58]

This confirms that it was not only ʿAbdišoʿ's pro-papal writings that were of interest to the Amida Chaldeans, but also ʿAbdišoʿ's career itself and ʿAbdišoʿ as a historical figure. ʿAbdišoʿ is explicitly described as one of "our fathers." Despite their doctrinal and hagiological irregularities from a Catholic point of view, the papal East Syriacs thus came to be perceived and presented as the forefathers of a longer-term Chaldean movement.

It is important to note that this was only part of a broader process of confession building and in particular of creating a fully Catholic Chaldean literature and manuscript culture. This deserves a fuller study, and this article can only give some preliminary reflections, focusing on Yawsep of Amida himself. More than ten Syriac and garshuni manuscripts copied by Yawsep survive, many of them now preserved either in the Vatican or in Mardin; the Vatican also possesses another eleven manuscripts which Yawsep owned and which were acquired for the library by Clement XI.[59] I have included a list of the manuscripts copied and owned by Yawsep in Appendix 1 below. From these manuscripts we can identify several ways in which Yawsep sought to develop a Chaldean literature, including the "correction" of traditional East Syriac texts; drawing on texts from other eastern Christian traditions as well as the Latin Church; and the Catholicisation of traditional manuscript paratextual elements, notably the colophon.

"Correction" is in some ways the most difficult of these processes to study, since it is often impossible to state with certainty when changes

58. ܗܘܢ ܡܫܬܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܣܒܪܬܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܢ ܫܕܪ ܠܢ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܝܕܥ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܕܪܘ ܐܒܗܬܢ ܘܒܪܫ ܡܪ ܥܒܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܛܪܦܠܝܛܐ ܕܓܙܪܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܡܡ ܒܗ ܡܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܡܘܢ ܒܝܕ ܡܪܢ ܥܠ ܝܕ ܐܒܐ. ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܡܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܡܘܢ ܒܟܬܒ ܐܚܪ ܕܐܬܪ ܡܪ ܥܒܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܛܪܦܠܝܛܐ ܕܓܙܪܬܐ ܕܐܬܪܡܡ ܒܗ ܡܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܡܘܢ ܒܟܬܒ ܐܚܪ ܕܐܬܪ. f. 291v.

59. Manuscripts copied by Yawsep include: in the Vatican: Borg. sir. 37, Vat. sir. 43, Vat. sir. 44, Vat. sir. 63, Vat. sir. 206; in the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin: CCM 00048, CCM 00051, CCM 00070, CCM 00440, CCM 00448; in the British Library MS Egerton 703. Manuscripts owned by Yawsep: Vat. sir. 23, Vat. sir. 24, Vat. sir. 42, Vat. sir. 61, Vat. sir. 83, Vat. sir. 84, Vat. sir. 90, Vat. sir. 184, Vat. sir. 201, Vat. sir. 221, Vat. sir. 223, Vat. sir. 224. This is the collection of the *Codices Amidenses*, acquired by Clement XI for the Vatican collection: see Assemani 1719-1728, vol. 1, pp. 581-584; Assemani & Assemani 1756-1759, vol. 2, p. 188. Yawsep may also have owned manuscripts CCM 00295 and CCM 00491 (the first contains a note stating that it belonged to our Lord Mar Yawsep [f. 138v], the second that it belonged to Mar Yawsep patriarch of the Chaldeans [f. 194r]). I have not dealt here with manuscripts copied by Yawsep in Arabic.

have been made to manuscripts. Yawsep himself seems to have avoided copying any texts which contained traditional "Nestorian" references, but he did own manuscripts which had originally contained such texts: thus for example the manuscript Vat. sir. 184, copied in the Mardin area in 1560, contained several references to the "Greek doctors," Nestorius, Diodore of Tarsus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, as saints; it even contained a long poem by Ṣlībā of Manṣūrīyā on Nestorius. Nestorius and Diodore were both condemned by the Catholic Church, and Theodore viewed with some suspicions. At some point, someone has made a considerable effort to remove these Nestorian references from the manuscript: at various points we find the names of the Greek doctors crossed or smudged out, and several folios of Ṣlībā of Manṣūrīyā's poem on Nestorius have been entirely removed from the manuscript.[60] Equally, Vat. sir. 83, which was copied in 1537-9 by the prolific scribe ʿAṭaya bar Faraǧ, contains liturgical texts including the names of Nestorius and other non-Catholic saints. Again, the manuscript has at some stage been fairly violently corrected: the name of Nestorius and other "heretical" passages seem to have been scraped or ripped away from the surface of the manuscript, and water may have been applied. The damage has not always been inflicted very effectively, and sometimes the name of Nestorius is still legible, but it has been carried out with some force. In some places holes have been left in the manuscript. It is possible that the corrections were actually carried out in multiple stages, as it looks as though there seem to have been some amendments made to the text in red ink before the damage was inflicted.[61] Another of Yawsep's manuscripts, Vat. sir. 42, contains similar erasures.[62] It is unfortunately impossible to establish with certainty exactly when these Catholicising changes were made to these manuscripts, but it is very plausible that they were carried out by Yawsep himself. They fit into the broader tendency of the Amida Chaldeans to maintain their East Syriac heritage, including their traditional liturgical texts, but with the most problematic Nestorian references removed. These manuscripts stand as a

60. Erasures of names on e.g. ff. 46r, 71r, 135r, 135v, 190r, 244r; Ṣlībā of Manṣūrīyā's poem on Nestorius begins on f. 49r. We can tell that some pages of this text have been removed both from comparing it to the original text of this poem (published by Nau 1919) and from looking at the original folio numberings on the manuscript, which are interrupted and show that eleven pages have been removed.

61. See for example ff. 59v, 98r-v, 98a r-v, 138v, 145v-146r, 206r, 208v, 223v, 225r, 227r, 242v, 259r, 278r, 279v, 373v, 490v.

62. See e.g. ff. 32r, 33r, 52r, 63r, 145v.

very physical testament to the changes made by the Amida Chaldeans to distance themselves from Nestorianism.

We can with more confidence examine Yawsep's drawing on other ecclesiastical traditions to supplement those of his own Church. The Maronite Church was in a sense the eastern Christian Catholic Church par excellence.[63] John-Paul Ghobrial has recently made the important argument, drawing in part on a list of books which Yawsep of Amida requested from the Propaganda Fide in 1674, that eastern Christians' experience of turning to Catholicism often in practice meant adopting Maronite traditions.[64] Yawsep's manuscript collection confirms his interest in Maronite rites. He owned a manuscript of the Maronite services for night and day, Vat. sir. 224, copied by the renowned Maronite Faustus Naironus.[65] He himself copied a collection of Maronite texts in Borg. sir. 37. He starts with the Book of the Eucharist "according to the Maronite rite."[66] This includes typical Maronite Catholic elements which would be avoided in traditional East Syriac texts, such as references to Mary as the Mother of God, praise for Cyril of Alexandria, and praise for the four ecumenical Church synods which established the orthodox faith.[67] He then copies a history of Mar Maron, founder of the Maronite Church, and reproduces a note by the translators of the text from Latin into Syriac, who were three students of the Maronite College in Rome under the patronage of Pope Paul V (1605-1621). Yawsep tells us in the colophon that he copied the manuscript in the Propaganda Fide in 1674, when he was still metropolitan of Amida.[68] Thus even before his confirmation as patriarch he explored in Rome the traditions of this Catholic eastern Christian Church. Interestingly, however, he also seems to have drawn upon the traditions of the Greek Orthodox Church: he owned a manuscript, Vat. sir. 201, which contained a garshuni translation of hymns by the Byzantine emperor Theodore Lascaris in praise of Mary, mother of God, as well as a garshuni translation of hymns and miracle stories relating to the Virgin Mary by the seventeenth-century monk of Mount Athos Agapios of Crete; he also owned Vat. sir. 221 which contained the *Salvation of Sinners* by Agapios,

63. Its rites were, however, still subject to considerable debate in Rome: see, for instance, Girard 2016, esp. pp. 242-243.

64. Ghobrial *forthcoming*.

65. On Faustus Naironus see esp. Girard 2019 and Girard in this volume.

66. ܢܝܟ ܟܬܒ ܕܩܘܕܫ: Borg. sir. 37, f. 1v.

67. Mary mother of God, ܡܪܝܡ ܝܠܕܬ ܐܠܗܐ, on e.g. ff. 4r, 4v, 6r; Cyril of Alexandria on f. 49r; the four councils on ff. 86v-87r.

68. *Ibid*., f. 104v.

translated into Arabic by Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir.[69] A manuscript from the Chaldean Cathedral in Mardin, CCM 00448, similarly contains the *Salvation of Sinners* by Agapios the monk as well as his miracles of Mary; Yawsep was the scribe of part of this manuscript in 1694. Agapios himself was heavily influenced by western Catholic miracle stories about the Virgin Mary.[70] Yawsep also copied and owned garshuni translations of several western Latin liturgical texts: for instance, in Vat. sir. 63, as well as ʿAbdišoʿ's poems on Yōḥannān Sulaqa, he also copied several garshuni prayers translated from the Latin rite, including the Confiteor.[71] He owned Vat. sir. 223, copied in Rome in 1675, which included a range of Catholic texts in garshuni including instructions for reciting the rosary of Mary. He thus drew on a variety of ecclesiastical traditions beyond his own to establish a collection of Arabic- (and occasionally Syriac-) language liturgical and devotional texts suitable for a Catholic Chaldean community. Although the Chaldeans developed their own distinctive liturgy and traditions, based in part on the reimagined history of the papal East Syrians, they did also incorporate external influences in this refashioning of their literature. Again therefore we see the transient and shifting nature of Chaldean identity over time, as it was shaped by external influences and interactions with other communities.

A final noteworthy feature of Yawsep's manuscript collection is his Catholicisation of the colophon tradition. Syriac colophons tend, although there is much room for flexibility, to follow certain established patterns.[72] Yawsep draws on these but makes subtle changes to make them more suitable for his Catholic Church. His colophon to the manuscript CCM 00051 is typical of his new colophon style:

> "This book of the blessed prophets was finished in the blessed month of Teshri II [...] in the year 1989 of the Greeks, and from the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ the year 1677 [...] it was written in the days of the father of fathers and chief of pastors and head of churches [...] our father the very blessed and pure [...] a second Peter and imitator of Paul, Mar Innocentius the 11th, pope of Rome and of the whole land of the orthodox,

69. On the identification of Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir as the translator see Nasrallah 1979, p. 206 n. 113; see also Walbiner 2013, pp. 150-153.

70. On Agapios the Monk, also known as Agapios Landos, see Petit 1900 (for his drawings from Catholic texts esp. pp. 284-285) and on the Arabic translations of his works Walbiner 2013.

71. The Confiteor is found on ff. 34v-35r.

72. Discussed by Murre-van den Berg 2015, pp. 113-142.

> may his see stand to the end of days [...] for the catholic glory and apostolic splendour [...]
> This book was written in the land of the east in the very blessed city, orthodox and very holy, Amida, which after the Turks took they named Diyarbakır [...] under the shelter of [...] Mar Peṭion the glorious martyr [...] He wrote and blackened, that is stained and defiled and corrupted these leaves [...] the most sinful of sinners [...] Yawsep in name of the patriarchate [...]"[73]

Much of this is completely conventional, but there are some important changes. Where typically a scribe would name the patriarch of the day, Yawsep instead puts the pope in this role, implicitly designating him as head of the Church. He names the pope in this way in most of his manuscript colophons.[74] The epithets applied to the pope are mostly those traditionally applied to the patriarch, although the choice of the reference to Peter and Paul and the references to orthodoxy and catholic glory should perhaps be taken as an implicit anti-Nestorian polemic. Yawsep uses here two dating systems: the typical dating system of the Greeks, and the anno Domini dating system which is relatively rare in Syriac manuscripts but of course common in the Latin West. In many of his manuscripts he completely eschews the dating system of the Greeks and only uses the anno Domini dating, which should again be seen as a subtle Catholicising change.[75] In this way Yawsep adapts the traditional conventions of East Syriac manuscript culture to the new context of the Chaldean Church.

The commemoration of their sixteenth-century "Chaldean" forefathers was thus only part of a broader process of recalibration by the Amida Chaldeans. Creating a longer term Chaldean history helped them to maintain their distinctive East Syriac tradition while at the same time they were perhaps inevitably influenced by other traditions including

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[73] [illegible] CCM 00051, ff. 204v-205r.

[74] Including, as well as CCM 00051, Borg. sir. 37 (1674), CCM 00070 (1682), Vat. sir. 43 (1701), Vat. sir. 63 (1701), Vat. sir. 206 (1705).

[75] Manuscripts in which he gives only the anno Domini date: Borg. sir. 37, Vat. sir. 206, Vat. sir. 43, Vat. sir. 44, CCM 00070, British Library Egerton 703. In only one early manuscript, CCM 00048 (1671), does he use only the year of the Greeks.

the Maronites as well as the western Catholic Church. We have seen that this "history" involved reimagining and reinterpreting the history of the sixteenth-century schism. Sulaqa, ʿAbdišoʿ and their followers, who in reality continued to venerate Nestorius at least in some contexts and seem not to have understood themselves as having converted to a different Christian group, are presented as the founders of a Catholic Chaldean, anti-Nestorian tradition. In a sense, then, the actions of Yawsep, ʿAbd al-Aḥad and their fellows represent the "invention of tradition," creating an imagined prehistory for their own movement.[76] But this prehistory was not sheer fabrication: Sulaqa and ʿAbdišoʿ were historical figures and the Amida Chaldeans drew on real texts composed by ʿAbdišoʿ in particular. It is thus important to ask how the Amida Chaldeans gained knowledge of their "predecessors" and what the vehicles were for this process of historical refashioning. Part of the answer may lie in the western Church. As we have seen, Catholic authors generally had no hesitation in eliding together different "Chaldean" groups. ʿAbd al-Aḥad's linking of Sulaqa, ʿAbdišoʿ, and the synod at Diyarbakır in 1616 is not dissimilar to Pietro Strozzi's publication from this synod which invoked ʿAbdišoʿ as an example of the longer-term Chaldean devotion to the papacy. The Catholics whom the Amida Chaldeans encountered may well have encouraged this history making.

Even more important, however, were the manuscripts themselves through which the texts written by the sixteenth-century papal East Syriacs were transmitted. Individual manuscripts played an important role here. The sixteenth-century Borg. sir. 21, probably copied by Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb, served, as we have seen, as Yawsep's model for both Vat. sir. 63 and Vat. sir. 43, containing, respectively, ʿAbdišoʿ's three poems on Sulaqa and a series of pro-papal excerpts and list of former East Syriac patriarchs ordained in Rome. How did Yawsep gain access to this manuscript? He made his copies from it in Rome: both Vat. sir. 63 and Vat. sir. 43 were copied in Rome in 1701. It is possible, therefore, that Rome is the key here; that the Amida Chaldeans learnt about their "predecessors" from the Chaldean tradition not in Mesopotamia but in Rome itself. But another interpretation is possible, that Yawsep himself may have brought the manuscript to Rome. Borg. sir. 21 was part of the Borgia collection, kept at the Propaganda Fide until it was joined to the Vatican Library collection in 1899.[77] Unfortunately it has proved difficult to establish any

76. The "invention of tradition" is a term of course famously analysed by Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983.

77. Scher 1909, p. 249.

certain information about when Borg. sir. 21 entered the Borgia collection, but it is evidently the case that the Borgia collection did at some point acquire some manuscripts of Yawsep I's, since the collection contains one manuscript copied by him.[78] We know that Borg. sir. 21 was initially intended for eastern use, since Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb wrote in that he was bestowing it on the church of Mar Peṯion in Amida.[79] This Church played an important role for the Chaldeans of both the sixteenth and seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. After the schism of 1552 several Chaldean bishops copied manuscripts there, including ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta and Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb.[80] It is difficult to trace the precise ecclesiastical situation in the church after that point, but it seems to have maintained some links to Sulaqa's successors even after they had relocated significantly further east: we find manuscripts copied at Mar Peṯion referring to the Šemʿon patriarch from Sulaqa's line in the seventeenth century.[81] Yawsep of Amida himself was very active at Mar Peṯion. He copied several manuscripts there,[82] and some of the manuscripts in his possession had previously been owned by Mar Peṯion.[83] It thus seems very likely that he had access to all of the manuscripts copied by the sixteenth-century Chaldeans and preserved at Mar Peṯion, giving him and his followers a tangible link to the earlier uniates.

A further indication that Mar Peṯion was an important site of Chaldean history and identity comes from a note written by Yawsep of Amida's successor as patriarch, Yawsep II, in a manuscript in the British Library. An anonymous note in this manuscript records that Mar Timotheos, metropolitan of Amida, Nisibis, Mardin, Hasankeyf and Jerusalem had died of plague in the year 1933 of the Greeks (1621/2 AD), and that this Mar Timotheos had spent six years in Rome with the pope. In 1696, Yawsep II

78. Borg. sir. 34. On the collection of the Borgiani siriaci, see ORSATTI 1996, pp. 115-129.

79. Borg. sir. 21, p. 305.

80. See WILMSHURST 2000, pp. 55-56.

81. For example CCM 00383, copied in 1638 in Mar Peṯion "in the days of Mar Šemʿon Catholicos Patriarch," by Šemʿon metropolitan of Amida (f. 177r); CCM 00050, copied there in 1656 by ʿAbd al-Karīm "in the days of Mar Šemʿon Catholicos Patriarch" (f. 259r).

82. CCM 00048, Vat. sir. 44, CCM 00051, and probably also CCM 00448 (see Appendix 1).

83. See Vat. sir. 83 (although copied in Gazarta, several notes at the end of the manuscript record donations to Mar Peṯion, so it was probably in the ownership of this church at one stage); Vat. sir. 84 (whose scribe, possibly Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb, wrote it in Jerusalem but recorded that he wrote it for the church of Mar Peṯion); Vat. sir. 90 (which was written by the same scribe as Vat. sir. 84, and contains a letter to the clergy of Mar Peṯion so was probably also intended for it).

wrote next to this that Timotheos had brought back twelve thousand gold denarii, fifteen priestly stoles and two gold crowns from the papacy. He notes: "these two gold crowns and five stoles are still found with us in the church of Mar Peṯion in Amida up until today."[84] Timotheos had before his consecration as bishop been known as Adam, the envoy of Eliya VII to Rome in his—ultimately unsuccessful—negotiations with the papacy which culminated at the synod of 1616 described by Pietro Strozzi.[85] We find no allusion in Yawsep's note to this failure; rather, these objects appear as symbols of the historic links between the Chaldean East Syriac community, centred on Mar Peṯion, and the papacy. Mar Peṯion thus stands as perhaps the most important site of transmission of Chaldean identity as it came to be defined, since its collections included several manuscripts written by the sixteenth-century Chaldeans and since it had accumulated over the years other testimonies to East Syriac contacts with the papacy. The Amida Chaldeans smoothed out any irregularities in this history, be it the heterodox positions of ʿAbdišoʿ and Sulaqa or the failed negotiations of Bishop Timotheos, to create a seemingly cohesive Chaldean lineage. The process of the invention of a Chaldean history thus depended upon access to a physical collection of manuscripts, and on a relationship to a particular church building in the city of Amida.

Conclusion

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Amida Chaldeans under the leadership of Yawsep I and his successors created a Chaldean history stretching back to the schism of 1552 under Yōḥannān Sulaqa. Sulaqa, implicitly or explicitly, was presented as the father of this Church, a claim which has been repeated in modern scholarship. The connections between the Amida Chaldeans and the sixteenth-century papal East Syriacs were not entirely imagined, but they existed more at the level of manuscript culture and of institutions such as the church of Mar Peṯion, rather than in terms of belief, doctrine, and shared Catholic faith. Sulaqa and ʿAbdišoʿ, the sixteenth-century Chaldeans, were not orthodox Catholic believers who rejected Nestorianism and converted to the Catholic Church. Rather their particular ecclesiastical identity rested on the acceptance of papal supremacy over the other patriarchates of

84. .ܒܫܢܬ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܪܥܣܪ ܕܗܒ ܙܘܙܐ ܘܐܦ ܫܒܥ ܣܛܘܠ ܕܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܩܕܡ ܐܒܗ ܕܟܠ ܟܢܝܫ̈ܬܐ ܘܗܠܝܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܠ̈ܝܠ ܕܗܒ ܘܫܒܥ ܣܛܘܠ ܐ̈ܢܘܢ ܥܡ̈ܢ ܒܟܢܝܫ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܦܬܝܘܢ ܒܐܡܕ ܥܕ ܗܫܬܐ British Library, Add. MS 7197, f. 41r.

85. For Adam's ordination as bishop Timothy, see Giamil 1902, p. 145, Wilmshurst 2000, p. 51.

the Church. But the Amida Chaldeans concealed these problems when reimagining their predecessors as part of an ongoing struggle between the true faith, namely Catholicism, and the devil's heresy of Nestorianism. Any new Church like that founded by Yawsep was in a vulnerable position, especially since their international support from the western Church could be turned against them by their rivals within the Ottoman context of south-east Turkey.[86] In this context, it was important to foster a cohesive group identity, encouraged by a shared literature and sense of history. The transformation of manuscript culture, from the violent excising of names of rejected saints to the adaptation of the traditional patterns of the colophon, was an important part of this process of confession-building. The Amida Chaldeans combined an openness to the influence of other Catholic groups, including the Maronites and the western Catholics, with a strong assertion of a distinctive Eastern Chaldean identity, as expressed through slightly revised Catholic versions of traditional East Syriac texts and through the commemoration of a longer-term Chaldean history. The "Chaldean" Church, when examined closely, turns out not to be a monolithic or clear-cut confession, but a historically varied and changing series of groups and individuals brought together under a problematic name. The same could be said of many more eastern Christian Churches.[87] But a Chaldean lineage was created not only by Catholic observers more interested in attacking Protestants than in exploring the complexities of eastern Christian identities, and not only by modern scholars in search of paradigms and patterns. It was forged by the eastern Christians themselves, in a politically vulnerable situation, who turned to their imagined ancestors to show that their movement had a past, and, with God's support against the Nestorian heresy, a future.

86. It seems to have been common for non-uniate eastern Christians to accuse their uniate rivals of having turned "Frank," i.e. European, and therefore implicitly of being disloyal to the Ottomans. ʿAbd al-Aḥad claims that Yawsep's opponents did this to him: see CCM 00012, f. 179r.

87. Heyberger 2003, pp. 37-38. Historians have studied, for example, the Maronite construction of their own history by figures including the patriarch Isṭifān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704): see e.g. Salibi 1988, esp. chapters 4-5, Suermann 2002, and the article by Aurélien Girard in this volume.

Appendix 1
Manuscripts copied and owned by Yawsep I

Shelfmark / HMML reference number	Scribe (if known)	Date of copying (if known)	Location of copying (if known)	Summary of contents. Additional notes
Copied by Yawsep I				
CCM 00048	Yawsep	1672	Amida (church of Mar Peṯion)	Biblical: Book of Sessions
Borg. sir. 37	Yawsep	1674	Rome (Propaganda Fide)	Maronite liturgy; history of Mar Maron
CCM 00051	Yawsep	1677	Amida (church of Mar Peṯion)	Biblical: Books of the Prophets
CCM 00070	Yawsep	1682	Amida	Lectionary
British Library MS Egerton 703	Yawsep	1683	Amida	Marriage rites
Vat. sir. 44	Yawsep	1691	Amida (church of Mar Peṯion)	Baptismal and other liturgical texts
CCM 00448	Multiple scribes: colophon on f. 286v suggests that Yawsep was scribe of part of the manuscript	1694 (Yawsep's section)	Amida (church of Mar Peṯion)?—Yawsep I does not name a location in his colophon, but Yawsep II, author of another colophon on ff. 397v-398r, states that it was copied in Amida in Mar Peṯion	Agapios the Monk, *The Salvation of Sinners*
Vat. sir. 43	Yawsep	1701	Rome	Eucharistic rites and other liturgical texts, including list of patriarchs ordained in Rome ending with Yoḥannan Sulaqa, copied from Borg. sir. 21
Vat. sir. 63	Yawsep	1701	Rome	Marriage rites, other liturgical texts, ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta's three poems on Yoḥannan Sulaqa copied from Borg. sir. 21
Vat. sir. 206	Yawsep	1705	Rome	*The Paradise of the Monks*

Shelfmark / HMML reference number	Scribe (if known)	Date of copying (if known)	Location of copying (if known)	Summary of contents. Additional notes
CCM 00440	Yawsep—There is no colophon but there is a note at the back in garshuni by Yawsep III saying that the manuscript was copied by Yawsep I	Unknown		Consolations for burials, some attributed to Eliya III Abu Ḥalīm, some to Šemʿon Metropolitan of Amid
Manuscripts owned by Yawsep				
Vat. sir. 24	Two scribes: Rabban Gabriel, ʿIšoʿ	13th century? [Assemani's estimate]		Lectionary
Vat. sir. 61	Yawsep [unknown, not Yawsep of Amid]	13th century? [Assemani's estimate]		Funeral rites and other liturgical texts
Vat. sir. 83	ʿAṭaya bar Farağ	1537/8	Gazarta [Cizre]	Breviary for the year. Several notes at the end of the manuscript record donations to the church of Mar Peṭion, so it is likely to have been owned by this church at some point
Vat. sir. 23		Assemani estimates a date of the 12th century. There is an ownership note on f. 44v dated to 1863 of the Greeks (1551/2 AD) but this may not be contemporary with the copying of the manuscript	The note on f. 44v reports that it belonged to the church of Mart Šmuni and her seven sons in the village of Ǧarokhiya in the region of Amida	Lectionary from Pauline Epistles

Shelfmark / HMML reference number	Scribe (if known)	Date of copying (if known)	Location of copying (if known)	Summary of contents. Additional notes
Vat. sir. 184	ʿAbd Allah, a priest	1560	Mardin region (Monastery of Mar Peṭion)	Liturgical poems by Gewargis Warda and others. ʿAbdišoʿ of Gazarta wrote a note in the manuscript in 1567/8
Vat. sir. 84	Eliya [perhaps to be identified with Eliya bar Asmar Ḥabīb]	1570-2	Jerusalem	Liturgical office for the year. The scribe notes that he wrote it for the church of Mar Peṭion
Vat. sir. 90	Eliya [evidently the same as the scribe of Vat. sir. 84]	1570-1	Jerusalem	Liturgical prayers by Eliya III Abu Ḥalīm and other authors
Vat. sir. 42	Bahdin bar ʿAṭaya	1602	Gazarta [Cizre]	Priestly office and assorted liturgical texts
Vat. sir. 224	Faustus Naironus	1646		Maronite offices for the day and night
Vat. sir. 223		1675	Rome	Catholic texts in garshuni including the method of reciting the rosary of Mary
Vat. sir. 201		No earlier than 17th century		Theodore Lascaris, hymns on Mary, Agapios the Monk, hymns on Mary and miracles of Mary
Manuscripts possibly owned by Yawsep				
CCM 00295		1583	Wasṭa [in the Cizre region]	Psalter and liturgical texts. f. 138v notes that it belonged to "our Lord Mar Yawsep" with no indication of date of this Yawsep
CCM 00491		1704	Rome	*Kalila and Dimna*, *Secret of Secrets* by Pseudo-Aristotle. Manuscript interestingly is in Serto (West Syriac) script. f. 194r states that it belonged to Mar Yawsep patriarch of the Chaldeans (but does not specify which patriarch Yawsep)

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