



Original paper



Sergei P. Brun

Terra Adusta*: the Sacred Topography of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in the 10th–14th Centuries

Abstract

The article is dedicated to the reconstruction of the sacred topography (the complex of venerated relics, cathedrals, churches, monasteries) of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in the 11th–14th centuries. The period in question can be seen as the last ‘golden age’ of this Middle Eastern Church, encompassing about three centuries, between the time of the so-called Byzantine Reconquest (the time when Cilicia, northern Syria and western Mesopotamia were brought back under the control of the Byzantine Empire) and a series of devastating punitive campaigns, undertaken by the Zengids, Mongols and especially the Egyptian Mamluks in the 12th–14th centuries. Relying on a vast array of sources (narrative, documentary, archaeological) the author not only provides references and descriptions of the many lost relics and shrines of Middle Eastern Orthodox Christianity (the majority of which was lost and destroyed) but also offers a systematic analysis of their dedication. Thus, shrines dedicated to the Apostles, to Old Testament Prophets, to Christ and the Holy Virgin, to women saints, are all brought into separate categories. The Melkite veneration of various warrior-saints and their shrines, as well as the balance between the veneration of local, Antiochian, and “ecumenical” (Constantinopolitan, Palestinian) saints is also thoroughly analyzed. In conclusion, the article provides a detailed analytical take on the crucial

* Scorched Earth.

factors that turned the Medieval Patriarchate of Antioch — a thriving Middle Eastern Church — into a Church of dwindling enclaves, bereft of the majority of its former shrines, relics and traditions.

Keywords:

Middle Eastern Orthodoxy, the Patriarchate of Antioch, Byzantium, Melkites, Marian Veneration, Veneration of the Apostles, Warrior-Martyrs, Syrian Saints, Sacred Topography

For Citation:

Brun S.P. Terra Adusta: the sacred topography of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in the 10th–14th centuries // *The Historical Reporter*. 2025. Vol. LIII. P. 146–195. DOI: 10.35549/HR.2025.2025.53.003



When we talk about the three Orthodox Patriarchates of the Near East — Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem — these three local Churches often appear as a kind of “trio” of weak communities, small Christian enclaves under the rule of Muslims and entirely dependent on both secular and ecclesiastical authorities in Constantinople. A classic example of this view is presented in the pre-revolutionary Byzantine studies by Lebedev¹. Similar ideas are found in the classic works of the 20th century, even in those by Sir Steven Runciman². Who was very knowledgeable about the history of the Christian Orient. This same stereotype, despite a body of work dedicated to

¹ *Лебедев А.П.* Очерки внутренней истории Византийско-Восточной церкви в IX, X и XI веках. От конца иконоборческих споров в 842 г. до начала крестовых походов — 1096 г. СПб.: “Издательство Олега Абышко”, 2012. С. 108–117.

² *Рансимен Р.* Восточная схизма. Византийская теократия. М.: “Наука”, 1998. С. 19, 28.

the history of the area, has continued to resonate in Russian and foreign historiography in the last quarter-century. A clear example of this is the recent monograph *Colonizing Christianity* by Demacopoulos, published by Fordham University, which deals with the relations between the Latins and the Orthodox Church, all but neglects to mention³ the fundamental and distinctive processes that took place in Antioch, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and even Cyprus. And while the Patriarchates of Jerusalem and especially Alexandria did indeed fit these representations, covering relatively small canonical territories where Muslim (and, in Egypt, also Christian Coptic) populations increasingly dominated, the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch was reduced to a similar diminished position only after the Mamluk ravages of the 13th – 14th centuries.

However, from the time of the so-called “Roman Reconquest”, that is, the Byzantine conquest of northern Syria and Cilicia in the 10th–11th centuries, up until the Mamluk and Mongol devastations of the Middle East in the 13th–14th centuries, the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch had been a strong local Church, admittedly lesser than Rome and the Patriarchate of Constantinople but far more numerous and powerful than the fading Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Alexandria.

The dioceses and communities of the Church of Antioch, though often not populous and frequently tied to trade cities and small clusters of rural settlements, stretched from Cilicia in the west to the region of Shash (Chach) and the Amu Darya in the east, and from the Anatolian city of Erzurum (Theodosiopolis) in the north to the Hauran in the south. Despite the disappearance of dozens of small dioceses in the 7th–9th centuries, the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch retained 13 great metropolises (to which, in the 10th–11th centuries, the autocephalous metropolitan sees of Adana, Pompeyopolis, and Latakia were added), as well as two catholicosate seats, in Irenopolis (Baghdad) and Romagira (Chach). The latter also included the metropolis of Merv and a number of unnamed episcopal sees in what is now eastern Iran and Uzbekistan.

A series of military and political catastrophes that shook the Near and Middle East (primarily, the Mamluk military campaigns against

³ Demacopoulos G.E. *Colonizing Christianity. Greek and Latin Religious Identity in the Era of the Fourth Crusade*. Fordham, 2019.

Christian states in the Levant, but also the Mongol campaigns and the invasions of Timur) reduced the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch to a small local Church composed of a few Syrian, Lebanese, and Turkish enclaves. Furthermore, for a number of political reasons—ranging from the Byzantine emperors' having Syrian relics transferred to Constantinople to the punitive campaigns of the Zengids, Mamluks, and Mongols—the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch lost not only much of its material heritage (churches, monasteries, manuscripts, icons, relics) but even the very memory of these lost sanctities.

As is well known, the first person to attempt to restore the lost history of the Orthodox Church of Antioch was Patriarch Makarios III az-Za'im (1647–1672), whose efforts were supported by his son, Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, and, in the 18th–19th centuries, by several Arab-Christian historians, both Orthodox and Greek Catholic⁴. In 20th-century historiography, a particularly important role in the study of Eastern Orthodox Christianity belongs to another Syrian hierarchy, Melkite Archbishop Joseph Nasrallah, who served in France and sought to restore not only the history of literature but also information about the hierarchy, sacred objects and monasteries of the Melkites in the 7th–14th centuries⁵.

It is to Archbishop Joseph Nasrallah that we owe important studies on two “monasteries of St. Simeon”—the Monastery of St. Simeon the Elder at Qala'at Samaan and the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites the Younger⁶. Fundamental studies of monasteries of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch were carried out by the Georgian archaeol-

⁴ See more in: Панченко К.А. Вспомнить прошлое: Антиохийский Патриарх Макарий III аз-За'им как историк. // *Miscellanea Orientalia Christiana*. М.: РГГУ, 2014. С. 359–384. Among the key figures in this context, one should name one of Makarios III's closest successors—Patriarch Athanasius III Dabbas (1686–1694, 1720–1724), the author of the still unpublished Greek-language *History of the Patriarchate of Antioch from Saint Peter to 1202*, as well as the *List of the Patriarchs of Antioch* by the Damascene priest Michael Breik († after 1781). See: Список Антиохийских патриархов / Пер. еп. Порфирий (Успенский) // Труды Киевской Духовной Академии. 1874. № 6. С. 346–457.

⁵ Nasrallah J. *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*. Vol. 3. T. 1 (969–1250). Leuven, 1983.

⁶ Nasrallah J. *Couvents de la Syrie du Nord portant le nom de Siméon* // *Syria*. 1972. T. 49 (1–2). P. 127–159.

ogist Wakhtang Djobadze, who conducted excavations in the Turkish province of Hatay and northern Syria in the 1970s.⁷

The overview of the communities of the Patriarchate of Antioch is provided in the studies of Todt, Panchenko, as well as the author of this article⁸. An updated list of Orthodox monasteries in Syria and Palestine from the Crusader period was published in 2020 by Hamilton and Jotischky in their monograph “*Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States*”⁹. A previously little-studied Syriac-speaking Melkite monastic center, located on the slopes of Mountain Tur Elaya (east of Antioch), was introduced into scholarly discourse through to the work of Glinias, *Syriac Melkite Monasticism at Mount Sinai in the 13th–14th Centuries*¹⁰.

The goal of this article is to provide a “topographical survey” of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch from the 10th to the 14th centuries based on surviving documentary and archaeological evidence, highlighting the main churches, holy objects, and monasteries of this local Church. An attempt has also been made to systematize the unique centers of veneration and dedication of churches to the apostles, Old Testament prophets, saints, warrior martyrs, holy women, angels, the Savior, and the Virgin Mary, as well as to analyze the relative veneration of the “ecumenical” vis-a-vis Syrian and Persian saints among the communities of the medieval Patriarchate of Antioch.

⁷ Djobadze W. Archeological investigations in the region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes. Stuttgart, 1986. 234 p.

⁸ Todt K.-P. Region und griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969–1204). Wiesbaden, 2005; Todt K.-P. Griechisch-Orthodoxe (Melkitische) Christen im Zentralen und Südlichen Syrien // Le Muséon. 2006. №119. P. 33–80; Панченко К.А. Ближневосточное православие под османским владычеством. М.: Индрик, 2012; Панченко К.А. Митрополиты и епархии православной Антиохийской Церкви в описании Патриарха Макария III аз-За’има (1665 г.) // Вестник церковной истории. 2012. №. 1–2 (25/26). P. 116–157; Брюн С.П. Ромеи и франки в Антиохии, Сирии и Киликии XI–XIII вв. К истории соприкосновения латинских и византийских христиан на рубежах Востока. М.: Маска, 2015. Т. I. P. 55–101.

⁹ Hamilton B., Jotischky A. Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States. Cambridge, 2020.

¹⁰ Glynias J. Syriac Melkite Monasticism at Mount Sinai in the 13th–14th centuries // ARAM. 2019. №31:7. P. 7–33.



Simeon Stylites the Younger, Simeon Stylites, and Alypius the Stylite.
*Theophanes the Greek. Fresco of the Church of the Transfiguration on Ilyina Street,
 Veliky Novgorod. Novgorod Museum-Reserve*

Veneration of the Apostles

Antioch, the city where “the disciples were called Christians first” (Acts 11:26), was historically connected to a series of saints who had played key roles in the history of the Christian world. Among these saints there are those native to Antioch itself: the Hieromartyr Martyr Ignatius the God-bearer, St. John Chrysostom, St. Simeon Stylites, and Luke the Evangelist, as well as the Supreme Apostles Peter and Paul, who came to preach in the capital of Roman Syria. For centuries, Antiochian archbishops, and then patriarchs, were proud of their direct succession from the Apostle Peter, since he had led the Christian community in Antioch before his departure to Rome¹¹.

Antioch, along with Rome, was one of the two main centers of veneration of the Apostle Peter in the Christian world, the seat of the East-

¹¹ For the beginnings of veneration and early mentions of “Peter’s succession” in Antioch and the Antiochian Church, see: *Downey G. A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. Princeton, 1961. P. 583–584.

ern Throne of the Prince of Apostles. The main shrines and the cathedral church of Antioch were linked to the Apostle Peter. In the center of the city stood the magnificent two-story or “hanging” Cathedral of Cassian, which was rebuilt during the Second Byzantine Period; in the 11th–13th centuries it was also known as the Cathedral of St. Apostle Peter. This cathedral possessed the most important sacred objects for the medieval Church of Antioch (and, more broadly, for Eastern Christianity) associated with the Apostle Peter: the chains and the cell where St. Peter was imprisoned, as well as the “Apostolic Throne”, a position for which Orthodox, Latin, and Syrian-Jacobite patriarchs of Antioch competed¹².

It is notable that in the early Byzantine period there is no mention of a single significant church dedicated to the Apostle Paul. Only during the Arab rule do we begin to hear about the Monastery of St. Paul or the Deir Baraghit, built at the north-western walls of Antioch¹³. Two opposite traditions have reached us regarding the connection of this place with the Apostle Paul. According to one, cited by the Coptic deacon Abu l-Makarem (late 12th century), the monastery was built above the prison where the apostles Paul and John were held¹⁴. The German pilgrim and bishop Wilbrandus de Oldenburg, who visited Antioch in 1210–1211, mentions, however, that the monastery was built over the grotto where, according to tradition, the “apostle of the tongues”¹⁵ sought refuge from the Syrian sun. In the early 12th century, the Orthodox monastery of St. Paul was handed over by Tancred, Prince of Antioch, to the Benedictines, becoming one of the most famous monasteries of this monastic order in the East. Later, presumably,

¹² For more on the Cathedral of St. Peter (the Church of Cassianus) in Antioch, see: Брюн Р.П. Ромей и франки в Антиохии... Т. II. С. 41–55.

¹³ An early mention of the monastery is found in the writings of the Arab geographer and traveler Al-Masudi (ca. 896–956). See: Le *Strange* G. Palestine under the Moslems. A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from AD 650 to 1500. London, 1890. P. 146.

¹⁴ Hacken P.E. *ten*. The description of Antioch in Abu al-Makarim's History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some neighboring countries // East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality. — Leuven, 2006. С. XI. P. 200.

¹⁵ *Wilbrandus de Oldenburg*. Peregrinatio // Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor. Leipzig, 1864. P. 172.

at the turn of the 12th to 13th century, the catholicon of this monastery was reconstructed in the early Gothic style, as evidenced by the preserved seals of two abbots of the St. Paul Monastery¹⁶, which bore the new image of the temple. The cathedral dedicated to St. Paul was built in the apostle's hometown of Tarsus, which became the second most prestigious metropolis of the Church of Antioch. At the dawn of the 12th century, this dilapidated Byzantine cathedral was rebuilt by the Normans, who turned it into a Romanesque basilica.

With the Byzantine reconquest of the city, this basilica became the residence of the Orthodox Metropolitan of Tarsus, and in the 13th–14th centuries, the residence of the Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch and all the East¹⁷. In Damascus, in the Al-Ghuta district, there were also two monasteries during this period, one dedicated to the Apostle Paul and the other to the Apostle Peter¹⁸. Additionally, several parish churches dedicated to the Supreme Apostles are known: the Church of St. Peter in Latakia¹⁹ and the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul built during the Frankish rule in the Lebanese village of Bezbina, which was later destroyed by the Mamluks (its ruins still remain a pilgrimage site for Orthodox Christians from the Akkar diocese).

The veneration of the apostles within the Church of Antioch was not limited to the dedication of churches and the commemoration of Saints Peter and Paul. While Syrian and Armenian Miaphysites built cathedrals and monasteries in the Syro-Palestinian region in honor of the Apostles Thaddeus, Bartholomew, Thomas, James the Less, and James the son of Zebedee, the Melkites, the followers of the Orthodox Church of Antioch, were clearly keeping pace with their religious opponents.

Regarding the Orthodox communities of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, there are mentions of churches and cathedrals dedicated to the Apostles James, Thaddeus, Thomas, and Luke the Evange-

¹⁶ Caben P. La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche. Paris, 1940. P. 131 (№17).

¹⁷ More on the origins and architecture of the Cathedral of St. Paul in Tarsus, see: Brown R.A. The Normans. Woodbridge, 1995. P. 161.

¹⁸ The beauty of these monasteries and surrounding lands was noted by the scholar Yaqut al-Hamawi (ca. 1178–1229). See: *Le Strange* G. Op. cit. P. 429.

¹⁹ Caben P. La Syrie du Nord... P. 165.

list. Although not every dedication can be precisely traced to one of the apostles (as opposed to saints of the same name) due to the fragmentary nature of the sources, we know for certain that in Antioch, near the Monastery of St. Paul, a large church was built in honor of Luke the Evangelist, where, before their transferal to Constantinople, the relics and marble sarcophagus of the saint were kept. The church was built on the site where, according to local tradition, the house of the Evangelist had once stood²⁰. The cathedral in Hierapolis/Manbij was dedicated to the Apostle Thaddeus, but whether this church was the unique wooden cathedral mentioned by the Muslim geographer Ibn Khordadbeh in his *Book of Roads and Kingdoms* (c. 820–912) remains uncertain²¹. In Saidnaya, north of Damascus, there was a monastery of St. Thomas, which fell into ruin during the Mamluk period and was later revived by the Melkites in the 20th century²². Procopius of Caesarea writes that the Cathedral Church of Laodicea in Syria (Latakia), erected in the Early Byzantine Period and restored after the Syrian earthquakes by Emperor Justinian I, was dedicated to St. John, but whether it was John the Baptist or John the Evangelist was not clarified by the author²³. A 13th-century colophon reveals the existence of a Melkite monastery of St. James in the village of Bashtudar²⁴. One of the last major urban churches built during this period was the Church and Hospital of St. James the Apostle, constructed with the funds of Empress Helena, wife of the Byzantine Emperor Theodoros II Laskaris in Adana. Nowadays, this surviving church is known as the mosque Yag Camii.

²⁰ Abu al-Makarim writes about the marble shrine on four columns, which once held the relics of Saint Luke. See: *Hacken P.E. ten*. The description of Antioch in Abu al-Makarim's History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt... P. 204. The location of the Church of St. Luke and its proximity to the Monastery of St. Paul is noted by Wilbrand of Oldenburg. See: *Wilbrandus de Oldenburg*. Op. cit. P. 173.

²¹ *Ибн Хордадбех*. Книга путей и стран. Баку, 1986. С.128.

²² *Betts R.B.* The Southern Portals of Byzantium. London, 2009. P. 85, 177.

²³ *Прокопий Кесарийский*. Война с готами. О Постройках. М.: Арктос, 1996. Кн. V. Гл. 9. С. 103–104.

²⁴ The monastery is mentioned in connection with a Psalter now kept in the library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai (Sinai Syr. 225), copied in Classical Syriac in 1271 by the monk Anthony of the Monastery of St. James. See: *Glynias J.* Op. cit., P. 19.



St. Apostle Peter. Follis of the Principality of Antioch.
Reign of Tancred (1101–1112).
From the author's collection

The veneration of Old Testament prophets: Elijah and John the Baptist

When speaking about the veneration of biblical prophets by the faithful of the Patriarchate of Antioch, the foremost among them, understandably, was the prophet of the “fiery ascension”, St. Elijah, and the last prophet, St. John the Baptist. The first cathedral of Orthodox Christians in Damascus was the Church of St. John the Baptist, built on the foundation of the Temple of Jupiter, and divided between the Muslims and the Orthodox Melkite community during the Arab conquest. Today, part of the church’s narthex stands between the Umayyad Mosque and the Old Market. In 743, the remaining part of the church was confiscated from the Melkites by Caliph Al-Walid I. In compensation, the Muslim area of Al-Ghuta was restored to them²⁵. The history of the Church of St. John the Baptist in Damascus is well known, but a similar history of the Church of St. John the Baptist in Homs (pre-Islamic Emesa), also built in the Early Byzantine Period, is much less frequently encountered in the studies of Christian-Muslim relations. Since Emesa was surrendered to

²⁵ The division and confiscation of the church is described in detail by the 12th-century Arab geographer and traveler Ibn Jubayr. See: *Ибн Джубайр. Путешествие*. М.: Наука, 1984. С. 262–263.

the Muslims without a fight, the church was also divided, but this division (despite the three Roman invasions each resulting in the destruction of the city) survived until the Mamluk persecutions of the late 13th century. The division of the Church of St. John the Baptist in Homs was mentioned by the geographer Yaqut al-Hamawi²⁶. Another venerated place was the Cave Monastery (Speilaion) in Homs, which preserved the head of St. John the Baptist, found for the second time in the 5th century²⁷. Another monastery dedicated to St. John the Baptist existed from the 5th century in the Melkite village of Douma in northern Lebanon (it is unclear whether its existence was uninterrupted or whether it was revived during the Frankish rule)²⁸.

The prophet Elijah still remains one of the most revered saints among the Orthodox Antiochians and Melkite Greek Catholics, and many churches are dedicated to him. In the 11th–13th centuries, a monastery dedicated to “the prophet of fiery ascension” was located on the Black Mountain: the Monastery of St. Elijah. This monastery had a double dedication: to the prophet Elijah and St. Panteleimon the Healer, and it is known from a number of surviving Syrian manuscripts from the 11th–13th centuries²⁹. A monastery dedicated to the prophet Elijah (Elias) is located in the Lebanese village of Shwayya. It was revived in the 17th century and became the summer residence for the

²⁶ A description of this division was also left by the 10th-century Persian geographer Abu Ishaq al-Istakhri. See: *Le Strange* G. Op. cit. P. 353. For the account of Yaqut al-Hamawi, see: *Ibid.* P. 356.

²⁷ The history of the transfer of the head of John the Baptist from the Cave (Spelean) Monastery to the Cathedral of Emesa/Homs is recorded by the Byzantine chronicler Theophanes the Confessor (c. 760–818). See: *Феофан Исповедник. Летопись византийца Феофана*. М.: Университетская типография М. Каткова, 1884. С. 314.

²⁸ For more on the Monastery of St. John the Baptist in Douma, see: *Issa A.G. The Typological Classification of the Old Lebanese Churches, Batroun and Byblos, from the 8th to the 13th century // Lebanese Science Journal. 2020. Vol. 21. №1. P. 102, 113.*

²⁹ *Glynias J.* Op. cit. P. 16–17; *Khalife E. Orthodox Manuscripts Copied in Antioch // Antioch. 2013. P. 2; Брюн С.П. Феодосий III Хрисоверг и Илия Пророк: отражение почитания в византийской сфрагистике // Актуальные вопросы изучения христианского Востока. Материалы международной конференции 12 ноября 2019 года. Сергиев Посад: Изд. Московской Духовной Академии, 2023. С. 188–202.*

Orthodox Patriarchs of Antioch. However, it is unknown whether it bore the same dedication in the 12th–13th centuries.³⁰ Medieval parish churches dedicated to the prophet Elijah are known in Latakia, the village of Cheikh Taba (now the cathedral of the Orthodox Diocese of Akkar), Safita (near Tartus), and Izra (the latter was restored in the 19th century by the local Greek Catholic community, which had lost control of the Church of St. George to the Orthodox community)³¹.

Warrior martyrs and their veneration in the Patriarchate of Antioch

An important place in the sacral topography of the medieval Patriarchate of Antioch is occupied by churches and monasteries dedicated to warrior martyrs. Despite the fact that medieval Melkites (except for the warlike and prone to brigandage inhabitants of Qara and Resafa) were not particularly renowned for belligerence, the special veneration of warrior martyrs distinguished the Orthodox Christians from other Christian communities in the Middle East. One of the thirteen major metropolises of the Patriarchate of Antioch was inseparably connected with the place of the martyrdom of St. Sergius: the city of Resafa or Sergiopolis on the Euphrates. This Roman garrison city grew and gained particular significance because of the martyrdom of St. Sergius, drawing large crowds of pilgrims. The Romans had transformed the city into an oasis, and it became the residence of the Umayyad Caliph Hisham ibn al-Malik. The Christian physician from Baghdad Ibn Butlan describes the monastery of St. Sergius (Deir ar-Rusafa) as a “great church, the outer side of which is covered with golden mosaics created under the orders of Constantine, son of Helena.”³² Monasteries dedicated to St. Sergius (more precisely, to

³⁰ *Parker K.S.* The Indigenous Christian of the Arabic Middle East in an Age of Crusaders, Mongols and Mamluks (1244–1366). London, 2012. P. 355.

³¹ For the history and monuments of parish churches of the Antiochian Patriarchate in Syria and Lebanon, see the online portal ARPOA (Architecture Religieuse du Patriarcat Orthodoxe d’Antioche): <http://home.balamand.edu.lb/ARPOA.asp?id=11306&fid=2025>

³² *Le Strange G.* Op. cit. P. 522.

the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus) sprang up in other parts of Syria and Lebanon. As early as the 4th century, a temple (later a monastery) dedicated to the warrior martyrs appeared in Maaloula, north of Damascus. This monastery, despite repeated destructions (the last occurring in 2014), has survived to this day and preserves in its northern and central chapels the oldest known and active altars in the Christian world³³. Another Melkite monastery of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus was built near Byblos. In the 12th century, it was laid to waste by the Saracens and then revived by Latin Cistercian monks before being ultimately destroyed by the Mamluks³⁴. Additionally, several Melkite churches dedicated to Sts. Sergius and Bacchus are known; the Melkite churches in the Lebanese Kaftoun and Syrian Qara have preserved unique fresco ensembles from the 13th century³⁵. The cult of St. Elian was unique to Emesa/Homs and the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch as a whole, and the church dedicated to him still survives in the old city of Homs, where either a sarcophagus with relics or a cenotaph of this warrior martyr is kept³⁶.

The early great martyrs were of special importance to Christians in the Middle East, especially to those who came under the rule of Arab-Muslim rulers. The confessors and martyrs who suffered at the hands of the Persian Zoroastrians held special significance, too. Since any Islam-chal-

³³ For more about the altars of the katholikon of the Monastery of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Maaloula, see: *Di Bennardo A. Pietre orientate: la luce nelle chiese di Siria e Sicilia (V–XII secolo)*. Roma, 2005. P. 82–102.

³⁴ *Petit M.E. Chartes de l'abbaye cistercienne de Saint-Serge de Giblet en Syrie // Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France. V. Vol. 8* Paris, 1887. P. 20–30.

³⁵ For the frescoes of the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus in Kaftoun, see: *Хелу Н. Фрески Кафтуну (Ливан). Соединение византийской и восточной традиций // Образ Византии. Сборник статей в честь О.С. Поповой. М.: Северный Паломник, 2008. С. 589–600; Helou N., Immerzeel M. Kaftoun 2004. The Wall Paintings // Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean. 2004. 16. P. 453–458. О фресках церкви в Каре, см.: Immerzeel M. Monasteries and Churches of the Qalamoun (Syria): Art and pilgrimage in the Middle Ages // Journal of the Canadian Society of Syriac Studies. 2007. №7. P. 74–98.*

³⁶ *Leroy J. Découvertes de peintures chrétiennes en Syrie // Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes. 1975. Vol. 25 (№1–2). P. 95–113; Candea V. Une oeuvre d'art melkite: l'icône de Saint-Elia de Homs // Syria. 1972. №49. P. 219–238; Koch G. Sarkophage des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts im Osten des Römischen Reiches // Studi di antichità cristiana. Mainz, 1998. P. 461.*

lenging debates were strictly prohibited in the caliphate and punishable by death, honoring those who suffered at the hands of other Oriental “infidels”, i.e., the fire-worshipping Persians, provided the clergy and the faithful with a clear and understandable example of steadfastness in faith.

In this context, the cult of Saint James the Persian, or James the Mutilated, became especially revered among the Orthodox Christians of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. James, a nobleman of Bahram V, initially renounced Christ but then became a firm believer and was dismembered alive into 29 parts for it.³⁷ During the period in question, at least two monasteries dedicated to this saint were established. The first was built in the village of Qara, north of Damascus³⁸. The second was located south of Tripoli, in the Lebanese village of Deddeh³⁹.

A similar story is associated with the conversion and subsequent martyrdom of a high-ranking Christian by the Persian Zoroastrians: Saint Eleutherius, a 4th-century martyr, whom some modern scholars, following Peeters, identify with the Persian eunuch Azat (Guhshtazad), a courtier of Shahanshah Shapur II⁴⁰. The monastery that kept the relics of Saint Eleutherius was located in Tarsus and attracted pilgrims from Asia Minor and Syria. It is unknown whether the monastery was destroyed during the Mamluk invasion of 1275 or if it continued to exist until the final conquest and destruction of Tarsus in 1359⁴¹. Unfortunately, we do not know how widespread the veneration of Saint James the Mutilated or Saint Eleutherius was in the lands of the Ortho-

³⁷ Колесников А.И., Зайцев Д.В., Саенкова Е.Н. Э.П.А. Иаков Персиянин // Православная Энциклопедия. Том 20. М.: изд-во “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2009. Р. 548–553.

³⁸ For more on the history of the monastery founded in the 6th century, destroyed in 1266, and revived at the end of the 20th century, see the website: <https://www.maryakub.net>. See also: Панченко К.А. Разорение селения Кара султаном Бейбарсом в 1266 г. Исторический контекст // Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского гуманитарного университета. Серия 3: Филология. Изд-во ПСТГУ (М.). 2012. № 3 (29). С. 32–45.

³⁹ Betts R.V. Op. cit. P. 81, 177.

⁴⁰ Зайцев Д.В. Елевферий // Православная Энциклопедия. Т. 18. М.: изд-во “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2009. С.278–279.

⁴¹ For more on the Tarsian Monastery of St. Eleutherius as one of the pilgrimage centers of Asia Minor, see: Foss P. Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia Minor // *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 2002. Vol. 56. P. 133–144.

dox Catholicosates of Irenopolis and Romagira (which covered communities from the Tigris to the Amu Darya) or whether the emergence of monasteries dedicated to these martyrs in the Levant indicates the migration of Melkites to the west, to the lands controlled by the Romans and Franks in the Syrian-Lebanese region and Cilicia.

Since the migration of Orthodox Christians and Greek Catholics from southern Syria (Hauran) into the Beqaa Valley, Wadi al-Nasara, and Lebanon is clearly traceable in the 18th century, it would be tempting to assume that a similar movement of Melkites toward the Mediterranean, i.e., migration to or next to the lands under Christian rule, occurred in the 10th to 13th centuries. In this period, the scant sources only provide isolated mentions of natives of the Tigris River region appearing in northwestern Syria: the ascension of Christophorus, a native of Baghdad, to the Antiochian Throne in 960, and the activities of the learned monk Gabriel ibn Muqaifi, who moved from Martyropolis to the Antiochian Diocese in the 13th century⁴². In any case, the idea of migration would provide a historical context for the establishment of new churches and monasteries in honor of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, as well as the Persian martyrs Saint James the Mutilated and Saint Eleutherius, the first mentions of whom appear precisely in the 11th century, during the Byzantine Reconquest. However, we cannot objectively speak of such a migration in the 12th–13th centuries due to the lack of reliable sources.

Thanks to Al-Biruni, we know that one of the main church feasts for the Melkites, at least for those living in his homeland in the region of the Orthodox Catholicosate of Romagira, was the feast of the Seven Martyrs of Nishapur⁴³. It is possible that these martyrs could have churches dedicated to them in the territory of the Catholicosate of Romagira, especially since Nishapur itself was one of the most likely cathedral cities and residences for the Orthodox Catholicos. However, this remains speculative, as there is no archaeological or documentary record about the exact dedication or even the location of any of the once numerous churches of the Melkite Catholicosate of Romagira.

⁴² *Glynias J.* Op. cit. P. 16–17; Khalife E. *Orthodox Manuscripts Copied in Antioch...* P. 4.

⁴³ *Al-Biruni.* *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* // ed. & trans. P.E. Sachau. London, 1879. P. 298.

While the cult of Saint Sergius, Saint Elian, the Persian martyrs James and Eleutherius and the Seven Martyrs of Nishapur originates within the Church of Antioch, the veneration of Saint George holds no lesser importance among the Orthodox Christians of Antioch. This is despite the fact that the primary centers of veneration for this great martyr were Cappadocia, Nicomedia, and the Palestinian Lydda. The most famous monastery dedicated to the great Dragon-Slayer in the Middle East was the monastery of Saint George al-Humaira, built in Wadi al-Nasara (“Valley of Christians”). This still active monastery was founded in the Early Byzantine Period as a cave monastery, with new cells and a small catholikon built over it by the Franks (the modern monastery complex and new church were erected over the Crusader-era buildings)⁴⁴. Monasteries of Saint George were located in Cilician Tarsus⁴⁵, in the Daphne Valley near Antioch⁴⁶, on the Lebanese mountain of Hamatoura⁴⁷, and in Syrian Saidnaya⁴⁸. Among the many parish churches dedicated to the Cappadocian great martyr, the church of Saint George in the village of Izra (in Hauran), now one of the oldest active churches in the Christian world, founded in the early 6th century (according to tradition, in 515AD)⁴⁹, holds a special sig-

⁴⁴ Slim S., ed. *Monasteries of Antiochian Orthodox Patriarchate*. University of Balamand Publications, 2007. Quotation from the English translation of the book; see online source: The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and all the East [Офици. сайт]. URL: <http://antiochpatriarchate.org/en/page/146/>

⁴⁵ For more on the Monastery of St. George in Tarsus, see: *Foss P.* Op. cit. P. 133–144.

⁴⁶ “The Holy Monastery of Mar George the Great Martyr, known as Bet Maya (“Monastery of the Springs”) in Daphne”. See: *Khalife E.* *Orthodox Manuscripts Copied in Antioch...* P. 3.

⁴⁷ The text “Жития Св. Иакова Хаматурского” is available on the official website of the Monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos of Hamatoura. See [Online Resource]: <http://www.hamatoura.com>.

⁴⁸ The ancient monastery of St. George in Saidnaya — with only one monk living there — was still seen by the Little Russian pilgrim Grigorovich-Barsky. Shortly after his visit, the monastery became deserted, but it was revived at the end of the 20th century. See: *Григорович-Барский В.И.* *Странствование по Святым местам Востока*. М.: ИИПГК “ИХТИОС”, 2005. Ч. II. С. 92.

⁴⁹ For more on the architecture of the Church of St. George in Izra, see: *Stewart P. Simpson.* *History of Architectural Development*. Vol. II. Early Christian, Byzantine, & Romanesque Architecture. 1954. P. 62–63.

nificance. Another cathedral worth mentioning was built during the Frankish period in the Lebanese town of Batroun, also dedicated to the Great Martyr George⁵⁰. A magnificent basilica of Saint George was also built in Antioch during the Second Byzantine Period, near the Persian Gates, which is why they acquired the name of the “Gates of Saint George”⁵¹. Traces of special Melkite veneration for Saint George have also been preserved in Cyprus, where waves of Syrians migrated since the Frankish conquest of the island (at the end of the 12th century) throughout the Mamluk-dominated 13th–14th centuries. The Melkite bourgeoisie of Famagusta played a significant role in the construction of Saint George’s Cathedral, with wealthy merchants and officials from the Syrian community donating substantial sums⁵².

Apart from the churches dedicated to Saint George (whose cult spread among the Antiochians from both the northwest and the south, i.e., from Cappadocia and Palestine), the construction of churches in honor of other warrior saints, whose veneration had come from the territory of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, naturally took place in the lands of the local churches. This primarily concerns the veneration of Saint Theodore Stratelates. It is known that churches dedicated to him were located in the citadel of Tarsus and near the citadel of Edessa⁵³. The latter possessed part of the relics of the great martyr, and it was dedi-

⁵⁰ *Betts R.B.* Op. cit. P. 81.

⁵¹ For more on the Basilica of St. George in Antioch, see: *Meyer G.* L’apport des voyageurs occidentaux (1268–1918) // *Les sources de l’histoire du paysage urbain d’Antioche sur l’Oronte.* Paris, 2012. P. 245; *Eger A.* Mapping Medieval Antioch // *Dumbarton Oaks Papers.* 2013. № 67. P. 95–134. During the rule of Prince Tancred of Antioch, this basilica and the lands belonging to it were transferred to the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert, after which it passed to the Augustinian Canons. See: *Caben P.* La Syrie du Nord... P. 324–325.

⁵² Coureas cites the will of a certain Fetus Semitecolo, a subject of the Republic of St. Mark and a Melkite (or at least a member of the Orthodox Church married to a Melkite woman), who bequeathed significant sums of “white bezants” for his wife Maria to spend on maintaining three Orthodox churches in Famagusta: the Cathedral of St. George, the Monastery of St. Gerasimus, and the Church of St. Epiphanius (in which he was to be buried). See: *Coureas N.* The Syrian Melkites in the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus (1192–1474) // *Chronos.* 2019. №40. P. 83.

⁵³ *Wilbrandus de Oldenburg.* Peregrinatio Op. cit. P. 176.

cated to both Saint Theodore and the Holy Cross⁵⁴. The cathedral of Erzurum, the See of the Orthodox Metropolitan of Theodosiopolis, which lasted until World War I, was also consecrated in honor of Saint Theodore Stratelates⁵⁵. Among the parish churches dedicated to this saint, special mention should be made of the church in the Lebanese village of Bahdeidat, known for its unique fresco ensemble created by Melkite artists in the Syrian iconographic tradition in the 13th century⁵⁶.

Thanks to the surviving Syrian Psalter of 1241, composed by a priest named Lazarus, son of Job, we also know of the existence of the Church of Saint Christopher the Martyr in the Lebanese village of Btouratij⁵⁷. The veneration of the Egyptian great martyr and wonderworker Mina (Menas) can be at least partially linked with Cilician Anazarbus. The great martyr is depicted on the surviving seal of Abraham, Metropolitan of Anazarbus, (11th century)⁵⁸. This suggests that Mina may have been an especially venerated saint in Anazarbus and that there could have been a church dedicated to this warrior-martyr in the city (although it is also possible that the placement of the image of this saint on the seal was related to the personal devotion of the Metropolitan). There are also records of the veneration of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. An ancient church in honor of these saints still stood in the center of Homs⁵⁹ in the 18th century.

⁵⁴ On the Church of St. Theodore in Edessa, see: *Segal J.B.* Edessa: The Blessed City. Piscataway, 2005. P. 250; *Moosa M.* Crusades: Conflict Between Christendom and Islam. Piscataway, 2008. P. 563–564. During an uprising by Armenian Miaphysites, a Chalcedonian governor, appointed by Philaretos Brachamios, was killed praying in the Church of St. Theodore. See: *Арутюнова-Фиданян В.А.* Византийские правители Эдессы в XI в. // Византийский временник. 1973. № 35. С. 149.

⁵⁵ On the Russian Conquests in Asia // The United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine. London, 1830. P. 30.

⁵⁶ *Hunt L.-A.* The Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII (1261–1282) and Greek Orthodox/Melkite-Genoese Cultural Agency in a Globalised World: Art at Sinai, Behdaidat, of the pallio of San Lorenzo in Genoa, and in Mamluk Egypt // *Ambassadors, artists, theologians.* Mainz, 2019. P. 133–140.

⁵⁷ *Glynias J.* Op. cit. P. 19.

⁵⁸ *Cheyne J.-C.* Sceaux de la collection Khoury // *Revue numismatique*, 6. 2003. T. 159. № 23, P. 439; *Laurent V.* Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin T. V (vol. 2). L'église. Paris 1965. № 1556.

⁵⁹ *Грузорович-Барский В.И.* Op. cit. T. I. P.103.

It's curious that in the extant sources, we find no mention of a monastery or church within the territory of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch dedicated to the Great Martyr Demetrius of Thessalonica, although the veneration of this Balkan ascetic and myrrh-streaming healer spread even among the Copts of Egypt⁶⁰. The only exception in this regard is the hospital of St. Demetrius in Latakia, which served as a metochion of the Archbishop of Sinai⁶¹.

Female sanctity in the sacred topography of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch

The history of warrior saints naturally raises the opposite theme of female sanctity and its veneration within the medieval Church of Antioch. A special place of veneration was held by the disciple of St. Paul the Apostle, the Equal-to-the-Apostles Thecla, who is associated with the founding of two ancient monasteries: one in Seleuceia of Isauria and another in Maaloula, north of Damascus⁶². Antioch itself is connected with the martyrdom of Saints Barbara and Margaret. The majestic church of St. Barbara was famous as one of the largest and most revered churches in Antioch. The Melkite writer of the 11th century, monk Mikhael, a member of the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites the Younger and the author of the *The Arabic Life of St. John of Damascus*⁶³,

⁶⁰ Descriptions of miracles and the miraculous myrrh flowing from the relics of the Great Martyr Demetrios of Thessaloniki can be found in a 12th-century Arabic Coptic Synaxarion. See: *Tafrafi O.* Thessalonique au quatorzième siècle. Paris, 1913. P. 138 (№1); *Walter C.* The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition. Ashgate, 2003.

⁶¹ The Hospital of St. Demetrios in Latakia is known from the correspondence between Pope Honorius III and Archbishop Simeon IV of Sinai and Pharan. See: *Röbriht R.*, ed. Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani. Innsbruck, 1893. №897, P. 240–241.

⁶² *Edwards R.W.* Ayatekla // The Eerdmans Encyclopedia of Early Christian Art and Archaeology. Grand Rapids, 2016. P. 151–152; *Betts R.B.* The Southern Portals of Byzantium... P. 81.

⁶³ Иеромонах Михаил. Предисловие к Житию Иоанна Дамаскина (предисл. Панченко К.А. и Моисеевой Р.А., пер. Моисеевой Р.А., коммент. Панченко К.А.) // Антология литературы православных арабов. Сост. К.А. Панченко. М.: ПСТГУ, 2020. С.160.

describes the grand patriarchal services held in the church dedicated to St. Barbara, where many “riders on camels and mules” arrived dressed in luxurious robes.

Also known place of veneration was the church of St. Margaret of Antioch, which passed to the Latins after the city was captured by the Crusaders⁶⁴. During the era of Frankish rule, the Orthodox women’s monastery of St. Margaret was located in Acre, the second capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and a southwestern outpost of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch⁶⁵. The veneration of St. Paraskeva Friday also left its mark on the history of medieval Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Thanks to 13th-century Melkite manuscripts written in Syrian Arabic, we know that there was a church in Antioch dedicated to St. Paraskeva⁶⁶.

Local Antiochian and “ecumenical” sanctity: the relationship between the veneration of Syrian and universal (Constantinopolitan, Palestinian) saints in the sacred topography of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch

One can’t but wonder about the relationship between the veneration of saints of the Church of Antioch and the veneration of ascetics, bishops, and martyrs whose cults transcended the territories of the churches of Constantinople and other local churches.

The church built on the slopes of Mount Silpius in honor of the native of Antioch, Luke the Evangelist, has already been mentioned in this article. During the Middle Byzantine Period (969–1084), another church, dedicated to St. John Chrysostom, was built on the slopes of Silpius, but closer to the citadel⁶⁷. It is noteworthy that, with the exception

⁶⁴ *Wilbrandus de Oldenburg*. Op. cit. P. 173; *Caben P.* La Syrie du Nord... P. 131.

⁶⁵ *Hamilton B., Jotischky A.* Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States. P. 323.

⁶⁶ On the Church of St. Paraskeva in Antioch, see: *Rey E.G.* Les Colonies franques de Syrie aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Paris, 1883. P. 328; *Caben P.* La Syrie du Nord... P. 334; *Khalife E.* Op. cit. P. 3, 6.

⁶⁷ On the location of the Church of St. John Chrysostom, see: *Wilbrandus de Oldenburg*. Op. cit. P. 173; *Eger A.* Op. cit. P. 105.

of these two places, there are no records of the construction of churches, let alone monasteries, dedicated to these two great natives of Antioch, within the territory of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch.

Even more enigmatic is the fact that neither in Antioch nor in the whole Patriarchate's territory is there any monastery or church dedicated to the venerable Ignatius of Antioch. It is unknown whether there was a church dedicated to St. Romanos the Melodist in his hometown of Beirut, but the memory of this great hymnographer was immortalized by Georgian monks in the territory of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch: a monastery dedicated to St. Romanos was established on the Black Mountain by Georgian monks during the Second Byzantine Period and survived during the era of Frankish rule⁶⁸.

Meanwhile, two Syrian pillar saints, St. Simeon the Elder (St. Simeon of Aleppo) and St. Simeon Stylites the Younger of Antioch, gained widespread veneration. A great monastery dedicated to St. Simeon the Elder was founded at the site of his ascetic labors in the 5th century—the great monastery of St. Simeon, called Qala'at Semaan, located 30 kilometers northwest of Aleppo⁶⁹.

The site of the labors of St. Simeon the Younger, the Wonderful Mountain or Mount Al-Lukkam, was already crowned during the saint's lifetime not only with his pillar but also with the monastery of his disciples. This Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites, became famous during the Second Byzantine and Frankish periods as the wealthiest monastery of the Patriarchate, the properties of which, according to the Baghdad physician Ibn Butlan, “were comparable to half of Baghdad”⁷⁰. However, in addition to these two renowned monasteries, there

⁶⁸ *Djobadze W.* Archeological investigations in the region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes... P. 126, 144–146; *Vorderstrasse T.* Archaeology of the Antiochene Region in the Crusader Period // East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality. Leuven, 2006. P. 329–330.

⁶⁹ For more on the monastery, see: *Nasrallah J.* Le couvent de Saint-Siméon l'Alépin // Parole de l'Orient. 1970. Vol. I. №2. P. 327–356.

⁷⁰ *Le Strange G.* Op. cit. P. 434. For more on the Lavra of St. Symeon the Stylite, see: *Брюн С.П.* Ромеи и франки в Антиохии... Т. II. P.122–131; *Nasrallah J.* Couvents de la Syrie du Nord portant le nom de Siméon // Syria. 1972. T. 49 (1-2). P. 127–159.

existed at least three other ones dedicated to one of the saints named Simeon (unfortunately, it is not always clear from the surviving records whether they refer to Simeon the Elder or the Younger).

On the eastern borders of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, we find a third monastery of St. Simeon⁷¹. To the south, in the suburbs of Damascus, at least until the 14th century, there had also been a monastery dedicated to St. Simeon, where the caliph Umar II was buried in 720⁷². Finally, there was a monastery dedicated to St. Simeon in Cilicia, in the region of Anazarbus, close to the city, in the fortified settlement of Simanakala⁷³.

During this period, there were also monasteries dedicated to less famous ascetics of piety. The monastery of St. Barlaam of Antioch, a martyr from the era of the Diocletianic Persecution, was located south of the Wonderful Mountain, on Mount Cassius⁷⁴. Next to the eastern monastery of St. Simeon, there were two monasteries dedicated to other Antiochian ascetics: the monasteries of St. Palladius and St. Thalalaeus⁷⁵.

Among the “ecumenical” saints of eastern Antioch, one cannot omit the Holy Wonderworking Unmercenaries Cosmas and Damian. A large church in honor of these saints was built by Emperor Justinian I and later restored and re-consecrated during the Second Byzantine

⁷¹ *Glynias J.* Op. cit. P. 18.

⁷² *Медников Н.А.* Палестина от завоевания ее арабами до крестовых походов по арабским источникам // Православный палестинский сборник. Т. 17. Вып. 2. СПб.: 1897. Т. 2. С. 375–376.

⁷³ This monastery is known thanks to the Armenian Archbishop of Tarsus — St. Nerses of Lambron, who worked in the library of this monastery, rich in rare Greek books. See: *Weitenberg J.J.S.* The Armenian Monasteries in the Black Mountain // East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality. Vol I. Leuven, 2006. P. 90.

⁷⁴ On Saint Barlaam, see: *Бузаевский А.В.* Варлаам // Православная Энциклопедия. Т. 6. М.: изд-во “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2009. С.581–582. On the Monastery of St. Barlaam on Mount Cassius near the Mountain of Wonders, see: *Djobadze W.* Archeological investigations in the region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes... P. 5–6, 25–26, 50, 52–53; *Vorderstrasse T.* Archaeology of the Antiochene Region in the Crusader Period... P. 326–328.

⁷⁵ *Glynias J.* Op. cit. P. 17–18.

Period in Antioch⁷⁶. The Orthodox metropolitans of Amida and their flock had continued to pray and conduct the liturgy in the church of Cosmas and Damian (which possessed the relics or cenotaph of the Holy Unmercenaries) until World War I, when the Orthodox community in the city was destroyed by Ottoman authorities⁷⁷. Parish churches of Sts. Cosmas and Damian can also be found in rural Melkite settlements, such as the Lebanese village of Btourram⁷⁸.

In the Early Byzantine Period (the second quarter of the 5th century), a magnificent three-aisled basilica was built in Mopsuestia, the floor mosaics of which have survived to this day. Surrounded by a wall, it was presumably dedicated to the local martyrs Tarachus, Probus, and Andronicus⁷⁹. In the 12th century, another major church had been built in the city; its foundation was uncovered by archaeologists in the second half of the 20th century; however, it is unclear whether it belonged to the Orthodox archdiocese or the Armenian Church, and whether it had any connection to the veneration of the martyrs of Anazarbus⁸⁰.

It is entirely natural that, besides the saints who preached or earned the crown of martyrdom on the lands of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, we should also find a number of cathedrals, parish churches, monasteries, and monastic communities in honor of the “imperial”, Constantinopolitan saints, whose veneration was either inherited in the Early Byzantine Period or strengthened in the territory of the Church of Antioch after the Roman Reconquest.

Among such “imperial” saints, a special place is held by the Equal-to-the-Apostles Constantine and Helena. The magnificent domed Cathedral of St. Helena was the main Orthodox church in Aleppo; however, in 1124, after a raid by Joscelin I, Count of Edessa, on the

⁷⁶ Downey G. Op. cit. P. 525, 624. For more on the reconstruction of the Temple during Second Byzantine Period, see: Eger A. Op. cit. P. 105.

⁷⁷ For more on the Cathedral of Saints Cosmas and Damian (Mar Kosma) in Amida, see: Berchem M., Bell G., Strzykowski J. Amida: materiaux pour l'épigraphie et l'histoire Musulmanes du Diyar-Bekr. Heidelberg, 1910. P. 162–171.

⁷⁸ Further details: <http://home.balamand.edu.lb/english/ARPOA.asp?id=10118&fid=270>

⁷⁹ Попов И.Н. Мопсуестия // Православная Энциклопедия. Т. 46. М.: 2017. С. 749–750.

⁸⁰ Ibid. P.750.

suburbs of the city, the Muslims took this cathedral from the Melkites and converted it into Al-Khalawiya madrasa. Under this name, the rebuilt church has survived to the present day⁸¹. The church of Sts. Constantine and Helena, founded in the 4th century, has survived in the Syrian city of Yabroud, one of the largest Melkite enclaves in the territory of the Damascus metropolis. This church is claimed to be the oldest functioning church in Syria and one of the oldest in the world⁸². Another church dedicated to St. Constantine was also located in the suburbs of Homs. This church, with the Muslim refugees from nearby villages hiding inside, was burned by the Varangians of Emperor Basil II the Bulgar Slayer during his first Syrian campaign, as described by the Melkite chronicler Yahya of Antioch⁸³. However, veneration of the great Cappadocians, undoubtedly widespread among the Orthodox of Antioch, did not lead to the establishment of a significant number of churches and monasteries dedicated to these Fathers of the Church. The only exception was the monastery of St. Gregory the Theologian, founded on the Black Mountain. Considering that in the 12th century, this monastery was renowned for its rare Greek books (which included those sent from Constantinople by the Patriarch Athanasius VII of Antioch), it is most likely that it was a place of dwelling not of Syriac or Arabic-speaking monks, but of Greek monks⁸⁴.

At the same time, in the period under review, we find a number of churches dedicated to another Byzantine bishop, who, unlike the great Cappadocians, left no writings; naturally, this refers to St. Nicholas the Wonderworker. It is entirely natural that churches in honor of the wonderworking Archbishop of Myra, the patron saint of sailors, should have begun to appear in coastal cities. In the 6th century, a church of St. Nicholas had been built in Latakia, where the saint was especially venerated; at least one of the Melkite bishops of Laodicea in the 11th

⁸¹ *Ecohard M.* Note sur un édifice chrétien d'Alep // Syria. 1950. T. 27 (3–4). P. 270–283.

⁸² *Betts R.V.* Op. cit. P. 84–85.

⁸³ *Яхья Антиохийский.* Хроника (фрагмент). / Пер. Т.К. Кораева // Антология литературы православных арабов. Сост. К.А. Панченко. М.: ПСТГУ, 2020. С. 109.

⁸⁴ *Weitenberg J.J.S.* The Armenian Monasteries in the Black Mountain... P. 91.

century, Bishop Theodore, placed an image of St. Nicholas on his seal⁸⁵. During the era of Frankish rule, the Melkite Church of St. Nicholas was erected near the city citadel in Lebanese Saida (Sidon)⁸⁶. However, the veneration of St. Nicholas spread not only among the coastal Melkite communities but also worked its way inland. Thanks to one of the surviving Melkite Syriac manuscripts, compiled in 955, we know of a parish church of St. Nicholas in Damascus⁸⁷. The Wonderworker had also been venerated in a monastery near Kara, which was later converted into a mosque by Sultan Baybars during his punitive expedition against the local Melkites in 1266⁸⁸. One of the five altars of the Catholicon of the Monastery of Our Lady of Saidnaya was consecrated to St. Nicholas⁸⁹.

Among the saints of the Church of Constantinople, Saint Domitian, Archbishop of Melitene, a “forward post” of Constantinople, situated between the Antiochian dioceses of northern Syria and Anatolia, held particular importance for the Christians of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. Saint Domitian was known for his missionary work among the Persians and for his “tours” across the lands of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, during which he sought to convert Syrian heretics to Orthodoxy⁹⁰. During the Second Byzantine Period and Frankish rule, we find at least two churches dedicated to this Constantinople preacher, glorified in the lands of Persia and Syria. The first is the “Tower of Saint Domitian” in Antioch, a small Melkite monastery known for its scriptorium and manuscripts from the 12th and 13th centuries⁹¹. The second is the Grotto of Saint Domitian, a place of pilgrimage for Orthodox Christians in the Lebanese village of Douma.

It is also important to mention the veneration of the Palestinian ascetic, Saint Sabbas the Sanctified, whose monastery in the Judaeen Des-

⁸⁵ *Laurent V.* Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin T. V (vol.2). №1550—1551.

⁸⁶ *Betts R.B.* Op. cit. P. 80—81.

⁸⁷ *Glynias J.* Op. cit. P. 20.

⁸⁸ *Панченко К.А.* Разорение селения Кара султаном Бейбарсом в 1266 г. ... С. 42.

⁸⁹ *Betts R.B.* Op. cit.

⁹⁰ *Грацианский М.В.* Дометиан // Православная Энциклопедия. Т. 15. М.: изд-во “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2009. С. 602—603.

⁹¹ *Rey E.G.* Op. cit. P. 328; *Cahen P.* La Syrie du Nord... P. 334; *Khalife E.* Op. cit. P. 3, 6; *Glynias J.* Op. cit. P. 20.

ert is rightly considered the cradle of Arab-Christian literature. It is well known that one particularly revered Church of Saint Sabbas was located in Alexandria, Egypt. Twice in history, this church turned out to be the only Orthodox church in the city, and since the Ottoman period, it became the cathedral church of patriarchal residence⁹². Yet, many of the patriarchs of Alexandria were Syrian Melkites, who came from the Church of Antioch; from the first Greek Patriarch of Alexandria in Dar al-Islam, Cosmas I (737–767), to Gregory V († 1503), the last Orthodox Arab to hold the See of St. Mark. In the lands of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, we find several parish churches dedicated to Saint Sabbas. One of them used to be located in Damascus, but this church is known only by name and has not survived to this day⁹³. A church of Saint Sabbas, decorated with magnificent 13th-century frescoes, still stands in the village of Edda in northern Lebanon. This is one of the few churches in the region that, during the period of Frankish rule, was used by both the Melkite and the Maronite communities⁹⁴. Also, during the Frankish period, in the 1230s, a monastery and guesthouse (hospital) in honor of Saint Sabbas the Sanctified were established in Acre, the capital of the Second Kingdom of Jerusalem and the southernmost coastal diocese of the Patriarchate of Antioch. This monastery was founded by Sava Nemanjić, the first Archbishop of Serbia, during his pilgrimage to the Middle East⁹⁵.

Thus, among the known churches and monasteries of the Church of Antioch from the 10th to the 14th centuries, we see more well-known urban cathedrals and parish churches dedicated to “ecumenical” saints. However, among the known monastic communities, there is a clear predominance of local Syrian ascetics. If we exclude the Old Testament prophets, apostles, Christ, and the Virgin Mary, and focus solely on the

⁹² For more on the Alexandrian patriarchal monastery of St. Sabbas, see the online resource: <https://www.patriarchateofalexandria.com/the-patriarchate/patriarchiki-moni-osioy-savva/?lang=en>.

⁹³ Известие о разрушении церкви Март-Марьям (пер., предисл. и коммент. Панченко К.А.) // Антология литературы православных арабов. Т. I. История. М.: изд. ПСТГУ, 2020. С. 354.

⁹⁴ Helou N. L'église de Saint Saba à Eddé Batroun // Parole de l'Orient. 2003. №28. P. 397–434.

⁹⁵ Hamilton B., Jotischky A. Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States... P. 322–323.

dedication of monasteries of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch dedicated to holy martyrs, bishops, and ascetics, we can observe the following ratio: in the territory of the medieval Church of Antioch, we see more than 17 monasteries dedicated to Syrian saints and fewer than ten – to “ecumenical” saints. Among the latter, five are dedicated to Saint George the Great Martyr, one to Saint Gregory the Theologian, one to Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker, and two hospital monasteries (one founded by the Archbishop of Serbia and the other by the Archbishop of Mount Sinai) dedicated to Saints Sabbas the Sanctified and Demetrius of Thessalonica, respectively. There is a clear predominance of “ecumenical” veneration among urban/parish dedications and an Antiochian/Syrian dominance among monastic dedications, even taking into account the growing pressure and imperial investment in the spiritual life of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch following the Roman Reconquest.

The veneration of heavenly powers and the dedication of the Patriarchate churches to Angels

Interestingly, in the territory of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (unlike the Patriarchate of Alexandria), we find only a few well-known churches or monasteries dedicated to heavenly powers, the angels of the Lord. A large church dedicated to Archangel Michael was built in Antioch as a special gift from Empress Theodora, during the reconstruction of the city after two earthquakes and the Persian devastation of the 6th century. This gift to the “Theopolis” under restoration and the choice of Archangel Michael as the patron saint of the church can largely be explained by the Empress’s Alexandrian background, since in the Early Byzantine Period, the Alexandrian Church had been the center of angelic veneration in the Christian world. However, under Arab rule, this church disappeared and, unlike the churches of St. Luke or Sts. Cosmas and Damian, was never restored after the Roman Reconquest⁹⁶. One of the chapels of Cathedral the Nativity of Our Lady, the main church of the Saidnaya community, was dedicated

⁹⁶ Downey G. Op. cit. P. 525–526.



The Mother of God Orans. Folles of the Principality of Antioch.
 Reign of Prince Roger (1112–1119).
From the author's collection

to Archangel Michael. Meanwhile, the oldest monastery in Saidnaya was and still remains the Cherubim Monastery (a rare dedication in the Christian world); this monastery, built on top of a mountain at an altitude of 2,100 meters above sea level, fell into disrepair under the Ottomans and was revived at the end of the 20th century⁹⁷.

Marian monasteries and cathedrals of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch

Despite the relatively weak veneration of Archangel Michael and other heavenly powers, the faithful of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch stand out (even among other Christian Churches) for their fervent devotion to the Most Holy Theotokos, to whom a series of monasteries in the Antiochian Patriarchal diocese and the Syro-Lebanese region were dedicated. A good half of the well-known medieval monasteries of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch were dedicated

⁹⁷ *Betts R.B.* Op. cit. P. 85, 177. The first narrative mention of the Monastery of the Cherubim (dating back to the early Byzantine period) in Saydnaya is found in the writings of the 14th-century Arab traveler Shihab al-Din al-'Umari (1301–1349). See the official website of the Patriarchate of Antioch: <https://www.antiochpatriarchate.org/en/page/cherubim-saydnaya-patriarchal-monastery/143/>

to the Most Holy Virgin. Among these monasteries, one can mention the Monastery of the Most Holy Virgin Theotokos in Arshaya in Antioch⁹⁸, the Monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos in Dafnuna, and the Monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos in Castalia (both the Melkite Dafnuna⁹⁹ and Georgian Castalia monasteries were located in the Daphne valley)¹⁰⁰, the Monasteries of the Most Holy Theotokos in Kalipos¹⁰¹ and in Jarajima on Jabal Al-Lukkam (i.e., on the “Wonderful Mountain”, where the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites stood)¹⁰², the Monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos (the “Bishopric”)¹⁰³, the Armenian-Chalcedonian Monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos of the Pomegranate on the Black Mountain (which later became the refuge of Nikon of the Black Mountain after the destruction of the Monastery of St. Simeon by the Turks)¹⁰⁴, the Monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos in Seleucia of Isauria (the so-called “place of Mary”, where the local Greeks continued to gather and serve as late as the turn of the 19th–20th centuries, until World War I)¹⁰⁵, and the Lebanese monasteries of the Most Holy Theotokos on Mount Hamatoura¹⁰⁶, in the village of

⁹⁸ *Nasrallah J.* Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle. Vol. 3. T. 1 (969–1250). P. 308–309; *Treiger A.* The Beginnings of the Graeco-Syro-Arabic Melkite Translation Movement in Antioch // *Scrinium*. №16. 2020. P. 18, 23.

⁹⁹ *Nasrallah J.* Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du V eau XXe siècle. Vol.3, T. 1 (969–1250) ... P. 304–308; *Treiger A.* Op. cit. P. 15.

¹⁰⁰ For the Monastery of Kastalia or Kastana, see: *Безараивили К.* Ефрем Мцире // *Православная Энциклопедия*. Т. 19. М.: изд-во “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2009. С. 76–77.

¹⁰¹ *Saminsky A.* Georgian and Greek Illuminated Manuscripts from Antioch // *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*. Vol. I. Leuven, 2006. P. 19–21, 26, 36–47, 55–56, 64–65.

¹⁰² *Nasrallah J.* Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du Ve au XXe siècle. Vol. 3. T. 1 (969–1250)... P. 304–305.

¹⁰³ *Khalifeh E.* Op. cit... P. 4; *Glynias J.* Op. cit. P. 17.

¹⁰⁴ *Nasrallah J.* Un auteur antiochien du XIe siècle: Nikon de la Montagne Noire (vers 1025 – début du XIIe siècle) // *Proche-Orient Chrétien*. 1969. №19. P. 150–162; *Aerts W.J.* Nikon of the Black Mountain. *Logos* 31 (Translation) // *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the End of the Crusader Principality*. Leuven, 2006. P. 126, 136.

¹⁰⁵ *Langlois V.* Op. cit. P. 184–185.

¹⁰⁶ *Грузопович-Барский В.И.* Op. cit. Ч. II. P. 62; *Betts R.B.* Op. cit. P. 177.

Bkeftine, in the village of Btourram, in the village of Benehran, as well as the Monastery of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Kaftoun; the celebrated Monastery of the Most Holy Theotokos in Saidnaya.

Luxurious cathedrals and parish churches dedicated to the Holy Virgin were also located in the cities. The cathedral churches of the Tyre and Damascus metropolises were dedicated to the Most Holy Theotokos¹⁰⁷. The ancient cathedral of the Most Holy Theotokos in Tyre, the first archdiocese of the Antiochian Patriarchal Throne dates back to the early Byzantine period. It was occupied by the Franks in 1124 and rebuilt into the largest Gothic cathedral in continental Levant, becoming in the 13th century the coronation place for the kings of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, as early as the 12th century, the faithful of Tyre erected a new Greek Church of Mary, which served as the cathedral for their metropolitans¹⁰⁸. Two Melkite Marian churches were located near each other in Edessa¹⁰⁹. Magnificent churches of the Most Holy Theotokos are also known in Hierapolis (Manbij)¹¹⁰ and Aleppo¹¹¹.

One of the most beautiful churches from the reign of Justinian was the Round Church of the Most Holy Theotokos, built by the emperor in Antioch during the city's restoration and its designation as the "City of God" (Theopolis). This church had displayed a miraculous icon of the Theotokos, traditionally believed to have been painted by Luke the Evangelist, until both the church and the city were destroyed by the Mamluks. The procession of this icon around Antioch before harvests is described by Wilbrandus de Oldenburg¹¹². This church was the only

¹⁰⁷ For the Cathedral of the Mother of God in Damascus, see: Известие о разрушение церкви Март-Марьям (пер., предисл. и коммент. Панченко К.А.). P.45–54.

¹⁰⁸ The "Greek Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary" in Tyre is occasionally mentioned in Latin sources, for instance in the charter of *Marsilio Zorzi*, Venetian bailo in the Levant (1243). See: *Röbriecht R.*, ed. *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani...* № 1114. P. 295–296.

¹⁰⁹ *Segal J.B.* Op. cit. P. 189–190.

¹¹⁰ *Панченко К.А., Попов И.Н.* Манбидж // Православная Энциклопедия. Т. 18. М.: изд-во "Православная Энциклопедия", 2021. С.302–304.

¹¹¹ *Tritton A.S., Gibb. H.* The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle // *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Cambridge, 1933. P. 94.

¹¹² *Wilbrandus de Oldenburg.* Op. cit. P. 172.

one left intact by the Seljuks in 1084. After the city's capture by the Crusaders (1098) and the establishment of the Latin Patriarchate of Antioch (1100), this church remained with the Roman and Melkite clergy (albeit under the Latin hierarchy), and in the 13th century, it became the residence of Orthodox patriarchs and "Greek" judges of the Commune of Antioch¹¹³. In Latakia, in the 9th century, the Byzantine merchants and local Melkite population restored the church of the Dormition of the Most Holy Theotokos on the ruins of a 5th-century early Byzantine temple. It still remains an active parish church of the Orthodox Patriarchate¹¹⁴.

Christocentric dedications in the sacred topography of the medieval Church in Antioch

The topic of Marian veneration naturally leads to the theme of the "Christocentric" dedication of churches and monasteries in the medieval Antioch. Among the well-known monasteries and churches dedicated directly to the Lord, one should mention the churches of the Savior in Edessa¹¹⁵ and Damascus¹¹⁶, the revered Monastery of Christ the Savior (Dair al Farus) in Latakia,¹¹⁷ the Cathedral Church in Corycus¹¹⁸, and the Catholikon of the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites¹¹⁹

¹¹³ For more on Justinian's circular Church of the Blessed Virgin, see: Брюн С.П. Ромеи и франки в Антиохии... Т. II. С.105–109.

¹¹⁴ Брюн С.П. Ромеи и франки в Антиохии... Т. II. С.113.

¹¹⁵ The Edessan Cathedral of the Savior is known during the Arab period from the *Life of St. Theodore of Edessa*, but it is not mentioned under the Franks. See: Segal J.B. Op. cit. P. 208.

¹¹⁶ For the Church of the Savior in Damascus, see: Известие о разрушение церкви Март-Марйам (пер., предисл. и коммент. Панченко К.А.). С. 53.

¹¹⁷ For the Monastery of Dayr al-Farus, see: *Le Strange G.* Op. cit. P. 491; *Nasrallah J.* Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite... P. 207; *Hamilton B., Jotischky A.* Latin and Greek Monasticism in the Crusader States. P. 335.

¹¹⁸ Близинок С.В. Леонтий Махера, "Повесть о сладкой земле Кипр". М.: Асадемия, 2018. С. 114–117.

¹¹⁹ *Mécérian J.* Monastère de Saint-Siméon-Stylite-le-Jeune, exposé des fouilles // Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. 1948. Vol.92 (№3). P. 323–328.

(both dedicated to the Holy Trinity), as well as the Georgian Monastery of the Life-Giving Tree of the Cross on the Black Mountain¹²⁰ and the Melkite Church of the Holy Light (Mar Nuhra) in the Lebanese village of Douma¹²¹.

Special mention should be made of the basilica of Hagia Sophia in Edessa, built in the 6th century, which the Arab geographer Al-Muqaddasi calls one of the four most beautiful churches of the Dar al-Islam¹²². It should be noted that this basilica had possessed one of the greatest Christian relics – the Image of Edessa (Mandylion)¹²³ – until 944.

Factors leading to the decline of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Antioch: a brief overview of the loss of key relics

The factors that led to the rapid decline of the Patriarchate in Antioch, the drastic reduction in its flock, the loss of relics and the transformation of its sacred space are well known and can be divided into four distinct stages.

The first of these stages was the campaign of the Byzantine Reconquest (944–1032), which paradoxically became the force that brought about the flourishing of the Church, with the mass conversion of Miaphysites and Muslims, the revival of its hierarchy and monastic life, and the construction of new churches and monasteries. However, despite these positive factors, the Reconquest was accompanied by the *de facto* (with the exception of the title and

¹²⁰ *Djobadze W.* Op. cit. P. 126, 144–146.

¹²¹ See the Internet resource APROA: <http://home.balamand.edu.lb/english/ARPOA.asp?id=13541&fid=270>

¹²² *Le Strange G.* Op. cit. P. 117.

¹²³ For more on the history and architecture of the Basilica of St. Sophia in Edessa, see: *Guidetti M.* The Byzantine Heritage in Dar al-Islam: Churches and Mosques in al-Ruha between the sixth and the twelfth century // *Muqarnas*. 2009. № 26. P. 1–36. For the translation and commentary of the Syriac *soghitha* for the consecration of Edessa's Hagia Sophia, see: *Palmer A., Rodley L., Trone R.H.* The inauguration anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa // *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. 1988. №12. P. 117–167.

nominal status of an autocephalous Church) subordination of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch to the secular and ecclesiastical authority of Constantinople, initiated by Emperor Basil II the Bulgar Slayer (a subordination that lasted until the destruction of the Byzantine capital by the Crusaders in 1204). This was also accompanied by the confiscation of key relics of the Church by the Byzantine emperors.

This article will only endeavor to provide a brief list of the relics that were transferred to Constantinople after a series of agreements of the Byzantine emperors with the Arab and Turkish rulers of the Orient. It is also important to emphasize that these relics were handed over not upon the initiative of the clergy and faithful of the Church but due to the arrangements made by their more powerful Byzantine counterparts with the Muslims. Starting in 944 and continuing until the end of the 10th century, the following relics were taken from Syria to Constantinople:

- **The Holy Mandyion** was transferred from the basilica of Hagia Sophia in Edessa to the Imperial Church of the Pharos in Constantinople as part of the agreement between Emperor Romanus I Lecapenus and the Muslims of Edessa in 944¹²⁴;
- **The Holy Keramion** was transferred from the cathedral of Hierapolis (Manbij) to the Church of the Pharos as per the agreement between Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas and the Muslims in 966¹²⁵;
- **The sandals of the Savior** were taken by Emperor John I Tzimiskes after the conquest of Hierapolis (Manbij) in 972¹²⁶;
- **The hair of John the Baptist** was also taken from Manbij by Emperor John I Tzimiskes in 972.

¹²⁴ The sacred object was accompanied by Metropolitan Abraham II of Samosata (whose city had already submitted to the Romans). There is no surviving evidence of the reaction of the Orthodox Metropolitan of Edessa or the Melkites to the loss of the city's main relic. See: *John Skylitzes. A Synopsis of Byzantine History* P. 811–1057. Cambridge University Press, 2010. P. 223–224. For more information on Metropolitan Abraham II, see: *Le Quien M. Oriens Christianus in Quatuor Patriarchatus Digestus. T. II. Paris, 1740. P. 936.*

¹²⁵ *Лев Диякон. История. М.: Наука, 1988. С. 40.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid. P. 86.*

- **The blood and myrrh-streaming icon of the Savior**, was taken by Emperor John I Tzimiskes from the Orthodox cathedral in Beirut in 975¹²⁷;
- **The relics of Luke the Evangelist** were taken by the Byzantines from Antioch to Constantinople after the city's conquest in 969 (exact date unknown).

Emperor John I Tzimiskes was clearly aware of the discontent that such confiscation of relics could provoke among the Orthodox of the Near East. It is no coincidence, then, that it was by his order that one of the major Constantinopolitan monasteries, Hodegon, which possessed the miraculous icon of the Theotokos Hodegitria, was granted to the Patriarchs of Antioch. This monastery served as the residence of the Patriarch of Antioch and all the East from 970 to 1204 and again from the 1290s to the 1360s, becoming a refuge for Syrian monks in the Byzantine capital. Thanks to this gift of the Emperor, Patriarch of Antioch received one of the great relics of the Orthodox world, the icon of the Theotokos of Hodegitria, without it ever actually leaving Constantinople¹²⁸.

Along with the imperial confiscation of sacred relics, the Byzantine Reconquest was accompanied by the rise of Islamic aggression against Christians that took different forms, from spontaneous Muslim mob riots and wartime terror episodes (when Christian monasteries were attacked Arab cavalry), to official anti-Christian military campaigns sanctioned by caliph al-Hakim.

Over a half-century period (967–1017), the list of losses of the Church of Antioch grew further.

- In 967, two years before the Byzantine conquest of Antioch, the local Muslim elite killed Patriarch Christopher I; the “patriarchal cell”, i.e., the Patriarchate of Antioch, was plundered by a crowd incited by

¹²⁷ A relic believed to contain a portion of blood from the Savior's icon of Beirut survives as part of the reliquary of Archbishop Dionysius of Suzdal (14th c.), unlike the icon itself, and is now part of the collection of regalia in the Moscow Kremlin Armoury. See: *Стерлигова И.А. Ковчег Дионисия Суздальского // Лидов А.М., ред. Христианские реликвии в Московском Кремле: Каталог. М.: Музеи Московского Кремля, 2000. №5. С. 50.*

¹²⁸ *Попов И.Н. Одигон // Православная Энциклопедия. Т. 20. М.: изд-во “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2023. С. 430–432.*

conspirators. According to the testimony of Protosphararius Ibrahim ibn Yohanna, the following relics were kept there: the Holy Lance, the relics of John the Baptist, the pastoral staff of St. John Chrysostom, the belt of St. Simeon Stylites the Elder, and a number of other relics¹²⁹;

- In 939, 989, and 1017, the cavalry of the Aleppo Emirate and the Fatimid Caliphate carried out three successive raids on the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites (Qala'at Samaan), which resulted in the devastation of the monastery and extermination of the monks. These attacks, especially the Fatimid cavalry raid of 1017, marked the end of the history of Qala'at Samaan not just as the greatest Orthodox monastery in Syria but as a living community: no significant traces or testimonies of monastic life can be found after 1017¹³⁰;

- In 1009, the southern borders of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (the dioceses of Damascus and Bostra), controlled by the Fatimid Caliphate, were subject to the repressive, anti-Christian campaigns of caliph al-Hakim. Thus, the Mariamite Cathedral (Mart Maryam) in Damascus was completely razed; however, this church was rebuilt in the 11th-12th centuries, evidently with the help of Constantinopolitan masons¹³¹.

The second stage of devastation of the sacred space of the Church of Antioch was associated with the arrival of the Seljuks from the East and the Crusaders from the West, followed by a series of wars in the 12th century. The Seljuk conquest of Antioch and northern Syria, which began in December 1084, led to the devastation of the Patriarchal Church of Cassian (St. Peter's Cathedral), other churches of Antioch (except for the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary of the Justinian era, revered by the

¹²⁹ *Ибрахим ибн Юханна*. “Житие Антиохийского патриарха Христофора” (пер. С.А. Моисеевой) // *Арабы-христиане в истории и литературе Ближнего Востока*. М.: ПСТГУ, 2013. С. 57.

¹³⁰ For more details, see: *Nasrallah J.* Le couvent de Saint-Siméon l'Alépin. P. 341–342; *Buchet L., Sodini J.-P., Pieri D.*, etc. Massacre dans le monastère de Qalat'at Sem'an, Syrie // *Vers une anthropologie des catastrophes. Actes des 9e Journées Anthropologiques de Valbonne*. Valbonne, 2007. P. 317–332.

¹³¹ This second church of Mart Maryam was described in the 12th century by Ibn Jubayr, who noted that it was “beautifully constructed” and that “its astonishingly crafted frescoes overwhelm the mind and captivate the eyes”. See: *Ибн Джубайр*. Указ. соч. С. 284.

Turks), the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites the Younger, and several other monasteries in the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. However, unlike the Fatimid destruction of Qala'at Samaan in 1017, these devastations cannot be considered irreparable losses for the Patriarchate.

Under the Franks, the Orthodox monasteries of Antioch and the Black Mountain sprang back to life, and despite the transition of some churches to the Latins (such as the Cathedral of St. Peter, the Basilica of St. George, the Monastery of St. Paul), the city's churches and rural communities of the Greeks, Syrians, and Georgians entered a new and final period of prosperity. Notably, during the Frankish rule, the Monastery of St. Simeon Stylites the Younger, located on the lands of the Prince of Antioch, was rebuilt four times (!) with the participation of Frankish architects, completely restoring its wealth after the Muslim devastations of 1084, 1149, 1164, and 1188. Nonetheless, the Crusader wars against the Saracens in the 12th century were accompanied by two new waves of violence, which further reduced the communities and sacred sites of the Church in Antioch.

The first such “outburst” occurred in 1124, when, after the raid by the Crusaders of Joscelin I, Count of Edessa, on the suburbs of Aleppo (during which the Franks destroyed two mosques), the Muslims of the city turned against the local Christians. Led by the Qadi Abu al-Hasan, the Muslims appropriated the Orthodox cathedral of St. Helena, converting it into Al-Khalawiya madrasa and also turning the Orthodox Church of the Holy Mother of God into a mosque. It is interesting that, by the 13th century, the Orthodox Christians of Aleppo had managed to construct a new cathedral of considerable size (it was there that both Muslims and Christians sought refuge from the Mongols in 1260); however, this cathedral, whose dedication is unknown, disappeared during the Mamluk period¹³². The second wave is associated with more significant losses for the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch. It occurred between 1144 and 1151 and was characterized by the devastation of Edessa by the forces of Imad ad-Din Zengi in 1144, the punitive campaign against the city's Christians by his son and successor Nur ad-Din (1147), and the sub-

¹³² Tritton A.S., *Gibb. Op. cit.* P. 94.

sequent conquest of Samosata and the surrounding Christian settlements on the Euphrates by Nur ad-Din and his ally, the Seljuk Sultan Masud I, in 1151. These campaigns led to the complete destruction of two historical Melkite enclaves (the dioceses of Edessa and Samosata) along with all their churches and communities (including the famous Church of Hagia Sophia in Edessa)¹³³.

Two metropolitans of Edessa are mentioned after these events (c. 1150 and 1365, respectively), but the context of these mentions makes it clear that by this time it was purely a titular see¹³⁴.

The Zengid campaigns of 1144–1151 literally drove a wedge between the Melkite dioceses and enclaves, which lay on opposite sides of the “cleansed” bend of the Euphrates. To the south of the river, Melkite enclaves in Sergiopolis – Resafa and Hierapolis – Manbij remained until the 13th–14th centuries; to the north of the devastated Samosata, the Metropolis of Theodosiopolis – Erzurum stretched through the mountains of eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus, with its subordinate Armenian-Chalcedonian dioceses and communities. Around Edessa and in the region between the Euphrates and Tigris, there emerged a zone free of any Orthodox presence. Only on the banks of the Tigris and further east could a traveler in the 12th–13th centuries re-encounter a chain of Orthodox communities and dioceses. These included the enclave and metropolis of Amida (survived until World War I), the metropolis of Martyropolis (whose community, without a bishop, survived until the time of Patriarch Macarius III az-Za’im), the Orthodox community of Baghdad (with its “Catholicosate of Irenopolis”),

¹³³ For the first devastation of Edessa and the destruction of the Orthodox churches of St. Theodore and St. Archangel Michael, see: *Segal J.B.* Op. cit. P. 250, 256. Also on the destruction of the aforementioned Melkite churches, as well as the destruction of Edessa’s Hagia Sophia, see: *Segal J.B.* Op. cit. P. 250, 256.

¹³⁴ This refers to Metropolitan John of Edessa, whose *molybdobull* (lead seal) dates to around 1150 – that is, during the brief annexation of the County of Edessa by Emperor Manuel I Komnenos – and also to Metropolitan Euthymius, mentioned in 1365. See: *Laurent V.* Le Corpus des sceaux de l’empire byzantin. T. V (vol. 1). L’église. Paris 1963. № 260; *Панченко К.А.* Забытая катастрофа. К реконструкции последствий Александрийского крестового похода 1365 г. на Христианском Востоке // *Арабы-христиане в истории и литературе Ближнего Востока.* М.: ПСТГУ, 2013. С. 215.

as well as the Catholicosate of Romagira, stretching from Persia to the Turfan Oasis, whose communities were still mentioned in the 13th–14th centuries by Guillaume de Rubrouck (Willem van Rubroeck) and Count Heyton of Corykos¹³⁵.

The third and decisive stage of the devastation of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch and its sacred space occurred in the 13th century. It was a time of catastrophes not only for the devastated Constantinople (1204), Baghdad (1258), and Rus' (1237–1241) but also for the Eastern Orthodox Christianity. It was from the second half of the 13th century, after the Mongol invasion of the Middle East, that the Levantine Christians and the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch lost much of their heritage, falling to the Egyptian Mamluks, who fought against the Mongols, Franks, and Armenians. The campaigns of Sultan Baybars I al-Bunduqdari led to the complete destruction of Antioch (taken on May 18, 1268) and all the monasteries of the Patriarchate (ruined and destroyed between 1262–1275), as well as the first Mamluk devastations of the cities of Cilicia (1266–1275), the Syro-Lebanese coast, and the extermination of the Mamluk-controlled Melkite settlement in Qara, with several churches and two monasteries (1266). Following these campaigns, the “dead zone”, completely devoid of any significant Orthodox presence (created by the Zengids in the bend of the Euphrates in the 1140s), spread to the very heart of the Church of Antioch, turning its patriarchal diocese, its “Syrian Athos”, into a barren desert.

The territory of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch was thus divided into several disconnected parts: to the north there were the dioceses of Cilicia and eastern Anatolia (the metropolis of Theodosiopolis), to the southwest the dioceses of the Syro-Lebanese coast (the northernmost of which, after the destruction of Antioch, was Latakia) and the nearer Syria (Aleppo, the Damascus metropolis, the metropolis of Bostra and Hauran); to east of the Tigris riverbed there survived the last eastern dioceses and catholicosates, of which only the dioceses of Amida and Martyropolis would survive until the Ottoman times.

¹³⁵ *Вильгельм де Рубрук*. Путешествие в восточные страны. СПб.: изд. А.С. Суворина, 1911. Гл. 13. С. 83–84; *Hayton*. La Flor des Estoires des parties d'Orient // RHC Arm. II. Paris, 1906. P. 124.

The Catholicosate of Irenopolis and the Orthodox community of Dar as-Salam disappeared, evidently shortly after the Mongol devastation of Baghdad in 1258. (...) Any archaeological evidence of the existence of an active monastery and Melkite enclave in Sergiopolis-Resafa also ceases by the end of the 13th century; in this part of Syria, the Melkite diocese evidently fell to the Mongols rather than the Mamluks.

With the disappearance of Antioch, the main residence of the Orthodox Patriarchs became the Cilician Tarsus (although Syrian-Lebanese bishops frequently ascended to the Eastern See of St. Peter, and the enthronement of one of them, Cyril III, took place in Tripoli, in the cathedral of the Orthodox Church of Kanisat ar-Rum)¹³⁶. The subsequent Mamluk campaigns of sultans Qalawun and al-Ashraf led to the devastation of Syrian-Lebanese cities and rural settlements, including the complete destruction of Tripoli and Akra, as well as the decline of a significant portion of the monasteries and settlements of Lebanon (revived only during the Ottoman rule or even in the 20th century). Relatively intact enclaves survived in Tyre, which gave the Church two contenders for the Patriarchate, Sophronius and Arsenius, and in Latakia, where the monastery of Dair al Farus still existed at the beginning of the 14th century. However, even these enclaves were doomed to slow extinction under the harsh policies of the Mamluk sultans.

The final stage of devastation occurred in the 14th century. Another fateful year in the history of the Church of Antioch was 1359, when the Karamanids took Tarsus and Adana. Stripped of support from the devastated Cilician center, Patriarch Ignatius II was deposed (under the pretext of rejecting the teachings of St. Gregory Palamas) and forced to yield the Patriarchate to his rival, Pachomius I, the Metropolitan of Damascus. Under these circumstances, the residence, and later the See of the Patriarchs of Antioch, moved to Damascus, which was later formalized under the successor of Pachomius I, Patriarch Michael I (1366–1373)¹³⁷.

¹³⁶ *Hamilton B.* The Latin Church in the Crusader States. London, 1980. P. 328.

¹³⁷ *Todt K.-P.* Griechisch-Orthodoxe (Melkitische) Christen im Zentralen und Südlichen Syrien. P. 86; *Панченко К.А.* Игнатий II // Православная Энциклопедия. Т. 21. М.: изд-во “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2009. С.133–134.

The last Orthodox enclaves in Central Asia, in the territory of the former Catholicosate of Romagira, disappeared in the 14th century after Timur's campaigns. The last known Catholicos of Romagira is mentioned in 1364–1365. He disappears during the Mamluk reprisals against Christians, a response to the Alexandrian Crusade of the Cypriot King Peter I de Lusignan¹³⁸. By the end of the 14th century, the Church had lost its Constantinople stronghold: the monastery of Hodi-gon and the miraculous icon of the Mother of God Hodegitria were confiscated by imperial order, after a series of scandals and a general state moral disrepute, of which Syrian monks were regularly accused¹³⁹.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, the lack of sources prevents us from fully reconstructing the sacred topography and history of the veneration of saints within the Church of Antioch. The cathedral churches of Anazarbus, Mamistra, Adana, Pompeiopolis, Hierapolis-Manbij, Samasata, Irenopolis-Baghdad, and the entire Catholicosate of Romagira (including the metropolis of Merv) remain nameless to us; we know nothing of their dedication, and we are also unaware of the names of parish churches and monasteries in these catholicosates and dioceses. However, this article's attempt to create at least a semblance of a list, a kind of "topographic survey" of the destroyed sanctities, churches, and monasteries of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch of the 10th–14th centuries will hopefully be useful to the reader.

After the Mamluk campaigns of 1262–1359, the Patriarchal diocese of Antioch, the dioceses of Cilicia, and much of the Syrian-Lebanese settlements became desolate lands. The catholicosates of Romagira and Irenopolis, along with the metropolis of Sergiopolis, fell into permanent oblivion. A significant portion of the flock of the Throne of Antioch, primarily Orthodox Sogdians and the Armenians who adhered

¹³⁸ Панченко К.А. Забытая катастрофа. К реконструкции последствий Александрийского крестового похода 1365 г. на Христианском Востоке...

¹³⁹ Попов И.Н. Одигон. С.431–432.

to the Eastern See of St. Peter, would disappear without leaving us any preserved written record; everything we know about these communities, dioceses, and metropolises was recorded by authors from other nations—the Romans, Arab Christians, Armenians—Miaphysites, Syriac Jacobites, Latins, and Muslims. A large number of relics of the Patriarchate also disappeared without a trace. During the Mamluk devastation, the See of St. Peter, the miraculous icons of the Mother of God from Antioch, and the Mother of God of Corykhus were destroyed. In the fires and mob looting of the Crusader-ruined Constantinople, the relics of the Church of Antioch transferred to the Byzantine capital were lost. And even when some of these important relics, such as the Mandylion and the Keramion, are mentioned in historical and art history literature, they are not associated with the centuries-old legacy of the Church of Antioch.

After the devastations and catastrophes of the 11th–14th centuries, the pilgrim routes, which once stretched to the shrines of the Euphrates (Edessa, Hierapolis, Sergiopolis), Cilicia (Tarsus, Seleucia of Isauria, Anazarbus) and the monasteries of the Black Mountain, fell into decay due to a complete lack of relics and the very goal of pilgrimage. A modern-day pilgrim, longing to touch the relics of the Antiochian Orthodox and Melkite Greek Catholic Churches, can make the journey only to the monasteries of Kalamun and northern Lebanon. At present, pilgrimages to Saidnaya provide the only opportunity to see the last medieval Marian icon under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church of Antioch.

Similarly, trips to the monasteries of Maaloula provide a unique opportunity to visit the monasteries of Mar Sarkis and Mar Thecla. However, even these sites in a tiny Christian enclave, rebuilt in the 20th century and destroyed by militants in 2014, will inevitably bring to mind the great monasteries of Sergiopolis and Seleucia of Isauria from the 13th century. This tragically illustrates the path of the Church of Antioch: once crowds of pilgrims used to flock to the monastery of St. Sergius on the Euphrates and the Equal-to-Apostles Thecla on the banks of the Saleph River, but today, tourist and pilgrim groups can find monasteries dedicated to these saints only in a small remote settlement, hidden from public view by a mountain canyon. The mod-

ern Damascus should have preserved no less artistic Christian heritage (churches, mosaics, frescoes, encaustic and tempera icons, manuscripts) than Rome. However, having arrived in this ancient, hospitable, and beautiful city, travelers are reduced to visiting new churches built on old sites, where, for centuries, the liturgy had once been performed. A bright exception in this black list of lost relics are the churches and monasteries of Lebanon, which were revived either during the Ottoman period or in the 20th century preserving their unique fresco ensembles created in the 12th–13th centuries.

The widespread destruction and loss of communities, monasteries, and relics led to the loss by the devout of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (as well as their Melkite Greek Catholic counterparts) of a whole complex of unique liturgical traditions. Under the simultaneous pressure of Muslims and the growing pressure from the church authorities of Constantinople, Eastern Orthodox Christians underwent “total liturgical Byzantinization”, having lost by the 14th century the Western Syrian liturgical rite (with the liturgies of St. James, the Brother of the Lord, and St. Peter), and by the 17th century, the Syrian language as such (which, however, has been preserved by the Syriac Jacobites and Maronites). At the same time, unique liturgical traditions, such as the celebration of the Second Consecration of the Temple in Jerusalem (Hanukkah), widespread at least among the Eastern flock of the Throne of Antioch, as well as the memory of many saints, such as the seven martyrs of Nishapur or Timothy of Kakhusha¹⁴⁰, disappeared.

It is telling that since the destruction of the Cathedral and See of St. Peter, the veneration of the Prince of the Apostles has never been revived in its former scale in the Orthodox Churches of Antioch or Melkite Greek Catholic Churches. New centers of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch have received and continue to receive different dedications: the summer residence of the patriarchs of Antioch in Shuwaya was consecrated in honor of the Prophet Elijah, Balamand —in honor of the Blessed Virgin, and the Antiochian Cathedral Church in North America — in honor of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker. Among the large

¹⁴⁰ Милакович Ж.В., Мусеева С.А. Забытый сирийский столпник Тимофей из Кахушты // Вестник ПСТГУ. Филология. 2014. Вып. 5 (40). С. 45–54.

cathedrals built in the 20th century in the South American dioceses of the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch (it should be noted that in South America, the Antioch Christians outnumber all other Orthodox communities), there is also no cathedral dedicated to St. Peter. The cathedral churches of the Orthodox Antiochians in Mexico City, Santiago, and Buenos Aires are dedicated to St. George the Great Martyr; the cathedral built in the mid-20th century in São Paulo, Brazil in the image of Hagia Sophia, was consecrated in honor of St. Paul. There is no significant cathedral or monastery dedicated to St. Peter in the Rum Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch; what used to be the patriarchal diocese of the Prince of the Apostles, remains a desolate territory, which pilgrims visit but rarely and where only small communities of Turkic-speaking Orthodox still remain. Under the guise of the “Cathedral of St. Peter”, since the second half of the 19th century, a cave temple has been demonstrated in Antakya, yet it was known during the time of Napoleon III (when it was revived by the Latin community) as the Church of St. John. A handful of relatively new churches that emerged in the 19th–20th centuries in Antakya and its diocese (i.e., the Turkish Sanjak of Hatay) were mostly destroyed or severely damaged in the 2023 earthquake, once again making this long-suffering land — once the cradle of Christianity and the jewel of the medieval Orthodox world — the scorched earth, *terra adusta*.

Conflict of interests

The author declares no relevant conflict of interests.



References

1. Bezarashvili K. Efrem Mtsire, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 19. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2009. P. 76–77 (in Russ.).
2. Bliznyuk S.V. *Leontios Machairas and his chronicle “Chronicle of the sweet land of Cyprus”*. Moscow: Academia; 2018. 500 p. (in Russ.).

3. Brun S.P. *The Romans and Franks in Antioch, Syria and Cilicia of the 11th–13th centuries. On the history of the contact between Latin and Byzantine Christians on the borders of the East*. Vols. 1–2. Moscow: Maska; 2015. 571 p.; 636 p. (in Russ.).
4. Brun S.P. Theodosius III Chrysoverge and Elijah the Prophet: Reflection of veneration in Byzantine sphragistics, in: *Current issues of the study of the Christian East. Proceedings of the International conference on November 12, 2019*. Sergiev Posad: Publishing House of the Moscow Theological Academy; 2023. P. 188–202 (in Russ.).
5. Bugaevskiy A.V. Varlaam, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 6. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2009. P. 581–582 (in Russ.).
6. Gratsianskiy M.V. Dometian, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 15. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2009. P. 602–603 (in Russ.).
7. Grigorovich–Barsky V.I. *Wandering through the Holy places of the East* (in 2 parts). Moscow: IIPK ICHTHYOS; 2004, 2005. 424 p.; 336 p. (in Russ.).
8. Zaitsev D.V. Eleutherius, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 18. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2009. P. 278–279 (in Russ.).
9. Ibn Jubair. *Travel*. M.: Nauka; 1984. 296 p. (in Russ.).
10. Ibn Khordadbeh. *Book of roads and kingdoms*. Baku: Elm; 1986. 428 p. (in Russ.).
11. Ibrahim ibn Yuhanna. The life of Patriarch Christopher of Antioch (Transl. by S.A. Moiseeva), in: *Christian Arabs in the history and literature of the Middle East*. Moscow: Izd-vo PSTGU; 2013. P. 28–61 (in Russ.).
12. The news about the destruction of the Mart Maryam Church (Transl., preface and comment. by K.A. Panchenko), in: *Anthology of literature of the Orthodox Arabs. Vol. I: History*. Moscow: Izd-vo PSTGU; 2020. 416 p. (in Russ.).
13. Kolesnikov A.I., Zaitsev D.V., Saenkova E.N. Iakov the Persian, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 20. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2009. P. 548–553 (in Russ.).

14. Lebedev A.P. *Essays on the internal history of the Byzantine-Eastern Church in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries. From the end of the Iconoclastic disputes in 842 to the beginning of the Crusades in 1096.* St. Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Olega Abyshko; 2012. 335 p. (in Russ.).
15. Leo the Deacon. *History* (Transl., comment. by M.M. Kopylenko, M.Ya. Syuzyumova, S.A. Ivanova). Moscow: Nauka; 1988. 237 p. (in Russ.).
16. Milakovich Zh.V., Moiseeva S.A. The forgotten Syrian stylite Timothy from Kakhusha. *Bulletin of the PSTGU. Series: Philology.* 2014;40(Iss. 5):45–54 (in Russ.).
17. Panchenko K.A. *Near Eastern Orthodoxy under Ottoman rule: The first three centuries (1516–1831).* Moscow: Indrik; 2012. 680 p. (in Russ.).
18. Panchenko K.A. Remembering the past: Patriarch Macarius III az-Za'im of Antioch as a historian, in: *Miscellanea Orientalia Christiana.* Moscow: Izd-vo RGGU; 2014. P. 359–384 (in Russ.).
19. Panchenko K.A. A forgotten catastrophe: Towards a reconstruction of the consequences of the Alexandrian Crusade of 1365 in the Christian Orient, in: *Arab Christians in the history and literature of the Near East.* Moscow: Izd-vo PSTGU; 2013. P. 202–219 (in Russ.).
20. Panchenko K.A. Ignatij II, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia.* Vol. 21. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2009. P. 133–134 (in Russ.).
21. Panchenko A.N. Metropolitans and dioceses of the Orthodox Church of Antioch in the description of Patriarch Macarius III az-Za'im (1665). *Bulletin of Church History.* 2012;25/26(1–2):116–157 (in Russ.).
22. Panchenko K.A. The devastation of the village of Kara by Sultan Baybars in 1266. Historical context. *Bulletin of the Orthodox St. Tikhon's University for the Humanities. Series 3: Philology.* 2012;29(3):32–45 (in Russ.).
23. Panchenko K.A., Popov I.N. Manbij, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia.* Vol. 18. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2021. P. 302–304 (in Russ.).
24. Preface to the life of John of Damascus (Preface by K.A. Panchenko, S.A. Moiseeva; Transl. by S.A. Moiseeva; Comment. by K.A. Panchen-

- ko), in: *Anthology of Literature of Orthodox Arabs* (Comp. by A.K. Panchenko). Moscow: Izd-vo PSTGU; 2020. 425 p. (in Russ.).
25. Popov I.N. Monpsuestia, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 46. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2017. P. 749–750 (in Russ.).
 26. Popov I.N. Odigon, in: *The Orthodox Encyclopedia*. Vol. 20. Moscow: Church–Science Center “Orthodox Encyclopedia”; 2023. P. 430–432 (in Russ.).
 27. Procopius of Caesarea. *The war with the Goths. About the buildings* (Transl. by S.P. Kondrat’ev). Moscow: Arktos; 1996. 167 p. (in Russ.).
 28. Runciman S. *The Eastern schism. The Byzantine theocracy*. Moscow: Nauka; 1998. 238 p. (in Russ.).
 29. Sterligova. I.A. Ark of Dionysius of Suzdal, in: *Christian relics in the Moscow Kremlin: Catalog* (Ed. by A.M. Lidov). Moscow: Radunitsa; 2000. P. 50 (in Russ.).
 30. Helou N. Murals of Kaftoun (Lebanon). The union of Byzantine and Eastern traditions, in: *The image of Byzantium. Collection of articles in honor of O.S. Popova*. Moscow: Severnyi Palomnik; 2008. P. 589–600 (in Russ.).
 31. Yahya of Antioch. The chronicle (fragment) (Transl. by T.K. Korae), in: *Anthology of literature of Orthodox Arabs. Vol. 1. History* (Comp. by K.A. Panchenko). Moscow: Izd-vo PSTGU; 2020. 425 p. (in Russ.).
 32. Aerts W.J. Nikon of the Black Mountain. Logos 31 (Translation), in: *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the end of the Crusader principality*, Vol. 1 (Ed. by K. Ciggaar, D.M. Metcalf). Leuven: Peeters Publishers; 2006. P. 142–143.
 33. Betts R.B. *The southern portals of Byzantium: A Concise Political, Historical and Demographic Survey of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem*. London: Musical Times Publications Ltd.; 2009. 208 p.
 34. Brown R.A. *The Normans*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer; 1995. 192 p.
 35. Buchet L., Sodini J.-P., Pieri D. et al. Massacre dans le monastère de Qalat’at Sem’an, Syrie, in: *Vers une anthropologie des catastrophes*.

- Actes des 9^e Journées Anthropologiques de Valbonne*. Valbonne, 2007. P. 317–332.
- Buchet L., Sodini J.-P., Pieri D. et al. Massacre in the monastery of Qalat'at Sem'an, Syria, in: *Towards an anthropology of disasters. Proceedings of the 9th Anthropological Days of Valbonne*. Valbonne, 2007. P. 317–332 (in French).
36. Cheynet J.-C. Sceaux de la collection Khoury. *Revue numismatique, 6^e série*. 2003;159(23):419–456.
- Cheyne J.-C. Seals from the Khoury collection. *Numismatic Review. Series 6*. 2003;159(23):419–456 (in French).
37. Coureas N. The Syrian Melkites in the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus (1192–1474). *Chronos*. 2019;(40):75–94.
38. Demacopoulos G.E. *Colonizing Christianity. Greek and Latin religious identity in the era of the Fourth Crusade*. N.Y.: Fordham University Press; 2019. 272 p.
39. Di Bennardo A. *Pietre orientate: La luce nelle chiese di Siria e Sicilia (V–XII secolo)*. Roma: Meltemi; 2005. P. 82–102.
- Di Bennardo A. Oriented stones: Light in the churches of Syria and Sicily (V–XII centuries). Rome: Meltemi; 2005. P. 82–102 (in Ital.).
40. Djobadze W. *Archeological investigations in the region West of Antioch on-the-Orontes*. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden; 1986. 234 p.
41. Edwards R.W. Ayatekla, in: *The Eerdmans encyclopedia of early Christian art and archaeology*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company; 2016. P. 151–152.
42. Eger A. Mapping Medieval Antioch. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 2013;67:95–134.
43. Foss C. Pilgrimage in Medieval Asia minor. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. 2002;56:129–151.
44. Glynias J. Syriac Melkite monasticism at Mount Sinai in the 13th–14th centuries. *ARAM*. 2019;31:(1–2):7–33.
45. Guidetti M. The Byzantine Heritage in Dār al-Islām: Churches and Mosques in al-Ruha between the VI and the XII century. *Muqarnas*. 2009;26:1–36.
46. ten Hacken C.E. The description of Antioch in Abu al-Makarim's History of the Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some neighboring countries, in: *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Medi-*

- terranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the end of the Crusader principality*. Vol. 1 (Ed. by K. Ciggaar, D.M. Metcalf). Leuven: Peeters Publishers; 2006. P. 185–216
47. Hamilton B. *The Latin Church in the Crusader states*. London: Variorum Publications; 1980. 409 p.
 48. Hamilton B., Jotischky A. *Latin and Greek monasticism in the Crusader states*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2020. 1408 p.
 49. Helou N. L'église de Saint Saba à Eddé Batroun. *Parole de l'Orient*. 2003;28:397–434.
 50. Helou N., Immerzeel M. Kaftoun 2004. The wall paintings. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*. 2005;16:453–458.
 51. Hunt L.-A. The Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII (1261–1282) and Greek Orthodox/Melkite-Genoese cultural agency in a globalised world: Art at Sinai, Behdaidat, of the pallio of San Lorenzo in Genoa, and in Mamluk Egypt, in: *Ambassadors, artists, theologians* (Ed. by Z. Chitwood, J. Pahlitzsch). Mainz, 2019. P. 127–155.
 52. Immerzeel M. Monasteries and Churches of the Qalamoun (Syria): Art and pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. *Journal of the Canadian Society of Syriac Studies*. 2007;7:74–98.
 53. Issa A.G. The typological classification of the old Lebanese Churches, Batroun and Byblos, from the 8th to the 13th century. *Lebanese Science Journal*. 2020;21(1):102, 113.
 54. Khalife E. Orthodox manuscripts copied in Antioch. *Antioch*. 2013. P. 1–6.
 55. Koch G. Sarkophage des 5 und 6. Jahrhunderts im Osten des Römischen Reiches, in: *Studi di antichità cristiana*. Mainz, 1998.
Koch G. Sarcophagi of the 5th and 6th centuries in the east of the Roman Empire, in: *Studi di antichità cristiana*. Mainz, 1998 (in German).
 56. Leroy J. Découvertes de peintures chrétiennes en Syrie. *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*. 1975;25(1–2):95–113.
Leroy J. Discoveries of Christian paintings in Syria. *Syrian Arab Archaeological Annals*. 1975;25(1–2):95–113 (in French).
 57. Meyer G. L'apport des voyageurs occidentaux (1268–1918), in: *Les sources de l'histoire du paysage urbain d'Antioche sur l'Oronte*. Paris, 2012.

- Meyer G. The contribution of Western travelers (1268–1918), in: *The sources of the history of the urban landscape of Antioch on the Orontes*. Paris, 2012 (in French).
58. *Monasteries of Antiochian Orthodox Patriarchate* (Ed. by S. Slim). Beirut: University of Balamand Publications; 2007.
59. Moosa M. *Crusades: Conflict between Christendom and Islam*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press LLC; 2008. 1164 p.
60. Nasrallah J. *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*. Vol. 3, T. 1 (969–1250). Leuven: Peeters Publishers; 1983. 416 p.
Nasrallah J. *History of the literary movement in the Melchite church from the fifth to the twentieth century*. Vol. 3, T. 1 (969–1250). Leuven: Peeters Publishers; 1983. 416 p. (in French).
61. Palmer A., Rodley L., Trone R.H. The inauguration anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. 1988;12:117–167.
62. Parker K.S. *The indigenous Christian of the Arabic Middle East in an age of Crusaders, Mongols and Mamluks (1244–1366)*. London: Royal Holloway College, University of London; 2012.
63. Saminsky A. Georgian and Greek illuminated manuscripts from Antioch, in: *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the end of the Crusader principality*. Vol. 1 (Ed. by K. Ciggaar, D.M. Metcalf). Leuven: Peeters Publishers; 2006.
64. Segal J.B. *Edessa: The blessed city*. Piscataway: Gorgias Press LLC; 2005. 308 p.
65. Skylitzes J. *A synopsis of Byzantine history c. 811–1057*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2010. P. 223–224.
66. Todt K.-P. *Region und Griechisch-Orthodoxen Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969–1204)*. Wiesbaden, 2005.
Todt K.-P. *Region and Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antiocheia in Middle Byzantine period and in the age of the Crusades (969–1204)*. Wiesbaden, 2005 (in German).
67. Todt K.-P. Griechisch-Orthodoxe (Melkitische) Christen im Zentralen und Südlichen Syrien. *Le Muséon*. 2006;119(Ausgaben 1–2):33–80.

- Todt K.-P. Greek Orthodox (Melkite) Christians in Central and Southern Syria. *Le Muséon*. 2006;119(Iss. 1–2):33–80 (in German).
68. Treiger A. The beginnings of the Graeco-Syro-Arabic Melkite translation movement in Antioch. *Scrinium*. 2020;(16):306–332.
69. Vorderstrasse T. Archaeology of the Antiochene region in the Crusader period, in: *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the end of the Crusader principality*. Vol. 1 (Ed. by K. Ciggaar, D.M. Metcalf). Leuven: Peeters Publishers; 2006. P. 319–336.
70. Walter C. *The warrior saints in Byzantine art and tradition*. Farnham: Ashgate; 2003. 317 p.
71. Weitenberg J.J.S. The Armenian monasteries in the Black Mountain, in: *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean. Antioch from the Byzantine Reconquest until the end of the Crusader principality*. Vol. 1 (Ed. by K. Ciggaar, D.M. Metcalf). Leuven: Peeters Publishers; 2006. P. 79–94.



 **Sergei P. Brun** 

General Director of Novgorod State Museums, an Editorial Board Member
 of The Historical Reporter, Novgorod, Russian Federation.

e-mail: sbrun@mail.ru

SPIN-code: 6611-0835

Author ID: 822080

Received
 25.04.2025

Revised
 12.05.2025

Accepted
 27.06.2025