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ST. SYMEON PENTAGLOTTOS OF TRIER († 1035)
A NEW GREEK SAINT OF MOUNT SINAI
IN THE CONTEXT OF ARABIC CHRISTIAN STUDIES

BY
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A. BACKGROUND

On 1st November 1989, I had the opportunity, accompanied by the Archbishop Damian of Sinai, Pharan and Raitho, to call on the Bishop of Trier, Dr. Hermann Josef Spital. The Archbishop and Abbot of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai knew of a monk of that monastery named Symeon who had died on 1st June 1035 in the former imperial residence of Trier. He wanted to find out what was still known about this Sinaite in Trier and perhaps to experience something of him. Archbishop Damian expressed the wish to obtain a relic. The Bishop of Trier, on the other hand, wished Symeon also to be venerated as a saint in the Orthodox Church. Until that time, veneration of Symeon had been limited to a few Roman Catholic areas only in the cities of Trier and Syracuse, with the Basilians in Grottaferata and in Benedictine monasteries¹. I would not have believed then that either of the wishes would become a reality. But events since then have proved how right both bishops were. In 1993 a small relic was handed over to the Monastery of St. Catherine², and on the 3rd November 1996, 63 prophets, martyrs, monks and nuns of the Sinai peninsular were declared saints (Fig. 1), including Symeon (Fig. 2)³. The Wednesday of Bright Week was set as the feastday⁴, whereas in Trier his memory is celebrated on his “dies natalis”, 1st June. Symeon is one of the most interesting of these 63 saints. In include this as background information.

B. THE LIFE

So who was this Symeon (Hebr. שמעון = hearing, Gr. Sumewvn), and under what circumstances did he live?⁵ Peter Thomsen pointed out in the Journal of the German Palestine Association in 1939 that sources of writings

1) Alfons M. ZIMMERMANN, *Kalendarium Benedictum, Die Heiligen und Seligen des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, vol. 2, Metten, 1934, p. 258.

2) Handover document of 28th April 1993 in: &Ιερά Μονή καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Σινᾶ, Σύναξις πάντων τῶν σιναιτῶν ἁγίων, Εἰσαγωγή, ἀκολουθίαι ὑπὸ Δροσ Χαραλάμπου Μπούσια, Σύντομος βιογραφία ἐπίμετρον, Ἀθῆναι, 1998, p. 199.

3) This illustration and the following extract enlargement from it: Ἱερά Μονή καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Σινᾶ, Icon.

4) Ἱερά Μονή καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Σινᾶ, pp. 21-23.

5) For an initial overview: Axel BAYER, “Simeon v. Trier”, in *LTK*, vol. 9, Freiburg, 2000, pp. 596 f.; HEYEN, *Sankt Simeon*, pp. 297-300; HEYEN, *Simeon*, pp. 1911 f.; Bernd KETTERN, “Simeon von Trier”, in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. 10, Herzberg, 1995, pp. 366-368; Hermann RIES, “Simeon von Trier”, in *LTK*, 2. Aufl., vol. 9, Freiburg, 1964 (special ed. 1986), pp. 762 f.

pre-dating the Crusades were by no means numerous. As a supplementary source he therefore submitted the *Life* of St. Symeon. The Latin text is available in a variety of copies but not in the original⁶. The author of the *Life* was Abbot Eberwin, a friend of Symeon, whose draft of the *Life*, requested by his Archbishop Poppo, was designed to justify the canonization of Symeon and to serve the glory of Trier. In spite of its interest in the extraordinary and miraculous, the *Life* is still very valuable, because Eberwin himself traveled through the Orient with Symeon and because he reported on two further pilgrimages, those of Abbot Richard of St.-Vannes and of Archbishop Poppo. Thus it contains diverse information on the life of the monks and hermits in Palestine and on Sinai. The quality of his working method can be well verified from his biography of the Trier bishop Magnerich, because the same sources that Eberwin used are also available to us. It can be stated that he worked from a knowledgeable basis and refrained from resorting to his imagination⁷. Thus we possess a coherent curriculum vitae within the context of an ecclesiastical career.

Symeon was born in Syracuse, in south-western Sicily⁸. His father, Antonios, and possibly also his mother, who came from Byzantine Calabria, are Greeks. He receives his education from the age of seven in Constantino-

6) Text of the *Life* with Miracula and Elevatio: *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, pp. 86-101; manuscripts: August POTTHAST, *Wegweiser durch die Geschichtswerke des europäischen Mittelalters bis 1500*, vol. 2, Graz, 1954 (Reprint of the 2nd ed. Berlin, 1896), p. 1588; German translation of a large section of the *Life* THOMSEN, *Symeon*, pp. 144-161, here pp. 146-159; exact reproductions with literal translation from the 19th century: J. MARX, *Geschichte des Erzstiftes Trier d. i. der Stadt Trier und des Trier. Landes, als Churfürstenthum und als Erzdiözese, von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1816*, 5 vols., Trier, 1858-1864, here section 2, vol. 2, Trier, 1862, pp. 74-101; Dialogue with Eberwin on the burial 89, Reconstruction of the Porta Nigra 91, cf. also section 2, vol. 1, Trier, 1860, pp. 254-258; also: Maurice COENS, "Un document inédit sur le culte de S. Syméon moine d'orient et reclus a Trèves", in *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), pp. 181-196, esp. p. 183.

7) Wilhelm WATTENBACH u. Robert HOLTZMANN, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, Die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier*, part 1, vol. 1 and 2: *Das Zeitalter des Ottonischen Staates (900-1050)*, Neuausgabe besorgt von Franz-Josef Schmale, Köln, 1967 (licensed ed., 1st ed., 1938-39), p. 173 f.

8) BAYER, *Griechen*, pp. 335-341, here 335, doubted the Syracuse origin because of the statement on the lead plate in Symeon's coffin: "*Hic iacet quidam Simeon de Babylonia natus*". But the place of birth cannot be what it meant, as it certainly played no great role in his life after the age of seven. Either this is a reference to the "Orient" is general, or Babylon means the Roman fortification that is a district of Cairo, indicating his Egyptian origin. If Babylon (Cairo) had in fact been the place of birth, Eberwin would hardly have written something else. After all, Syracuse as a town of Greek population is well documented, and the fact that his mother came from Calabria is arelevant detail here, which shows that Eberwin meant what he wrote.

ple, and then made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There he met up with a pilgrim guide and earned his living with him for seven years. He also became acquainted with a recluse in the Jordan, whom he apparently joined and served for some years. However, the recluse, who remains anonymous, fled from the crowds of people, so that Symeon stayed behind alone. Though he wanted to become a hermit, he was required to learn obedience in a monastery first. He therefore went to Bethlehem and became a monk in the Monastery of St. Mary, where he was ordained deacon. After two years he moved to the monastery on Mount Sinai and lived there for several years. With the blessing of the abbot, he retreated to a cave on the Red Sea, in which he spent a further two years. Intimidated by the local people, he returned to the monastery, from where he was sent into seclusion to the summit of Ġabal Mūsā or the Mountain of Moses. Here, all alone and as the custodian of the church on top of the mountain, according to Symeon's own report he, as a deacon, was to undergo the temptation to celebrate the Liturgy in a priest's capacity. Horrified, he returned at first to the monastery, in order to go once more into seclusion. This time it was the abbot who recalled him. Symeon was commissioned, very much against his will, to collect a sum of money apparently promised by the charitable Duke Richard II (996 - 3rd August 1026?) or his son Richard III (August 1026 - August 1027?)⁹ of Normandy. He traveled with a Venetian ship down the Nile via Babylonia – i.e. Bābalyūn or the Fāṭimid al-Ḳahira – which was attacked by pirates somewhere in the delta. After losing his clothing, he alone was able to escape, reaching a village whose language he did not understand, although, as his epithet at this point, “Pentaglottos”, indicates, he spoke Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Greek and Latin (“*Instructus enim Ægyptiaca, Syriaca, Arabica, Graeca, et Romana eloquentia, linguam illies gentis intellegere non potuit*”)¹⁰. He made his way painstakingly to Anṯākiya (Antioch), where, in addition to the Patriarch and the Byzantine notables of the city, he became acquainted with Count Wilhelm of Angoulême, whom we know from other sources, the abbots Richard (1004-1046) of St. Vanne/Verdun

9) The dates of death of father and son are controversial. These dates are given, for example, in: Annie RENOUX, *Fécamp. Du palais ducal au palais de Dieu, Bilan historique et archéologique des recherches menées sur le site du château des ducs de Normandie (I^e siècle A.C. - XVIII^e siècle P.C.) avec la collaboration de Pascal DUCHENE, Marie-Françoise HUAULT et Vincent JUHEL*, Paris, 1991, p. 246. A year later is given as the date in Franz-Josef HEYEN, “Simeon und Burchard-Poppo, Aus den Anfängen des Stiftes St. Simeon in Trier”, in *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter, Festschrift für Josef Fleckenste in zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, Hrsg. v. Lutz FENSKE, Werner RÖSENER und Thomas ZOTZ, Sigmaringen, 1984, pp. 195-205, here p. 198 f.

10) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, Bd. 1, Paris, 1867, 89, c. 12.

and Eberwin (of St. Martin/Trier or of the Abbey Tholey¹¹), who were stopping over there as pilgrims on the way to Palestine. He accompanied them on their return journey, which was to pass through Belgrade (*Bellegrada*). However, he was prevented by the governor from traveling further, so that he was separated from the group and reached France on his own via the Adriatic and Rome. His companion from Antioch, Kosmas, dies there (in Angoulême, north of Bordeaux). Symeon heard in Rouen (*Rothomagum*, north-west of Paris) that Duke Richard had died. Nobody felt responsible for the promised donation, so that the journey had been in vain. In a state of confusion, he proceeded first to Verdun and then to Trier, for to see his old fellow-travellers from whom he had been separated in Belgrade. From there, at some point between 1027 and 1034¹², most probably between 1028 and 1030¹³, he accompanied the powerful and yet humane¹⁴. Archbishop Poppo (bishop since 1016, † 16th June 1047) on a very difficult pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which other sources confirm¹⁵. Symeon did not take the opportunity to return to Sinai, but he traveled back with Poppo to Trier. Here he retreated back into seclusion again, allowing himself to be walled-in ceremoniously on the Feast of the Apostle Andrew on 30th November 1030 as a recluse in the Porta Nigra, a Roman gate of the city of Trier. At the same time he maintained contact with the outside world, was provided for by a certain Stephanus and disputed with Abbot Eberwin on matters concerning the Holy Scriptures, the right faith (*de orthodoxa fide*) and the healing of the soul. This communication played, moreover, a certain role in the canonization by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, because it is thought that the *filioque* was also spoken about, and Symeon remained faithful to the Orthodox teachings concerning this matter¹⁶. However, he was not popular with all the citizens of Trier. At the time of a flood in 1033, the crowd held him responsible for it and threw stones at his cell. Eberwin does not conceal this, but stresses the forbearance with which Symeon bore his cross. Nonetheless, he was encompassed by a “*fama miraculorum*”, so that already had the reputa-

11) About the person: [J. C.] LAGER, “Die ehemalige Benedictiner-Abtei Tholey”, in *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benedictiner- und dem Cistercienser-Orden mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ordensgeschichte und Statistik* 20 (1899), pp. 348-387, here pp. 374-381.

12) THOMSEN, *Symeon*, 158, footn. 2.

13) Ernst SACKUR, *Richard*, p. 98.

14) A. HEIT, “Poppo, Erzbischof von Trier”, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. 7, Stuttgart, 1999 (1st ed. 1995), pp. 101 f.

15) HEYEN, *Simeon*, p. 199; SACKUR, *Richard*, p. 97.

16) Ἱερά Μονή καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Σινᾶ, pp. 197 f.

tion of being a saint during his lifetime. On Sunday, 1st June 1035, at the third hour, he died after making arrangements for his burial in his cell.

In August or September of the same year, 1035, Archbishop Poppo made a request to Pope Benedict IX (1032-1045) that Symeon be accepted in the canon of saints, or formally canonized. This was justified not only by the *Life* itself, but also by two miracles of healing during his lifetime reported by Eberwin, and by several others at his tomb up to three months after his death, and by the reported reverence the people held for him. The Pope agreed to this request at Christmas of the same year, and this was confirmed in an official communication dated 1036. Symeon has a special significance in the canonization history of the Roman Catholic Church, as he was only the second saint after Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg (923-937) to be formally canonized by a pope. The respective papal document is among the first ever written on parchment¹⁷, as the Papal chancellery had until then used only papyrus¹⁸.

C. RELICS AND FACTS

In addition to the written sources, some physical objects have been well preserved in Trier. The first to be mentioned should be the relics. The coffin of Symeon remained untouched in the Porta Nigra and was not opened until 1400. There is a lead plate¹⁹ in the coffin with the inscription: "*Hic iacet quidem Symeon, de Babylonia natus*²⁰; *in Sinai Monachus; hic autem solitarius obiit*"²¹. The head and some other bones were removed, but the rest was sealed with a further lead bearing an inscription about the opening of the coffin. From 1748 the lead coffin was kept in a Rococo sarcophagus made of stone. Following Napoleon's secularization of the Symeon Foundation in 1803, the sarcophagus was taken, together with the head, which was kept in a silver relic bust, and the coffin of Archbishop Poppo, to the church of St. Gervasius in Trier. In 1885 the coffin was opened again for the first time since 1400 in order to remove the relics. In 1965 the stone cover was broken

17) Johannes RAMACKERS, "Analekten zur Geschichte des Papsttums im 11. Jahrhundert", in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 25 (1933-34), pp. 49-60, here pp. 49-56, had recorded the letter as the oldest papal letter written on parchment. The text of the letter is reproduced here in full.

18) The corresponding text of the document and its evaluation is available by HEINTZ, *Simeon*, pp. 163-173 and illust. 37-42.

19) HEINTZ, *Simeon*, illust. 40.

20) Cf. footn. 8.

21) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, p. 99.

open by robbers, but not the lead coffin. So the relics have been preserved until this day, and with the scientific precision that is typical of our age, an inventory has been made on them (Fig. 3)²². It was calculated following examination of the bones that the saint must have had what was in his day a powerful stature of 1.83 m²³. Not until 1971 was a new church, in western Trier on the western bank of the Mosel, in which the relics, including a shoe and parts of his clothing, are preserved in a crypt under the altar.

The oldest pictorial representation is a miniature in what is known as Stuttgart Passionale, which dates from the first half of the 12th century. Symeon is portrayed there in the incipit to his *Life* (Fig. 4)²⁴ as a deacon being tempted by two devils to celebrate as priest. The seal stamp of the Symeon Foundation (Fig. 5)²⁵ from the mid-12th century shows him with a round cap, book and palm, which refer to his round biretum that is kept in the Cathedral treasure and the accompanying lectionary –I will say more about this later–, and the palm²⁶ perhaps refers to his origins in the Orient. It is less likely that the palm branch is meant as a sign of saintliness. Through its artistic representation, the seal imprint also shows us the special significance of this monk of the Fāṭimide empire. Nikolaus Irsch points out that it is a very rare, realistic and individual representation of the early Middle Ages²⁷. Individual features include deep-set eyes, the beard and hairstyle and the camelhair cap that has been preserved to the present day. The eye representation matches the description of the preserved skull, with the protruding eyebrow bulges mentioned by Albert Heintz in his description of the relics²⁸. Later illustrations retain at least the characteristic cap.

Two items are to be found in the Cathedral treasure in Trier: 1) the cap (*biretum S. Symeonis*) of St. Symeon (Fig. 6)²⁹, the main part of which consists of camel-hair ropes arranged into a spiral, which has a reliable origin in the coffin of the saint. Moreover, it resembles that which the Cypriot Saint and shepherd Spyridon (4th century) wears on icons³⁰; 2) a Greek lectionary

22) HEINTZ, *Simeon*, illust. 42.

23) HEINTZ, *Simeon*, pp. 168-173.

24) Albert BOECKLER, *Das Stuttgarter Passionale*, Augsburg, 1923, illust. 15, dating 20.

25) IRSCH, *Bildnis*, pp. 175-178, here p. 176, Fig. 1.

26) Alois THOMAS, "Simeon von Trier", in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 8, Rom, 1974 (special ed. 1990), p. 367.

27) IRSCH, *Bildnis*, p. 175.

28) HEINTZ, *Simeon*, p. 171.

29) IRSCH, *Dom zu Trier*, p. 323, Fig. 210.

30) For example in the altarapose of the Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate in Bonn.

(*Codex S. Simeonis*, Trier Cathedral treasure No. 72)³¹ which the Symeon Foundation up until its dissolution regarded as a relic of St. Symeon – perhaps rightly so, as there is a Codex on the seal of the Foundation represented as an attribute of St. Symeon as early as the 11th century³², and we know from the *Life* that Symeon carried a psalter and a Gospel with him on Sinai³³. The Trier Codex contains the Gospel readings for the 4th and 6th December, the Sunday prior to Christmas, and 24th, 25th and 26th December (Fig. 6) on 8 parchment sheets³⁴. The greater part of the Gospel pericope is missing; it was given directly after the death of Symeon to the Abbey Tholey near Trier³⁵, and there is no trace of it today. 130 folios with readings from the Old Testament³⁶ for Christmas, the Feast of the Epiphany, Lent, Easter and other, non-movable feasts originate from another hand³⁷, but may have come into being at about the same time. The folios today have the size 25.8×19.7 cm, but this is as a result of being trimmed to fit into book-covers in earlier centuries, and they are written in two columns à 25-31 lines each³⁸. Nothing is known about the place of origin. It is clear that Symeon himself is not the writer, as later legends contend. But perhaps it was he who brought the codex from the Orient to Trier³⁹. The ivory cover displayed in the Cathedral treasure (Fig. 6 in the middle of the cover of the codex)⁴⁰ is not part of the original form of the codex, but it is part of a casket with the representation of Jesus in the Temple with the old St. Symeon and of the Baptism of Jesus in the Jordan, which was taken in 1400 from the grave of St. Symeon Pentaglotos⁴¹. It certainly belongs to the first half of the 11th century, but it was made in Trier. The book-cover dates only from the 16th century⁴².

31) Critical, but nonetheless extremely unclear edition: *Codex Sancti Simeonis exhibens lectionarium ecclesiae graecae DCCC, circiter annorum vetustate insigne*, hrsg. v. R. Maria STEININGER, *Augustae Trevirorum*, 1834, 21856.

32) Both speak against the doubt of Dr. Lic. FLÜGEL, *Hammans Bemerkungen*.

33) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, p. 88.

34) RAHLFS, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen*, pp. 28-136, zum Codex S. Simeonis 30-52, here very exact 31, footn. 2; Illust.: FLÜGEL, *Hammans Bemerkungen*, Tafel III.

35) IRSCH, *Dom zu Trier*, p. 324.

36) FLÜGEL, *Hammans Bemerkungen*, Tafel II.

37) RAHLFS, *Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen*, pp. 30-52.

38) Kurt ALAND, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, 2., neu bearb. u. erg. Aufl. in Verb. mit Michael WELTE, Beate KÖSTER u. Klaus JUNACK bearb. v. Kurt ALAND, Berlin, 1994 (Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung 1), p. 229; FLÜGEL, *Hammans Bemerkungen*, p. 5.

39) FLÜGEL, *Hammans Bemerkungen*, 16 (as a summary of the discussion to date).

40) FLÜGEL, *Hammans Bemerkungen*, Tafel I.

41) THOMSEN, *Symeon*, 161, footn. 5.

42) HEINTZ, *Symeon*, illust. 41.

The most important thing, whose continuing existence we owe primarily to Symeon and his reputation as a saint, is the Porta Nigra in Trier, the northern city gate which was erected in around 180 A.D. (Fig. 7)⁴³. As mentioned above, Symeon had himself walled in, in the east tower in the outer protrusion facing north-east, with a height of about 6 m (Fig. 8)⁴⁴. The relevant passage in the Life is the earliest literary record anywhere of the existence of the Porta Nigra⁴⁵. While his ascetic ideals may have been strange to the Trier population, the situation in the Porta Nigra was very suitable for Symeon. In the south-west corner of the gate complex there was may already have been a chapel dedicated to the Archangel Michael⁴⁶ and in front of the gate there were monasteries and foundations such as St. Mary, St. Paulinus and St. Maximinus. The situation was reminiscent of the hermit's towers on the Jordan, where whole colonies of towers were to be found, and like that hermit whom Symeon had served as a young man, the ascetics living there could have disciples and companions and receive visits and conduct discussions. It was therefore not about total seclusion, but about retreating from the workings of the world, being an ascetic (bear in mind the repeated description of the frugal nourishment of Symeon in the Life), freedom to pray, and the release from distracting work. Symeon's cell in the Porta Nigra, which was accessible by a ladder and equipped with a bed, chairs and stools, was sufficient for this. The access, perhaps only a window-type opening, allowed the provision of food as well as discussion. Eberwin often undertook such talks, even in Symeon's cell. Poppo began the installation of a double church in the Porta Nigra about 1041 (Fig. 9: copper engraving of Caspar Merian, circa 1660)⁴⁷. The upper church contained Symeon's tomb and was dedicated to his memory. It was used by the saint Symeon Foundation that was founded by Poppo and remained in existence until 1802; the lower church was open for the community for religious services as the Church of St. Mary. Archbishop Poppo was buried at the feet of his friend Symeon in the upper church in the Porta Nigra. It was Napoleon who freed the Porta Nigra from all later extensions with the exception of the east apse, who excavated the lower double sto-

43) Th. K. KEMPF, "Die altchristliche Bischofsstadt Trier", in *Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Heimatschutz, Trier, Ein Zentrum abendländischer Kultur*, Neuss, 1952, pp. 47-64, here p. 63, Fig. 18.

44) ZAHN, *Trier (Rheinische Kunststätten*, 1974, 7-8), 17 f. and 9 illust. 7. Photo by Wassilios Klein.

45) ZAHN, *Trier*, p. 3.

46) H. v. BEHR, *Die Porta Nigra in Trier*, Trier, 1908 (Sonderdruck aus der "Zeitschrift für Bauwesen"), p. 19.

47) BAYER, *Griechen*, p. 336; engraving in: H. v. BEHR, *Die Porta Nigra in Trier*, Trier, 1908 (special ed. from: *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*), p. 11, illust. 8.

rey free from the crumbling gate, and even put the church of St. Simeon Church into a condition which corresponded to the old Roman city gate and not to the history of the church. Without the establishment of the Foundation, whose ancillary buildings to the west extend onto the gate, and the double collegiate church in use inside the Porta Nigra, this city gate, which is one of the best preserved anywhere in the Roman Empire, would have been used during the further development of the city and destroyed as a source of stone, and even more as source of metal because of its 3½ kg iron-lead staple⁴⁸. Only its use as church saved the Porta Nigra.

D. COMMENTARY ON CHRISTIAN ARABIC STUDIES

a) *Symeon in Palestine*

As a child Symeon, must have been familiar with the Arabic world and to a certain extent with the Arabic language. The systematic Arabic conquest of Sicily, which up to then had belonged to Byzantium and had looked to the Patriarch of Constantinople as its religious head, began in 827. Syracuse (Sirakūsa), the main Byzantine stronghold on the eastern coast, was captured in 878. The Arabic Şiķilliyya of the Kalbite Dynasty was ruled from Palermo. In the first half of the 10th century there were still revolts, and from 1038 to 1042 Syracuse was once more briefly Byzantine, but during Symeon's childhood between 980 and 1000 it was definitely under Arabic rule⁴⁹. In the Constantinople of the Emperor Basileios II (976-1025), under whom the empire was expanded extensively⁵⁰, Symeon had the opportunity of gain an excellent education at a time of cultural blossoming. Whether he used this time to learn or improve his knowledge of foreign languages, or whether the language acquisition only happened during his period in Jerusalem, we do not know. In any case, Jerusalem, which was in Arab hands from 638, offered the opportunity to practice every languages for which he later had a reputation, particularly as a pilgrim guide. When Symeon lived there, at the Jordan, in Bethlehem, and on the Sinai peninsular, these areas were under the control of the Caliph al-Ĥākīm (996-1021). In 1009, at the time when Symeon was living in Jerusalem, the Caliph destroyed the Holy Sepul-

48) *Bildatlas Trier*, Hamburg, 1983 (HB-Bildatlas), pp. 15 u. 39; ZAHN, *Trier*, pp. 5 u. 7.

49) Vincenza GRASSI, "Sirakūsa", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Bd. 9, Leiden, 1997, pp. 669 f.; A. AHMAD, *A History of Islamic Sicily*, Edinburgh, 1975, p. 31 f.

50) Georg OSTROGORSKY, *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*, München, 1980 (1st ed. of the special ed. 1965, based on the 3rd ed. 1963 of the original ed. in *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 12. Abt., 1. Teil, 3. Bd.), map IV after page 256.

chre. This event was part of a wave of persecutions against Jews and Christians. That was to last 40 years until the Holy Selpulchre was restored. During the whole of the first half of the 11th century, Jerusalem experienced a phase of development including fortifications, and thus it was able to become the most important city of Palestine from a military viewpoint⁵¹. So it is impossible that Symeon in his time as a pilgrim guide or later as the escort of Archbishop Poppo knew nothing of all these events. Nevertheless there is not a single mention of them in the *Life*. It seems that these events were not important enough for him to tell them repeatedly to his biographer Eberwin.

b) *Symeon in Egypt and on Sinai peninsula*

The author appears less familiar particularly with the topography of Sinai than the storyteller Symeon behind the scenes. The following information is interesting:

“In vertice autem Montis Sinai, eo videlicet loco quo Moyses gloriam Domini, vidit et legem in tabulis lapidei scripsit, aliud monasterium erat, quod propter Arabitas incursantes, qui per illam eremum semper vagantur, omni habitatore desertum remanserat (But on the summit of Mount Sinai, on the very spot where Moses saw the glory of God and wrote the Ten Commandments on the tablet of stones, there was another monastery which because of the raids of the Arabs, who continued to roam through the barren wasteland, had remained completely uninhabited)⁵².”

There is no doubt that in fact Ğabal Mūsā is being referred to. Still, how can one imagine the “*monasterium*” on the narrow summit? The archeologists have not been able to verify any monastery, so that we have to refer to literary sources. The pilgrim Egeria in around 400 A.D. describes the following situation, suggesting the presence of a small chapel, like Peter Grossmann had represented in contradiction to the opinion up to then:

“When we had therefore climbed to the peak following God’s will and had come to the door of the church, we were met there by a priest coming from his seclusion, who had been assigned to this church. ... Still more priests came towards us, all monks, too, who lived in the vicinity of the summit⁵³.”

There was therefore a priest who was directly assigned there in the service of the Church, but no monastery. Thus he will only have had a little

51) S. D. GOITEIN, “al-Ḳuds A. History”, in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 5, Leiden, 1986, pp. 322-339.

52) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, p. 87, c. 6.

53) DONNER, *Pilgerfahrt*, p. 86, c. 3,4.

house, like the other priests, who did not themselves live on the summit but in the vicinity. We get here the picture of a gathering of settlers, not of a monastery. The anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza describes a tiny chapel of roughly 2×2 m in size⁵⁴. His report also paints another picture:

“From there onwards we climb 3 miles straight ahead to the highest summit, on which a small chapel is standing, roughly 6 feet wide and long. Nobody dares to stay there; only in the gray of the morning do the monks climb up and hold a church service”⁵⁵.

The three-aisle basilica (about 25×11 m), for which there is archaeological evidence⁵⁶, was only built after the visit of the pilgrim, and as it is Justinian, the pilgrim’s journey must date from around 560⁵⁷, rather than 570⁵⁸. There was therefore no continuous settlement, but the monks appear to have looked after the church with regular church services. At the time of St. Symeon, since the situation is still depicted as uncertain, there was no continuous settlement, but it was clearly possible to live there and, as ever, the monastery still wished to know that there was someone on the mountain of Moses in the service of the church. From the *Life* of Symeon, we now know that this detail in the history of monasticism on Mount Sinai applies even for about 1020.

Fortunately, the identity of the abbot of the monastery during these years is known. During his time on Mount Sinai, Symeon was subordinate to abbot Ṣalmūn, who was in office from some time after 1012 to at least 1021. An Egyptian Christian chronicler of this time, Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, reports on him in connection with the church destructions by al-Ḥākīm⁵⁹. Afterwards, a certain Ibn Ġiyāṭ was said to have been given the task of destroying the monastery. In fact, in the year 1012/1013 he destroyed and plundered

54) *Das Katharinen-Kloster auf der Sinai-Halbinsel*, Sinai, 1985, pp. 34 f. (text by Athanasios PALIURAS).

55) DONNER, *Pilgerfahrt*, p. 301, c. 37.

56) Exact description with Rudolf SOLZBACHER, *Mönche, Pilger und Sarazenen, Studien zum Frühchristentum auf der südlichen Sinaihalbinsel – Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der islamischen Herrschaft*, Altenberge, 1989 (*Münsteraner Theologische Abhandlungen* 3), pp. 410 f.

57) Peter GROSSMANN, *Ἀρχιτεκτονική, in Σινᾶ, Οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης*, hrsg. v. Κωνσταντῖνος Ἄ. Μανᾶφης, Ἀθήναι, 1990 (and parallel engl. ed.), pp. 29-40, here p. 38 f.

58) DONNER, *Pilgerfahrt*, p. 243.

59) For the following reference source on Abbot Ṣalmūn I am grateful to Johannes GROSSMANN (Vienna). *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Saʿīd d'Antioche continuateur de Saʿīd-ibn-Bitriq*, Éditée et traduite en Français par Ignace KRATCHKOVSKY et A. VASILIEV, Paris, 1932 (*PO* XIII,3 = N°114), pp. 513 f.

one of the two churches in Raitho. In confirmation of this, the Muslim historian al-Maqrīzī (1364-1442) reports a large number of church destructions by al-Ḥākīm⁶⁰. Ibn Ġiyāṭ moved further on from Raitho in order to convert the monastery near Ġabal Mūsā to Islam. There, however, he was met by Ṣalmūn ibn Ibrāhīm, who is described as a writer, one of the important figures of Egypt and an old man who was wise and talented. He succeeded in convincing Ibn Ġiyāṭ that the destruction of the fortified monastery would be costly and senseless, and through the payment of a ransom persuaded him to leave the church unscathed and to withdraw empty-handed. Yaḥyā records Abā Ṣalmūn as abbot of the Mount Sinai monastery for the year 1020 and 1021, who applies successfully to al-Ḥākīm concerning the reconstruction of the numerous churches destroyed in Egypt and other matters concerning the Christians⁶¹.

While we are already in a position to date Symeon's journey in Normandy at about 1026 on the basis of estimates, the details provided by Eberwin give a more precise picture, and they can be confirmed through events in Fāṭimide Egypt. The *Life* reports on a famine which gripped the whole of Egypt, including Cairo and the Sinai peninsular. A miracle occurs in the monastery: the little grain that remains is sufficient for all the monks and the large numbers of Arabs seeking refuge in the monastery⁶². And in fact, we know that under Caliph al-Zāhir (1021-1036) there was a great famine in the years 1024 and 1025. Since the population was forced to use all the domestic animals for food, al-Zāhir was compelled to prohibit the slaughter of plough-oxen. His troops did not even shrink from plundering a sacrificial banquet in his honor on 12th February 1025⁶³. This gived us the first fixed date in the *Life* of Symeon. Unfortunately, Eberwin does not report the famine in a chronological context. So it is not clear whether it was during the famine or only afterwards that Symeon went into seclusion in a small valley. He was not allowed to stay there long, but there was enough time to grow vegetables until they were ripe. Only then did the abbot call him, in order to send him to Normandy⁶⁴. Symeon can hardly have departed before

60) *Iti'āz al-hunafā' bi-aḥbār al-a'imma al-Fāṭimiyyīn al-ḥulafā' li-Taḥyaddīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Maqrīzī*, 3 vols., Ed. by Muhammad HILMI, Cairo, 1996, here vol. 2, p. 95.

61) *Histoire de Yahya-ibn-Sa'īd d'Antioche*, Édition critique du texte arabe préparée par Ignace KRATCHKOVSKY et traduction française annotée par Françoise MICHEAU et Gérard TROUPEAU, Turnhout, 1997 (PO 47), pp. 432-435, 438-443, 450-453.

62) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, pp. 87 f., c. 8.

63) Marius CANARD, "Fāṭimids", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, Leiden, 1965, pp. 850-862, here p. 858 f.

64) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, p. 88, c. 9.

the end of the first month of 1025, though it must have been before 1026, otherwise subsequent events can no longer be fitted into the chronology.

He boarded a Venetian ship in Cairo. This also fits in with the trade contacts with the Fāṭimids. Cairo was the trading center for merchandise from the countries which bordered the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. Venetian ships reached Cairo and supplied not least wood for shipbuilding, which especially disturbed immensely the Emperor in Constantinople greatly. Symeon would have had to expect a journey of about a month, and the journey to Sicily or to Constantinople would have lasted 20 days⁶⁵. But as we know, it turned out differently, and the ship was capsized by pirates. He was the only one to escape, though his clothing was lost. It is therefore unlikely that the Codex preserved in Trier or his items of clothing originate from the Sinai monastery. It is also interesting that in spite of his knowledge of Arabic and Egyptian, which can only mean the Coptic language, he could not understand the villagers to whom he fled. It is possible that he entered an Armenian village although we cannot expect a numerous Armenian population in these times, because many Armenians immigrated to Egypt with the Armenian commander of the Egyptian troops in Syria and the later wazīr Badr al-Ġamālī after 1073⁶⁶. And if it had been an Armenian village, why could he not find a Coptic village nearby? We cannot rule out the possibility that Eberwin misunderstood some passive knowledge of Coptic as full and active knowledge, although Symeon himself could perhaps read Coptic texts but was not able to speak the language. And we should not forget the differences in Coptic dialects. However, all these explanations remain speculation.

c) *Symeon in Antioch*

It must have taken longer than a month for Symeon to reach Antioch. Details of the journey are not described, but many troubles and hardships are referred to⁶⁷. Axel Bayer expresses doubt in this journey because Symeon would have been able to re-equip himself in the Sinai monastery⁶⁸. An explanation of why Symeon forewent this is supplied by the *Life*: in Antioch Symeon had ended his account of the troubles of the journey with the remark

65) CANARD, *Fāṭimids*, p. 861.

66) Marius CANARD, "Notes sur les Arméniens en Égypte à l'époque faṭimite", in *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* 13 (1955), pp. 143-157, here pp. 144 f.

67) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, p. 89, c. 12.

68) BAYER, *Griechen*, p. 335, footn. 13.

that he could not be put off by any danger or hardship fulfilling the command of his abbot to the best of his ability⁶⁹. He saw in the carrying out of his mission a trial of obedience. At about the end of 1025, or the beginning of 1026, he may have arrived in Antioch, which still belonged from 969 to 1084 to the Roman Empire. For the time of Symeon's visit in 1025 or 1026, two emperors in Constantinople come into consideration: Basileios II (11th January 976 - 15th December 1025) and Konstantinos VIII (16th December 1025 - 11th November 1028). As the *Life* stresses that Symeon was known to all the notability people of the city, these should have included the Governor. In 1025 it was Konstantinos Dalassenos, afterwards Michael Spondyles. The Patriarch whom Symeon had to deal with was in any case Nikolaos II (17th January 1025 - 8th November 1030)⁷⁰. It was here that Symeon met the pilgrimage group with Count Wilhelm of Angoulême, and the two abbots Richard and Eberwin. He did not continue his journey but waited until the Pilgrimage group had visited Jerusalem, celebrated Easter there and then returned to Antioch. The return journey of the group together with Symeon to Europe cannot be dated before 1026. Studies on the *Life* of the abbot Richard confirm the beginning of 1026 as the date of the meeting⁷¹. Since Belgrade is mentioned as a stopping-point on the journey, it is quite possible that they travelled from Antioch overland via Asia Minor. We know that the group's journey there lasted from the 1st October to before Easter 1026, therefore five to six months. In the year 1026, Easter fell on the 10th April⁷². As Symeon was awaiting the return of the group, he celebrated the feast in Antioch. The entire return journey would again have lasted six months on schedule, still we do not know how long the group spent in Jerusalem. They therefore did not reach Belgrade before the late summer or autumn of 1026. In contradiction to the opinion of Peter Thomsen, the city was certainly not in the hands of a Bulgarian prince⁷³. The first Bulgarian empire (681-1018) had been destroyed by Emperor Basileios II Bulgaroktonos. Belgrade was in Byzantine hands, so that a governor of Emperor Konstantinos VIII (1025-1028) resided there. The reason for the refusal to allow Symeon to travel on to Hungary remains unclear. Count Wilhelm did not reach Angoulême until June 1027. Symeon and Kosmas were there before him in spite of the ardu-

69) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, p. 89, c. 13.

70) Thomas Hartmut BENNER, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche unter byzantinischer Herrschaft im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, Marburg (Diss.) 1989, pp. 145-148.

71) SACKUR, *Richard*, pp. 94 f.

72) Hans LIETZMANN, *Zeitrechnung der römischen Kaiserzeit, des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit für die Jahre 1-2000 n. Chr.*, 4. durchges. Aufl. v. Kurt ALAND, Berlin, 1984, p. 44.

73) THOMSEN, *Symeon*, p. 156, footn. 2.

ous detour via Italy⁷⁴. When he arrived in Rouen, he heard of the death of Duke Richard. There is still not full clarity here, because we cannot date precisely the death of Richard II or his son Richard III, who both died in August, but the second one year later than the first. It could have been either of them whom Eberwin mentioned. In any case, the Richard of Rouen mentioned by Eberwin died in August 1027, so that Symeon arrived there shortly afterwards. His stay there and in Verdun was brief, and in 1028 he made his way again with Archbishop Poppo to Palestine. This pilgrimage lasted three years.

d) Remarks regarding the chronology and the companion of Symeon

At this point further remarks must be made regarding the chronology. The age of Symeon is not given anywhere, so that other details in the *Life* permit at best an estimate of his year of birth and of the other events in his life. As stated, Symeon was still living in the Sinai monastery in 1024, after spending some time on the summit of the Ġabal Mūsā. Previous to that, he had lived on the Red Sea for two years and had spent some preparatory years in the Sinai monastery. So he had come to Sinai some time between 1015 and 1020. He had lived for two years as a young monk in Bethlehem and for some years as a follower of the hermit on the Jordan. He may therefore have come to him around or after 1010. In about 1005 he had begun his seven-year period of work as a pilgrim guide. In view of the level of education that is praised in two sources, we estimate here a minimum of seven or eight years for the education in Trivium and Quadrivium. If we think that he began the education at seven years of age in Constantinople, then he may have been born around 990, which is usually the date of birth stated in the literature⁷⁵. He would certainly then have gone alone to Jerusalem at the age of 14 or 15. In fact, many dates are so inaccurate in the *Life* that the date of birth could have been set a few years earlier, which would perhaps have fitted better. He would then have died at the age of 45 to 50.

Let us return to the events and persons of Arabic-speaking areas. The *Life* mentions a companion of Symeon. Firstly, he boards the Venetian ship in Cairo with a fellow-traveler who is a monk⁷⁶. And then the talk is of the monk Kosmas, who is a "*vir sanctissimus*" and who dies in France in the

74) SACKUR, *Richard*, pp. 94 f.

75) Z. B. HEYEN, *Simeon*, p. 197.

76) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, p. 88, c. 11.

region of Angoulême⁷⁷. The stay in France of Symeon and Kosmas, who are both described as scholarly and honorable and praised for their knowledge of Greek and Latin, is confirmed by the records of a provincial council in Limoges 1031, because the people there had disputed with the two Orientals about the saintliness of Martialis, an apostle of the seventy-two (Lk 10:1)⁷⁸. They were held in such high esteem that the synod followed their teaching. This is a further and full confirmation of the accounts of Eberwin through a completely independent source. Is the monk from Sinai then the same person as Kosmas? Perhaps not, for not only is this Kosmas not mentioned in the pirate raid and the subsequent journey to Antioch, but it is explicitly said on the death of Kosmas that Symeon traveled in the company of this Kosmas only from Antioch. Kosmas might not have been a Sinaite. The same is seen in the Monastery of St. Catherine, for he is not included among the 63 new Sinaite saints in spite of Eberwin praise of him.

E. THE SANCTAE CATHARINAE TRANSLATIO

We still have to consider a further source, the impact of which both in the West and also in the East⁷⁹ should not be underestimated, the *Sanctae Catharinae virginis et martyris translatio et miracula Rotomagensia*. It tells of the bringing of relics of St. Catherine to Rouen, and indeed by Symeon. According to this source, a small group of four monks and servants traveled to Rouen led by Symeon in order to bring relics to Duke Richard. Richard received them very well and gave them a large sum for the monastery. The group then traveled off under escort. But Symeon stayed there in order to found a monastery, which the source says happened, with the retained relics of St. Catherine, in the name of the Holy and Invisible Trinity on the 26th August 1030. Symeon had wanted to travel back to Sinai after a two-year stay in Rouen, but became ill and stayed in Trier.

Although this legend originates from the 11th century (1054-1090), on many points it is still incredible or even proven to be untrue. The credibility

77) *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, vol. 1, Paris, 1867, p. 89, c. 14.

78) L. BARONIUS, "Annales ecclesiastici ad a. 1037", in PL 142, p. 1363.

79) It is less Eberwin's representation that the *Translatio* that is prominent in Greek theological literature, and particularly the traditions in the Monastery of Saint Catherine, for example: Περικλῆς Γρηγοριάδης, Ἡ Ἱερὰ Μονὴ τοῦ Σινᾶ, neu hrsg. von Παναγιώτης Φ. Χριστόπουλος, Ἀθήναι 1988 (Ἐκδόσεις Ἱ. Μονῆς τοῦ Θεοβαδίστου Ὁρους Σινᾶ 2) (original ed. Jerusalem 1875), p. 77. In spite of second-hand creation, historically more accurate than the standard lexicon: Art. "Συμεών, Ὁ ἐν Τρεβήροις", in *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ Ἠθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 11, Ἀθήναι, 1967, p. 537.

of Eberwin as a good friend of Symeon and eyewitness to his later life is already to be so highly rated that contradictions with his representation must result in a rejection of the authenticity of other sources. In addition to this, there are the council of Limoges records referred to above, which state that Symeon had not reached France in an intact group, but only with one traveling companion, who however died on the way to Rouen. Symeon did not find Richard alive, he was robbed of all things and had certainly not been able to save any such relics, and neither can the four-year stay in Rouen nor the founding of an abbey a matter for discussion. Eberwin's version is incomparably more realistic and is confirmed by the council's records on a decisive point, the people accompanying Symeon, whereas the *Translatio* is very much refuted through its chronological impossibilities. Correspondingly negative is the critical opinion of the truthful content of this text, which goes as far as calling it a "fairy tale"⁸⁰. The description of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Rouen, whose foundation circumstances are not known, as a *metochion* (branch church)⁸¹ of the Sinai Monastery can therefore not be validated, and particularly not the assertion that there were several *metochia* in Normandy⁸²! Thus to mention another untenable contention of secondary literature: the basis for the designation of the deacon Symeon as a monk-priest⁸³ in the list of the 63 new Sinaite saints remains completely unclear⁸⁴.

Nevertheless, and this is a surprise, the *Translatio* is an important source, and this is so also applies in respect of the history of Sinai. For it is this text that indicates the presence of relics of St. Catherine in Rouen some time between 1033 and 1054, and this is associated with the known legends discovered on Sinai. Since we do not know exactly when the veneration of

80) THOMSEN, *Symeon*, p. 157, footn. 2; R. FAWTIER, "Les Reliques Rouennaises de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie", in *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923), pp. 357-368; Text of the legend: Albert PONCELET, "Sanctae Catharinae virginis et martyris translatio et miracula Rotomagensia saec. XI", in *Analecta Bollandiana* 22 (1903), pp. 423-438. On false chronology and falsely recorded two-year stay of Symeon in Normandy: SACKUR, *Richard*, 95-97. For the expression "Lügenmärchen": Alfons M. ZIMMERMANN OSB, *Kalendarium Benedictum, Die Heiligen und Seligen des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, Bd. 2, Metten, 1934, p. 258. Though Symeon is covered in a collection of the Saints of the Benedictines, the author indicates that Symeon lived as a guest of the Benedictine monastery and did not belong to the Order.

81) Ἰερά Μονή καί Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Σινᾶ, p. 197.

82) "Νικόλαος Β. Τωμαδάκης, Ἱστορικό διάγραμμα", in: Σινᾶ, Οἱ Θηραυροὶ τῆς Ἱ. Μονῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, Ἀθήναι, 1990.

83) Ἰερά Μονή καί Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Σινᾶ, p. 193.

84) Ἰερά Μονή καί Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Σινᾶ, pp. 193 and 197 f.

the great martyr Catherine started in the monastery in G8abal Mu?sa., the *Translatio*, which mentions the monk-deacon Symeon, is an important aid for us in understanding the cultural history of Sinai⁸⁵. The *Life* of St. Catherine from Symeon Metaphrasis (10th century) with the extremely brief note on the conveyance of the body of the saint by an angel onto Sinai⁸⁶ had prepared the way, but this still says nothing about the connection of the great martyr with the monastery, and hardly anything at all about the veneration of the relics, which itself is only recorded from the 13th century in the monastery⁸⁷. However, the *Translatio* propagates the cult of St. Catherine in the West, so that after the death of Symeon the fame of the monastery spread rapidly, became a fixed part of western pilgrimages, and was to be bestowed for centuries with rich donations from western benefactors. St. Catherine rose in the shortest time to become one of the most popular saints of central and western Europe⁸⁸.

F. SUMMARY

The *Life* allows us to complete our knowledge of some details from the history of Mount Sinai and the history of the veneration of St. Catherine. Arab historians confirm and expand on many details of the *Life* of Symeon. Moreover, we recognize in the example of St. Symeon that, in spite of the completely different balance of power in what we call the Middle Ages, the cultural cohesion of the areas of the classical Roman Empire was still intact⁸⁹. Through the stories recorded by Abbot Eberwin, we have first-hand information on the type of pilgrimage of that time, and on monasticism in the Jordan Valley and on Sinai. At least as informative is the role Symeon played as an intermediary between the worlds. From a Trier viewpoint, Symeon with his association with Egypt, Palestine, and Antioch, and likewise his colleague Kosmas, were regarded as authorities on matters of faith as well as asceticism. The Benedictine abbots Richard and Eberwin who had very close association with the Cluniac reform, and also the like-minded Archbishop Poppo, were not only sympathetic to Symeon, but Poppo pro-

85) FAWTIER, *Les Reliques Rouennaises*, nach ausführlicher Diskussion der Quellen und ihrer jeweiligen Glaubwürdigkeit, esp. p. 368.

86) PG 116, p. 301.

87) Johannes GROSSMANN will contend in his dissertation work that the cult of the relics of Saint Catherine started in the West and not on Sinai.

88) *Das Katharinen-Kloster*, 30 (text by Athanasios PALIURAS); "Νικ. Ε. Τσιράκησ, Σινά, Μουή", in *Θρησκευτική και ήθική έγκυκλοπαιδεία*, Bd. 11, 'Αθήναι, 1967, pp. 168-181, here p. 171.

89) BAYER, *Griechen*, 339 f., gives several examples of this.

moted Symeon's ascetic ideals, which had more in common with the Jordan than with Lorraine. He was able not only to protect Symeon but promote his canonization, actively supported by abbot Eberwin. Symeon, on the other hand, attested his respect for the pilgrims from the Latin West through his work as a pilgrim guide, and in spite of the inherent difficulties he was willing to serve Archbishop Poppo as an escort on the pilgrimage to Palestine. Symeon became the link connecting Sinai to Wilhelm of Angoulême and the Dukes of Rouen, and vice versa connecting the western pilgrims with the important people of Antioch, which clearly played a significant role as a stopover place on the pilgrimage route. The events and the relationships of all those involved give no hint that a few years later Patriarch Michael Keroullarios and Cardinal Humbert were to stop intercommunion between Rome and Constantinople. It is surprising – or perhaps it is not – that modern scholars are too often fixed on the history, theology and culture either of the Byzantine East or of the Latin West, ignoring the evidence of contacts and mutual estimation among Christians from all parts of the classical Roman Empire.

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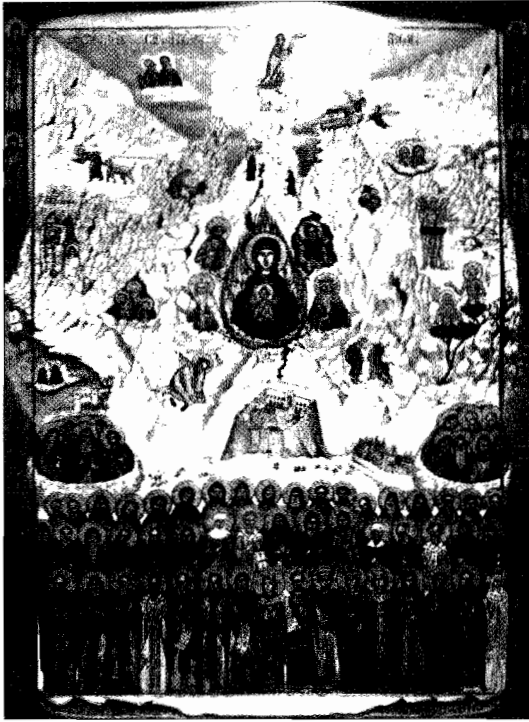


Fig. 1

Fig. 2



Fig. 3



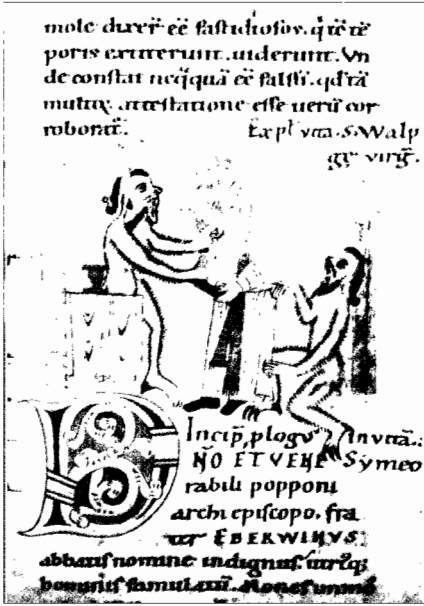


Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

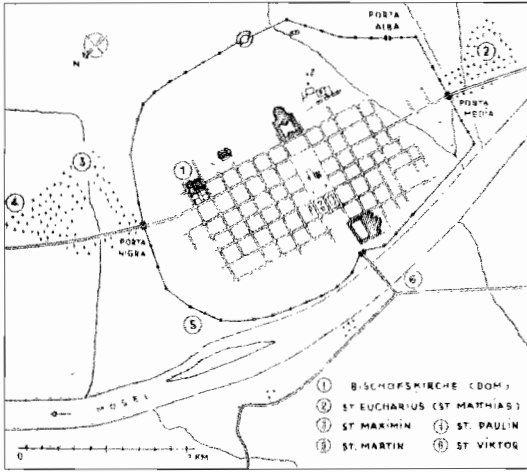


Fig. 7

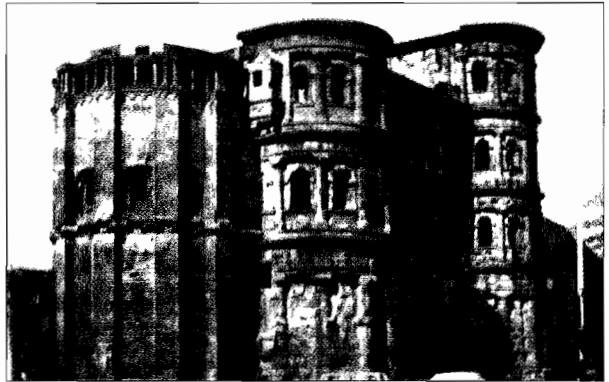


Fig. 8

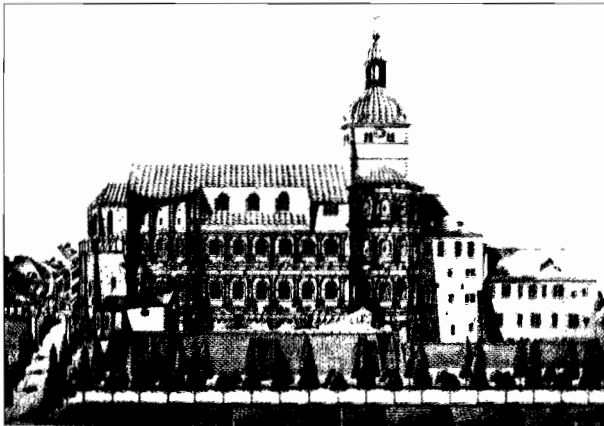


Fig. 9