



Bar 'Ebroyo's Ecclesiastical History : writing Church History in the 13th century Middle East

Marianna Mazzola

► To cite this version:

Marianna Mazzola. Bar 'Ebroyo's Ecclesiastical History : writing Church History in the 13th century Middle East. History. Université Paris sciences et lettres; Universiteit Gent, 2018. English. NNT : 2018PSLEP028 . tel-02142443

HAL Id: tel-02142443

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THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

de l'Université de recherche Paris Sciences et Lettres
PSL Research University

Préparée dans le cadre d'une cotutelle entre
École Pratique des Hautes Études et Université de Gand

Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History*: Church History Writing in the 13th century Middle East

L'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Bar 'Ebroyo: écrire l'histoire de l'Église dans le Proche-Orient du 13^e siècle

Ecole doctorale n°472

Religions et systèmes de pensée

Spécialité Études arabes et civilisation du monde musulman

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le 25 Juin 2018**

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Kaftinformatie: MS Vatican City, Vatican Library 559 f. 223v (13th cent.)



Faculteit Letteren & Wijsbegeerte
Ecole doctorale n°472: Religions et systèmes de pensée

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Bar 'Ebroyo's Ecclesiastical History

Church History Writing in the 13th century Middle East

Double PhD Degree

Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad van
Doctor in de Geschiedenis aan de Universiteit Gent

en

van de graad van 'Docteur en Religions et systèmes de pensée'
aan de École Pratique des Hautes Études

2018

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the product of a four-year PhD project at the University of Ghent and the École Pratique des Hautes Études. During the last four years I have accumulated a great debt of gratitude to many people who have contributed to make this research period a meaningful human and scientific experience. My supervisor in Ghent, Prof. Dr. Peter Van Nuffelen, for providing me with his continuous support and his inspiring scientific guidance. He closely read and corrected my work, always offering valuable remarks and suggestions for improvement. My supervisor in Paris, Prof. Dr. Muriel Debié, who followed the progress of my research during my stay in Paris. I am deeply grateful to her for giving me the opportunity to spend an academic year at the École Pratique des Hautes Études where I could benefit from her immense expertise on Syriac literature. My co-advisor Dr. Maria Conterno who thoroughly read and corrected my work and offered numerous insightful comments. I owe my deepest gratitude to her for always being there to answer my countless questions with an incredible patience and competence. My sincerest gratitude is also to extend to the members of the research group on Late antique historiography in Ghent: Prof. Dr. Lieve Van Hoof, Dr. Emerance Delacenserie, Dr. Andy Hilkens, Lorenzo Focanti, Panagiotis Manafis, Matthew O'Farrel and Raf Praet. I am deeply grateful to all of them not only for giving me precious insights into different research fields but also because their continuous, warm encouragement has been an enormous help to me. My sincerest thanks also go to Prof. Dr. Pier Giorgio Borbone who generously shared with me his material on the manuscripts of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* and offered his useful comments on some drafts of my chapters. I wish to thank Dr. Simone Isacco Maria Pratelli who kindly informed me about his results on the textual transmission of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronography*. I was at a too advanced stage in the writing of my thesis to be able to engage his results properly with my own but I am confident that there will be the opportunity to establish a fruitful collaboration in future. Needless to say, any defect in this thesis is mine alone.

The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council, under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP/2007-2013)/ ERC Grant Agreement n. 313153. I also gratefully acknowledge the

financial support of the Research Foundation-Flanders (FWO), the Research Fund of the University of Ghent, the Laboratoire d'Études sur les Monothéismes (LEM) and the École doctorale of the EPHE which funded my stay in Paris.

I wish to express my sincerest gratitude also to some friends: Elena Tiribilli and Gianluca Miniaci whom I met again in Paris after our stay in Pisa. I am indebted to them for always making me feel at home wherever our paths cross. Cristina Alù and Julie Santoro who had been an incredibly supportive presence over the last years. I am very grateful to them for their precious friendship.

Lastly, my profound gratitude goes to my parents for their never-ending patience, encouragement and support.

Summary in Dutch

De *Kerkgeschiedenis* van Gregorius Bar 'Ebroyo (1225/6-1286 n.Chr.), Syrisch-orthodox auteur en maffiaan van het Oosten, wordt al lang erkend als een historische bron van onschatbare waarde voor de geschiedenis van het laat-antieke en middeleeuwse Midden-Oosten. Het kreeg echter nog maar weinig aandacht vanuit academische hoek als volwaardig literair werk en maakte ook nog nooit het voorwerp uit van een uitgebreide studie. Bovendien is de *Kerkgeschiedenis* alleen nog beschikbaar via een negentiende-eeuwse editie die in feite een diplomatieke reproductie is van een zestiende-eeuws manuscript. Hoewel de *Kroniek* van Bar 'Ebroyo, waarvan de *Kerkgeschiedenis* het tweede deel vormt, het enige Syrische historiografische werk is dat in meer dan een manuscript bewaard is gebleven, werd de rijke manuscripttraditie ervan nooit onderzocht. Het doel van deze thesis is om voor een eerste filologische en historiologische studie van de *Kerkgeschiedenis* te zorgen. Meer bepaald stel ik een analyse voor van a) de manuscripttraditie en de overlevering van de tekst, b) de relatie met de traditie van het kerkelijke-geschiedenisgenre en c) het bronnenonderzoek. De studie zelf wordt vergezeld van een nieuw opgestelde tekst en een Engelse vertaling.

Hoofdstuk 1 bespreekt de tekstuele traditie van de *Kerkgeschiedenis* van Bar 'Ebroyo door de manuscripten als filologische bronnen en als bronnen voor de ontvangstgeschiedenis van het werk te benaderen. Daarbij neem ik de filologische status van de diverse negentiende- en twintigste-eeuwse kopieën van de *Kerkgeschiedenis* onder de loep om te bepalen of ze in aanmerking komen voor een kritische editie van de tekst. Ik ga na of de aparte overlevering van de twee delen van de *Kroniek* van de samenstelling en publicatie van de *Chronographia* en de *Kerkgeschiedenis* door Bar 'Ebroyo op twee verschillende momenten dateert of dat dit eerder het gevolg is van een latere ontwikkeling in de manuscriptoverlevering. Ik onderzoek ook de stappen waarlangs de latere voortzettingen in de manuscripten beland zijn om te kunnen nagaan of er in de originele tekst grote wijzigingen werden aangebracht door de voortzetters. De conclusies van deze analyse zijn opgenomen in de resultaten van de *collatio* om een *stemma codicum* te kunnen aanreiken, waarop de bijgevoegde Syrische tekst gebaseerd is. Vervolgens bespreek ik de historische en culturele omstandigheden die bepalend waren voor het massaal kopiëren van de *Kroniek* van Bar 'Ebroyo en de bijdrage van de tekstuele overlevering van de *Kroniek* aan het debat of de *Geschiedenis van Dynastieën* nu voor een moslim- of christelijk publiek bedoeld was.

Hoofdstuk 2 analyseert de *Kerkgeschiedenis* van Bar 'Ebroyo op het vlak van continuïteit en innovatie door deze te vergelijken met de voorgaande historiografische traditie. Daarbij duik ik in de ontwikkeling van het kerkelijke-geschiedenisgenre binnen de Syrisch-orthodoxe traditie en belicht ik twee aspecten: a) de scheiding tussen burgerlijke en kerkelijke aangelegenheden, met haar theologische en politieke implicaties, en b) de stilistische narrativiteitsconventie die gewoonlijk gekoppeld wordt aan het kerkelijke-geschiedenisgenre en het belang ervan voor de communicatiestrategieën van de Syrisch-orthodoxe geschiedschrijvers. Dankzij dit onderzoek kan ik Bar 'Ebroyo binnen een specifieke traditie situeren en kan ik evalueren of de nieuwe historische omstandigheden die hij ervoer, hem ertoe aanzetten om nieuwe narratieve vormen te ontwikkelen. Daarna onderzoek ik het gebruik van de patriarchale sequenties en het belang hiervan voor de historiografische verhandeling van Bar 'Ebroyo. Daaruit zal blijken dat de vormgeving van de patriarchale sequentie verankerd is in een gesofisticeerde conceptualisering van het priesterschap zoals uitgewerkt door Bar 'Ebroyo in zijn exegetische en theologische werken. Ten derde bestudeer ik de vertelstrategieën die Bar 'Ebroyo gebruikt om zijn stichtelijk doel na te streven, wat resulteert in een herevaluatie van zijn vermeende 'hagiografische dimensie'. En tot slot buig ik me over de manier waarop Bar 'Ebroyo het materiaal over de geschiedenis van de Kerk van het Oosten in zijn werk integreert, wat doorgaans een thema is dat auteurs in de Syrisch-orthodoxe historiografie links laten liggen. Dat doe ik door de reconstructie van Bar 'Ebroyo te bestuderen van de apostolische tijd in de Oostelijke regio's en de historische argumenten waarmee hij de Syrisch-orthodoxe traditie laat wedijveren met het Oost-Syrische verleden van de bisdommen onder zijn bewind.

Hoofdstuk 3 bevat een eerste studie van de bronnen waarop Bar 'Ebroyo zijn relaas baseerde. Hier bespreek ik om te beginnen hoe de *Kerkgeschiedenis* zich tot de *Kroniek* van Michaël de Grote verhoudt, zijn voornaamste bron voor de geschiedenis van het patriarchaat, door het gebruik van de patriarchale sequenties en de compilatie van het narratieve materiaal te onderzoeken. Dat vertaalt zich in een bijdrage tot de studie van de originele lay-out van de *Kroniek* van Michaël. Ten tweede bespreek ik de mogelijke bronnen van de geschiedenis van de Kerk van het Oosten. Daarbij herevalueer eerdere aannames over een afleiding van dit deel van de *Liber Turris* en toon ik aan dat de tekst van Bar 'Ebroyo nauwer aanleunt bij de *Kroniek van Seert* en de *Haddad Kroniek*. Ik reik ook argumenten aan voor mijn stelling dat het gedeelte over de apostel Tomas in plaats daarvan afgeleid is van een juridische compilatie die materiaal omvat waarvan gezegd wordt dat het van apostolische oorsprong zou zijn, en van een relaas gebaseerd op de narratieve kern van de *Handelingen van Tomas*. Naast de identificatie van de bronnen stelt de studie ook een onderzoek voor van het redactionele proces van Bar 'Ebroyo. De selectie, verplaatsing en herwerking van het narratieve materiaal van zijn bronnen

vormt een reactie op opzettelijke narratieve strategieën die bijdragen tot de vormgeving van zijn persoonlijk en vernieuwend, historiografisch discours.

Summary in English

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Gregory Bar 'Ebroyo (1225/6-1286 A.D.), Syrian Orthodox author and maphrian of the East, has long been recognized as an invaluable historical source for the history of the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East but it has received limited scholarly attention as a work of literature in its own right, and it has never been made the object of a book-length study. Moreover, the *Ecclesiastical History* is still available only via a 19th century edition, which is basically a diplomatic reproduction of a 16th century manuscript. Although Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*, of which the *Ecclesiastical History* forms the second part, is the only Syriac historiographical work preserved in more than one manuscript, its rich manuscript tradition has never been examined. The purpose of this thesis is to provide a first philological and historiographical study of the *Ecclesiastical History*. More particularly, I propose an analysis of a) the manuscript tradition and the transmission of the text, b) the relation with the tradition of the genre *Ecclesiastical History*, c) the study of the sources. This study is accompanied by a newly established text and an English translation.

Chapter 1 examines the textual tradition of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History*, by addressing the manuscripts as philological sources and as sources for the reception history of the work. I assess the philological status of the numerous 19th-20th century copies of the *Ecclesiastical History* to understand if they are eligible for a critical edition of the text. I ascertain if the independent transmission of the two parts of the *Chronicle* dates back to the composition and publication of the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* by Bar 'Ebroyo in two different moments or rather if it is the result of a later development in the manuscript transmission. I examine also the steps through which the later continuations landed in the manuscripts, in order to assess if the original text went through substantial changes by the continuators. The results of this analysis are integrated with the results of the *collatio* so as to provide a *stemma codicum* on which the attached Syriac text is based. I then address the historical and cultural circumstances which determined the massive copying of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* and the contribution of the textual transmission of the *Chronicle* to the debate as to whether the *History of the Dynasties* was intended for a Muslim or a Christian audience.

Chapter 2 analyses Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* in terms of continuity and innovation in respect to the previous historiographical tradition. I delve into the development of the genre *Ecclesiastical History* in the Syrian Orthodox tradition by

addressing two issues: a) the division between civil and ecclesiastical matters, with its theological and political implications, and b) the stylistic convention of narrativity traditionally associated with the genre Ecclesiastical History, and its significance for the communicative strategies of Syrian Orthodox historiographers. This study allows me to situate Bar 'Ebroyo within a specific tradition and to assess if the new historical circumstances he experienced prompted him to develop new narrative forms. Then I examine the use of the patriarchal sequences and its significance for Bar 'Ebroyo's historiographical discourse. It will emerge that the shaping of the patriarchal sequence in the *Ecclesiastical History* is rooted in a sophisticated conceptualization of priesthood elaborated by Bar 'Ebroyo in his exegetical and theological works. Third, I examine the narrative strategies used by Bar 'Ebroyo to pursue his edifying aim, which results in the reassessment of its alleged 'hagiographical dimension'. Last, I study the way in which Bar 'Ebroyo integrates into his work the material on the history of the Church of the East, which is normally a neglected topic in Syrian Orthodox historiography. I do so by studying Bar 'Ebroyo's reconstruction of the apostolic time in the Eastern regions and the historical arguments through which he makes the Syrian Orthodox tradition compete with the East Syrian past of the dioceses under his rule.

Chapter 3 gives a first study of the sources on which Bar 'Ebroyo based his account. I address, first, the relation of the *Ecclesiastical History* with Michael the Great's *Chronicle* which is his main source for the history of the patriarchate, by studying the use of the patriarchal sequences and the compilation of the narrative material. This makes a contribution to the study of the original layout of Michael's *Chronicle*. Second, I address the possible sources of the history of the Church of the East. I reassess previous hypothesis regarding a derivation of this part from the *Book of the Tower* and I demonstrate closer correspondences of Bar 'Ebroyo's text with the *Chronicle of Seert* and the *Haddad Chronicle*. The part regarding the apostle Thomas, I argue, derives instead from a juridical compilation which included material of claimed apostolic origin, and from an account based on the narrative core of the *Acts of Thomas*. Beside the identification of the sources, the study proposes some observations on Bar 'Ebroyo's redactional process. The selection, displacement and reworking of the narrative material of his sources responds to deliberate narrative strategies which contribute to shaping his personal, innovative historiographical discourse.

Summary in French

L'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* de Grégoire Bar 'Ebroyo, auteur syro-orthodoxe et *maphrien* de l'Est, a depuis longtemps été reconnue comme une source historique inestimable pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive et médiévale du Moyen-Orient, mais elle a reçu une attention limitée du monde scientifique en tant qu'œuvre de littérature à part entière, et n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une monographie. En outre, l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* n'est encore et toujours seulement accessible que par l'intermédiaire d'une édition du 19^e s., qui est simplement une reproduction diplomatique d'un manuscrit du 16^e s. Bien que la *Chronique* de Bar 'Ebroyo, dont l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* forme la seconde partie, soit le seul ouvrage historiographique en syriaque préservé dans plus d'un seul manuscrit, sa riche tradition manuscrite n'a jamais été examinée. Le but de cette thèse doctorale est tout d'abord de fournir une étude philologique et historiographique de l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique*. Plus particulièrement, je propose une analyse de a) la tradition manuscrite et de la transmission du texte, b) de la relation avec la tradition du genre de l'histoire ecclésiastique, c) l'étude des sources. Cette étude s'accompagne d'une nouvelle édition de texte et d'une traduction anglaise.

Le chapitre 1 examine la tradition textuelle de l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* de Bar 'Ebroyo en traitant les manuscrits comme des sources philologiques et comme des sources pour la réception de l'histoire de l'œuvre. J'évalue le statut philologique des nombreuses copies des 19^e et 20^e siècles pour comprendre si ces manuscrits sont éligibles pour une édition critique du texte. J'établis si la transmission indépendante des deux parties de la *Chronique* remonte à la composition et la publication de la *Chronographie* et de l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* par Bar 'Ebroyo à deux moments distincts, ou s'il s'agit plutôt du résultat d'un développement postérieur dans la tradition manuscrite. J'examine également les étapes par lesquelles les continuations postérieures sont parvenues dans les manuscrits afin d'évaluer si le texte original a subi des changements substantiels de la part des continuateurs. Les résultats de cette analyse sont intégrés aux résultats de la *collatio*, de manière à fournir un *stemma codicum* sur lequel le texte syriaque se base. J'aborde ensuite les circonstances historiques et culturelles qui ont déterminé la copie à grande échelle de la *Chronique* de Bar 'Ebroyo et la contribution de la transmission textuelle de la *Chronique* au débat sur la question de savoir si l'*Histoire des Dynasties* était destinée à un public musulman ou chrétien.

Le chapitre 2 analyse l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* de Bar 'Ebroyo, en termes de continuité et d'innovation par rapport à la tradition historiographique antérieure. J'examine le développement du genre de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique dans la tradition orthodoxe syrienne en abordant deux questions : a) la division entre les affaires de l'État et celles de l'Église, avec ses implications théologiques et politiques, et b) la convention stylistique de la narrativité traditionnellement associée au genre de l'Histoire

Ecclésiastique, et sa signification pour les stratégies communicatives des historiographes syro-orthodoxes. Cette recherche me permet de situer Bar 'Ebroyo dans une tradition spécifique et d'évaluer si les circonstances historiques nouvelles qu'il a vécues l'ont poussé à développer de nouvelles formes narratives. J'examine ensuite l'usage de la séquence patriarcale et sa signification dans le discours historiographique de Bar 'Ebroyo. Il apparaîtra que la forme de la séquence patriarcale dans l'*Histoire ecclésiastique* est enracinée dans une conceptualisation sophistiquée du sacerdoce élaborée par Bar 'Ebroyo dans ses œuvres exégétiques et théologiques. Troisièmement, j'examine les stratégies narratives utilisées par Bar 'Ebroyo pour poursuivre son but édifiant, ce qui entraîne la réévaluation de sa prétendue « dimension hagiographique ». Enfin, j'étudie la manière dont Bar 'Ebroyo intègre dans son œuvre le matériel sur l'histoire de l'Église syro-orientale, sujet qui est normalement négligé dans l'historiographie syrienne orthodoxe. Ce dernier point d'étude s'accompagne d'un examen de la reconstruction par Bar 'Ebroyo du temps apostolique dans les régions orientales et des arguments historiques qu'il avance pour mettre en concurrence la tradition syro-orthodoxe avec le passé syrien oriental des diocèses sous son autorité.

Le chapitre 3 offre une première étude des sources sur lesquelles Bar 'Ebroyo a basé son récit. Dans un premier temps, j'aborde la relation entre l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* et la *Chronique* de Michel le Grand, qui est sa source principale pour l'histoire du patriarcat, en étudiant l'usage des séquences patriarcales et la compilation du matériel narratif. Cette recherche contribue également à l'étude de la composition de la *Chronique* de Michel. Ensuite, j'envisage les sources possibles de l'histoire de l'Eglise syro-orientale. J'examine une hypothèse antérieure selon laquelle une dérivation de cette partie forme le *Livre de la Tour*, et je démontre des correspondances plus étroites entre le texte de Bar 'Ebroyo avec la *Chronique de Séert* et la *Chronique de Haddad*. En outre, Je soutiens que la partie relative à l'apôtre Thomas dérive plutôt d'une compilation juridique qui comprenait du matériel d'origine apostolique revendiquée et d'un récit basé sur le noyau narratif des *Actes de Thomas*. Au-delà de l'identification des sources, l'étude propose un examen des procédés rédactionnels de Bar 'Ebroyo. La sélection, le déplacement et le remaniement du matériel narratif de ses sources répondent à des stratégies narratives délibérées qui contribuent à façonner son discours historiographique personnel et novateur.

List of Manuscript Abbreviations

Add. 7198 = London, British Library, Additional 7198
Add. 12154 = London, British Library, Additional 12154
Add. 14541 = London, British Library, Additional 14541
Add. 14645 = London, British Library, Additional 14645
Add. 14684 = London, British Library, Additional 14684
Add. 17216 = London, British Library, Additional 17216
Deir al-Surian, 28A = Wadi al-natrun, *Deir al-Surian*, 28A
Dd. 3.8 = Cambridge, University Library, *Dd.* 3.8
Fehim 7 = Istanbul, collection Petrus Fehim, 7
Hunt. 1 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 1
Hunt 52 = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 52
Konat 220 = Pampakuda, collection Konat, 220
Leiden 985 = Leiden, University Library, Or.985
Ming 192AB = Birmingham, University Library, Mingana 192AB
Ming 585 = Birmingham, University Library, Mingana 585
Or. 366 = Florence, Laurentian Library, *Oriente* 366
Or. 93 = Florence, Laurentian Library, *Oriente* 93
Or. 3009 = London, British Library, *Oriental* 3009
Par. arab 296 = Paris, National Library of France, *arab.* 296
Par. arab 6501 = Paris, National Library of France, *arab.* 6501
Par. syr 62 = Paris, National Library of France, *syr.* 62
Par. syr 64 = Paris, National Library of France, *syr.* 64
Sachau 210 = Berlin, Berlin State Library, *Sachau* 210
Sachau 315 = Berlin, Berlin State Library, *Sachau* 315
Sinai 30 = Saint Catherine's Monastery, *syr.* 30
St. Mark 211 = Jerusalem, St. Mark Monastery, 211
Vat. ar. 109 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, *ar.* 109
Vat. neof. 54 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, *Neofiti* 54
Vat. syr. 37 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, *syr.* 37

Vat. syr. 135 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 135
Vat. syr. 144 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 144
Vat. syr. 145 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 145
Vat. syr. 166 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 166
Vat. syr. 167 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 167
Vat. syr. 388 = Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 388
Zakka I ‘Iwaṣ = Damascus, collection Patriarch Ignatius Zakka I ‘Iwaṣ

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Introduction

The ecclesiastical and intellectual career of Gregory Bar 'Ebroyo (1225/6-1286 A.D.)¹ falls in a cultural period which has been labelled as 'Syriac Renaissance' (11th-13th cent.).² This term has gained currency in modern scholarship to refer to a period of cultural revival, characterized by a conspicuous increase in literary production and a growing reception of the cultural achievements of other communities (Arabs, Armenians, East Syrians). With his large scale, encyclopedic literary production, which often relies on Arabo-Persian and East Syrian sources, Bar 'Ebroyo is a full-fledged representative of this period. More precisely, he stands at the end of the Syriac Renaissance, for he died a few decades before the literary activity of the Syriac communities dramatically decreased. Bar 'Ebroyo dealt with the long literary tradition which preceded him by composing extensive compilations covering a wide range of subjects. The dearth of literary writings in the following centuries made Bar 'Ebroyo's compilations the primary means through which later audiences had access to Syriac literature. This has resulted in a massive copying of his works which are extant in an impressive number of manuscripts.³ The Syriac Renaissance roughly corresponds to the historical period between the 11th century and the end of Mongol rule in Middle East (13th cent.). This period knew several political upheavals in important centers of Syriac culture. The regions of Melitene and Edessa passed from the Byzantine reconquest in mid. 10th century to the Crusader principalities (1098/1101 A.D.), then to the Seljuks (1144/1170 A.D.) and finally to the

¹ The principal work on Bar 'Ebroyo's life and writings is TAKAHASHI 2005.

² The term was forged by Anton Baumstark. Baumstark mentioned four factors characterizing this period: a new influence from the Byzantine world, due to the Byzantine reconquest of the region of Melitene (mid. 10th cent.), b) a renewed interest in the older literature, c) the influence of the Crusaders, d) the hopes in the new Mongolian rule. See BAUMSTARK 1922: 185-186. Herman Teule has partially reassessed Baumstark's definition by underlining also the influence of the Islamic culture and the increasing knowledge of Arabic among Syrians. See TEULE 2010.

³ For an overview of Bar 'Ebroyo's manuscript tradition see Takahashi 2005: 147 et seqq.

Mongols (mid. 13th cent.). Bar 'Ebroyo was born in the region of Melitene under the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum but he spent most of his ecclesiastical career under Mongol rule. After being elected maphrian of the East⁴ in 1264 A.D, he led the Syrian Orthodox communities settled in the East Syrian regions for over twenty years. Bar 'Ebroyo wrote his numerous works in this period, which suggests that his activity as a writer resulted from his personal concerns as an ecclesiastical hierarch, and especially as a maphrian. Within his literary activities, historiography occupied a remarkable space. Bar 'Ebroyo composed a twofold universal *Chronicle* covering from the Creation to his own time, which was divided in two parts: a secular (*Chronography*) and an ecclesiastical one (*Ecclesiastical History*). The latter is in turn divided to two parts: the first covering the history of the Syrian Orthodox Church, from the Jewish high priests to the Syrian Orthodox patriarchs of the 13th century, and the second covering the history of the East Syrian Church and of the maphrianate, starting from the Apostle Thomas. Both the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* were often transmitted independently, which eventually led them to being edited separately.⁵ Both parts were continued by anonymous writers up to the 15th century. Bar 'Ebroyo wrote also the *History of the Dynasties*, universal Chronicle in Arabic. Initially interpreted as an Arabic translation of the Syriac *Chronicle*, the *History of the Dynasties* turns out to be an independent work which relies on different sources.⁶

In this thesis I will focus on the activity of Bar 'Ebroyo as Church historian, by studying his *Ecclesiastical History*. The *Ecclesiastical History* as well as the *Chronography* has long been recognized as an invaluable historical source for the history of the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East.⁷ The discovery and publication of the monumental *Chronicle* of Michael the Great at the end of the 19th century somewhat overshadowed

⁴ Second rank of the Syrian Orthodox hierarchy after the patriarch. The maphrian was in charge of the dioceses located in the East Syrian regions.

⁵ The *Chronography* was first edited by Paul J. Bruns and George W. Kirsch in 1789 on the basis of MS *Hunt. 52* (14th century) and translated into Latin. In 1890 Paul Bedjan published an improved version of the Bruns-Kirsch edition based on an unknown manuscript. Finally, in 1932 Ernest A.W. Budge published a reproduction of MS *Hunt. 52* accompanied by an English translation which was based, though, on the Bedjan edition. The *Ecclesiastical History* was edited by Jean B. Abbeloos and Thomas J. Lamy in the years 1872-1877, on the basis of the MS *Add. 7198* (16th century) and translated into Latin. An English translation based on the Abbeloos-Lamy edition has been published in 2016 by David Wilmschurst.

⁶ CHEIKHO 1898, GRAF 1944: 274-275, TEULE 1996.

⁷ J.S. Assemani who first unearthed some passages of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* praised his importance as historical source and recommended his publication. See ASSEMANI 1721: 312. See also WRIGHT 1894: 278. For a list of works quoting passages of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* see TAKAHASHI 2005: 279-280.

Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*, because the latter was then considered mostly an abridgment of Michael's work.⁸ Accordingly, scholarly attention moved to Bar 'Ebroyo's material on the Mongol period and the Church of the East for which he used other sources, beside his eye-witness accounts. Only in the last two decades, has Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* received some scholarly attention as a work of literature in its own right, rather than as mere depository of historical information.⁹ Notably, comparative studies with the other great chroniclers of the Syriac Renaissance (Michael the Great and the Anonymous author of the *Chronicle up to 1234*) have highlighted some major differences in the narrative strategies and historical views, such as Bar 'Ebroyo's didactic aim and ecumenical approach.¹⁰ Despite the recent developments, scholarship on the *Ecclesiastical History* is still very limited, and the work has never been made the object of a book-length study. Moreover, the *Ecclesiastical History* is still available only via a 19th century edition, which is basically a diplomatic reproduction of a 16th century manuscript.¹¹ Although Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* is the only Syriac historiographical work preserved in more than one manuscript, its rich manuscript tradition has never been examined.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a first philological and historiographical study of the *Ecclesiastical History*. More particularly, in Part I of this thesis I propose an analysis of a) the manuscript tradition and the transmission of the text, b) the relation with the tradition of the genre *Ecclesiastical History*, c) the study of the sources. This study is accompanied by a newly established text and an English translation, which are given in Part II.

Chapter 1 examines the textual tradition of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*, with a focus on the *Ecclesiastical History*, by addressing the manuscripts as philological sources in the first section, and as sources for the reception history of the work, in the second section. I will assess the philological status of the numerous 19th-20th century copies of the *Ecclesiastical History* to understand if they are eligible for a critical edition of the text. I will ascertain if the independent transmission of the two parts of the *Chronicle* dates back to the composition and publication of the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* by Bar 'Ebroyo in two different moments or rather if it is the result of a later development in the manuscript transmission. I will examine also the steps through which the later continuations landed in the manuscripts, in order to assess if the original text went through substantial changes by the continuators. The results of the analysis of the above mentioned issues will be integrated with the results of the *collatio*

⁸ DUVAL 1907: 198.

⁹ AIGLE 2005, BORBONE 2016, WELTECKE 2009, WELTECKE 2010, WELTECKE 2017, WITAKOWSKI 2006.

¹⁰ WELTECKE 2009, WELTECKE 2010.

¹¹ ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872-1877. For a description of this edition see the introduction to Part II.

so as to provide a *stemma codicum* on which the attached Syriac text is based. In the second section I will address the historical and cultural circumstances which determined the massive copying of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*. I will then assess the contribution of the textual transmission of the *Chronicle* to the debate as to whether the *History of the Dynasties* was intended for a Muslim or a Christian audience.

Chapter 2 analyses Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* in terms of continuity and innovation in respect to the previous historiographical tradition. I will delve into the development of the genre Ecclesiastical History in the Syrian Orthodox tradition by addressing two issues: a) the division between civil and ecclesiastical matters, with its theological and political implications, and b) the stylistic convention of narrativity traditionally associated with the genre Ecclesiastical History, and its significance for the communicative strategies of Syrian Orthodox historiographers. This study will allow me to situate Bar 'Ebroyo within a specific tradition and to assess if the new historical circumstances he experienced prompted him to develop new narrative forms. Then I will examine the use of the patriarchal sequences and its significance for Bar 'Ebroyo's historiographical discourse. It will emerge that the shaping of the patriarchal sequence in the *Ecclesiastical History* is rooted in a sophisticated conceptualization of priesthood elaborated by Bar 'Ebroyo in his exegetical and theological works. Third, I will examine the narrative strategies used by Bar 'Ebroyo to pursue his edifying aim, which will result in the reassessment of its alleged 'hagiographical dimension'. Last, I will study the way in which Bar 'Ebroyo integrates into his work the material on the history of the Church of the East, which is normally a neglected topic in Syrian Orthodox historiography. I will do so by studying Bar 'Ebroyo's reconstruction of the apostolic time in the Eastern regions and the historical arguments through which he makes the Syrian Orthodox tradition compete with the East Syrian past of the dioceses under his rule.

Chapter 3 gives a first study of the sources on which Bar 'Ebroyo based his account. I will address, first, the relation of the *Ecclesiastical History* with Michael the Great's *Chronicle* which is his main source for the history of the patriarchate, by studying the use of the patriarchal sequences and the compilation of the narrative material. This will also make a contribution to the study of the original layout of Michael's *Chronicle*. Second, I will address the possible sources of the history of the Church of the East. I will reassess previous hypothesis regarding a derivation of this part from the *Book of the Tower* and I will demonstrate closer correspondences of Bar 'Ebroyo's text with the *Chronicle of Seert* and the *Haddad Chronicle*. The part regarding the apostle Thomas, I will argue, derives instead from a juridical compilation which included material of claimed apostolic origin, and from an account based on the narrative core of the *Acts of Thomas*. Beside the identification of the sources, this study will allow me to propose some observations on Bar 'Ebroyo's redactional process. The selection, displacement and reworking of the narrative material of his sources responds to deliberate narrative

strategies which contribute to shaping his personal, innovative historiographical discourse.

Note to the reader:

For the classification of the historiographical genres of Chronography and Chronicle I refer to the definition given by Richard Burgess and Michael Kulikowski.¹² Chronography: ‘work that simply combine chronographic lists, particularly regnal lists and episcopal lists.’ Chronicle: ‘any historical work that meets the following criteria: brief, annalistic, concerned in some way with chronology, paratactic in its narrative and extensive in its chronological coverage (i.e. usually aspiring to cover hundreds or thousands of years rather than individual years or decades).’ After the 8th century, Syrian Orthodox developed a new form which includes extensive narrative. These works will be also referred to as chronicle since they position themselves in the chronographic tradition.¹³ Normally, the titles given by the authors fit this categorization, but in order to avoid confusion with the names of the genres, the titles are written in italics. (e.g. Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Chronography*).

Henceforward, the part of the *Ecclesiastical History* that covers the history of the Syrian Orthodox patriarchate will be referred as *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I or first part (Cf. vol. I-II of Abbeloos-Lamy 1872-1877). The part on the Church of the East and the Syrian Orthodox maphrianate will be referred as *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II or second part (Cf. vol. III of Abbeloos-Lamy 1872-1877).

¹² BURGESS-KULIKOWSKI 2013.

¹³ VAN NUFFELEN-VAN HOOF 2018.

Part 1: Historiographical Study

Chapter 1

Textual Tradition

Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* is preserved in a remarkably high number of manuscripts in comparison to the other historiographical works in Syriac, which all survive in just one copy. The textual tradition of the *Chronicle* allows therefore for a unique insight into the history of its reception and it is a fundamental issue scholars need to address both for the philological assessment of the text and for its literary analysis. Yet, despite its relevance, the textual tradition of Bar 'Ebroyo's works has never been the object of a targeted study and was only occasionally considered for text editions. The work of Hidemi Takahashi which provides a full list of manuscripts still remains the only reference work.¹ This chapter aims at bridging this gap partially.

The textual tradition of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* will be addressed in section 1 by focusing on the manuscripts as philological sources. I shall ascertain, first, the number of manuscripts actually eligible for a critical edition. I shall nuance the view that the transmission of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* is an exception diverging from the norm of Syriac historiography, since most of the exemplars likely consist of 19th century copies of the printed edition.² Second, I shall investigate the independent transmission of the two parts of the *Chronicle*. Formerly interpreted as a deliberate choice of Bar 'Ebroyo, the copying of the two parts in different volumes turns out to be the result of a later development in the manuscript tradition. Finally, I shall give an overview of the continuations. An accurate comparison of the existing continuations has never been undertaken and still remains a *desideratum*. Since a detailed analysis of the content of the continuations goes beyond the limits of this study, I have focused on issues that are relevant for the philological evaluation of the manuscripts and that can contribute to determining their mutual relation. A *stemma codicum* based on the study of the

¹ TAKAHASHI 2005.

² ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872-1877.

continuations and the *collatio* of a section³ of the *Ecclesiastical History* will be proposed at the end. This philological study is borne out of the necessity to establish a revised Syriac text as a base for the English translation and for the historiographical study.

Section 2 will follow another trajectory. The Material Philology⁴ trend of the last decades has caused an unprecedented interest in the study of the manuscripts as objects *per se* rather than merely instruments in establishing the edition of the literary text they preserve. This new perspective has prompted the use of material evidence to investigate a wide range of themes, such as the context of manuscript production, the study of composite manuscripts as independent literary works and reception history. Syriac scholarship has participated in this trend in a number of recent contributions.⁵ In recognition of the broad spectrum of study opportunities that the rich manuscript tradition of Bar 'Ebroyo's writings offers, I will limit myself to address two aspects of the reception history of the work which have drawn the attention of scholars.⁶ First, the high number of manuscripts of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* has not escaped scholars' notice who had occasionally pointed at it as an exception in the genre. The process of material transmission of earlier historiographical works will provide the backdrop against which the (relative) success of Bar 'Ebroyo's work can be explained. It will be argued that this success is not due to a change in the perception of the historiographical genre by the audience but rather to the turning point of Syrian Orthodox history in which Bar 'Ebroyo stands. Second, in countertrend to the attempts to use the language as a hint to detect the intended audience of the *History of the Dynasties* and of the *Chronicle*, the textual traditions of both the works and the way they intersect each other suggests that the linguistic criterion is not useful even in the identification of the actual audience. This ultimately discloses a linguistic *milieu* more nuanced than the apparent decline of the knowledge of Syriac after the 12th century had suggested.

³ Section cc. 1-101 of the printed edition. See ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872.

⁴ WOLF-WESTRA 2010, NICHOLS 1990.

⁵ BRIQUEL CHATONNET-DEBIÉ 2015, BUTTS 2017, HEAL 2017, MURRE VAN DER BERG 2015, PENN 2009, PENN 2017.

⁶ TEULE 2006, WITAKOWSKI 2006, WITAKOWSKI 2007.

1.1 The Manuscripts as Philological Sources

1.1.1 Manuscript Overview

Scholars have noted the unusually high number of manuscripts containing Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Chronicle*, seeing it as an exception in the transmission of historiographical works in Syriac⁷. The full list of manuscripts provided by H. Takahashi seems at first sight to confirm this assessment but, as I shall argue presently, this interpretation is misleading. I am providing here an updated list of manuscripts. Additional bibliography has been checked for catalogues and studies between 2005 and 2016.⁸ Explanation of datings different from Takahashi’s work and additional information are provided in the footnotes. For complementary information including the references to the catalogues I refer to Takahashi’s volume.⁹

Table 1: Manuscripts containing the entire *Chronicle*

MANUSCRIPT	DATE	RELATION TO OTHERS
Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 166	before 1356/7 ¹⁰	
Berlin, Berlin State Library, Sachau 210 ¹¹	before 1481/2 ¹²	
Jerusalem, St. Mark Monastery, 211	before 1503 ¹³	= St. Mark 36 ¹⁴

⁷ TEULE 2005: 335; WITAKOWSKI 2007: 266-267.

⁸ BROCK – VAN ROMPAY 2014; DEL RÍO SÁNCHEZ 2008; HARRAK 2011; VIAN 2011. Three formerly uncatalogued manuscripts are also found in the website of the Virtual Hill Museum & Manuscript Library. See links below.

⁹ TAKAHASHI 2005: 292-301.

¹⁰ It is likely, however, that the manuscript is earlier than 1333 A.D. See scribal notes in the appendix.

¹¹ Defective manuscript. The preserved tekst of the Ecclesiastical History corresponds tot he columns I.1-I.109 of the Abbeloos-Lamy edition.

¹² F. 106r contains a note by Ignatius IX, Patriarch of Tur Abdin written in 1481/2.

¹³ Yuḥanon Dolabani asserts that the priest Addai of Beth Sbirino continued the *Chronography* during his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1491/2 A.D, on the basis of the palaeographical affinity of the continuation with an Addai’s note on MS *St. Mark* 41. DOLABANI 2009: 416, TAKAHASHI 2005:164, 292. Takahashi dates the manuscript before 1491 A.D. according to Dolabani’s assessment. However, there is no evidence that the MSS *St. Mark* 41 and 211 were already stored in Jerusalem in 1491-2 A.D. and even if we suppose that Addai is the author of the continuation, he could have supplemented the text later on. Ephrem I Barsoum accepted Dolabani’s hypothesis and put forth further arguments in its favour. BARSOUM 2003: 506-507. For the comments on the continuations see below.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 1	1498	
Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 383-388	18 th cent.	Copies of Vat. syr. 166
Urfa, Syrian Orthodox Church, 48 ¹⁵	undated	

Table 2: Manuscripts containing only the *Ecclesiastical History*

MANUSCRIPT	DATE	RELATION TO OTHERS
Cambridge, University Library, Dd 3.8	14 th century ¹⁶	Second part of Hunt. 52
Florence, Laurentian Library, Orientale 366 ¹⁷	before 1558 ¹⁸	
Damascus, collection Patriarch Ignatius Zakka I 'Iwaš ¹⁹	15 th -16 th	
Istanbul, collection Petrus Fehim, 7	1590/1	
London, British Library, Additional 7198	16 th cent. (?)	
Cambridge, University Library, Additional 2006	18 th -19 th	
Charfeh, Syrian Catholic Patriarcal Residence, fonds ancien 16.3	1887	Copied from Abbeloos – Lamy edition
Baghdad, Monastery of Mor Anthony, 551 ²⁰	1889	
Pampakuda, collection Konat 220	1894	
Charfeh, Syrian Catholic Patriarcal Residence,	19 th -20 th cent.	Copied from Abbeloos –

Since the attribution of the continuation to Addai is likely but not certain, I take as *terminus ante quem* a note recording a meteor in 1503 A.D. (f.241r).

¹⁴ The continuations of the *Chronicle* cited in Baumstark's description of MS *St. Mark* 36 are the same as the ones of MS *St. Mark* 211. BAUMSTARK 1932: 134. Takahashi has also pointed out that the number of the pages indicated by Baumstark corresponds to MS *St. Mark* 211, arguing thus that the two are but one and the same manuscript. TAKAHASHI 2005: 292.

¹⁵ This is mentioned in a list sent to Sachau by the priest of the protestant community in Urfa in 1880. SACHAU, 1900: 43. The title *مكتاب زبنة* (*maḳṭab zaḅnē*, 'chronicle') is not sufficient to assess if it contained both parts or only one. Most of the codices of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Urfa were moved to the Church of Saint George in Aleppo in 1924. A catalogue of these manuscripts was being prepared by the Metropolitan Mor Grigorios Yuḥanon Ibrahim, who was abducted in 2013 in Aleppo. The manuscript does not match any new shelf mark in Aleppo and it is not included in the list of digitized manuscripts of the Syriac Orthodox Archdiocese of Aleppo.

¹⁶ BCHEIRY 2015: 10-11. For dating see also below.

¹⁷ This manuscript contains only the first part of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Cf. TAKAHASHI 2005: 293; ASSEMANI, 1742: 190-197. Note that also the shelf mark in Takahashi (Laur. 136) is to be corrected.

¹⁸ Note of ownership by the priest Thomas (1558/9 A.D.) (f. 193v)

¹⁹ A partial reproduction of the manuscript is given in 'IWAŠ 1977.

²⁰ According to Takahashi many manuscripts stored in the monastery of St. Anthony came from Alqosh. This manuscript, however, does not seem to be present in the catalogues. Cf. SCHER 1906-1907; VOSTÉ 1929.

<i>fonds ancien 16.1-2</i>		Lamy edition
Birmingham, University Library, Mingana 192AB	19 th -20 th cent.	
Location unknown, collection Jacob Bar Butrus Saka 25	1905	
Deir al-Zafaran, syr. 132	1906	Copied from Abbeloos – Lamy edition
Mosul, Syrian Orthodox Archiepiscopal Residence, 1.31	1907	= Mosul, Syrian Orthodox Archdiocese, 53 (?) ²¹
Damascus, Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate, 9.4-5	1911	
Birmingham, University Library, Mingana 585A	1932	Copied from Abbeloos – Lamy edition
Location unknown, collection Jacob Bar Butrus Saka 24	1935	
Midyat, Monastery of Mor Gabriel ²²	1953	
Midyat, Monastery of Mor Gabriel ²³	1965	
Spanga, collection Assad Sauma	1983	
Location unknown, coll. Butrus Saba	undated	
Location unknown, coll. J.P.P. Martin	undated	

Table 3: Manuscripts containing only the *Chronography*

MANUSCRIPT	DATE	RELATION TO OTHERS
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 52	14 th cent. (?)	First part of Dd. 3.8
Vatican City, Vatican library, syr. 167	before 1660/1 ²⁴	
Deir al-Zafaran	before 1865 ²⁵	
Damascus, Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate	before 1865 ²⁶	
Midyat, Monastery of Mor Gabriel ²⁷	1966	
Kharput, coll. Metr. 'Abd al-Nur Aslan	undated	

²¹ New shelf mark in the Virtual Hill Museum & Manuscript Library: <https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/136292>

²² See <https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/122908>

²³ See <https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/122816>

²⁴ Note on f. 182v. See notes and colophons in the appendix.

²⁵ Used by Stephan of Jezireh for his Arabic translation in 1865 A.D. See TAKAHASHI, 2005: 295.

²⁶ In his Arabic translation Stephan of Jezireh says he has been informed about the existence of this manuscript. The source of this information is unknown. TAKAHASHI 2005: 295.

²⁷ See <https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/122894>

The total number of manuscripts is 34, distributed as follows: six copies of the entire *Chronicle*, 22 copies of the *Ecclesiastical History* and six copies of the *Chronography*. A substantial part of the tradition of the *Ecclesiastical History* (15 out of 22 MSS) consists of late-19th century copies and although it has been occasionally claimed that the modern exemplars of the *Chronicle* should be considered too for a critical edition,²⁸ the chances that these manuscripts are copies of ancient exemplars is very slim. Indeed, of the fifteen modern manuscripts mentioned above, at least four prove to be copies of the printed edition. Several aspects suggest that those four are not the only copies based on the edition.

The first hint comes from the transmission history itself: from the table above a gap in the chronology of copying appears between the early 17th and the late 19th centuries. The beginning of the gap coincides with the transfer of the oldest manuscripts to Europe and its end with the appearance of the first printed edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* (1872-1877).²⁹ Indeed, MS Or. 366 was part of the collection that Ignatius Na'matallah³⁰ took with him when he travelled to Italy in 1576 A.D.³¹ The Oxford manuscripts were transferred to Europe in 1681 A.D. by Robert Huntington when he resigned his post of chaplain at the Levant Company in Aleppo.³² The library fund of MS St. Mark Monastery in Jerusalem was established between the 16th and 17th centuries³³ and consequently the Jerusalem manuscript should have been already stored there back then, quite removed from Tur Abdin, which was the major center of copy of Syriac manuscripts during the Ottoman Empire.³⁴ From then on that manuscript could have hardly been the antigraph of further copies. MS Vat. syr. 166 was found by the Maronite Andrea Scandar during the expedition funded by Pope Clemens XI, in 1718 A.D.³⁵ Finally, MS Add. 7198 was transferred to Europe in 1820 A.D.³⁶ It appears that the oldest manuscripts preserved were all found and taken away by European collectors in the time span between the 16th and 18th centuries which is precisely when the production of copies in the East actually stopped. This suggests there were no or very few copies of the text available in the East in this period.

²⁸ WITAKOWSKI 2006: 63.

²⁹ ABBELOOS – LAMY 1872-1877.

³⁰ Syrian Orthodox Patriarch (1557-1576). He moved to Rome after his abdication in 1576 A.D.

³¹ FANI – FARINA 2012: 57-60.

³² HUNT – MADAN, 1895-1953.

³³ BROCK et al. 2005: 269-270

³⁴ The study of notes and colophons discloses that also the *Chronicle* was copied and circulated in a quite limited area of the Tur Abdin, between Ḥesno d-Kifo, Ḥaḥ and Mardin. See appendix.

³⁵ ASSEMANI, 1756-1759: xxiii. MORONI, 1840-1861.

³⁶ WRIGHT, 1870-1872: vii-x; RICH, 1836: 311.

There are further indications to support this conclusion. When the European collectors started looking for Syriac manuscripts in Syria and Tur Abdin, no manuscripts of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* should have been available at that time. Indeed, according to Alphonse Mingana the antigraph of MS *Ming.* 192AB was either lost or stored in the St. Mark Monastery in Jerusalem.³⁷ This statement betrays that when Mingana found MS *Ming.* 192AB, no other codex was available in the regions Mingana visited, which made him suppose that the possible antigraph might be lost or stored in Jerusalem, a peripheral area where the European collectors were not looking for manuscripts. Moreover both MS *Konat* 220 (1894 A.D.) and MS *Ming.* 585 (1932 A.D.) were copied by the deacon Matthew Bar Paul and the latter is a copy of the Abbeloos – Lamy edition.³⁸ This strongly suggests that also MS *Konat* 220 reproduced the printed edition, since if Matthew had had already access to an old manuscript in 1894 A.D. he would not have recurred to the edition for the *Ming.* 585 copy in 1932 A.D. Finally, Matthew copied the *Ming.* 585 in Mosul, an area where finding ancient exemplars of a work by Bar 'Ebroyo should have been easy;³⁹ if he used the printed edition, it means that there were no more manuscripts of the *Ecclesiastical History* around.

In the light of all these considerations, the chances that the 19th-20th century copies are based on old manuscripts drop consistently and it can be assumed that, among the manuscripts we have today, the number of apographs of ancient exemplar is limited. This has two relevant consequences: first, the number of manuscripts eligible for a critical edition is limited to the European exemplars. Second, the interpretation of the circulation of the work as an exceptional case in the genre should be at least nuanced. The manuscripts actually copied from old exemplars, i.e. the manuscripts produced until the 18th century, amount to 10 exemplars.⁴⁰ The *Chronicle* of Bar 'Ebroyo had

³⁷ 'The old manuscript from which he transcribed the present one is apparently lost, unless it be the one preserved in our days in the Syrian Orthodox monastery of St. Mark, in Jerusalem'. MINGANA, 1933-1939: 422.

³⁸ BROCK 1969: 219-221.

³⁹ The oldest manuscripts of Bar 'Ebroyo's works were copied and stored first in the region around Mosul, where he mostly spent his years as maphrian. See manuscripts sections in TAKAHASHI, 2005. The library of the Monastery of Mor Matay, where Bar 'Ebroyo dwelt contained, indeed, all his writings already in 1298 (scribal note in MS *Berlin*, *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, *Sachau* 326).

⁴⁰ *Vatican City, Vatican Library*, syr. 166

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Sachau 210

Jerusalem, St. Mark Monastery, 211

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 1

Cambridge, University Library, Dd 3.8+Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 52 (originally one single manuscript)

Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Orientale 366

therefore a rather limited circulation in ancient times, even though it circulated more widely than other historiographical works. However, this cannot be ascribed to a different perception of the historiographical genre by the Syriac audience but it is part of a phenomenon of general interest in Bar ‘Ebroyo’s literature, due to the compilatory and accessible nature of his writing in a period of limited literary production.⁴¹

1.1.2 The Division between *Chronography* and *Ecclesiastical History*

Part of the textual tradition attests to an independent transmission of the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* which eventually led to the two parts being edited separately. Afterwards, a number of scholars have tended to treat them as different works, and occasionally interpreted the division of the *Chronicle* in two distinct volumes as a deliberate choice of Bar ‘Ebroyo⁴². However, a closer look at the textual tradition reveals a different scenario. Most of the manuscripts including only the *Ecclesiastical History* are 19th-20th century manuscripts which are presumably copies of the printed edition. The 14th century MS Dd. 3.8 was part of the same codex as MS Hunt. 52 which thus originally contained both *Chronography* and *Ecclesiastical History*.⁴³ Accordingly, it can be argued that the oldest manuscripts including only the *Ecclesiastical History* are limited to four codices.⁴⁴ A scribal note in MS Or. 366, the oldest of these four exemplars, sheds light on the reasons of such exceptions.

MS Or. 366 (f. 1r)

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. [] | [] |
| 2. From [] this book | ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ [] |
| 3. of the Chronicle [which he composed] in Syriac, | ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ [ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ] |

Damascus, collection Patr. Ignatius Zacchaeus I ‘Iwaṣ
 Istanbul, collection Petrus Fehim, 7
 London, British Library, Additional 7198.
 Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 383-388

⁴¹ For the Syrian Orthodox production after Bar ‘Ebroyo see BARSOU 2003: 482-524.

⁴² AIGLE, 2005: 93; DUVAL 1899: 198, WITAKOWSKI 2007: 267.

⁴³ The manuscript was probably split up to accommodate the supplementary material to the civil and ecclesiastical part because the hand of the restorer is the same in both the manuscripts. MS Add. 7198 was copied from the MS Dd. 3.8 after the manuscript had been already dismembered. See below.

⁴⁴ MSS Or. 366, Zakka I ‘Iwaṣ, Fehim 7, Add. 7198 contain only the *Ecclesiastical History*. See Table 2. MS Vat. syr. 167 contains only the *Chronography*. See Table 3.

4. he himself, the one who is in the Beth Qad(ishē), translated	ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ
5. into the Saracen ⁴⁵ language except for the book	ܕܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ
6. of the Ecclesiastical History.	ܕܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ
7. We have that Chronicle in Arabic and therefore	ܕܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ
8. we did not need the first part	ܕܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ
9. of the book, corresponding to the time and []	ܕܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ

According to the note, the manuscript was copied from a model which included both parts. A further indication is that the first folio (f.1r) contains a part, conveniently shortened, of the general preface preceding the *Chronography*. Evidently, the scribe has intentionally omitted the *Chronography* because it was available in Arabic⁴⁶, whereas the *Ecclesiastical History* was not.

One more detail strongly suggests that the original manuscript included both parts: Barsoum, Bar ‘Ebroyo’s brother, listing Bar ‘Ebroyo’s works in the appendix to the *Ecclesiastical History*⁴⁷, presents the *Chronicle* as follows:

The book which (I) have in hand that is the Chronicle	ܕܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܩܕܝܫܐ
-------------------------------------------------------	-------------------------

If Barsoum, while attaching an appendix to the *Ecclesiastical History*, asserts that he is writing directly on the book of the *Chronicle*, he evidently possessed a volume containing both parts, and the work had therefore been conceived in a unique volume already by his brother. Finally, the preface that precedes the *Chronography* was definitely meant to introduce the reader to the entire *Chronicle* because Bar ‘Ebroyo refers in it to both parts.⁴⁸

Hence, the codicological evidence proves on the one hand that the separate transmission of the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* is limited to very few exceptions. On the other hand, the separation is due to a later development of the

⁴⁵ i.e. Arabic . Evidences that the term is used for Arabic language are found in ABBELOOS – LAMY 1872-1877: I. 275, II.581, II. 369, III. 469, III. 477.

⁴⁶ On the misleading interpretation of the *History of the Dynasties* as an Arabic translation of the *Chronicle* see below.

⁴⁷ ABBELOOS – LAMY 1872-1877: III. 479.

⁴⁸ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Chronicle*: 1T-1V.

textual tradition and it does not correspond to the original intention of the author, who shaped and published his *Chronicle* as a unique work, albeit structured in two parts. As I mentioned above, this bears significant consequences for the literary analysis of the work. The choice to publish both parts in the same volume might imply the intention on the part of Bar ‘Ebroyo to conceive them as components of one single work. Moreover, the abundant information on Bar ‘Ebroyo’s life and literary activity allows us to study his production also in a diachronical perspective. Scholars approaching the historiographical analysis of the *Chronography* or the *Ecclesiastical History* should reckon with the fact that the author composed both of them in the same period, and most likely, using the same sources.

1.1.3 The Continuations

Both the civil and the ecclesiastical parts of Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Chronicle* were continued by anonymous scribes from the point where Bar ‘Ebroyo stopped (1285 A.D.) up to the late 15th century. Such continuations shed light on a period of the history of Syriac Christianity for which we lack reliable sources. The continuations included in the printed edition have been referred to by historians but a detailed analysis, addressing also the continuations included in the manuscripts not used for the edition is still largely to be done. Besides having an intrinsic value as historical sources, the continuations can also help to trace the transmission history of the main text. As I shall show shortly, the information derived from the analysis of the continuations allows detecting two branches of the textual transmission (Redaction I and Redaction II) and the mutual relations between the manuscripts within the branches themselves. These data are corroborated by the readings emerging from the *collatio* of the manuscripts, illustrated below.

Table 4: Overview of the continuations

MANUSCRIPT	CONTINUED UP TO
Vatican City, <i>Biblioteca Vaticana</i> , syr. 166	<i>Chronography</i> > 1288/9 <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (Syrian Orthodox) > 1493 <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (East Syrian) > 1496
Florence, <i>Biblioteca Laurenziana</i> , <i>Oriente</i>	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (Syrian Orthodox) > 1493 ⁴⁹

⁴⁹ The alleged continuation up to year 1576 (TAKAHASHI 2005: 293) consists actually of some scant notes added later in the last page by the Patriarch Na‘matallah. See possible analogies with the *Catalogus Patriarcharum Sedis Antiochenae a Chaldaico in Latinum conversus* (1581) see HAYEK 2013: 49.

366	
Jerusalem, St. Mark Monastery, 211	<i>Chronography</i> > 1492 <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (Syrian Orthodox) > 1495/6 <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (East Syrian) > 1496
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 1	<i>Chronography</i> > 1288/9 <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> > 1284/5
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 52 Cambridge, University Library, Dd 3.8	<i>Chronography</i> > 1492 <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (Syrian Orthodox) > 1495/6 <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (East Syrian) > 1496
London, British Library, Additional 7198	<i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (Syrian Orthodox) > 1495/6 <i>Ecclesiastical History</i> (East Syrian) > 1496
Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, syr. 167	<i>Chronography</i> > 1492

This overview shows clearly that the continuations are rather uniform. As I shall argue, the continuations of the *Chronography* exist only in one part of the tradition (Redaction II). They are most likely the work of successive authors who continued the *Chronicle* in different stages: the final, multi-layered text was then copied in block from one codex to the other and it is in fact identical in all the manuscripts. The *Ecclesiastical History* was instead expanded by a unique author, probably at the end of the 15th century, who continued both in the Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian part from the beginning of the 14th century (successors of Philoxenus Nemrud for the first part and successors of Barsoum for the second one) up to the patriarchate/maphrianate of Noah the Lebanese (ca. 1493). The following subsections provide synoptic views of the continuations of the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* respectively.

1.1.3.1 The Continuations of the *Chronography*

Table 5: Continuations of the *Chronography*⁵⁰

□ Scribe 1 ■ Scribe 2

REDACTION I		REDACTION II		
VAT. SYR. 166 (<1356/7)	HUNT. 1 (ca. 1498)	ST. MARK 211 (<1503)	HUNT. 52 (14 TH CENT.)	VAT. SYR. 167 (<1660/1)
Beginning- 1284	Beginning- 1284	Beginning- 1284	Beginning- 1284	Beginning- 1284
Argon son of Aqaba (1284)	Argon son of Aqaba (1284)	Argon son of Aqaba (1284)	Argon son of Aqaba (1284)	Argon son of Aqaba (1284)
Murder of Shams al-Din (1284-1288/9)	Murder of Shams al-Din (1284-1288/9)	Murder of Shams al-Din (1284- 1288/9)	Murder of Shams al-Din (1284-1288/9)	Murder of Shams al-Din (1284-1288/9)
		After Argon (1292-1295)	After Argon (1292-1295)	After Argon (1292-1295)
		Beginning of the short kingdom of Baydu (d. 1295)	Beginning of the short kingdom of Baydu (d. 1295)	Beginning of the short kingdom of Baydu (d. 1295)
		Beginning of the kingdom of Ghazan (1295- 1304)	Beginning of the kingdom of Ghazan (1295- 1304)	Beginning of the kingdom of Ghazan (1295- 1304)
		Death of Nawruz (Ghazan reign)	Death of Nawruz (Ghazan reign)	Death of Nawruz (Ghazan reign)
				History of Hethum king of Cilicia (1296)
				Capture of Amid (1317)
		Expedition of the	Expedition of the	Expedition of

⁵⁰ For some notices on the authors and the content of the continuations Expedition of the Huns, Devastation of Tur Abdin by Timur and Continuation of the Chronicle (1394-1492) see FIEY 1988.

		Huns (1394)	Huns (1394)	the Huns (1394)
		Devastation of Tur Abdin by Timur (1397)	Devastation of Tur Abdin by Timur (1397)	Devastation of Tur Abdin by Timur (1397)
		Continuation of the Chronicle (1394-1492)	Continuation of the Chronicle (1394-1492)	Continuation of the Chronicle (1394-1492)

This table allows us to draw the following conclusions: first, all the manuscripts, including the oldest one (*Vat. syr.* 166), contain the continuation up to the year 1288, which suggests that this part was attached to the *Chronography* right after Bar ‘Ebroyo’s death (possibly by his brother Barsoum).

The subsequent continuations are included only in MSS *St. Mark* 211, *Hunt.* 52 and *Vat. syr.* 167. The text is identical in all the mentioned manuscripts with the exception of MS *Vat. syr.* 167 which contains two interpolations (the *History of Hethum* and the *Capture of Amid*). From the codicological study of MS *Vat. syr.* 167 it emerged that after the passage on the *Death of Nawruz*, the copyist added a new quire⁵¹ to make room for possible additional material on the 90 years between *Ghazan’s reign* and the *Expedition of the Huns*. The two notes on Hethum and Amid were apparently the only information he found, since the last three folios of the quire were left blank. In short, these two notes attested only in MS *Vat. syr.* 167 are probably later additions, while all the rest is identical in all the manuscripts. The uniformity of the continuations suggests that the texts were transmitted from a codex to the other as one since the hypothesis that different scribes put together the very same miscellaneous material independently is implausible. This implies that these three manuscripts (*St. Mark* 211, *Hunt.* 52, *Vat. syr.* 167) belong to the same family (Redaction II).

The study of the continuations allows detecting also the mutual relation of the manuscripts within the Redaction II. MS *Vat. syr.* 167 is most likely the youngest since the handwriting of the main text is the same of the continuation, and therefore the manuscript was copied after the continuations were added in its antigraph. The antigraph is most likely the *Hunt.* 52 since a relation between this manuscript and MS *Vat. syr.* 167 has indeed long been pointed out⁵² and the presence in *Vat. syr.* 167 of the only *Chronography* might be explained by the fact that it was copied from *Hunt.* 52 after the latter was already split up.

⁵¹ The new quire starts at f. 171v which includes the *History of Hethum*.

⁵² LEVI DELLA VIDA 1950: 184.

As to the original manuscript of the *Chronicle* MS *Hunt.* 52+Dd. 3.8, it was certainly dismembered to accommodate new quires containing the continuations from the *Death of Nawruz* up to the *Continuation of the Chronicle* (1394-1492 A.D.)⁵³. The first scribe, therefore, wrote the text up to the *Beginning of the kingdom of Ghazan* (1295-1304 A.D.), whereas the later continuations were apparently not yet available at that moment. This supports the dating of the manuscript to the 14th century previously suggested by Wright on a paleographical basis.⁵⁴

Although MS *St. Mark* 211 needs further paleographical investigation, at first sight it seems to be written by the same hand from the beginning to the *Devastation of Tur Abdin by Timur* (1397 A.D.), which suggests that the manuscript was copied after the 14th century and therefore it is later than MS *Hunt.* 52. Philological evidences, illustrated below, show that the main text of MS *St. Mark* 211 derives ultimately from MS *Hunt.* 52 albeit indirectly⁵⁵. The overview of the continuations confirms such a hypothesis: the scribe of *St. Mark* 211 already had at his disposal all the continuations up to the *Devastation of the Tur Abdin by Timur* (1397 A.D.) which were not yet included in the *Hunt.* 52. Accordingly, MS *St. Mark* 211 was copied from an apograph of MS *Hunt.* 52 to which this material had been added. After a later scribe had attached the *Continuation of the Chronicle* (1394-1492 A.D.) to MS *St. Mark* 211,⁵⁶ the whole block of the continuations landed back in MS *Hunt.* 52, which is proved by the fact that MS *Hunt.* 52 took over erroneously an independent scribal note of MS *St. Mark* 211 (dated to 1503 A.D.)⁵⁷ in the account *Devastation of Tur Abdin by Timur* (1397 A.D.).⁵⁸

To sum up, the *Chronography* was provided with a first continuation up to the year 1288 right after the death of Bar 'Ebroyo. The later continuations entered the manuscript tradition in at least three different moments which can be summarized in the following diagram:

⁵³ The numbering of quires and the paper type change.

⁵⁴ WRIGHT 1901: 979.

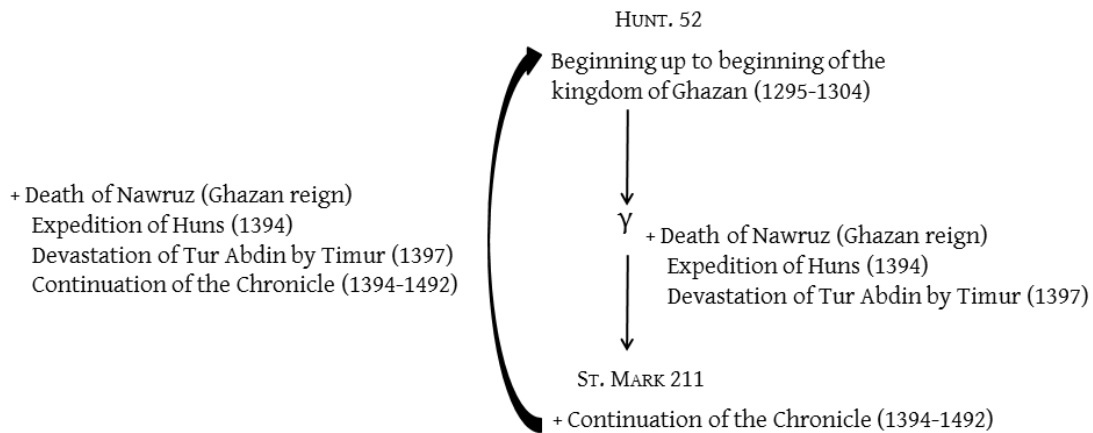
⁵⁵ See below.

⁵⁶ The handwriting of this portion seems different from the previous ones. For discussion on the author of this continuation see also note 16.

⁵⁷ MS *St. Mark.* 211. Note recording a meteor in 1503 (f.241r).

⁵⁸ MS *Hunt.* 52. *Devastation of Tur Abdin by Timur* (f.174v).

Fig. 1: Diagram of the Continuations of the *Chronography*



What is relevant for the assessment of a *stemma codicum* is that the presence of the civil continuations only in three manuscripts (*Hunt. 52*, *Vat. syr. 167*, *St. Mark 211*) confirms that they belong to the same branch of the transmission (Redaction II). The MS *Hunt. 52* contained only the continuations up to the 1304 A.D., which corroborates Wright's paleographical dating of the manuscript to the 14th century. The philological data of the *collatio*, illustrated in subsection 1.4 will suggest that MS *St. Mark 211* derived from MS *Hunt. 52* through an intermediary and this dovetails with the outcomes of the analysis of the continuations: the copyist of MS *St. Mark 211* had indeed access to later continuations which were not yet included in the *Hunt. 52* and therefore they had to derive from an intermediary (γ in the *stemma*). A later scribe added in MS *St. Mark 211* the Continuation 1394-1492 A.D. The entire 'stock' of additional material included in MS *St. Mark 211* passed again to MS *Hunt. 52* after the end of the 15th century which is shown by that MS *Hunt. 52* took over erroneously a scribal independent historical note of MS *St. Mark 211* (dated to 1503 A.D.) in the account *Devastation of Tur Abdin by Timur* (1397 A.D.).

1.1.3.2 The Continuations of the *Ecclesiastical History*

Table 6: Continuations of the *Ecclesiastical History*⁵⁹

□ Scribe 1 ■ Scribe 2

REDACTION I			REDACTION II		
VAT. SYR. 166. (1365/7)	OR. 366 (<1558)	HUNT. 1 (CA. 1498)	S. MARK 211 (<1503)	DD. 3.8. (14 TH CENT.)	ADD. 7198 (16 TH CENT.)
Syrian Orthodox	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian Orthodox	Syrian Orthodox
Beginning- Philoxenus Nemrud (1284/5)	Beginning- Philoxenus Nemrud (1284/5)	Beginning- Philoxenus Nemrud (1284/5)	Beginning- Philoxenus Nemrud (1284/5)	Beginning- Philoxenus Nemrud (1284/5)	Beginning- Philoxenus Nemrud (1284/5)
After Philoxenus Nemrud, Ignatius of Mardin (1292/3)	After Philoxenus Nemrud, Ignatius of Mardin (1292/3)		After Philoxenus Nemrud three illegitimates (patriarchs)	After Philoxenus Nemrud three illegitimates (patriarchs)	After Philoxenus Nemrud three illegitimates (patriarchs)
John Ismael	John Ismael		John Ismael	John Ismael	John Ismael
			Basil Gabriel	Basil Gabriel	Basil Gabriel
Shahab	Shahab		Shahab	Shahab	Shahab
Abraham bar Garib	Abraham bar Garib		Abraham Bar Garib	Abraham Bar Garib	Abraham Bar Garib
			Philoxenus the Scribe	Philoxenus the Scribe	Philoxenus the Scribe
			Joshua of Midyat	Joshua of Midyat	Joshua of Midyat
Behnam of Ḥadl	Behnam of Ḥadl		Behnam of Ḥadl	Behnam of Ḥadl	Behnam of Ḥadl
			Mas'ud of	Mas'ud of	Mas'ud of

⁵⁹ The table provides the parallel lists of the headings introducing the entries dedicated to the various patriarchs.

			Ṣalah	Ṣalah	Ṣalah
			Enoch of 'Aynwardo	Enoch of 'Aynwardo	Enoch of 'Aynwardo
			Simon of Beth Man'em	Simon of Beth Man'em	Simon of Beth Man'em
			Qawmo of Beth Sbirino	Qawmo of Beth Sbirino	Qawmo of Beth Sbirino
Qalaph of Ma'dan	Qalaph of Ma'dan		Qalaph of Ma'dan	Qalaph of Ma'dan	Qalaph of Ma'dan
			Joshua of 'Aynwardo	Joshua of 'Aynwardo	Joshua of 'Aynwardo
			'Aziz bar Sobto	'Aziz bar Sobto	'Aziz bar Sobto
Bar Shayallah	Bar Shayallah				
			Shabo of Arbo	Shabo of Arbo	Shabo of Arbo
			John Bar Quphar	John Bar Quphar	John Bar Quphar
Noah the Lebanese	Noah the Lebanese				
East Syrian	East Syrian	East Syrian	East Syrian	East Syrian	East Syrian
Beginning- 1285		Beginning - 1285	Beginning - 1285	Beginning - 1285	Beginning - 1285
Hence forward the brother of the author		Hence forward the brother of the author	Hence forward the brother of the author	Hence forward the brother of the author	Hence forward the brother of the author
Narration of the death of Bar 'Ebroyo		Narration of the death of Bar 'Ebroyo	Narration of the death of Bar 'Ebroyo	Narration of the death of Bar 'Ebroyo	Narration of the death of Bar 'Ebroyo
After Grigorios (Bar 'Ebroyo) Barsoum and all the successions of the maphrian until Noah the Lebanese (1493-)			After Grigorios (Bar 'Ebroyo) Barsoum and all the successions of the maphrian until Noah the Lebanese (1493-)	After Grigorios (Bar 'Ebroyo) Barsoum and all the successions of the maphrian until Noah the Lebanese (1493-)	After Grigorios (Bar 'Ebroyo) Barsoum and all the successions of the maphrian until Noah the Lebanese (1493-)

Unlike the *Chronography*, the additions to the *Ecclesiastical History* appear in all the manuscripts mentioned above, with the exception of MS *Hunt. 1*.⁶⁰ As regards the Syrian Orthodox part of the *Ecclesiastical History*, the sequences and the texts are always identical until the year 1285 A.D. when the patriarchate of Philoxenus Nemrud begins. This part has to be ascribed to Bar ‘Ebroyo.

After Philoxenus Nemrud the first variation in the sequence occurs. The passage *After Philoxenus Nemrud three illegitimates (patriarchs)* included in MSS *St. Mark 211, Dd. 3.8* and *Add. 7198* provides a more detailed account of the consecration of the concurrent patriarchs Ignatius Constantine and Ignatius Michael II during the legitimate patriarchate of Ignatius of Mardin (1294-1333 A.D.) while the MSS *Vat. syr. 166* and *Or. 366* give a different account focused on the latter (*After Philoxenus Nemrud, Ignatius of Mardin*).

In the following sequences (between John of Ismael and Ignatius bar Shayallah) the content is the same in the entire tradition: all the manuscripts provide the same narration about the Mardin Patriarchs, the patriarchs of Sis and the Tur Abdin patriarchs until the year 1493. However, MSS *Vat. syr. 166* and *Or. 366* structured the passages only under the sequence of the Mardin patriarchs (John Ismael, Shahab, Abraham bar Garib, Behnam of Ḥadl, Qalaph of Ma’dan) apparently recognized as the only legitimate ones while MSS *St. Mark 211, Dd. 3.8* and *Add. 7198* gather the narrative also under the sequences of the patriarchs of Sis (Basil Gabriel, Philoxenus the Scribe, Simon of Beth Man’em) and Tur Abdin patriarchs (Joshua of Midyat, Mas’ud of Ṣalaḥ, Enoch of ‘Aynwardo, Qawmo of Beth Sbirino, Joshua of ‘Aynwardo, ‘Aziz bar Sobto, Shabo of Arbo, John Bar Quphar) as in the following example:

MS VAT. SYR. 166 ⁶¹	MS ADD. 7198
AFTER IGNATIUS OF MARDIN, I.E. JOHN BADR ZACCHAEUS ISMAEL, SON OF JOHN BROTHER OF THE ELDER DEFUNCT.	AFTER IGNATIUS OF MARDIN, I.E. JOHN BADR ZACCHAEUS ISMAEL, SON OF JOHN BROTHER OF THE ELDER DEFUNCT.
After Badr Zacchaeus had died, a synod was gathered in the	After Badr Zacchaeus had died, a synod was gathered in the

⁶⁰ The bulk and the binding made the codex difficult to dismember in order to make space for the additions. This is a further clue that the continuations were composed probably at the end of the 15th century, since the scribes of MS *Hunt. 1* (1498) did not know this text yet.

⁶¹ MS *Or. 366* gives a shortened version most likely derived from MS *Vat. syr. 166* or its antigraph. See also VALENZANO 2014.

monastery of Mor Hananiah, near Mardin. The bishop Barsoum of Şalah, head of the synod, John of Qartmin i.e. Joshua Bar Sophro of Beth Sbirino, Philoxenus of Mbadre, i.e. Se'red, the bishop Sobo of the monastery of Noṭopho, Cyril of Ḥaḥ, i.e. Simon Aelian and the bishop of the Armenians of the dioceses of Mardin consecrated John of Amid, i.e. Ismael al-Majad, son of John deacon of Mardin, and they called him Ignatius...

A dispute arose between the patriarch Ismael and the maphrian Matthew Bar Ḥananw... The maphrian suppressed the proclamation of that patriarch for four years and proclaimed that of Cilicia (Michael II). The patriarch Michael II of Sis sent gifts to the maphrian but afterwards the peace was established between the maphrian and our father patriarch of Mardin and he was proclaimed in the entire East and in the region of Mosul, while that (patriarch) of Sis was proclaimed in the West, in the further North-East, in Maragheh, Tabriz and Azerbaijan...Mor Michael of Sis reached his end and died in the year 1660 of the Greeks, and fulfilled the patriarchate for 36 years. After he died the western bishops gathered in Melitene, i.e. the bishop of Cyprus, that of Jerusalem, that of Gargar, the bishop of Aleppo and Philoxenus of Damascus, an able and skillful writer. From there they went to Sis and proclaimed this Basil patriarch of Antioch and Syria...

monastery of Mor Hananiah, near Mardin. The bishop Barsoum of Şalah, head of the synod, John of Qartmin i.e. Joshua, Bar Sophro of Beth Sbirino, Philoxenus of Mbadre, i.e. Se'red, the bishop Sobo of the monastery of Noṭopho, Cyril of Ḥaḥ, i.e. Simon Aelian and the bishop of the Armenians of Mardin consecrated John of Amid, i.e. Ismael al-Majad, son of John deacon of Mardin, and they called him Ignatius...

A dispute arose between the patriarch Ismael and the maphrian Matthew Bar Ḥananw... The maphrian suppressed the proclamation of the patriarch for four years and proclaimed that of Cilicia (Michael II). The patriarch Michael II of Sis sent gifts to the maphrian but afterwards the peace was established between the maphrian and the patriarch of Mardin and he was proclaimed in the entire East and in the region of Mosul, while that (patriarch) of Sis was proclaimed in the West, in the North-East, in Maragheh, Tabriz and Azerbaijan... Mor Michael II reached his end and died in the year 1660 of the Greeks, and fulfilled the patriarchate for 36 years.

AFTER MOR MICHAEL II, BASIL GABRIEL OF MELITENE

After the patriarch Michael died the western bishops gathered in Melitene i.e. the bishop of Cyprus and Jerusalem, that of Gargar, the

bishop of Aleppo and Philoxenus of Damascus, an able and skillful writer. From there they went to Sis and proclaimed this Basil patriarch of Syria in Antioch ...

The differences between the continuations of the manuscripts in the sequences between John of Ismael and Ignatius bar Shayallah, thus, do not relate to the actual content but they are purely structural.

Major additions and variations on the patriarch Ignatius bar Shayallah⁶² are instead found in MSS *St. Mark* 211, *Dd.* 3.8 and *Add.* 7198 against the version included in MSS *Vat. syr.* 166 and *Or.* 366. Likewise the account on the last patriarch Noah the Lebanese presents major additions in MSS *St. Mark* 211, *Dd.* 3.8 and *Add.* 7198 while MS *Or.* 366 does not provide any information and MS *Vat. syr.* 166 includes only a brief note about a visit to his family in Lebanon.

In short, since all the manuscripts share the identical source material from John Ismael (1333-1366 A.D.) to Bar Shayallah (1493), it is unlikely that the continuations were written by different authors, despite the structural discrepancies in the sequences. It is instead more plausible that the continuation was written by one single author and that it was a) structurally re-arranged and b) extended in the account of the successor(s) of Philoxenus Nemrud and of the last two patriarchs John Bar Shayallah and Noah the Lebanese, as found in MSS *St. Mark* 211, *Dd.* 3.8 and *Add.* 7198 which accordingly prove to belong to the same branch of the tradition (Redaction II).

As to the dating, the continuations after Philoxenus are always the work of a later scribe⁶³ except for MS *Add.* 7198 (16th cent.) which was thus copied from a MS that contained both *Ecclesiastical History* and additions. The absence of the continuation in MS *Hunt.* 1 (1498 A.D.) which could not be dismembered to accommodate new quires,⁶⁴ the fact that all of them stop with the patriarchate of Noah the Lebanese and that they were not yet available earlier than the 16th century lead us to suppose that the continuation was accomplished under the patriarchate of Noah at the end of the 15th century.

⁶² Independent historical notes added by later scribes are found in MS *Dd.* 3.8 (ff. 78r-90r). Among this material it is included also a detailed biography of the patriarch Bar Shayallah (ff. 81r-90r). This account is not the same text of the one included in the continuations, though mutual relations cannot be excluded. See PALMER 2007. For a photographic reproduction and translation of this biography see BCHEIRY 2015.

⁶³ In all the manuscripts new quires are added for the continuations after Philoxenus Nemrud.

⁶⁴ See note 54.

The continuations of the East Syrian part of the *Ecclesiastical History* are unvaried in the entire tradition. The narration of Bar 'Ebroyo stops in 1285 A.D, as in the first part. Bar 'Ebroyo's brother, Barsoum covered the account of the death of Bar 'Ebroyo and the information on his own maphrianate. The following sequences and narrative are identical in all the manuscripts, confirming that the entire continuation of the East Syrian part is the work of one single author.

Last, it is possible to suppose also that both continuations of the Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian parts of the *Ecclesiastical History* were work of the same author, since they cover the identical timespan and they surely began to circulate together.⁶⁵

To sum up, likely one single author composed the continuations to both parts of the *Ecclesiastical History* around the beginning of the patriarchate of Noah the Lebanese (1493 A.D.); the continuation of the Syrian Orthodox part has been a) reworked structurally in the account from John Ismael (1333-1366 A.D.) to Bar Shayallah (1493 A.D.), and b) expanded, at the beginning, in the account of the successor(s) of Philoxenus Nemrud, and, at the end, in the account of the last two patriarchs Bar Shayallah and Noah the Lebanese, in one branch of the transmission (Redaction II). Since the ecclesiastical continuations were probably the work of the same author and all the continuations (both civil and ecclesiastical) were attached to the main text at a later moment, the *Chronicle* did not undergo any reworking by the continuator.

1.1.4 Stemma codicum

The information derived from the analysis just undertaken supports the results of the *collatio* carried out for the main text, which will be set forth in what follows.⁶⁶ According to the information gathered about the textual tradition, it seemed sufficient to rely only on the oldest manuscripts, because, as it has been shown, the possibility that the 19th-20th century copies are based on old manuscripts is quite limited. The *collatio* has been based on the oldest copies except for MS *Sachau* 210 which is incomplete.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ In the MSS *Dd.* 3.8, *St. Mark.* 211, *Vat. syr.* 166 both the continuations are written by the same copyist.

⁶⁶ The *collatio* has been focused only on the *Ecclesiastical History* which is the object of my doctoral research. The setting up of a definitive *stemma* would benefit from a closer investigation on the manuscripts of the *Chronography*.

⁶⁷ See note 11, p. 11.

V= *Vatican City, Vatican Library*, syr. 166 (<1356/7)

J= Jerusalem, St. Mark Monastery, 211 (<1503)

O= Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 1 (ca. 1498)

F= Florence, Laurentian Library, Orientale 366 (<1558)

C= Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 3.8 (14th century) (originally part of MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 52)

H= *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 52* (14th century) (originally part of MS *Cambridge, University Library, Dd 3.8*)

L= Abbeloos – Lamy edition= *London, British Library, Additional 7198* (16th century)⁶⁸

The *collatio*, carried out between the manuscripts V, J, O, F, C⁶⁹ and the Abbeloos – Lamy edition on the basis of a sample text (*Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 1-101) has produced 42 different readings. Orthographical and stylistic variants have not been considered since they cannot be used safely as hint of affinity between the manuscripts. For a preliminary classification of the manuscripts the communality of error has been applied, according to the traditional stemmatic method. However, the rather flat textual transmission and the absence of significant common *lacunae*⁷⁰ requires the use of supplementary elements to determine the mutual relation of the manuscripts. For this reason, in what follows it will be given a taxonomic grouping of the different readings. As it will be shown, the classification resulted from this method dovetails with the results of the study on the continuations. The following table gives an overview of:

a) The 42 readings that do not match with the edition (Different Readings). To give but one example, V-F-O: 11 means that in 11 cases these manuscripts share a reading which is different from the Abbeloos – Lamy edition (= L) and the manuscripts C and J as in the following example:⁷¹

C-J-L	חָדָשׁ וְיָמֵי מַלְכוּתָם עֲשָׂרָה וְאַרְבָּעִים	After Zadok, Jehozadak for 24 years
V-F-O	חָדָשׁ וְיָמֵי מַלְכוּתָם עֲשָׂרָה	After Zadok, Jehozadak for 20 years

⁶⁸ The Abbeloos-Lamy edition is referred to with L in the tables, being a diplomatic transcription of that manuscript.

⁶⁹ The readings of C are taken from the appendix of the printed edition.

⁷⁰ Most of the lacunae are actually homeoteleuton which can well occur separately in different manuscripts.

⁷¹ Note that in other examples, when V-F-O agree, the remaining manuscripts, C and J, might a) share the reading of the edition b) have a different common reading, and c) give two different readings.

b) The statistics of agreement between the manuscripts (Agreements). To give but one example, V-F-O-C: 11 means that these manuscripts agree 11 times against the edition.

Table 7: Overview of the Manuscripts Readings (Abbeloos – Lamy edition, col. I. 1-101)

DIFFERENT READINGS FROM L	AGREEMENTS BETWEEN MANUSCRIPTS
V-F-O-C-J: 5	V-F-O-C: 11
V-F-O-C: 6	V-F-O: 22
V-F-O: 11	C-J-L: 24
V-O: 6	V-O: 28
C-J: 3	J-L: 32
O: 4	
C: 2	
J: 2	
V: 2	
F: 1	

The cases of agreement above mentioned allows detecting a strong affinity between two groups of manuscripts (V-F-O= Redaction I and C-J-L= Redaction II). This information matches what has been illustrated in the subsection concerning the continuations.

The high number of correspondences between J-L in readings unattested elsewhere (32) suggests a derivation of the manuscripts from a common antigraph.⁷² Also the manuscripts V-O agree in a high number of cases (28), 6 of which are shared readings unattested elsewhere. Also in this case a derivation from a common antigraph can be supposed⁷³. The consistency between the group V-F-O and C in 11 cases suggests that it was the antigraph of J and L (γ) that introduced further corruptions and that C should be placed higher in the stemma.⁷⁴ Such a hypothesis is also confirmed by the fact that J never differ from L in agreement with the group V-F-O. Last, F, J and O could not be source for any other attested copy since the former includes only the Syrian orthodox

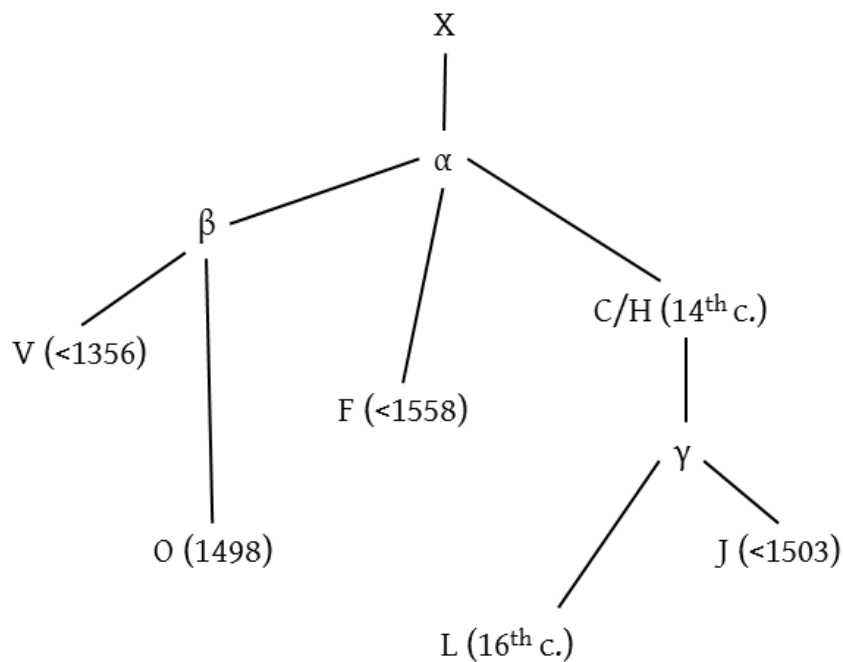
⁷² A direct derivation of L from J is unlikely since the scribe of J used to omit the name of the previous patriarch in the standard formula ‘After patriarch X, patriarch Y’. If copied from J, L should have had omitted the names as well.

⁷³ O cannot derive from V since in at least 2 cases V hands down a corrupted reading.

⁷⁴ This is a further clue that C is earlier than J.

part of the *Ecclesiastical History* and both J and O show some important lacunae⁷⁵. On the basis of the mentioned considerations the following *stemma* is proposed:

Fig. 2 *Stemma codicum*



1.2 The Reception History

1.2.1 The Reception in the *Nachleben*

The number of manuscripts of the *Chronicle* has been occasionally pointed at as an exception in the circulation of the genre,⁷⁶ as the other Syriac historiographical works have survived in only one copy. Whereas material accidents could have prevented a single work to be handed down, the dearth of transmission of an entire genre is to be

⁷⁵ See note 67. O is slightly incomplete in some parts. In both the cases the lacunae are not caused by later material accidents.

⁷⁶ TEULE 2006, WITAKOWSKI 2006, WITAKOWSKI 2007.

ascribed to cultural reasons, and the number of existing manuscripts can be assumed as evidence that a piece of work has been read and circulated among a wide public. Thus, the higher number of the copies of the *Chronicle* brings up the question as to a possible change in the perception and use of the historiographical genre after Bar 'Ebroyo. Studying the causes of the limited transmission of historiography as a genre inevitably has to deal with the risk of giving arguments *ex silentio*. Therefore, I limit myself to mentioning a number of competing factors, focusing on the concrete evidence given by the material context of the historiography transmission.⁷⁷ At the outset, one should distinguish the transmission of histories as full works or as excerpts. As mentioned above, Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian histories as full works have survived in only one copy.⁷⁸ Excerpts are instead more consistently preserved, though still to a minor extent than other genres.⁷⁹ As to the possible contexts of circulation, leaving aside the liturgical context to which historiographical genre does not apply to, I shall consider the educational circuit which worked as one of the main propeller for the copying of books.

There is no evidence in the sources that historiography entered the monastic or the scholastic training.⁸⁰ It has been argued that the monasteries initially inherited the Christian ascetic polemic against the values of the Greek *paideia* provided notably in urban environments.⁸¹ This would leave room to suppose that a genre as historiography originally stood among the disciplines perceived as mere secular vanities by the monks⁸² and therefore was not entitled to enter the standard monastic educational program which included only disciplines strictly related to the study of the Scriptures. Nevertheless, insomuch as the monasteries had progressively turned in to an urban phenomenon taking on the role of the city schooling, they also adopted the classical disciplines of rhetoric, grammar and philosophy,⁸³ reshaping them in a Christian guise.⁸⁴

⁷⁷ Muriel Debié has addressed the material context of the historiography manuscript tradition to understand the way historiography was read and composed. This section follows her suggestion. See DEBIÉ 2015a: 85-128.

⁷⁸ The only exception is the *History of Karka d-Bet Slokh* which is preserved in three old manuscripts and several 19th century copies. See DEBIÉ 2015: 606.

⁷⁹ For the textual tradition of Syriac historiography see the Appendixes in DEBIÉ 2015a.

⁸⁰ BERTI 2007, BERTI 2011, BETTILO 2012, DEBIÉ 2010a, KING 2015.

⁸¹ KING 2015. Further evidence is the attested contrast between monks and scholastics on the exegesis: any too speculative method of reading the Scriptures going beyond the spiritual search of God was firmly criticized by the monks. See BETTILO 2012. See also BECKER 2006, 169-203.

⁸² See e.g. the intertwining between rhetoric and historiography in Greek speaking milieu of the 4th century. See VAN NUFFELEN 2012: 76-82. For a later period see also CROKE 2010: 28-34.

⁸³ See e.g. the Monastery of Qenneshre which played a key role in the transmission of Greek pagan knowledge. See DEBIÉ 2010a: 142-143.

The inclusion of genres such as philosophy in the monastic curricula is corroborated by the existence of standardized handbooks that were vastly copied.⁸⁵ Jack Tannous has noted the consistence between the philosophical curriculum provided by Bar 'Ebroyo in his *Nomocanon* with the texts re-translated by Syrian Orthodox in the 8th century, arguing for the existence of a standardized curriculum of which Daniel King has found material evidence in the MS *Vat. syr.* 158.⁸⁶ Similarly, David Taylor has noted that the list of authors, including pagan ones, to be read according to Bar 'Ebroyo matches perfectly, also as to the order in which they are provided, two lists preserved in the MS *Par. syr.* 64 and MS *Add.* 14684. This ultimately suggests the existence of a canon text used for pedagogical purpose.⁸⁷ The textual transmission of historiography dovetails the silence of the sources in suggesting that indeed historiography had no part in the educational circuit. Along with the quite limited transmission of the works as a full, there are no evidences of standardized textbooks where historiographical excerpts are preserved. The manuscripts including these excerpts are rather of a random content and form, betraying that there was not a canon of historians to be read but historiography was only occasionally used by authors of *florilegia* as an ancillary matter. Historiographical excerpts were selectively embedded in larger collections mostly to corroborate or complement the spiritual aim of the collection itself.⁸⁸ The use of historiography as a source of *exempla*, formerly exploited in the rhetorical education, is here coupled with the spiritual goal of the *florilegium*. Such a phenomenon suggests that some kind of pedagogical value was acknowledged to historiography but that it did not reach such a status as to get included in official curricula, neither in full nor in excerpted form. Moreover, even outside the official education circuit, the historiography remained mostly relegated as a marginal matter. This issue introduces us to another factor.

⁸⁴ In the Greek Christianity, a compromise between Christianity and the pagan genres dates back to Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus who formulated an educational code based on the use of classics congruous with the Christian ethics. See MARKOPOULOS 2008: 786.

⁸⁵ KING 2013.

⁸⁶ KING 2013: 64, TANNOUS 2013.

⁸⁷ TAYLOR 2008: 71.

⁸⁸ E.g. the selected passages from ecclesiastical historians in MS *Vat. syr.* 145 provide the historical background to the apologetic treatise of Elijah against the duality of the natures professed in Leo's Tome included at the beginning of the collection. Historiographical excerpts are found in MSS *Deir al-Surian* 28A, *Sachau* 315, *Add.* 12154, *Add.* 14541, *Add.* 17216, *Vat. syr.* 37, *Vat. syr.* 144, *Vat. syr.* 145. Cf. DEBIÉ 2015a: 112-119.

As a genre, historiography much suffered from the impact that the compilation culture of Late Antiquity⁸⁹ had on the transmission of literary works. The practice of excerpting and embedding the extracts in other writings, whether in *florilegia* or in new historiographies, often slackened or even stopped the copying of the original works. For instance, ecclesiastical histories were copied after the 6th century only in excerpted version. In the case of the Syriac translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* one single 5th century manuscript preserves the entire work, while all later codices (6th-9th cent.) hand down a list of selected extracts.⁹⁰ Similarly, the textual tradition of John of Ephesus and Pseudo-Zachariah each consist of one single 6th century manuscript preserving the full version and a (limited) number of later excerpts collections (6th-9th cent.).⁹¹ The embedding of earlier historiographical works in larger chronicles might have similarly affected the transmission. The *Chronicle* of Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, though being popular enough to be used independently by the later chroniclers Elias of Nisibis, Michael the Great and Anonymous 1234 has not survived independently. It comes as predictable that a genre like historiography which by its own nature had to rely on earlier accounts would be particularly affected by this phenomenon. Moreover, it has been mentioned that historiography was used in an excerpted form as an ancillary matter in larger *florilegia*, which ultimately suggests that, especially when addressed to the common, histories were not intended to be read as literary works *per se* and the complete knowledge of history remained mainly marginalized. In short, the trend of the textual transmission confirms that historiographies were not perceived as independent literary piece of works but rather deposits of historical and theological significance information to be used in *florilegia* and later chronicles.

On these premises the question arises as to what extent the *Chronicle* of Bar 'Ebroyo represents an exception. As illustrated above, the interpretation of the *Chronicle* as a unique case has to be at least toned down. Most of the manuscripts of the *Ecclesiastical History* likely consist of modern copies of the Abbeloos-Lamy edition, accomplished on the wake of the Syriac revival of 19th-20th century which prompted a substantial manuscript copying.⁹² The proliferation of manuscripts copies during this revival

⁸⁹ For a definition of compilation culture see ODORICO 1990, ODORICO 2011. For an overview of the role the excerpts played in the literary production of Late Antiquity and Middle Age see MORLET 2015. For Syriac see DEBIÉ 2015b.

⁹⁰ DEBIÉ 2015a: 505.

⁹¹ DEBIÉ 2015a: 532; 537-538.

⁹² The printing activity of the Syrian Orthodox Church started in the mid.19th century through the initiative of the patriarch Petrus IV and was resumed by Hanna Dolabani in 1947. TAŞĞIN- LANGER 2014. In pre-digital Syriac world, the printing should have been based on the anastatic reproduction

involved the entirety of Bar 'Ebroyo's production and thus it is not possible to speak of a specific renewed interest in historiography.⁹³

Screening our list, the manuscripts actually copied before the revival of the mid. 19th century amount to ten exemplars⁹⁴ which, though relative, still represents an exception in the genre. I already mentioned how the practice of retooling material from earlier works into new ones has often determined the disappearance of the works themselves. The political instability and the frequent pillage and raids that interested the Near Eastern regions in 14th and 15th century caused a general dearth of literary output by Syriac communities and no historiographical work successive to that of Bar 'Ebroyo is registered. The later events worth to be recorded, are attached to the copies of the *Chronicle* rather than set in a new writing.⁹⁵ On the other hand, whereas the endurance of Bar 'Ebroyo's works owes much to the shortage of later literary production, Bar 'Ebroyo's effort to compose works collecting and summarizing earlier material also determined his success among the readership. Actually, abridgements and compilations fulfilled well the needs of a public that had to face an immense literary production, which was rather difficult to handle.⁹⁶ In short, the turning point in the Syrian Orthodox history where Bar 'Ebroyo stands determined his literary fortune.

Finally, Bar 'Ebroyo's tendency to avoid complicated layouts and to compose his *Chronicle* in a more flowing narrative spared the scribes too demanding work,

of the manuscripts, which would explain the sudden proliferation of codices copies. See also the revival of Classical Syriac during the 19th-20th centuries. MURRE VAN DER BERG 2015a.

⁹³ See the manuscripts section of Bar 'Ebroyo's works in TAKAHASHI 2005. For the Ottoman period, H. Murre van der Berg has argued that in East Syrian Churches historical texts were also mattered only to very small circles. Although it still miss an equivalent work on Syrian Orthodox Church, her argumentation relying on the relative low number of historical manuscripts can be similarly applied to our case. MURRE VAN DER BERG 2015b.

⁹⁴ MS Vatican City, Vatican Library, Syr. 166

MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Sachau 210

MS Jerusalem, St. Mark Monastery, 211

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 1

MS Cambridge, University Library, Dd 3.8+Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 52 (originally one single manuscript)

MS Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Orientale 366

MS Damascus, collection Patr. Ignatius Zacchaeus I 'Iwaṣ

MS Istanbul, collection Petrus Fehim, 7

MS London, British Library, Additional 7198.

MS Vatican City, Vatican Library, Syr. 383-388

⁹⁵ See the survey on the continuations in subsection 1.3.

⁹⁶ An equivalent phenomenon took place with the establishment of Scholasticism in Western Middle Ages. CAVALLO 1999.

encouraging faster transcriptions which inevitably determined a larger amount of copies. The rearrangement of the layout of Michael the Great's *Chronicle* both in the Edessa-Aleppo manuscript and its antigraph⁹⁷ discloses indeed that its original threefold structure was perceived as too complex, delivering the work to the same fate of Eusebius' *Chronicon*.⁹⁸

To sum up, against a background where historiography transmission suffered of its negligible role in the education circuit and its common perception as a merely auxiliary discipline, the number of *Chronicle* copies can be seen as a relative exception. Indeed, the same transmission dynamics which determined almost the disappearance of other historiographical works played for the *Chronicle*'s wide circulation. Standing at the crucial point where it had summarized all the previous material and there would not have been any later historian to replace it with a more update compilation, Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* succeeded to be copied in a rather remarkably high number of exemplars.

1.2.2 The Linguistic Factor in the Textual Tradition

1.2.2.1 The Arabic Translations of Bar 'Ebroyo's Works in the Textual Tradition

The use of the Arabic language for the composition of the *History of the Dynasties* has been claimed occasionally as evidence of the intended audience of the work. Though starting from the same assumption, scholars have reached opposite conclusions: Barsoum's statement that the work was an Arabic translation of the Syriac *Chronicle* composed at the request of a Muslim friend of his brother⁹⁹ initially convinced scholars that it was indeed intended for a Muslim audience.¹⁰⁰ Lawrence Conrad has instead argued that the *History of the Dynasties* was addressed to a Christian readership to be seen in the light of the decreasing knowledge of Syriac at Bar 'Ebroyo's time.¹⁰¹ Both the interpretations suffer of a monolithic understanding of the linguistic skills of the Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian communities, which overlooks possible distinctions of social, educational and regional background.

The sources offer ample evidence of an uneven knowledge of Arabic and Syriac between the 12th and the 13th centuries both in the Syrian Orthodox and the East Syrian

⁹⁷ WELTECKE 2000, WELTECKE 2003: 153-196.

⁹⁸ DEBIÉ 2006: 2, DEBIÉ 2015a: 87.

⁹⁹ ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872-1877: II. 469.

¹⁰⁰ BAUMSTARK 1922: 318-319; DUVAL: 198; WRIGHT 1894: 279.

¹⁰¹ CONRAD 1994: 337.

community.¹⁰² The exposure to Arabic speaking milieus, especially in the regions of Mosul and Tagrit,¹⁰³ the use of Syriac as liturgical and literary language and the contacts with external political entities all contributed to make Syrian Orthodox and East Syrians *de facto* bilingual, though to different individual extent. Accordingly, the language proves to be an unsuitable tool to assess the intended audience of the work.

Whereas the intended audience of the *Chronicle* and the *History of the Dynasties* has drawn some attention, the actual audience, that is the way the writings have been concretely received, has never been investigated. The manuscripts offer tangible evidences to shed light on the real audience of the works and consequently to assess to which extent the above mentioned bilingual milieu persisted and if the language played a role in the transmission of the *Chronicle* and the *History of the Dynasties*.

Except for the grammatical and exegetical writings, the entire production of Bar 'Ebroyo was translated into Arabic. These translations started appearing since the late 15th century and were circulated widely until the 19th century when the revival of classical Syriac generated a new proliferation of Syriac manuscripts. I shall give a quantitative overview of the textual tradition of those works whose number of copies both in Syriac and Arabic provides an adequate study sample in order to assess the impact the appearance of the Arabic translations had on the transmission of the Syriac originals. Only dated manuscripts will be taken into account.

¹⁰² Ignatius La'zar (1143–46 A.D.) protested his ignorance of Arabic when he was asked to become maphrian for the eastern region where knowledge of Arabic was at least a *desideratum* and the patriarch Dionysius 'Angur (1252–61 A.D.) needed an interpreter to communicate at the Ayyubid court of Malik al-Nasir. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 717T–V; Part II: 335–337T–V. On the other hand, we have evidence of Arabic proficiency by a number of Syrian Orthodox ecclesiastics at that time. The bishop Dionysius Saliba of Harifa (patriarchate of Ignatius III David 1222–52 A.D.) communicated in Arabic with the Franks, though not very fluently, the maphrian John Bar Ma'dani (1252–63 A.D.) should have had already some knowledge of Arabic at the time of his election but he gained a full command after studying in Bagdad with an Arabic teacher. His successor Ignatius Saliba was said fluent in Arabic and both Bar Shakko and Bar 'Ebroyo gained mastery of the language studying with Muslim teachers. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 659T–V; 699T–V; Part II: 411T–V; 417T–V. Moreover, expertise in Arabic is not such a late phenomenon: Dionysius of Tell Maḥre had to be fluent enough in Arabic to converse *tête-à-tête* with the caliph Al Ma'mun. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XII.14: 517T–66V. As to the East Syrian Church, Elias of Nisibis in 10th century composed a Syriac-Arabic Lexicon aiming at teaching Syriac to young Christians, who apparently showed to master only Arabic. See TROUPEAU 2010. However, the same Elias did not renounce to use also Syriac for his bilingual *Chronicle*. Bar 'Ebroyo himself declares that the maphrians write and speak the same language of their diocesans. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, 655–657T–V. Whereas he was referring to Syrian Orthodox settled in East Syrian regions, it is hard to believe that people living in the same territory would have such a different competence on Syriac.

¹⁰³ WELTECKE 2017: 318.

Table 8: Quantitative Overview of the circulation of the Syriac Works and their Arabic Translations

	SYRIAC	ARABIC	SYRIAC
<i>CANDELABRUM OF THE SANCTUARY</i>	13 th –16 th 11 copies	17 th –mid-19 th 16 copies	17 th –mid-19 th 5 copies
<i>ETHICON</i>	13 th –15 th 13 copies	15 th –18 th 21 copies	15 th –18 th 14 copies
<i>BOOK OF THE DOVE</i>	13 th –15 th 4 copies	16 th –mid-19 th 30 copies	16 th –mid-19 th 6 copies
<i>NOMOCANON</i>	13 th –16 th 17 copies	16 th –mid-19 th 25 copies	16 th –mid-19 th 11 copies

As a general trend, it emerges that the Arabic translations started appearing since the late 15th century. Such a chronological trend undoubtedly hints at a progressive decline of Syriac during the Ottoman Empire, partly due to the crisis of Syriac monasticism¹⁰⁴ which eventually deprived Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian communities of the main institution promoting Syriac learning. However even in a period when Syriac was probably at its lowest, the Arabic translations affected only partly the transmission of the Syriac originals: in the timespan when both the versions coexist in the tradition, the Syriac copies are substantially fewer than the Arabic ones, which suggests that the appearance of the latter slackened the copying of the former. However, the Arabic versions never replaced the Syriac originals whose textual transmission endures uninterruptedly, though limited, in the following centuries.

One might think that the Syriac and Arabic copies actually served different confessional audience but both Syriac and Arabic versions circulated almost exclusively among a Syrian Orthodox audience, and the few existing East Syrian copies are nearly equally divided between the Syriac and Arabic tradition.¹⁰⁵ It has already been argued that even in a period when common knowledge of Syriac was at its lowest, it remained the favored literary language of both East Syrian and Syrian Orthodox communities,¹⁰⁶ which reveals that the language had to survive as an identity element even during the

¹⁰⁴ MURRE VAN DER BERG 2006: 17.

¹⁰⁵ See manuscripts list in TAKAHASHI 2005: 184–191; 204–212; 215–222; 232–243. Note also that no Muslim audience is spotted for these writings.

¹⁰⁶ MURRE VAN DER BERG 2015b.

centuries of crisis.¹⁰⁷ In short the textual tradition suggests that, though since the late 15th century the need of Arabic translations seems to be more and more urgent for intercepting a wider public, the use of the Syriac original never fell into desuetude. The note of MS Or. 366 offers another evidence in this direction: the scribe should have felt at ease more with Arabic than Syriac when he asserts to have refrained from copying the *Chronography* since the civil part was available in Arabic (that is the *History of the Dynasties* as I will show shortly). However, he is still able to read and understand correctly Syriac since he copied, incidentally in a quite accurate version, the *Ecclesiastical History* which was available only in Syriac.

1.2.2.2 The *History of the Dynasties* as ‘Arabic Translation’ of the *Chronicle*

Unlike the other works of Bar ‘Ebroyo, the *Chronicle* was translated only in the late 19th century: the *Chronography* was translated in 1865 and the *Ecclesiastical History* in 1899; each are preserved in only one copy. What more plausibly explains such a countertrend is the way the *History of the Dynasties* intersected the transmission of the Syriac *Chronicle*. Though it has been shown that the *History of the Dynasties* is an independent work carried out on the basis of different sources,¹⁰⁸ its understanding as a mere Arabic translation of the *Chronicle* took root right after Bar ‘Ebroyo’s death according to the above mentioned statement of his brother.¹⁰⁹ As I mentioned above, the scribe of MS Or. 366 asserted to have at his disposal an Arabic version of the *Chronicle* which must have been the *History of the Dynasties*, since no Arabic translation existed back then. That the work actually took on the role of a proper Arabic translation is corroborated by the trend of the textual tradition:

¹⁰⁷ Arabic found its way in Syriac communities during the Ottoman Empire due to merely practical reasons. Arabic became the intermediary language through which the new Chaldean Churches accessed European missionaries’ texts and it was used as *lingua franca* in Ottoman Empire. MURRE VAN DER BERG 2015b: 295. Thus, both these factors show the necessity of East Syrian communities to interact with external actors and do not affect the importance of Syriac knowledge at least among the educated clergy. As to Syrian Orthodox, the contacts with western Catholicism until the beginning of 17th century were limited to diplomatic correspondence. Only after the foundation of the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* (1622) the Pope sent catholic missionaries to the East. HAYEK 2015: 83. Although the *lingua franca* should have been Arabic, as in the case of East Syrian, this did not affect the use of Syriac in the internal circles of Syrian Orthodox.

¹⁰⁸ TEULE 1996. Already Louis Cheiko and Georg Graf had referred to the resort of additional Arabic sources even though still interpreting the work as dependent from the Syriac *Chronicle*. See CHEIKHO 1898, GRAF 1944: 274-275.

¹⁰⁹ See note 87.

Table 9: The History of the Dynasties as ‘Arabic Translation’ of the *Chronicle*

			ARABIC
<i>CHRONICLE</i>	14 th –15 th	16 th –mid-19 th	1865–1899
(Syriac)	5 copies	5 copies	2 copies
<i>HISTORY OF THE DYNASTIES</i>	14 th –15 th	16 th –mid-19 th	
(Arabic)	6 copies	27 copies	

It is evident that the *History of the Dynasties*, proportionally, circulated more widely than the Syriac *Chronicle* in the time span during which other works by Bar ‘Ebroyo started circulating also in Arabic (16th–mid-19th centuries) which corroborates the misleading understanding of this work as an Arabic version of the *Chronicle*. This common perception made dispensable the composition of a proper translation, which indeed appears only in the late 19th century. Consistently with the textual tradition of the other works by Bar ‘Ebroyo, the use of the ‘Arabic translation’ (*History of the Dynasties*) did not fully replace the Syriac original.

As regards the confessional provenance of the audience, notes and colophons of the *Chronicle* manuscripts show that the work was copied and circulated exclusively in the Syrian Orthodox milieu.¹¹⁰ As to the *History of the Dynasties* the reception is more complex. Hidemi Takahashi has noted that the manuscripts are ‘nearly equally divided’ between Christians and Muslims as regards their provenance.¹¹¹ Moreover, it should be remarked, first, that the context of fruition might have been different from that of provenance and thus that manuscripts produced in Christian milieu might have been used by a Muslim readership and vice versa.¹¹² Second, the confessional composition of the Christian copyists/readership of the *History of the Dynasties* was rather heterogeneous. This issue would deserve a detailed analysis of these manuscripts. I will limit here to mentioning that among the 14th–15th century copies, that is, before the period when other works by Bar ‘Ebroyo started being translated and read in Arabic, three copies of the *History of the Dynasties* were produced and circulated in Coptic milieu,¹¹³ at least one copy was produced in Syrian Orthodox milieu and commanded by

¹¹⁰ See the appendix. See also TAKAHASHI 2005:292–294; 298–299.

¹¹¹ TAKAHASHI 2005: 114. For the *History of the Dynasties* copies see TAKAHASHI 2005: 308–313.

¹¹² An historical antecedent was for instance the patronage and circulation of Arabic translations from Greek in the Abbasid period. Dimitri Gutas has indeed noted that the confessional and linguistic provenience of the manuscripts patronage was very composite. See GUTAS 2002: 142–160.

¹¹³ MSS *Par. arab.* 296 (14th cent.), Or. 93 (14th cent.), Or. 3009 (15th cent.). See TAKAHASHI 2005: 309–310.

a Christian¹¹⁴ while another was produced in a Syriac speaking milieu, though the precise confessional provenience is not clear.¹¹⁵ Unexpectedly, thus, there are already traces of Christian commission/reception of the Arabic version in a Coptic and Syriac milieu, before the attested decline of Syriac knowledge since the late 15th century. In the period 16th- mid-19th century a larger production and reception among Syrian Orthodox community is attested. This data matches the trend attested as to the other Bar 'Ebroyo's works: it shows a decreasing knowledge of Syriac since the late 15th century in the Syrian Orthodox community which made more urgent the need of Arabic versions, though as it has been said, a parallel production in Syriac was still ongoing.

To sum up, the trend resulting from this quantitative overview suggests that the reception of the Syriac and Arabic versions of Bar 'Ebroyo's literature was not peculiar to a particular audience or of a particular period. The coexistence of Arabic and Syriac versions of Bar 'Ebroyo's works confirms that even after the late 15th century when knowledge of Syriac undoubtedly had declined, part of the Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian audience were still able to access Syriac, though to a different extent. In the case of the *Chronicle*, where an 'Arabic translation' (*History of the Dynasties*) was available before the 15th century, this Arabic version started circulating already also in Syriac speaking milieu. This seems to confirm that the linguistic criterion is not decisive in the identification of the actual audience, which ultimately gives an additional argument against the use of the language as a clue to find out the intended audience.

1.3 Conclusions

Although the *Chronicle* of Bar 'Ebroyo has been claimed to be an important source for the history of the Medieval Near East¹¹⁶ and has been widely used for such a purpose, its textual tradition has never been the object of a specific investigation. As I hope to have shown, the analysis of its transmission contributes significantly and in many respects to the study of the *Chronicle*.

The manuscripts eligible for a critical edition are fewer exemplars than the catalogue lists suggest. The possibility that the modern copies of the *Ecclesiastical History* were

¹¹⁴ MS *Par. arab* 6501. The manuscript is dated '10th Shubat 759 A.H.' that is after the solar calendar known in non-Islamic circles. DÉROCHE 2005: 328. Cf. TAKAHASHI 2005: 309.

¹¹⁵ MS *Leiden* 985. The name of the copyist is written in Syriac. See TAKAHASHI 2005: 309.

¹¹⁶ WRIGHT 1894, DUVAL 1899, NOLDEKE 1892.

made on old manuscripts is very limited because by the end of the 18th century almost all the ancient copies of the work had already been transferred from the Eastern regions to Europe.

The study of the continuations has shown an overall uniformity, suggesting that the continuations were transmitted as a whole from one manuscript to another. The continuations of the *Chronography* were composed in several stages, and attached as a whole in only three manuscripts (*Hunt.* 52, *Vat. syr.* 167, *St. Mark* 211) which corroborates their belonging to the same branch of transmission (Redaction II). As to the *Ecclesiastical History*, the continuations are instead attested in the entire tradition, albeit occasional structural differences and expansions occur for the Syrian Orthodox part in three manuscripts (*Dd.* 3.8, *St. Mark* 211, *Add.* 7198), which suggest they belong to the same branch (Redaction II). The continuation of the East Syrian part is instead identical in all the manuscripts. Both continuations of the *Ecclesiastical History* were probably composed by a unique author at the end of the 15th century. This reconstruction attenuates the possibility of later interventions on the main text by the continuator: the textual tradition shows that the continuations circulated independently and were attached to the main text at a later stage. Finally, the hypothesis of a two branches transmission of the *Chronicle* which has emerged from the analysis of the continuations is corroborated by the results of the *collatio*.

These results set our revision of the *editio princeps* on a reliable footing. The *stemma codicum* built up on the results of the study of the continuations and the *collatio* will serve to establish the revised Syriac text as a base for the English translation and the consequent historiographical analysis.

The independent transmission of the *Chronography* and the *Ecclesiastical History* proved to be limited to very few cases and to be due to a later development of the tradition. While approaching the historiographical analysis of the work, scholars should consider that the entire *Chronicle* was conceived and published at the same moment, a significant detail in the context of Bar 'Ebroyo's literary production, which stretched out over a wide chronological span and needs to be analyzed diachronically as well. In the historiographical study which will be carried out in the next chapters, no hypothetical variation of Bar 'Ebroyo's attitude will be taken into account while approaching the civil and the ecclesiastical parts.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle* ties in the post-Dionysius tradition where civil and ecclesiastical sections were

¹¹⁷ This detail proves relevant for instance when studying the attitude towards the Mongols as addressed in chapter II.

conceived as two neatly distinct parts though belonging to the same work. As it will be shown, this betrays a specific vision of history.¹¹⁸

As to the reception history, the textual tradition of the *Chronicle* has brought up the question as to a possible change in the perception of the genre, since it is the only historiographical work in Syriac to have been fully preserved in more than one copy. It has been shown that the understanding of the *Chronicle* as an exception should be at least nuanced since the number of exemplars carried out on the basis of older manuscripts are quite fewer than the catalogues list suggest. Second, the same dynamics which determined the disappearance of the earlier historiographies played instead for the success of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*. Commonly perceived as an auxiliary matter, historiographical works were excerpted and embedded in other works rather than read as entire works *per se*. The *Chronicle* of Bar 'Ebroyo having already summarized all the previous material in an abridged and accessible form benefited of the fact that no later chronicler would have been in the condition to replace it with a more updated work. As a result the *Chronicle* continued to be reproduced in a remarkable number of copies. The relative success of the *Chronicle* should be read thus in the wider context of the reception history of Bar 'Ebroyo's production.

As regards the use of the language as a tool to detect the intended audience of the *Chronicle* and the *History of the Dynasties*, it has been argued that even in the actual reception of the manuscripts the linguistic factor is not diriment in determining the audience. Indeed, the reception of the Syriac and Arabic versions of Bar 'Ebroyo's works shows that even after the late 15th century when the need of Arabic translations became more pressing, the Syriac originals never fell into disuse. This betrays the persistence of a rather nuanced linguistic *milieu* which the sources attest already for the 12th and 13th centuries. Projected back to Bar 'Ebroyo's time, these data support the recent trend in scholarship to focus on other criteria than the language, as the use and selection of the sources and the literary models¹¹⁹ to investigate the audience Bar 'Ebroyo was addressing.

¹¹⁸ See chapter II.

¹¹⁹ AIGLE 2005, AIGLE 2015: 66-88, TEULE 1996.

1.4 Annex : Notes and Colophons

Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 166 (before 1356/7 A.D)

[illegible]

¹²⁰ A village near Hesno d-Kifo. CARLSON ET AL.: <http://syriaca.org/place/408>

¹²¹ A Cyril bishop of Ḥaḥ is said to have participated to the election of the patriarch Ignatius John Ismael (1333-1366 A.D.). BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Continuation to Part I: 791T. See my translation in section 3.

¹²² Ut vid.

¹²³ Sup. lin.

f.243v: Note of reading	The humblest servant of Christ, Hasan ibn Mas'ud , son of the priest Joseph , deacon only by name, and school teacher of the children in the Church of Mor Zacchaeus , ¹²⁴ consulted this blessed book, in the year 1668 of Greeks (1356-7 A.D). ¹²⁵	<p> ܬܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ </p>
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Florence, Laurentian Library, Orientale 366 (before 1558 A.D)

f.1r: Note	Rabban Garib , ¹²⁶ sinner and refuse from the blessed citadel of Klaybin ¹²⁷ which is called after the people of Beth Tabiq , wrote. God give them rest. Amen, amen, amen, amen.	<p> ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ </p>
f.1r: Scribal note	[.....] From [.....] this book of the Chronicle [which he composed] in Syriac, he himself, the one who is in the Beth Qad(ishē), ¹²⁸ translated into the Saracen language without the book of	<p> [.....] ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ </p>

¹²⁴ Probably the same as the Church of Mor Zacchaeus in Ḥesno d-Kifo mentioned in MS Add. 7198. See note 128. Another Church of Mor Zacchaeus is attested in Mata d-Mar Zay'a in the southeast corner of Turkey. CARLSON ET AL.: <http://syriaca.org/place/2132>

¹²⁵ In Arabic. Transliteration in Syriac letters by Assemani. The translation is based on the Latin version of Assemani: 'Evolvit hunc librum benedictum humilissimus servorum Christi Hasanus Masudi filius, filii Josephi Presbyteri, nomine tenus Diaconus, idem puerorum ludimagister apud Ecclesiam Sancti Zachae. Anno Graecorum 1668.' See ASSEMANI 1759: 340.

¹²⁶ Name transcribed after the alphabet of Bardaisan. For this alphabet see DUVAL 1881: 12-14.

¹²⁷ A village about seven hours' distance south of Mardin, heavily populated by Syrians in the 16th century. BARSOUM 2003: 555. CARLSON ET AL.: <http://syriaca.org/place/447>

¹²⁸ Expression to indicate a deceased person. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 435T-V, Part II: 297T-V.

[illegible]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 1 (1498 A.D)

[illegible]

¹³¹ It might refer to the monastery Dayr al-Zaʿfaran, dedicated to Mor Ḥanino and located at east of Mardin. CARLSON ET AL: <http://syriaca.org/place/69>. Another monastery dedicated to Mor Awgin is located within Nisibis region. CARLSON ET AL: <http://syriaca.org/place/339>

f. 226r: Note of purchase	Through the inscrutable counsel of God, the son of Abdon bought this book that is the book of the Chronicle from Qasu son of the sister of the metropolitan Simon that is the metropolitan of Jerusalem, for the price calculated and declared of two qarsh which carries the image of a lion, in the year 2040 (1728-9 A.D.). God bless him. Amen. He bought it for him and for his brother Rabban Saliba. ¹³⁵	<p>חאסאמ אללה אללה חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ אללה אללה חאסאמ חאסאמ [...] חאסאמ חאסאמ [...] חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ</p>
f. 226r: Note of purchase	Then, the deacon Hana , son of the dyer Abdolahad, bought this book that is called book of the Chronicle. He bought it from Antony of Karkush for the price of two qarsh and four ... the priest Abdolahad of Sa'ard is testimony. ¹³⁶	<p>חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ</p>

Berlin, Berlin State Library, Sachau 210 (before 1481/2)

f.106r: Note on the ordination of the patriarch John bar Shayallah	Me, the poor, the weak and full of faults Abraham, priest only by name (but) actually distant from the title and inadequate for this rank of priesthood because of my sins and defects, I have	<p>חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ חאסאמ</p>
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¹³⁵ Karshuni note. The translation is based on the Latin version of Forshal Rosen: 'Adnuentibus consiliis Dei non comprehendis, emit hunc librum, nempe librum descriptionis temporum, ... filius Abduni, a Kasu, filio sororis Metropolitanani Simeonis, nempe Metropolitanani Hierosolymae, pretio, cujus summa et declaratio est duorum *nummorum*, karsh *dictorum*, et leonis effigiem exhibentium [...], anno bis millesimo et quadragesimo. Quod Deus benedictum. Emit eum sibi et fratri suo Rabban Salibo etc.' See FORSHALL ROSEN 1838: 91.

¹³⁶ Karshuni note. The translation is based on the Latin version of Forshal Rosen: Deinde acquisivit hunc librum, qui vocatur liber descriptionis temporum, Hana diaconus, filius Abdolahadi, tinctoris; emit vero ipsum ab Antonio [...] Karkushensi, pretio summae duorum *nummorum*, karsh *dictorum*, et quadrantis, ... teste presbytero Abdolahad Seerdensi, etc.' See FORSHALL ROSEN 1838: 91.

¹³⁷ Forshall Rosen em. **חאסאמ**

[illegible]

Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 167 (before 1660-1)

[illegible]

¹³⁸ Ignatius John bar Shayallah (1482/4-1493). Ordination in 1484 sec. Wilmshurst. See WILMSHURST 2016: appendix. Ordination in 1482 sec. Sachau. See SACHAU 1899: 722.

¹³⁹ Al. man.

¹⁴⁰ Ut vid.

Chapter 2

Continuity and Innovation in the Ecclesiastical History Tradition

Bar 'Ebroyo stands at the end of a long line of Syrian Orthodox historiographers. The rich historiographical production which preceded him set Bar 'Ebroyo on the path of a specific tradition, inevitably shaping his way of writing. At the same time, Bar 'Ebroyo spent his ecclesiastical and intellectual career in a phase of political upheaval due to the Mongol conquest of the Middle East. Moreover, as maphrian, for over twenty years he governed Syrian Orthodox communities settled in the East Syrian dioceses, which, as it will be argued, raised specific issues in the representation of the historical identity of his community. Accordingly, in this chapter, the *Ecclesiastical History* will be studied as the result of two concurrent factors: the belonging of Bar 'Ebroyo to a previous tradition which gave him the literary codes to express his historiographical discourse, and the historical and personal dynamics which raised specific communicative exigencies.

I shall study, first, the permanence and the transformation of the model of Ecclesiastical History in the Syrian Orthodox tradition, addressing two elements: the separation of civil and ecclesiastical matter and the stylistic convention of narrativity. I shall argue that the post 6th century Syrian Orthodox tradition reshaped the Ecclesiastical History model in response to new historical circumstances. The detachment from the political power and the emergence as sectarian Church prompted Syrian Orthodox to elaborate specific literary codes to write their history. Second, I shall study the use of the patriarchal successions. Traditionally conveying the idea of political and doctrinal continuity, the patriarchal succession is used by Bar 'Ebroyo to assert the prestige of the priestly rank and to convey an anti-schismatic message in a period in which ecclesiastical unity was constantly under threat for political rather than doctrinal reasons. Third, I shall address the edifying aim of the *Ecclesiastical History* by studying the way in which it differs from the hagiographic genre. It will be argued that although edification lies at the heart of his work, Bar 'Ebroyo employed typically

historiographical codes to pursue his didactical aim. Last, I shall study the way in which Bar 'Ebroyo integrates in his work the history of the Church of the East, which is normally ignored in the Syrian Orthodox historiographical tradition. I shall argue that Bar 'Ebroyo intentionally builds an independent but specular history of the East Syrian regions in respect to the Western ones to foster the prestige of the maphrianate office and, on the other side, to compete with the 'Nestorian' past of these regions.

2.1 The Tradition

The originality of Eusebius as creator of innovative literary genres has been increasingly downsized by studies addressing respectively (or jointly) the fluidity of the literary genres and Eusebius' dependence on the previous literary tradition.¹ John De Vore has recently proposed a synthesis of the mentioned perspectives aimed at a correct understanding of the elements of continuity and innovation in the Eusebian *Ecclesiastical History*.² In De Vore's view the genre should be read in the context of cognitive sciences and represents thus 'communicative schemata' shared and recognized by both the author and the audience. These ensure that the information conveyed in the work would be successfully received by the reader. Evidently, such schemata are not always used intentionally but they indicate the participation of the author and the audience to shared cultural models which eventually shape their ways of communicating. Accordingly, the evidence of Eusebius' dependence on the previous literary tradition should be explained in the light of this participation. Although it has been shown that the *Ecclesiastical History* ties in with an older literary tradition, its innovative elements have also received the attention they deserve. Such elements are Eusebius' claim to deal with a new matter, that is the first tentative to write a history of the Church, and the unprecedented cultural challenges that this matter introduces (e.g. apology in the competition against paganism and struggle against the heresies). In short, Eusebius draws from the previous tradition as a consequence of his participation in the cultural models he (and his audience) was acquainted with, but he adapts such traditional elements to the new circumstances and needs he has to face.

¹ For a diachronic study of the chronicle genre see BURGESS-KULIKOWSKI 2013. For the literary background and related genres of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* see CAROTENUTO 2001, MOMIGLIANO 1963, MOMIGLIANO 1990, MORLET-PERRONE 2012, JOHNSON 2014: 89-112, WINKELMANN 2003: 18-31.

² DE VORE 2015.

Such an approach proves to be applicable also to the study of the influence that Eusebius' writings exerted on Syrian Orthodox historiography. His historiographical works entered the Syriac speaking world very early through translations and adaptations,³ and they have impacted substantially on Syriac historiography both in terms of content and structure.⁴ However, Syriac historians introduced some structural innovations which apparently detach themselves from the Eusebian tradition and have been marked as an exclusive trait of the Syriac tradition. The combination of the chronological structure of the *Chronography* with the narrative, discursive material typical of the *Ecclesiastical History* overtakes somehow the division established by the Eusebian tradition and the stylistic conventions respectively associated to these genres.⁵ Moreover, the division of civil and ecclesiastical matter, progressively abandoned in the Greek post-Eusebian tradition,⁶ resurfaces in Syriac after the Arab conquest. However, as it will be shown presently, despite the separation, the parts are embedded in the same work.

In this section I shall address the permanence of the model of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* in the Syrian Orthodox historiography as a consequence of the historians belonging to a literary tradition which inevitably shaped their way of writing, and the elements of innovation in the light of the historical changes that influenced their work. I shall proceed following two trajectories: first, the relationship between the civil and the ecclesiastical matter and the way in which this relation is expressed formally in the structure of the works; second, the permanence of the stylistic conventions traditionally attributed to the *Ecclesiastical History* genre and the way in which they have been reshaped by the new circumstances. Through a diachronic outline of these two aspects in the Syrian Orthodox tradition I intend to set out to what extent the *Ecclesiastical History* genre is a long lived format that survived within the new form of the later chronicles and how the Syrian Orthodox historians adapted this category to a context which had inevitably changed. My analysis will be limited to some relevant examples and therefore it does not intend to be exhaustive. I shall carry out my examination through three different period of the Syrian Orthodox production, which represent

³ The Syriac translation of the *Ecclesiastical History* is fully preserved in MS. St. Petersburg (462 A.D). For edition and translation see WRIGHT-MC LEAN (ed.) 1898; NESTLE (tr.) 1901. A collection of excerpts from Greek Ecclesiastical Historians, including Eusebius, is preserved in MS Vat. sir. 145 (9th century). The Syriac translation of the *Chronicon* survived fragmentarily through the so-called Epitome Syria (ca. 636 A.D) part of the *Composite Chronicle*, through the *Chronicle of Zuqnin* and through Elias of Nisibis. For these fragments see KESELING 1927. For full bibliography see DEBIÉ 2015a: 505-510.

⁴ See DEBIÉ 2009a, WITAKOWSKI 1999-2000.

⁵ See the definition of 'developed chronicles' in WITAKOWSKI 1987: 83.

⁶ VAN NUFFELEN 2004, 117-124, 156-158.

three watershed moments: the 6th century *Ecclesiastical Histories* of John of Ephesus and Pseudo-Zacharias, the post Arab conquest *Chronicles* (Anonymous of Zuqnin and Dionysius of Tell Maḥre) and the Syriac Renaissance *Chronicle* of Michael the Great.

This will allow us to understand to what extent the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bar ‘Ebroyo is indebted to the Eusebian model and the tradition it launched.⁷ As it will be shown, the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical matter responds to the detachment the Syrian Orthodox community felt from their rulers, which crystallized the boundaries between the two in the authors’ perception and accordingly in the structure of their work. This makes us wonder, therefore, if the open sympathies of the Ilkhanid governors for Christianity, in particular for a non-chalcedonian Christianity, and Bar ‘Ebroyo’s positive attitude towards these new rulers might have exerted any influence on the way he perceived the civil-ecclesiastical relations and how he expressed them formally in his work. Moreover I shall discuss the way in which Dionysius’ *Chronicle* influenced the perception of the genres of chronicle writing and ecclesiastical history, blurring the boundaries between the stylistic conventions associated with the two. The later historians found new formal solutions to strike a balance between narrativity, chronological accuracy and what Dionysius had named ‘continuity of the facts’.

2.1.1 The Division between Civil and Ecclesiastical Matter

2.1.1.1 Syrian Orthodox

Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* launched a tradition which lasted in Greek and Syrian Orthodox milieus until the end of the 6th century.⁸ The subsequent interruption of the genre in Greek might be the result of a long process following Constantine conversion. The unprecedented interest and direct intervention of the Roman emperors on

⁷ In his preliminary investigation of Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Ecclesiastical History*, Witold Witakowski has compared it with Eusebius’ *Ecclesiastical History* to study hypothetical commonalities. See WITAKOWSKI 2006. In my perspective, a direct comparison risks to overlook Bar ‘Ebroyo’s dependence on the Syrian Orthodox tradition which developed after Eusebius.

⁸ For a survey see VAN NUFFELEN-VAN HOOFF 2018. For the Greek tradition see VAN DEUN 2003, LEPPIN 2003, MARASCO 2003. For Syriac see DEBIÉ 2015a. East Syrian historiographical tradition witnesses also later examples of *Ecclesiastical Histories* but it will not be taken into account for this analysis because it knew a largely separate development. See ‘Alaha-Zekha (early 7th cent.),’ ‘Micah of Beth Garmai,’ ‘Gregory of Kaskar’ (early-middle 7th cent.), Meshiha Zekha (7th cent.); Daniel Bar Maryam (middle of 7th cent.); Elias of Merw (7th), Bar Sahde (7-8th cent.), Gregory of Shuster (8th cent.), Simon Bar-Tabahe (middle of 8th cent.), Theodore bar Koni (end of 8th cent.) in VAN NUFFELEN-VAN HOOFF 2018. Cf. VAN NUFFELEN 2018.

ecclesiastical matters present the historians with the impossibility to keep the description of ecclesiastical events separated from the civil matter.⁹ Moreover, the adhesion of the Roman emperors to the Christian faith exerted an influence on the ecclesiastical historians' attitude towards the relationship between the Church and the State affairs. Beside the emperors' direct intervention on ecclesiastical affairs which determines causal relations between the two spheres,¹⁰ the emperors' conduct affects the Church sphere indirectly through what has been called a sympathetic relation.¹¹ This expression alludes to the fact that the conversion of the emperors determines a participation of both Empire and Church in the relationship with God, and the conduct of one sphere brings about related consequences on the other. These causal and theological relations cause an infiltration of the civil matter which ultimately deprives the Ecclesiastical Histories of their own *raison d'être*, that is to write a history of the Church only.¹² Disappearance of the genre in Greek has been recently read also as a consequence of the successful social integration of Christians, which deprived the ecclesiastical histories of their function as a tool of social affirmation.¹³ If both explanations are satisfactory for the Greek tradition, it is not so for the Syrian Orthodox, who experienced a confessional detachment from the civil hierarchies. Such detachment did not occur abruptly after the council of Chalcedon but it was a process that went on all through the 6th century.¹⁴ As I am going to present shortly, this situation affects the representation of the civil-ecclesiastical equilibrium in the Syriac ecclesiastical histories of the 6th century, which do not yet present important differences with their Greek counterparts.

⁹ DEBIÉ 2015a: 53-57, TREADGOLD 2013: 470. For Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen see VAN NUFFELEN 2004. On the prominence of civil matters in the last books of Evagrius Scholasticus see WHITBY 1992: 55. For the focus on ecclesiastical matter in Eusebius see CAROTENUTO 2001: 21.

¹⁰ On the intervention of the emperors on ecclesiastical matters see LEPPIN 1996: 167-193.

¹¹ Concept used by Socrates to define the indirect, not causal relation between imperial and ecclesiastical affairs which depends from the same cause. 'S'il y a sympathie entre des événements, leur relation n'est donc pas primaire, c'est-à-dire immédiate et par conséquent causale, mais secondaire, c'est-à-dire celle d'une parallélisme qui dépend d'une cause commune. La sympathie entre Empire et Église présuppose dès lors que les deux sphères dépendent d'une même cause. Dans le cas de Socrate, ce sont les péchés humains qui causent les troubles au sein de l'Église et de l'Empire.' VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 122. Cf. LEPPIN 1996: 194-224.

¹² CAMERON 1998, CHESNUT 1986, MARKUS 1975; MOMIGLIANO 1977.

¹³ VAN NUFFELEN 2018.

¹⁴ Efforts to find a theological solution lasted, though sporadically, until the first years of Justin II (565-578) whose early religious policy was still rather tolerant towards the Monophysites. Moreover the systematic establishment of an independent ecclesiastical hierarchy started only by the 550s. VAN ROMPAY 2005. For the episcopal succession in Antioch during the 6th century as an attempt at unity between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians see ALLEN 2011.

John of Ephesus (507-589 A.D), historian and head of the Miaphysite community in Constantinople, seemed to believe in the possibility of reconciliation between the Miaphysite and the Chalcedonian communities. In his *Ecclesiastical History*¹⁵ he openly blames Justin II (565-574 A.D) for having turned to harsh persecutions¹⁶ after an initial opening to debate, but the depiction of the following emperors is rather favourable. Also the references to the Chalcedonian positions are so moderate and conciliatory to make the later Syrian Orthodox historians at some extent uncomfortable at quoting them.¹⁷ Such an attitude emerges in John's representation of the relations between civil and ecclesiastical matters. Like his Chalcedonian predecessors, he explicitly refers to the close connection between the affairs of the State and the affairs of the Church, which forces him to introduce the corresponding stories in the same work.¹⁸ Remarkably, the connection is not only causal: the author implies a direct relation between the emperors and God with consequent significance for the development of both ecclesiastical and civil affairs. John states that he devoted his third book to the record of God's judgement upon Justin II as admonishment for, among others, the future rulers.¹⁹ A similar treatment is reserved for Justin II's wife, the Empress Sophia, who is harshly blamed for not having learned from the chastisement that fell upon her husband.²⁰ Sophia's conspiracy against Tiberius II is only indirectly related, from a causal point of view, to the ecclesiastical affairs: she conspired against an emperor who is later depicted in favourable terms for his tolerant attitude towards the Miaphysites and for bringing to an end Justin II's persecutions of which John himself had been a victim. In short, it is not only the rulers' direct intervention on ecclesiastical matters that imposes the writer to mix the corresponding stories: he, like his Chalcedonian counterparts, still perceived the emperors as participating in a direct relation with God and playing an active role in it through direct (causal) and indirect actions. As I am going to show presently the rulers ceased to perform such an active role in the later historians' account and this is reflected in the way in which they structured their works.

Differently from John, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Pseudo-Zachariah (late 6th cent.) regrettably does not give us explicit references to the relationship between the civil and the ecclesiastical matter, and the disparate nature of the work prevents from finding clear connections in this sense. However, that the imperial governance still took a

¹⁵ Originally consisting in three parts. Only the third part is entirely preserved. It covers the years 571-588 A.D. (Justin II, Tiberius II, Maurice). See DEBIÉ 2015a: 535-543.

¹⁶ JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.1: 120-121T, 88-89V.

¹⁷ For Michael the Great's use of John of Ephesus see VAN GINKEL 1998, VAN GINKEL 2006.

¹⁸ JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.9: 135T-99V; V.14: 264T-199V; VI.1: 277-278T-210V.

¹⁹ JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.1: 120-121T-88V.

²⁰ JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.9: 135T-100V.

relevant part in the ecclesiastical affairs can be inferred from the overall attitude of the author. The *Ecclesiastical History* of Pseudo-Zachariah too represents a stage in Syrian Orthodox historiography when the break between the Chalcedonian and the anti-Chalcedonian sides is not yet perceived as irreparable. Instead, the work is marked by an optimistic tone and a rather tolerant attitude toward the Chalcedonians.²¹ In his preface, the Anonymous explicitly declares that he has refrained from praising or blaming rulers on account of their beliefs²² and the calamities presented as signs of God's anger are never associated to the theme of the confessional division.²³ In light of this attitude, it comes as no surprise that the author was still feeling acquainted with the idea of a relation between Church and Empire, which results in the combination of ecclesiastical and civil affairs in his work.²⁴ The author shows himself openly loyal to Justinian: the abundant material regarding the Western campaigns can be seen as an evidence of the fact that he deemed the emperors' civil successes relevant for the *Ecclesiastical History*, even if the connection remains undeclared. Likewise, ecclesiastical affairs can have relevance for the civil sphere.²⁵

To sum up, the rigid boundaries between ecclesiastical and civil matter marking Eusebian historiography faded away in the post-Constantinian Greek tradition. The Syriac authors were tied in this tradition for the entire 6th century, a period in which the separation between Chalcedonians and Miaphysites was not yet a given fact. In this context, the intertwining of ecclesiastical and civil events survives because of the perception of imperial power as not yet extraneous but instead still participating, for better or for worse, ecclesiastical affairs. When and how this connection turned into an irretrievable rupture is not easy to determine, since the first testimony of a clear-cut separation between civil and ecclesiastical material dates to the 9th century, with the *Chronicle* of Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, that is two centuries after Syria passed from the Roman Empire to the Omayyads. No ecclesiastical histories have survived from the period between John of Ephesus and Dionysius, and likewise there are no external evidence that such works existed, beside the history of Cyrus of Batna (probably late 6th century).²⁶ Therefore, what Dionysius' *Chronicle* presents us might be the result of a long

²¹ See e.g. the representations of chalcedonian bishops. See GREATREX 2006, GREATREX 2009.

²² PSEUDO-ZACHARIAH, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.1: 6T-4V.

²³ ASHBROOK-HARVEY 1988: 302.

²⁴ Despite the prominence of civil matter see GREATREX 2009 for the assignment of the Pseudo Zachariah to the realm of the Ecclesiastical Histories.

²⁵ E.g. The ordinations of Jacob and Theodore as an initiative aimed at rescuing prisoners from the Persians. PSEUDO-ZACHARIAH, *Ecclesiastical History*, X.12: 193T-130V.

²⁶ In his preface Dionysius informs us about the existence of an Ecclesiastical History by Cyrus of Batna (Second half of 6th-first half of 7th cent.). Nothing is known about this author except a scribal

process whose developments regrettably cannot be tracked in detail. As seen above, 6th century was still a moment of transition, this gap prevents us from assessing the role, if any, the establishment of an independent Miaphysite hierarchy played in marking the separation of the Syrian Orthodox community from the rulers or if such a separation occurred due to the Arab conquest, which removed the community from the territorial-political sphere of the Greeks and made it face a non-Christian government. This issue would deserve detailed analysis, which cannot be conducted here. I shall limit myself to arguing that the historiographical tradition after Dionysius offers ample evidence of the definitive separation of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, both practically and ideologically, through a process which is diametrically opposite to the one occurring in the Greek tradition and the 6th century Syrian Orthodox tradition.

Dionysius of Tell Maḥre composed his *Chronicle* in two distinct parts, dealing with the civil and the ecclesiastical affairs.²⁷ Their current fragmentary state prevents us from assessing if they were originally connected through intra textual references.²⁸ The decision to write the two parts separately is not explicitly referred to in his preface but the perception of a separation of the two spheres is evident in his text, especially in the part narrating his own patriarchate (which is therefore not influenced by the bias of earlier sources). The rulers are mentioned sporadically in the ecclesiastical narrative and their role is barely depicted as active: they never take the initiative to intervene in ecclesiastical issues and, above all, they do not participate through their behaviour in a relation with God, that is the conduct of the rulers does not affect neither positively or negatively the development of the events. Muslim governors are mentioned in the ecclesiastical part only when they get involved on request of the ecclesiastical hierarchies for political matters, such as the permission to start new buildings or legitimate one of two competing patriarchal candidates.²⁹ In short, the causal relations

note inserted by the copyist of the Edessa-Aleppo manuscript of Michael the Great's *Chronicle* which asserts that Cyrus' Ecclesiastical history covered until the death of Tiberius (582). According to Dionysius Cyrus was the last to write an Ecclesiastical History. CONTERNO-HILKENS-MAZZOLA-VAN NUFFELEN (forthcoming). Later witnesses of Syrian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Histories are dubious. See 'Elias, ecclesiastical historian' (6th-7th), 'Moses Bar Kephā' (9th cent.) in VAN NUFFELEN-VAN HOOF 2018. Daniel son of Moses of Tur Abdin (8th cent.), John, son of Samuel (6th-early 9th cent.) and Theodosius of Edessa (late 8th cent.-832) are said to have written histories 'that resemble ecclesiastical history'. For discussion of this genre of writings see subsection 1.2.1.

²⁷ D. Weltecke has already referred to the twofold structure of Dionysius as a consequence of the passage of the Syrian Orthodox community from the rule of the Greeks to the rule of the Arabs. See WELTECKE 2003: 201.

²⁸ The only intra textual reference is to be ascribed rather to the *Chronicle up to 1234* which included part of Dionysius' work. ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle up to 1234*: 238T-186V.

²⁹ E.g. MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XII.11: 507T-49V; XII.12: 509-511T-56-57V; XII.14: 517T-65V.

evident (and inevitable) in John of Ephesus' account of the Roman emperors' repeated interventions on ecclesiastical matters cannot be replayed in Dionysius' work. As far as the sympathetic relation is concerned, the Arab rulers are never depicted as religious characters. This alienates them from a relationship with God which is instead an exclusive privilege of the Syrian Orthodox community. Evidence of such an attitude can be found *in nuce* in another example of post-Arab-conquest historiography, such as the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*. The first part of the work, composed in 730,³⁰ does not mark the Arabs as Muslims.³¹ The religious connotation of the Arabs is used later on in the *Chronicle* as a narrative strategy to stress a conflict which was due exclusively to political and economic reasons,³² providing the author with a tool for strengthening his criticism against the Abbasid rulers, because of the devastating effect their tax policy exerted on the population. The religious guise is thus only a stratagem to reinforce the author's discourse but it does not imply that the two counterparts, Arabs and Syrian Orthodox, are opposed on a religious plan. In short, the focus is on the Arabs as rulers rather than as Muslims. Also Jacob of Edessa, who wrote on the Islamic conquest, apparently was not interested in demarcating distinctions between Arabs and Christians, but rather focused on the confessional boundaries between different Christian confessions.³³ Such an attitude confirms again that the Arabs were not characterized, at least in historiography, in religious terms. Finally, when a link between Arabs and God is made explicit, the Arabs are depicted merely as a tool of God's wrath against Christians' sins,³⁴ i.e. they do not play an active role but they are used as admonishment against the Christians. Accordingly, it is not surprising that Dionysius did not portray the Arab rulers in religious terms but rather aimed at emphasizing the distance between their corresponding spheres of influence. When the Arab caliph Al-Ma'mun issued the edict that allowed every assembly of at least ten people to elect their own chief, Dionysius visits Al-Ma'mun's court to question the edict. The patriarch advocates the exclusive competence of his community on ecclesiastical affairs in the following terms:

There are three principalities in this world: natural, coercive and voluntary.
Natural: as the one of the father, chief of his children or the husband, chief of

³⁰ For a study of the different phases of composition of this *Chronicle* see WOOD 2011.

³¹ WOOD 2011: 552. See also VAN GINKEL 2006: 175.

³² WOOD 2011: 557-558.

³³ See VAN GINKEL 2005.

³⁴ For the warning nature of the *Chronicle* of Zuqnin see HARRAK 2005, WITAKOWSKI 1987: 136-138. For the apocalyptic historiography of the late 7th century and the role of the Arabs see REININK 1992, REININK 2005.

his wife... coercive: granted by God or established through the fear of the sword like the royalty that you hold...

Among us the principality comes from the agreement and the voluntary choice of the community... We do not resemble, oh king, the Gentiles, and the damage caused by the destruction of our principality does not concern the richness but affects our faith. It is forbidden to us by God and we do not care to share our authority with you but (we care) to prevent our laws to be despised.³⁵

The detachment of the Syrian Orthodox community from their rulers achieves a definitive theoretical formulation in Dionysius, who considered the intervention of the rulers on ecclesiastical affairs anomalous. Evidently such a perception is also the result of historical factors: it has been argued that the role of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was reinforced during the Arab rule of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia.³⁶ Miaphysites patriarchs, among other Christian leaders, had prominent roles in negotiating benefits for their communities with Arab dignitaries, which probably strengthened the idea of an equal juxtaposition.

Dionysius' conceptualization of the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities is recovered by Michael the Great in his monumental *Chronicle*, structured in three columns respectively dealing with civil, ecclesiastical and *varia* matters. Michael defends himself from the charges brought against him by his opponent Theodore bar Wabun to the governor of Mosul protesting against the governor's intrusion in the ecclesiastical affairs, exploiting Dionysius' very argument on the distinction between the two authorities.³⁷ A narrative strategy aiming at demarcating boundaries between the Syrian Orthodox community and the rulers is detectable in several other passages. The devastating earthquake in 1170 is said not to have damaged the Syrian Orthodox Church of Aleppo because 'there were not in our nation neither king nor rich',³⁸ while the thorough report of the destructions in Aleppo and Antioch betrays his contempt of the Zengid and Byzantine rulers of those cities.³⁹ Given the comprehensive scope of his *Chronicle*, Michael is also concerned with tracing the roots of this juxtaposition, depicting the priesthood as a divine gift in contrast to the civil authorities which since

³⁵ MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XII.14: 517-520T.

³⁶ SHBOUL-WALMSLEY 1988: 266-270.

³⁷ MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XX.1: 708T-359V.

³⁸ MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XIX.8: 696T-339V.

³⁹ Note that the distance is expressed not only from Arabs but also from Byzantines who at that time ruled over the Principality of Antioch. This is additional evidence that since Dionysius the juxtaposition between Syrian Orthodox and Chalcedonians was already crystalized.

Adam are darkened by conflicts and violence.⁴⁰ It is evident that the perception of this division already expressed in Dionysius is stressed even more in Michael. As in the case of Dionysius the presence of civil rulers in the ecclesiastical column is indeed limited to a few cases of interactions between the hierarchies due to political reasons.⁴¹ In Michael as well, when the rulers are perceived in religious terms they are depicted as God's instruments of admonishment or recompense of which the only addressee is the Syrian Orthodox community.⁴² Striking evidence is the comment Michael adds to the report of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187: 'The Franks were abandoned (by God) because of our sins'. The Crusaders, usually portrayed in positive terms, are indeed a third actor, like the Arabs, in the relation between God and the Syrian Orthodox, whose behavior is the only agent prompting the divine intervention. The defeat of the Franks reverberates negatively on the Syrian Orthodox who were deprived of a common ally against the Arabs.

It has already been noted that even the figure of the emperor Constantine, the champion of the Christian faith, has been re-elaborated in this light by Michael the Great. The material drawn from Socrates on the council of Nicaea and the Arian heresy is fittingly adapted to demarcate Constantine's sphere of influence outside the ecclesiastical and doctrinal issues.⁴³

While the distance between civil and ecclesiastical sphere is so sharply expressed in his text, the formal choices in Michael's work seem to betray a more nuanced conception. Instead of following Dionysius, Michael borrows the structure of Jacob of Edessa *Chronicle's*, ultimately adapted from Eusebius' *Chronicle* model.⁴⁴ Dorothea Weltecke has shown that the structure of Michael's *Chronicle* has been heavily reworked by the successive copyists:⁴⁵ the columns should have been originally juxtaposed to the *fila regnorum* which in the existent manuscript are found at the bottom of the pages. This would have allowed relating the events to their date. However, in my view, such a structure does not betray any implicit causal or sympathetic connection between civil

⁴⁰ On John of Dara's theory on priesthood, ultimately derived from Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, see MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, I.1-8: 3-13T-1-26V. cf. WELTECKE 2000: 189.

⁴¹ E.g. taxes, patriarchal diploma. MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XIX.6: 695T-337V; XIX.9: 703T-350V; XIX.11: 706T-354V; XX.7: 717-718T-376V; XX.8: 719T-379V; XXI.2: 725T-390V; XXI.6: 733-734T-406V.

⁴² MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XIX.6: 695T-337V; XIX.9: 699-700T-345V; XIX.11: 705-706T-353V; XX.3: 713T-365V; XX.5: 716T- 372V; XX.6: 716-717T-373V; XX.7 :718T-375V.

⁴³ CONTERNO 2013: 430-431.

⁴⁴ The *Chronicle* of Jacob of Edessa was structured in two columns dealing with ecclesiastical and civil matters, respectively juxtaposed on the right and the left side of a chronological canon. See WITAKOWSKI 2008: 32-36.

⁴⁵ For an analysis on the formal structure of Michael's *Chronicle* see WELTECKE 2000, WELTECKE 2003: 153-196.

and ecclesiastical matters, which are related only chronologically. Indeed, in subsection 1.2 I shall discuss the relevance of the chronological arrangement in the framing of both the civil and the ecclesiastical parts and will show that such a structure aims at helping the reader to orientate himself chronologically within the work.

In sum, the christianization of the political elites has prompted the ecclesiastical historians to perceive civil and ecclesiastical events as explicitly and implicitly related. This resulted in the inclusion of civil matter in the ecclesiastical histories, which likely determined the disappearance of the genre in Greek. Such a development seems to have been the same as to the Syrian Orthodox histories of the 6th century. In the decades when the confessional and political detachment of the Syrian Orthodox was still subject to negotiations, John of Ephesus and Pseudo-Zacchariah share with their Greek counterparts the vision of a political power still participating to the ecclesiastical sphere, and this prompted them to include civil and ecclesiastical matter in their ecclesiastical histories. By contrast, the historiographical tradition after Dionysius presents us with a sharp separation between ecclesiastical and civil spheres which is literary expressed in the resurgence of the Ecclesiastical History though, as it will be shown in the next section, in a stylistically adapted form. Whereas the connection between civil and ecclesiastical matter ultimately made the existence of a separate genre unnecessary in Greek, the Syrian Orthodox tradition after the 6th century underwent a diametrically opposite process. Unluckily, the shortage of literary evidence in the 7th-8th centuries prevent us from assessing the intermediate passages of the process of which Dionysius represents only the final accomplishment. It can be argued that this literary development resulted from the concurrent effect of, first, the shift from the territorial orbit of the Roman Empire to the Arab one. Philip Wood has shown that already in the 6th century the equation between Roman Empire and Chalcedonism fostered in the (persecuted) Miaphysite community the creation of an independent identity.⁴⁶ Distinction from Chalcedonism was projected thus also on the separation from the Roman political orbit. This first trace of autonomy gained by the Miaphysites might have fully developed after they found themselves territorially out of Roman Empire. Second, the strengthening of an independent Syrian Orthodox hierarchy which, though it started to be systematically established in the late 6th century, gained in importance when it had to represent a netly distinct community.⁴⁷ This issue obviously would deserve a separate study. What is relevant for our analysis is that since Dionysius of Tell Maḥre the separation between civil and ecclesiastical sphere is so clearly perceived that it prompted historians to devote a separated piece of work to relate the

⁴⁶ WOOD 2010.

⁴⁷ SHBOUL-WALMSLEY 1988: 266-270. See also WOOD 2010: 258.

ecclesiastical events. In short it determined the reappearance of the Ecclesiastical History, though in a new, adapted form.

2.1.1.2 Bar 'Ebroyo

The previous subsection has set forth how Syrian Orthodox literature accommodated a factual condition: the confessional detachment from their rulers prompted the ecclesiastical hierarchs to see an incompatibility between high priesthood and secular power and to demarcate their respective spheres of influence. This conceptualization reverberates also in the formal structure of the works where civil and ecclesiastical matters are separated in two distinct pieces of works.

The 13th century Mongol conquest of the Abbasid and Zengid⁴⁸ reigns resulted in unprecedented political circumstances for the Christian communities settled at the east of the Euphrates. The Mongol attitude toward religious communities undeniably gave Christians the opportunity to gain prestige in the Mongol dominion so much as some sources claim that the Mongol khans were strenuous partisans of Christianity, if not genuine believers.⁴⁹ Such a political upheaval seems to have prompted a change in the view of civil power leading to the presentation of the first Ilkhanid king Hulagu as the new Constantine and his mother Sorghaghtani Beki and his wife Doquz Khatun as the new Helena.⁵⁰ It has been argued indeed that at least until the accession of Ghazan Khan (1295) Christians might have hoped for the establishment of a Christian empire.⁵¹ This brings up the question of a possible change in the representation of the rulers and the way to structure historiographical works, which – as seen above – is deeply influenced by political circumstances. Actually, Christian sources might have been affected to a certain extent by propagandistic bias and the actual situation was probably more nuanced. Thus, a correct evaluation first has to go through the assessment of the actual attitude of the Mongols toward Christianity, and then of the way in which it was perceived and literary elaborated.

⁴⁸ Seljuk dynasty founded by Imad ad-Din Zengi, (1127–1146) which governed part of the Levant and Upper Mesopotamia.

⁴⁹ For an exhaustive collection of Syrian Orthodox, East Syrian and Armenian testimonies on the Ilkhans see FIEY 1975a. For a historical overview see SPULER 1955: 205-219.

⁵⁰ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*, 465T-V; STEPHEN ORBELIAN, *History of the Province of Syunik*, 234-5T- 235V. As to the iconographic representation, though J.M. Fiey has advanced reasonable arguments for dating the MS Vat. syr. 559 in 1260 A.D, the identification of the protagonists of the *inventio crucis* miniature (f.223v) with Hulagu and Doquz Khatun is still uncertain. See FIEY 1975b.

⁵¹ SPULER 1955: 205-219; KAWERAU 1960: 86-90. cf. TAKAHASHI 2005: 102-103.

It has been convincingly shown that the Mongol religious attitude was directed more by political calculation than inner convictions.⁵² The Mongol khans capitalized on the religious composition of their dominion to secure advantage for the wealth of their empire: it comes as no surprise that the Christian communities played a pivotal role in this political project, something that eventually led them to enhance their credit. Diplomatic collaboration with the Catholic Western forces against the Mamelukes was pursued by the khans not only exploiting the sensitive theme of their benevolence toward Christians⁵³ but even alleging kinship with legendary Christian kings.⁵⁴ The political enmity between Mongols and Mamelukes took much advantage of the acrimony which religious minorities, notably Christian and Shiites,⁵⁵ had developed towards the Abbasids of whom the Mamelukes had symbolically taken on the political legacy. Also the constant requirement for scientific expertise at court might have prompted the Mongol rulers to promote Christianity in order to secure the collaboration of their skilled physicians,⁵⁶ even though they did not certainly refrain from using also shamanic and Islamic healers.

In short, the Mongol need of *Realpolitik* produced a remarkable, even though not exclusive, inclination towards Christians which opened unprecedented spaces of interaction between secular and ecclesiastical spheres. The political utilitarianism brought the Mongols to promote the Christian cult, leading the Christians to allege (or believe in a genuine conversion of the rulers. Whereas the previous political situation limited the practical interactions between civil and ecclesiastical spheres mostly to the conferring of diplomas, and kept out the possibility of a sympathetic effect of the secular power into the ecclesiastical events, the question arises if the Mongol conquest had actually started a new scenario, at least in the eastern Christian perception. In what follows, it will be investigated, first, to what extent Bar 'Ebroyo was conscious of the mostly opportunistic nature of the Mongol attitude towards Christianity and, second in

⁵² JACKSON 2005a.

⁵³ On the correspondence between Mongol khan and Latin West see AIGLE 2005b. See especially the letters sent in 1262 A.D. by Hulagu to the king of France Louis IX to pursue a military alliance. See BORBONE 2015, MEYVAERT 1980. For the letter sent by Abaqa to pope Clement IV see TISSERANT 1946.

⁵⁴ AIGLE 2005b: 150.

⁵⁵ On Shiites under Mongol Empire see PFEIFFER 2014

⁵⁶ In the circumstance when no other cleric was admitted to the Mongol camp, Bar 'Ebroyo succeeds to enter through a separated route reserved for physicians. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 753-755T-V. Beside Bar 'Ebroyo, also that Rabban Simon of Qa'lah Rumayta was the official doctor of the Mongol court. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ascension of the Mind*, Preface: 1-2T; 1-2V; BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 735T-V. Mongols had to be short of doctors if the Mongol general Nasawir was looking for a doctor to treat him during his military campaign in Syria. The father of Bar 'Ebroyo replied to his call. See BAR 'EBROYO, *History of the Dynasties*: 487T-318-319V.

which way the establishment of a Christian/Christian-friendly power and the understanding Bar 'Ebroyo had of it affected his representation of the relation between civil and ecclesiastical spheres.

Undoubtedly, Eastern Christians welcomed the Mongol accession to power as a display of divine mercy towards Christians. The arrival of the Mongol army after a long period of wild looting by armed bands contributed to stabilizing the political scene, and instilling new hopes for the potential of their rule.⁵⁷ The Mongols also worked on the religious enmities against (Sunni) Islam in order to establish their dominion: Christians and Shiites are attested to have proactively collaborated with the Mongols, creating the material condition for their advancement.⁵⁸ Christians foresaw in the newcomers the opportunity for their religion to prosper. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Mongol conquest is presented as part of a divine plan, as found in Bar 'Ebroyo. He reports that Hulagu's capture of Mardin and the Abbasid Syrian citadeles (1255 A.D.) is made possible by God's intervention:

The Tatars took fifty other citadeles which were round about it, and they laid them waste and pulled them down; and all those who were in them they killed. And by means of these blessed captures God had mercy on all Christians who lived in terror and trembling through the fear of the Ishmaelites who were carriers of daggers and were shedders of innocent blood.⁵⁹

The King of Kings sent troops and they encamped against Mardin, and they began to make war on it. And if God had not cast pestilence therein, even after years they would never have been able to capture it.⁶⁰

As mentioned above, advocating divine support to external actors in favour/punishment of the Christian community is a device already employed by earlier historians and it represents no innovation betraying a deeper involvement of the Mongols' emerges in Bar 'Ebroyo's account. The description of the military campaign of Hulagu, who, as already mentioned, has been referred to in other sources as the new Constantine, would have benefited from the powerful parallel with Constantine's war

⁵⁷ LANE 1999, SPULER 1955: 205-219.

⁵⁸ For Shiite collaboration see PFEIFFER 2014. Bar 'Ebroyo highlights that during the siege of Baghdad Christians were not attacked by Mongols. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 505T-V. Also the devastating military campaign of Hulagu in Syria seems to have spared Christians. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 495T-V.

⁵⁹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 496T-V.

⁶⁰ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 512T-V.

against the pagans. Hulagu is instead quite marginalized in Bar 'Ebroyo's work and the literary potential of a comparison with Constantine is not exploited at all.⁶¹ As I shall argue, Bar 'Ebroyo held indeed a quite realistic view of the Mongols' religious attitude, which kept him from indulging on overoptimistic depictions.

A number of khans and queens are said by Bar 'Ebroyo to be 'true believers' and to have contributed to making 'the Christian religion triumphant'. Though a certain extent of exaggeration might be supposed, the kernel of these reports should be genuine: Bar 'Ebroyo presents in these terms only Sorghaghtani Beki and Doquz Khatun, princesses of the Keraite tribe, who had converted to East-Syrian Christianity one century earlier, and the khan Guyuk, on whom his mother Toregene Khatun, coming from the Christian tribe of Naiman had exerted a strong influence. Other khans are instead depicted as mere 'friends of the Christians' which allows to suppose that Bar 'Ebroyo⁶² knew perfectly well the difference between a sympathising policy and a faith, allegedly sincere, inherited through family bonds. Bar 'Ebroyo might have been conscious that the triumph of Christianity, and even more the establishment of a Christian empire, could not be assured by the Mongol lineage whose adhesion to Christianity was not continuous. Moreover, although some khans had shown a kind of affection towards Christians, their policy was surely not so explicit.

Building policy had always been one of the most effective expressions of imperial 'friendship' to the Church.⁶³ However, the Mongol policy in this sense seems to have been quite late. Though the regular presence of Christian ecclesiastics in Maragha where the headquarters of the Ilkhanid court was settled, a residence for the East Syrian Catholicos was built only after Mar Yahballaha's accession to the catholicate in 1281 A.D.⁶⁴ Some kind of imperial donations were probably granted to the successive building initiatives of Mar Yahballaha, which proceeded with the restoring of the Church of Mar Shallita, the equipment of a tent-church in the Mongol encampment and the successive building of a masonry church in the timespan 1287-1293 A.D.,⁶⁵ (which is already after Bar 'Ebroyo's death). The latter indeed does not make any mention of Mongol support to his building initiative, which incidentally was quite limited in Maragha.

⁶¹ For the depiction of Constantine in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* see CAMERON 1983, RAPP 1998.

⁶² Denise Aigle has observed the correspondences between Bar 'Ebroyo and the Armenian historian Vardan Arevelc'i's accounts on Christian khans, supposing that Bar 'Ebroyo might have accessed Armenian oral reports through Syriac. See AIGLE 2015, 74-75.

⁶³ On this theme in Socrates see LEPPIN 1996: 167-168.

⁶⁴ BORBONE 2017. Before Yahballaha only the building activity of the East Syrian monk Simeon Rabban Ata in Azerbaijan is known. See BORBONE 2017.

⁶⁵ BORBONE-ORENGO 2006, BORBONE 2017.

Lastly, Bar 'Ebroyo knew that Christians' prosperity was subjected to a number of territorial and political variables. He does not refrain from reporting that Christian communities settled far away from the court were frequently subjected to raids, pillages and slaughters by wandering Mongol hordes.⁶⁶ The same Hulagu gave the permission to the governor of Bagdad to execute the Christian inhabitants, accused by a Muslim informant to have hidden a treasure from the Mongol troops.⁶⁷ Christians had also to deal with the problematic cohabitation with Muslims. Mongol control seems to have been so loose that daily quarrels between Muslims and Christians could not be prevented:

In those days when the Christians of the city of 'Arbil wished to celebrate the Festival of Hosannas (Palm Sunday), and knowing that the Arabs were making ready to obstruct them, they sent and summoned to their help certain Tatars who were Christians and who were near them. And when they came they placed crosses on the heads of their spears, and the Metropolitan of the Nestorians, together with all his people, sallied forth with those Tatars riding in front of them. And when they approached the front of the citadel, the companies of Arabs grouped themselves together, and they were carrying stones and they stoned the Tatars and the Christians, and their companies were scattered and each of the Christians fled to one side; and after this they remained for some days without daring to go forth. And this also afflicted the Christians in every place.⁶⁸

According to Bar 'Ebroyo, the Christians of Arbil ask for the military support of a Mongol tribe settled in the neighbourhood,⁶⁹ to revive a cult practice which had been abandoned on the grounds of public safety. The symbolic echo of the horsemen escorting the Christian crowd which carries cross-headed spears⁷⁰ cannot be casual. It parallels the cross-headed spear made by Constantine after his vision, which became metaphorically the sign of his struggle against paganism.⁷¹ The triumphant tone of the scene is immediately spoiled by the intervention of the Arabs who succeeded in scaring off both the Christian crowd and its Mongol protectors.

⁶⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 469T-V; 492T-V.

⁶⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 507T-V.

⁶⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 529T-V.

⁶⁹ For the identification of these Mongols see BORBONE 2010.

⁷⁰ For another procession performed in this shape see BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 539T-V.

⁷¹ EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, IX. 9: 832T-833V; EUSEBIUS, *Life of Constantine*, I.31: 30-31T-81V; I.40: 36T-85V. Cf. AIGLE 2005: 100.

One gets the impression that Bar ‘Ebroyo is presenting us with the idea of a Christian empire *in potentia* which the circumstances could not make effective: the discontinuity in the religious attitude of the Mongol lineage inhibited the creation of the best conditions (possible) for the establishment of a Christian power. It is understandable that the Mongol rulers who embraced or favoured Christianity had inspired in the Christians living under the yoke of the Muslims the association with Constantine and the propaganda of a new Christian power.⁷² However, it seems that the association never went beyond the mere naming and few symbolic references, which reveals that the intermittent and opportunistic nature of the Mongol attitude was quite evident for Bar ‘Ebroyo.

This awareness reverberates in the representation of the kingship and the interaction between civil and ecclesiastical spheres. The contact between Mongols and ecclesiastical hierarchies in the *Ecclesiastical History* is again limited to the common circumstances of the diploma-awarding and legitimation against a rival candidate to the patriarchate/catholicate.⁷³ Evidence that the deeply rooted diffidence towards the political power is not tempered in Bar ‘Ebroyo is found in several passages. While still bishop of Laqabin, Bar ‘Ebroyo escorted the patriarch Dionysius ‘Angur to receive his diploma from the Ayyubid emir of Syria An-Nasir Yusuf. In order to legitimate his request, the patriarch exhibited the diplomas earlier awarded to him by the Seljuk sultan of Rum Kaykaus II and the general of the Mongol army Baichu Noyan.⁷⁴ The move proved to be detrimental giving rise to such an embarrassing diplomatic incident that an Egyptian Christian lawyer of An-Nasir’s court blamed the patriarch in these terms:

Honestly, Father, we are not pleased by your arrival because we are much reviled by the Arabs, whose rulers abhor us saying, “Behold, the chiefs of your confession, whose contempt for worldly (affairs) and austerity you praise, reject one another (relying on) the worldly governance.”⁷⁵

The conferring of diplomas was an undeniable necessity of *Realpolitik* to keep off contending candidates to the patriarchate. The ecclesiastical hierarchs did not hesitate

⁷² Note also the association of the king Louis IX with Constantine in the East Syrian sources. TEULE 2003: 102.

⁷³ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I 717-719T-V; 755-757T-V; Part II.423-425; II.439-441.

⁷⁴ Noyan, pl. Noyad. Honorific originally signifying people not of the ruling lineage, holding high ranks and offices. The title then ended up in the connotation of ‘commander’. ATWOOD 2004: 412.

⁷⁵ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 719T-V. Wilmshurst translates otherwise: “We have become greatly despised by the Arabs, who change our rulers, saying “Behold the chiefs of your religion, whose contempt and disdain for worldly affairs you praise so much, are removed one after another at the worldly pleasure of princes”. WILMSHURST 2016.

to request them from as many governors as possible in order to assure the firmest control on their flock settled under different political jurisdictions. The understanding of the political power was then merely instrumental and no special status is conferred to it. On the contrary, any contact with the political ruler, though necessary, was cause of humiliation for the ecclesiastical hierarchs,⁷⁶ whose declared contempt for worldly power gave indeed an argument to their enemies on their contradictory attitude. In another passage Bar 'Ebroyo narrates:

In the year 1579 the maphrian went to the West, to see his people. On the road he met the patriarch in the city of Argish, which is on Lake Arcesti, who was going to lay a charge against the priest and physician Simeon over the affair of the monastery of Mor Barsoum. The maphrian did not want to meet the patriarch, because he had advised him that it was not right for the matter to be brought in judgement before the barbarous Huns and for us to become contemptible in their eyes, and that we should have solved our affair with the priest among ourselves.⁷⁷

The passage is an unequivocal declaration of the alterity of the ecclesiastical hierarchs from the political rulers. The controversy could have been solved without any external intervention, which demarcates clearly the boundaries between the corresponding areas of competence. An additional element is that Bar 'Ebroyo seems concerned of his community's reputation at the court of the Mongols. The depiction of the latter in quite unflattering terms has parallels in other of Bar 'Ebroyo's works,⁷⁸ betraying that Bar 'Ebroyo actually believed in the cultural and spiritual superiority of his community to its own rulers. Given the clear separation of the civil and the ecclesiastical sphere that has been just set forth, the above mentioned attitude of the Mongols towards the Christians opened however an unprecedented space to establish their credit, which Bar 'Ebroyo exploited advocating the cultural superiority of his community to the extent of arguing that what existed of culturally significant in the Mongol heritage had been handed down to them by the Christians.⁷⁹ In other words, the political changes of the

⁷⁶ H. Teule has detected three different attitudes towards the kings in Bar 'Ebroyo' *Ethicon* which all see civil governorship in negative terms. Notably, the most critical approach to the king aiming at point him out his faults is most likely addressed to clerics. See TEULE 1999.

⁷⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 439-441T.

⁷⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *The Cream of the Wisdom*, I.3.4:22T-23V; I.3.6:146T-147V. Cf. The application of the Ptolemaic-Aristotelian theory of the *klimata* to the regions inhabited by the Mongols in BAR 'EBROYO, *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*, Base II.3.1: 587T-V; 591T-V, Base II.3.2: 310T-V; 311T-V; 316T-V.

⁷⁹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 755T-V. On the compatibility of the Mongol habits with the Christian ethic see BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*, 411T-V.

Mongol conquest did not affect the common conception of the political power by the Syrian Orthodox, who kept claiming their juridical and spiritual independence. On the other side, instead, it created the conditions for the Christians to affirm their credit at the Mongol court.

2.1.2 The Stylistic Conventions

2.1.2.1 Syrian Orthodox

The narrative nature of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* has been universally acknowledged, notably in contrast to the strictly chronological structure of his *Chronography*. The criterion of narrativity has a double implication. On one hand, it implies the presentation of history according to causal connections. In his preface, Eusebius says he has presented more completely the events already dealt with in the *Chronicon*.⁸⁰ The statement cannot allude to the number of records included in the work since shortly earlier he mentioned to have selected a limited number of events.⁸¹ The wider presentation refers instead to an extensive narration of the records which had been only barely enumerated in the *Chronicon*. The narration implies therefore the use of causation in the outline of the development of the events. Historical causality in the *Ecclesiastical History* is likewise inherited by the later Church historians in the Greek tradition.⁸²

On the other hand, the continuous narrative leads Eusebius to frame his contents in thematic unities. While each thematic section is tied up by an internal coherence, there is no connection between the units, and this gives the work discontinuity on a macro-level. As a result, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* has been labelled as a 'static history' where no actual historical progress is represented.⁸³ As it will be argued presently, the lack of overall continuity is a relevant element in the reshaping of this historiographical genre in Syriac.

As to the narrative format, both John of Ephesus and Pseudo-Zachariah again tie in with the earlier Greek tradition. The former regularly refers to his work as a

⁸⁰ EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.1: 8T-9V.

⁸¹ EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.1: 8T-9V. On this aspect in the *Ecclesiastical History* genre see VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 176 and related references. Conversely, the chronographic genre aims at providing an as much as possible exhaustive list of events. See BURGESS-KULIKOWSKI 2013.

⁸² See VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 179.

⁸³ MORLET 2005: 13, WILLING 2008: 486-489, WINCKELMANN 1991: 107.

‘narrative’⁸⁴ and stresses both the relevance of the inner narrative coherence as well as the thematic independence of each section. John apologizes with the reader for the repetition of the account of the same event in several chapters, due to the unfavourable conditions in which he was working which hindered the editorial revision of his material.⁸⁵ Actually, John was probably referring to the ecclesiastical historians’ effort at limiting each matter to one single chapter in order to maintain internal casual unity, which would also allow the reader to orientate himself thematically.⁸⁶ For instance, the history of the monks of the monastery of Cathara,⁸⁷ covering the wide time span of Justinian (527-565) and Justin II (565-574), is gathered in one single chapter whereas a strictly chronological arrangement would have scattered the various phases of the history in different spots, breaking the causal and thematic connections.

Pseudo-Zachariah also structures his work following the criterion of causation⁸⁸ and refers to his own work as a narrative,⁸⁹ echoing the way in which the ecclesiastical historian Zachariah Scholasticus named his own history.⁹⁰ It has been noticed that Pseudo Zachariah titled his work ‘A volume of narratives’⁹¹ while all the manuscripts preserving it, either fully or fragmentarily, bear the heading ‘Ecclesiastical History’, which suggests that the readers understood the work as such.⁹² Evidently continuous narrative and thematic structure were directly associated in the readers’ mind to the Ecclesiastical History genre. This perception substantially changed after Dionysius of Tell Maḥre’s *Chronicle*, which introduced new formal choices.

In the preface to his *Chronicle*, Dionysius offers an important remark on the distinction between historiographical genres in the 9th century:

Although learned men wrote about past times from the beginning of the Creation up to the time of Constantine, the faithful king, and gave

⁸⁴ JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.30: 41T-28V; I.42: 52T-36V; II.1: 54T-38V; II.50: 115T-84V; II.52: 118T-86V; III.22: 149T-110V; III.39: 173T-129V; IV.19: 205T-154V; IV.53: 242T-183V; VI.1: 277T-210V. (المجلد)

⁸⁵ JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, II.50: 115T-84V.

⁸⁶ E.g. Eusebius states to have placed the description of the ecclesiastical writings in the chapters devoted to the authors of these works while he could have used them also in the chapters related to the topics these writings dealt with. CAROTENUTO 2001: 16.

⁸⁷ JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, II.46: 112-113T-82-83V.

⁸⁸ GREATREX 2006: 45.

⁸⁹ PSEUDO-ZACHARIAH, *Ecclesiastical History*, II.2: 124T-86V (المجلد).

⁹⁰ See in the portion of Zachariah’ work embedded in Pseudo-Zachariah. PSEUDO-ZACHARIAH, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.4: 159T-109V. (المجلد)

⁹¹ *المجلد* ‘Volume of narratives of the facts that happened in the world’

⁹² GREATREX 2010: 33-34. For the manuscripts see DEBIÉ 2015a: 46.

information about the formation of the world and the establishment of the creation, and the succession of the tribes from Adam and the number of their years, and about the kings that ruled and the length of their reigns, their writings are not called ‘ecclesiastical [histories]’ but ‘chronographies’, that is ‘writing of the times’, such as the ones that Josephus made, and Andronicus, Africanus, Annianus, George Ragtoyo, John of Antioch, and finally Eusebius of Pamphilus.

The first who started to write ‘ecclesiastical [histories]’, namely church histories was this Eusebius, and after him Socrates, Zosimus, Theodoretus, Zacharias, Elias, John of Asia, and last of them all Cyrus, priest of Batna. Yet another one, instead, made the succession of the years, I mean Jacob of Edessa, and [then] John the Stylite of Litarba.

Daniel, son of Moses of Tur Abdin wrote instead histories that resemble ecclesiastical [histories], and another one who is named John son of Samuel, from the Western region, and another who is called Theophilus, and Theodosius metropolitan of Edessa. But those that we have just mentioned composed their histories briefly and concisely, without caring about the accuracy of times or the continuity of facts.⁹³

When referring to the works that resemble the ecclesiastical histories, Dionysius must have had in mind some evident commonalities. Unfortunately none of the texts classified by Dionysius under this group has survived independently, which implies an obstacle for giving conclusive arguments on their nature. I limit here to advance the following hypothesis. The few fragments preserved report events of the civil sphere rather than the ecclesiastical one.⁹⁴ This might explain why Dionysius considered necessary to group these works separately from the ecclesiastical histories, even though he hints at a resemblance between them. Thus, the identifying element shared by the two classes of works was not the focus on the ecclesiastical matter but rather the narrative nature of the work.⁹⁵ However, Dionysius complains about their lack of ‘continuity of facts’. Unfortunately the Syriac text does not allow to assessing if Dionysius’ remark referred only to Theophilus and Theodosius or rather to the entire group of works ‘which resemble the ecclesiastical histories’. If these histories are associated to the ecclesiastical ones because of the narrativity, by lack of ‘continuity of the facts’ Dionysius must be referring to something else. Robert Hoyland has

⁹³ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, X.20: 378T. The translation comes from the draft CONTERNO-HILKENS-MAZZOLA-VAN NUFFELEN (forthcoming).

⁹⁴ For the indirect tradition see ‘Daniel, son of Moses of Tur Abdin’, ‘Theophilus of Edessa’, ‘Theodosius of Edessa’ in VAN NUFFELEN-VAN HOOF 2018. See also DEBIÉ 2015a: 44-45.

⁹⁵ See DEBIÉ 2015a: 44-45.

interpreted it as a criticism against the missing of a thematic thread.⁹⁶ In his own reconstruction of Theophilus' work⁹⁷ he presents a history clearly structured in coherent, distinct thematic units according to the model of the classicizing histories.⁹⁸ In my view, it is precisely such a thematic arrangement what they share with the Ecclesiastical Histories and what motivates Dionysius' disapproval: the lack of continuity must have referred indeed to the lack of connection between thematic units that characterized also the Ecclesiastical History genre, as it has been illustrated above. Accordingly, the new model provided by Dionysius' *Chronicle* would provide a combination of chronological accuracy and continuity of the facts, the latter entailing the reshaping of the thematic units in favour, as it will be argued, of a chronological framework, yet maintaining a continuous narrative. Dionysius' work has not survived independently and it may have been so largely reworked, when embedded in later writings, that it is difficult to retrieve its genuine structure. Yet, the novelty of his *Chronicle* and the impact it had on the following historiographical tradition can be inferred from common formal elements of later chronicles, which betray an irretrievable change in the perception of the genres. Dionysius' innovation, indeed, eventually led, on one hand, to elaborate new formal choices that could harmonize chronological accuracy, continuous narrative and continuity of the facts and, on the other hand, to apply them to both the secular and ecclesiastical parts, which had earlier complied with literary conventions of separated genres.

The preface of Ignatius of Melitene's *Chronicle* suggests that by the 11th century the boundaries between different historiographical genres were already blurred, since he groups under the generic label of 'ecclesiastical histories' diverse kinds of writings, including Jacob of Edessa' *Chronicle*,⁹⁹ which Dionysius had more correctly classified as a chronographic work. Though some formal elements suggest that Ignatius' work might have been mostly in line with the chronographic tradition,¹⁰⁰ he states that he presented 'facts and causes',¹⁰¹ adopting therefore the criterion of causation traditionally attributed to the genre of ecclesiastical history.

⁹⁶ HOYLAND 1997: 408.

⁹⁷ Both the formal and content reconstruction of Theophilus' History have been recently questioned. See CONTERNO 2015: 21-38. See also DEBIÉ 2015c, PAPACONSTANTINO 2013.

⁹⁸ HOYLAND 2011, esp. 19-23.

⁹⁹ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XIII.1: 545T-114V.

¹⁰⁰ Michael the Great mentions that he had to interweave the notices drawn from Ignatius with additional sources in order to provide a more substantial narrative. Therefore Ignatius' *Chronography* probably consisted in short notices. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XIII.1: 544-545T-112V.

¹⁰¹ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XIII.1:545T-114V.

Michael the Great goes a step further: in the preface he classifies his sources merely according to the chronological span they cover, and no mention of their genre is made. Michael's *Chronicle* gives indeed a clear example of the combination of narrativity with chronological accuracy in both the civil and ecclesiastical sections. Michael is, first of all, concerned with distributing the historical material plentifully and equally throughout the entire work, drawing also from additional sources where the Syriac authorities do not provide sufficient information.¹⁰² Like Eusebius, Michael is interested in providing an extensive narration of the events, which, however, in his case regards both the civil and ecclesiastical parts, whereas in Eusebius is limited to the *Ecclesiastical History*.¹⁰³ Second, he adopts a chronological organization for both parts. The *Chronicle* was originally structured in three columns dealing with civil, ecclesiastical and *varia* matters juxtaposed to a chronological backbone.¹⁰⁴ The events of all the parts were thus soundly anchored to a strict chronology.

The tentative to combine continuous narrative with chronology inevitably entails occasional renounces on both sides in order to preserve the balance. For instance, the narration of Theodore bar Wabun's tentative to seize to the patriarchal throne against Michael stretches over thirteen years but Michael assembles the account in the same unit, setting it in the year when the revolt started:

In this year 1491 we came from Antioch to the monastery of Mor Barsoum. After we had established the foundations for the building of the sanctuary in this monastery, Satan's jealousy forbade it. It found as instrument Theodore bar Wabun. He began then his rebellion and for 13 years he left no stone unturned about this matter that is this rebellion. It is necessary that we write more at length (about it) ... What we are writing in this narration are not all the bad actions of those who rebelled but only the part that it is necessary to write in order to show how this evil enterprise started and ended.¹⁰⁵

The aim is clearly to give an account that would let the reader learn the circumstances which originated the dissent, its development and especially its end: quite unsurprisingly the death of the rebel Bar Wabun. In short, the author's focus is not just the bare event but the understanding of its cause-effect relations. Michael's concern, which echoes the one of the earlier ecclesiastical historians, prompts him to suspend

¹⁰² MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XIII.1:544-545T-112V. Cf. MAZZOLA 2017.

¹⁰³ See above.

¹⁰⁴ WELTECKE 2000, WELTECKE 2003: 153-196.

¹⁰⁵ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XXI.1: 721-722T. Long-time accounts are employed also for the monasteries' histories, starting in the year of their foundation. See e.g. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XV.6: 585T-181V.

from time to time the strict chronological arrangement. In short, the new historiographical model tries to couple the chronological frame with the respect of the causal relation and it adapts both the civil and ecclesiastical parts to this formal model without any evident differentiation.

It remains to assess the role Dionysius' 'continuity of the facts' played in the reshaping of the Syrian Orthodox chronicle genre. I already argued that this continuity did not refer to the micro-structural coherence of the narrative units but rather to the continuity among the units themselves. In the chronicles composed after Dionysius such continuity is assured indeed by the chronological anchoring of the narrative. Michael's columns were juxtaposed to the *fila regnorum*. Moreover, also the traditional narrative unity of the chapter is fittingly adapted: while in the earlier ecclesiastical histories the chapters are exclusively thematic, in Michael the narrative is framed into chronological chapters that is they cover all the events in a given time span and they are accordingly headed to allow the reader to orientate himself chronologically in the work.¹⁰⁶ A comparable arrangement is carried out by the anonymous author of the *Chronicle up to 1234*: although the author gives up the rigid chronological canon, he thoroughly provides the dates of the events and sets the thematic chapters in an accurate chronological sequence.

To sum up, Dionysius of Tell Maḥre inaugurates a new phase of Syrian Orthodox historiography, one in which historians seem equally concerned about chronological accuracy and causal relations. The latter are rendered by the continuous narrative, applied to both the civil and the ecclesiastical parts, which ultimately betrays that a clear-cut stylistic distinction between the two was not relevant anymore. The continuity of the facts called for by Dionysius is supplied by the chronological arrangement that allows the author to set the events in an ordered sequence, and the reader to employ the chronological markers to spot the matter they are interested in.

It has already been mentioned that structures and forms adopted in a literary work should not be read as the slavish repetition of a genre but that they rather result from a tension between the communicative codes inherited by earlier models and innovations prompted by new circumstances. The creation of a new blended genre that entails the respect of chronology, narrativity and continuity mirrored the emergence of new communicative need. The most common scholarly trend reads the extinction of the ecclesiastical histories in Greek as a consequence of the conversion of political elites to Christianity, which eliminated the need to compose independent works dealing with the

¹⁰⁶ E.g. 'En appellant a notre aide le Christ Notre-Seigneur qui a entrepris d'accomplir la loi du huitième jour et viendra le huitième (jour) renouveler toute chose, nous commençons le huitième livre qui commence au début du règne d'Arcadius et d'Honorius, empereurs des Romains et de Yezdegerd, fils de Shabhour, (roi) des Perses'. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, VIII.1: 163T-1V.

ecclesiastical affairs. Recently a new interpretation of the genre has been proposed, as a 'form of social self-affirmation of religious groups' which after the 6th century proved useless due to the accomplished integration of Christians in the Greek society.¹⁰⁷ Without testing both hypotheses, which would require a separate study, I limit myself to notice that both are compatible with the development of the ecclesiastical histories in the Syrian Orthodox tradition. The treatment of ecclesiastical affairs in separate works resurfaces when the Syrian Orthodox experience a confessional detachment from their rulers. The autonomy and the alterity from the civil sphere that is regularly claimed by Syrian Orthodox makes most plausible the employment of the ecclesiastical parts to affirm the Church as an 'autonomous sphere of society'. In short, these parts take on the role of histories of the Syrian Orthodox Church as an institution. Notably, the *Chronicle up to 1234* bifurcates in a civil and an ecclesiastical section after the conversion of Constantine the Great, while one, following the common interpretation, would expect the contrary. This can indicate that the ecclesiastical part was indeed understood as an institutional history of the Church.

This element allows us to join the discourse on the stylistic conventions. The criteria of chronological accuracy and continuity, which, it has been argued, are strictly related, dovetail the interpretation of the reappearance of ecclesiastical histories among the Syrian Orthodox as histories of the ecclesiastical institution. The number of contributions stressing the relevance of the anti-Duophysite attitude in shaping the Syrian Orthodox historical discourse is substantial¹⁰⁸ and has led scholars to see the emergence of Syrian Orthodox historiography a consequence of the need of self-legitimation as an independent Church after the Council of Chalcedon. Since it has been mentioned that the 6th century was still a transition phase in which Syrian Orthodox ecclesiastical historians still tied in the Greek tradition, this interpretation should be applied to the post 6th century historiography. Indeed, the persecutions, the formation of an independent hierarchy and the transfer of the Syrian Orthodox regions from the Greek to the Arab rule must have built up a sense of rivalry and independence that at Dionysius' time had been fully processed. The concern for the chronological accuracy and the chronological continuity of the facts can be read, therefore, as an essential tool in retracing the history of the Syrian Orthodox Church in order to show their persistence in the path of Orthodoxy. This mirrors the anti-Jewish aim behind the interest for chronology in Eusebius' *Chronicle*: the establishment of an accurate chronology can show the antiquity of the Christian tradition against a competing

¹⁰⁷ VAN NUFFELEN 2018.

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. S. ASHBROOK HARVEY 1988, DEBIÉ 2009b, MORONY 2005, VAN GINKEL 2005, PALMER 1992, WELTECKE 2009.

Judaism.¹⁰⁹ The application of this criterion to the *Ecclesiastical History* in the post-Dionysius tradition evidently goes hand in hand with an unprecedented feeling of self-affirmation against rival churches, especially the Chalcedonian. It was important to show that Syrian Orthodox and Chalcedonians shared the same past as imperial church before being divided in the 6th century. In other words, the chronology gives the Syrian Orthodox Church a place in the world. The chronological elusiveness of the Eusebian *Ecclesiastical History* is understandable when one contextualizes it in the historical phase when Christianity was still taking its first steps as an institution, and dogmatic and heresiological issues were the most urgent matters to handle.

The relevance of the chronology that I set forth above is corroborated by the absence in the Syrian Orthodox tradition of historiographical excerpts collections.¹¹⁰ Even when providing comprehensive systematization of the historical knowledge, as in the case of the Syriac Renaissance Chronicles, Syrian Orthodox could not renounce to the chronological arrangement which thus proved pivotal in making their historical discourse effective.¹¹¹

The application of narrativity to both the civil and ecclesiastical parts results from the author's perception of history as *magistra vitae*. The commemorative function of history is coupled with its practical utility.¹¹² While commemoration merely entails the mention of the events with the aim of saving them from oblivion, the criterion of causation serves an additional purpose.¹¹³ Historical causation triggers in the reader a reaction whereby he traces back the consequence of the actions to their causes and deduces consequently how he should or he should not behave.¹¹⁴ The extension of the causative-narrative thread to both the civil and ecclesiastical parts is thus indicative of the fact that in the author's mind they both provided valuable (positive and negative) *exempla* to achieve such practical aim of history.

¹⁰⁹ For the relation of Eusebius with Judaism see ULRICH 1999.

¹¹⁰ Byzantine and Mamluk literature provides several examples of excerpts collections. See the contributions of P. Magdalino and A. Nemeth on the *Excerpta Constantiniana* and the contributions of E. Muhanna and M. van Berkel on Mamluk 'encyclopedias'. MAGDALINO 2013, MUHANNA 2013, NÉMETH 2013, VAN BERKEL 2013.

¹¹¹ See MAZZOLA 2017.

¹¹² See NEVILLE 2016; VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 178-180.

¹¹³ See the distinction in Socrates. VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 179-180.

¹¹⁴ According to Eleonore Neville the historical writing produces in the reader a response of imitation. See NEVILLE 2016. In the next section it will be argued that this reaction pertains the hagiographical genre, while the causation activates in the reader a different mental process. See section 3.

2.1.2.2 Bar 'Ebroyo

Bar 'Ebroyo stands at the very end of a long historiographical tradition in Syriac. This raises the question of how much he was indebted to it. Like his immediate predecessors, Bar 'Ebroyo does not seem to have been aware of a stylistic distinction between his *Chronography* and *Ecclesiastical History* except for the division between the civil and ecclesiastical matter.¹¹⁵ Both parts are indeed again conceived according to common formal parameters. Although Bar 'Ebroyo omits the chronological canons of his main source Michael the Great, his concern for the chronological arrangement of the work is otherwise displayed. Though not consistently, dates are provided also in the ecclesiastical part, allowing the reader to orientate himself in the narrative, and the events are organized in an accurate chronological sequence. The relevance of the chronological arrangement is detectable in several passages. For instance, the vicissitudes of the convent of Mor Cyriacus (1207-1257 A.D.) are split up accordingly, and fit into their appropriate chronological spots.

At that time the physician Simeon of Ḥesno, a just and upright man, restored the convent of Mor Cyriacus of Zoniqrat in the region of Ḥesno d-Ziyad... and around 60 monks gathered there, to whom he gave fields, ploughs... They ate at the same table, according to the custom of the communities in Cilicia, and became famous for their illustrious conduct; but they could not escape the envy of the devil, as that sacred place was eventually destroyed, as it will be illustrated in the appropriate place.¹¹⁶

The foundation takes place in 1207 A.D. but the fate of the monastery under the reproachful conduct of the founder's son is narrated further on in the pertinent portion dated to the year 1257 AD¹¹⁷

As in the case of Michael, the link between the units is given by the chronology, assuring thus the continuity Dionysius was concerned about. Thematically independent, narrative units are tied up to the previous ones across the period in which the narrated

¹¹⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*, 1T-V. Bar 'Ebroyo refers also to the column on the ecclesiastical matter in Michael's *Chronicle* as 'Ecclesiastical History' (ܡܚܪܫܬܐ). BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 587T-V.

¹¹⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 615T.

¹¹⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 723-725T. 'At that time it was destroyed the convent of Mar Quriacos of Zoniqrat, which had been restored by the physician Simeon of Ḥesna, whose soul is at rest. He had a bad, spendthrift son named Michael, who greatly grieved the monks with taxes. When they had enough and turned away from him, he went to the sultan Rukn al-Din and became a Muslim. Shortly afterwards he obtained the permission to expel the monks from his father's convent and installed mads at their place.'

events have happened:

The patriarch left for Qal'ah Rumayta, and remained there in his church, and Mar Constantine, the Catholicos of the Armenians treated him with much honor, always going down to see him...

At that time Aaron of Laqabin left his dioceses and went away to live quietly in Jerusalem. The patriarch transferred Gregory Abu al-Faraj bar Aaron from Gubos to Laqabin, and for Gubos he consecrated Barsoum, son of the brother who had been former bishop of Gubos.

In those days the bishop of Habora, that is Daniel the disciple of Bar Ma'dani, went to the patriarch, because he was irate with the maphrian...¹¹⁸

In short, Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* still fits the chronological arrangement handed down by his immediate predecessors, though displaying no preeminent interest in the theoretical investigation on computations nor providing plenty of dates. Witold Witakowski has highlighted the irregularity of Bar 'Ebroyo's system of dating in the *Ecclesiastical History*, which in his perspective does not create 'a dating system within which God's economy of salvation would be inscribed'.¹¹⁹ I would argue that Witakowski's direct comparison with the Eusebian model overlooks the several steps in the genre tradition which, as it has been shown, are relevant in the shaping of later Syrian Orthodox Chronicles. The significance of Eusebius' interest in chronological calculation with the aim of showing the antiquity and the prestige of Christianity against the competing Jewish tradition is assimilated by the post-Dionysius Syrian Orthodox historians more or less consciously. It is used to set forth the historical development of the Syrian Orthodox Church as an institution, showing that Chalcedonians deviated from the pattern of the orthodoxy. It can be supposed, therefore, that Bar 'Ebroyo inherited such a communicative scheme from his immediate predecessors but he re-interpreted it according to his view. As it will be set forth in section 2, Bar 'Ebroyo relies more on the sequence of the patriarchal successions as backbone for his work than an absolute date, though the former provides anyway a chronological order. The patriarchal sequence gives Bar 'Ebroyo an instrument to show the persistence of orthodoxy in the Syrian Orthodox lineage against competing Christian communities, notably Chalcedonians and East Syrians. As to narrativity, Bar 'Ebroyo's intention is manifested in the preface:

¹¹⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 685-687T. For other examples see BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 649-651T-V; 665T-V; 667T-V; 685T-V; 687T-V; 723T-V; 729T-V; Part II: 409T-V.

¹¹⁹ WITAKOWSKI 2006: 66.

And as this our rational being was created so that it might know righteousness, so that it might glorify it, and goodness that it might find it; and as knowledge in the first place becomes rich through thoughts of a theoretical nature, and it in the second place profited through practical hearings, the calling to remembrance of the things, both good and bad, which have happened in each and every generation conferred no small benefit on all those who care greatly to acquire what is good, and who take pains to hate what is bad, and it urged a man to demonstrate pointedly the things which are excellent related thereby, and incited him to reject the disgraceful happenings which it narrated.¹²⁰

The commemorative function serves the practical purpose of the *Chronicle*, that is to instruct the reader on how to behave properly. As mentioned above, that the historians make use of the causation criterion to pursue such a practical aim. As it will be argued in section 3, while the exposition of entirely positive *exempla* triggers in the reader a reaction of imitation,¹²¹ proper of hagiography, the exposition of both positive and negative *exempla* asks the reader to distinguish what is good from what is not. The process of understanding has necessarily to go through the assimilation of the cause-effect relation: namely of the principle that every action has a consequence. In his preface Bar 'Ebroyo explicitly refers to both good and bad deeds and actually his *Chronicle* presents countless anecdotes on clerics and laymen whose blameworthy conduct eventually leads them to disgraceful consequences.¹²² Also the cases of conversion to Islam, which prove to be a sensitive theme at Bar 'Ebroyo's time,¹²³ follow the same patterns both in terms of causes and consequences.¹²⁴ As to the former, indeed, conversions to Islam are always motivated by manifest immorality, inadequacy to the pastoral charge or political opportunism: Aaron of Segestan, for instance, is caught in fornication before converting to Islam.¹²⁵ Maudiana of Edessa is ordained bishop of

¹²⁰ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*, 1T-V.

¹²¹ See subsection 3.1.1

¹²² See e.g. the attack of Joselin against the monastery of Mor Barsoum and the consequent besiege he suffered from the Turkish army. Eventually Joselin's repentance allowed him to overcome his enemies. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 503-511T-V. The bishop Bar Turkoyo of Tel Bashir detected several times in fornication and fraud is eventually killed by the Armenians. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 519-521T-V.

¹²³ AIGLE 2005.

¹²⁴ E.g. Michael, son of Simeon of Hēsna, after the conversion to Islam dies in battle. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 723-725T-V. Daniel of Habora dies few months after his conversion. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 711T-V.

¹²⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 517-519T-V.

Mardin by the patriarch in absence of other candidates, a circumstance which forewarns the predictable sequel where he turns first Muslim and then Chalcedonian.¹²⁶ Daniel of Habora converts to Islam after his candidature to the episcopate of Aleppo has been rejected by the patriarch.¹²⁷ In short, the reader is invited, through the cause-effect associations to realise that only deplorable people convert to Islam. As in the case of Michael the Great, narrative coherence requires occasional ruptures of the chronological system. In the account of the diploma-conferment to the patriarch Ignatius Isho, Bar 'Ebroyo and the patriarch hasten to the Mongol encampment to counter the initiative of an opposing delegation:

The patriarch and the maphrian also left for the Ordu with their bishops, by another route, and when they reached the city of Arzangan the maphrian went ahead, because he was travelling on the official horses of the public treasury in which he stored the roots, medicaments and salves which he needed for his service. When he arrived at the Ordu he found that the other bishops had not been admitted to the audience with the king of kings. This must have been the divine providence, because if they had been admitted, there would have been a great schism in the Church of God, and both factions would have been in great peril. Since the bishops who were outside (the king's tent) accused the Cilicians of having appointed a patriarch without their consent, while the Cilicians blamed the peripheral bishops to want to constitute an inadequate and faulty candidate. But God spared both the local and the foreign bishops. Indeed, the bishops were not admitted for the following reason: a certain Armenian monk had been caught stealing and had been sentenced to death for his transgression. An order had then gone out that no monk could enter in the Ordu. But the guards of the routes did not surround the maphrian, because he was bringing medicines and proceeding via the route of the physicians. Therefore, on the same day that he entered the camp, he was given an audience with the king of kings Hulagu.¹²⁸

The sequence of the events that preceded the coming of the maphrian and the bishops is determined by the development of the plot: the detection of the Armenian monk's theft and the consequent ban of all the clerics from the camp. The event is relevant to the point that Bar 'Ebroyo understands it as a divine intervention in favor of the patriarchal candidate he was accompanying. Therefore, in a chronological exposition of the events, the story of the Armenians monk and of the ban would have lost its

¹²⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 595-597T-V.

¹²⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 711T-V.

¹²⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 753-755T.

relevance in the overall interpretation of the whole episode. In short, Bar 'Ebroyo inherited from his predecessors the model combining chronological arrangement, narrativity and continuity of the facts.

2.2 The Patriarchal Succession

Establishing the legitimacy of an institution through the uninterrupted lineage of its leaders since the founder was a deep-rooted practice in the Mediterranean literary tradition since the Hellenism.¹²⁹ Christian authors adopted this format and established episcopal lists in order to show the continuity of the Christian tradition both in terms of political legitimacy and of adherence to the original doctrine. The episcopal sequences were employed by Eusebius in his *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History* with various aims: included in the canons of the *Chronicle*, the apostolic lineage is set in continuity to the previous Jewish tradition to demonstrate the antiquity of the Church against a competing paganism.¹³⁰ In the *Ecclesiastical History*, Eusebius includes the episcopal successions starting from the Apostles as political and intellectual heirs of Christ to advocate the institutional stability and the doctrinal orthodoxy of the Church.¹³¹ Getting back to terminology borrowed from De Vore, the episcopal sequence can be read as a communicative scheme implying the idea of continuity. However, this communicative scheme can be modulated differently in order to reach different aims. To set the apostolic tradition in continuity to the Jewish one means for Eusebius to prove the antiquity of the Christian tradition. To tie the lineage of the bishops to the apostolic founders on the basis of their adherence to the apostolic doctrine testifies to the authority of the ecclesiastical institutions. It has indeed been observed indeed that the purposes behind the constitution of episcopal lists in the early Christian writings can be ultimately gathered under two types: anti-heretical and anti-schismatic use.¹³² The former is influenced by the Hellenistic sequences of the philosophical schools and accordingly focuses on the adherence to the tradition established by the founder. The latter focuses instead on the institutional legitimation of the candidate. This aspect will

¹²⁹ For an overview see LEE-WILLIAMS 2005: 11-43.

¹³⁰ For the apologetic use of the sequences in Eusebius' canons see BURGESS 1997. For the continuity between the Hebrews and the Christians from Moses' revelation to the coming of Christ see ULRICH 1999.

¹³¹ MOMIGLIANO 1990: 139-140.

¹³² LEE-WILLIAMS 2005.

prove relevant in studying the *ratio* behind the establishment of the lists. For instance, in the East-Syrian historiography, the monastic histories and the *libri pontificales* pivot on the idea of continuity from the teacher to his disciple.¹³³ The attention is therefore drawn on the tradition the former hands down to the latter. As it will be shown, Bar ‘Ebroyo, follows different criteria even when he is adopting the format of a *liber pontificalis*.

To sum up, the succession being a code to express the idea of continuity, it can be shaped in different ways in order to reach different aims. Thus, the patriarchal sequences in Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Ecclesiastical History* will be analyzed on the basis of the following elements. First, the origin of the sequences, that is who are the founders of the sequence Bar ‘Ebroyo wants to set up and what this means for his historical discourse. Second, the criterion Bar ‘Ebroyo follows in establishing the legitimate lineage of bishops/patriarchs, especially in the cases of rival candidates. In order to prove that the literary format of the succession results from a profoundly significant theological choice, I shall also address the way in which Bar ‘Ebroyo formally shapes the sequences.

2.2.1 Where to Start: The Conceptualization of the Priesthood

2.2.1.1 The Old Priesthood

The beginning is a crucial point in a narration. Historians locate the critical moment when, in their view, the object of their history comes into being. The first evident divergence of Bar ‘Ebroyo from Michael the Great is indeed where he decides to start his *Ecclesiastical History*. Michael adopts in his *Chronicle* the Neoplatonist conceptualization of priesthood found in Pseudo-Dionysius Aeropagite’s *Ecclesiastical Hierarchies*.¹³⁴ At the moment of the Creation the divine nature propagated in a number of emanations. Priesthood is an intermediate emanation between the angelic and the human ranks, and this bestows on it an intermediary function between humanity and God, in virtue of its superior closeness to the divinity. Given that the propagations came into being at the moment of the Creation, Adam was the first to receive the priesthood office and Michael makes his ecclesiastical part start from him. John of Dara, quoted by Michael, looks for a confirmation of Pseudo-Dionysius in the Scriptures through the interpretation of Psalm

¹³³ DEBIÉ 2009a: 17. See also DEBIÉ 2012: 14-16.

¹³⁴ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, I.1-8:5-27V; 7-13T.

139 verse ‘You formed me and you put your hand on me’,¹³⁵ where the moment of the creation of Adam is immediately followed by his priestly ordination through the imposition of the hands. Bar ‘Ebroyo detaches himself explicitly from this view:

In the first part on the western high priesthood I start from Aaron, the first high priest of the Old Testament, even though there is someone who counted among the priests everybody who anyhow presented a sacrifice or an oblation or made an offering to the Lord, and who says that the priesthood starts in the mankind from Adam, the first ancestor of men, quoting the verse ‘You formed me and you put your hand on me.’ Nevertheless it is evident that the sense was then obscure and allegoric, because until then it was not called priesthood, and the function (of the priests) had not been clarified (yet) in the pertinent law.¹³⁶

Though, as it will be mentioned, Bar ‘Ebroyo draws from Pseudo-Dionysius in his *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary* and he does not deny the sacramental value of the imposition of the hands,¹³⁷ he adjusts Pseudo-Dionysius’ theory to make it fit his historical interpretation of priesthood. The main objection pivots on the existence back then of proper cult rules. In Bar ‘Ebroyo’s view, the establishment of the priesthood goes along with the divine conferment of the ritual prescriptions in Leviticus 8-10, excluding thus from the priestly ranks the patriarchs of Genesis who had performed some kind of sacrifices and offerings.¹³⁸ That Leviticus marks for Bar ‘Ebroyo a critical moment in the history of priesthood is corroborated by his exegetical work *Storehouse of the Mysteries*. The commentary to Exodus 19.22 explicitly declares that no priesthood had yet been given to the Hebrews back then¹³⁹ while in the commentary to Leviticus 10.1 it is said

¹³⁵ Psalm 138 in the Peshitta numeration. See BROCK 1988. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, II.3: 9T-18V.

¹³⁶ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 1T.

¹³⁷ The interpretation of the Scriptures has resulted in a number of theories on the imposition of the hands which all however converge on seeing it a mean of conferment of the Holy Spirit and it is accordingly used in the performing of baptism, confirmation and ordination rites. On the laying on of hands in the New Testament see LEE WILLIAMS 2014: 57-58. For Syrian Orthodox tradition see DE VRIES 1963, BEGGIANI 2003: 557. Bar ‘Ebroyo follows this tradition: the distinction between the monastic and the priestly ordination is explained by the fact that only in the latter the conferring of the Holy Spirit is bestowed through the imposition of the hands. DE VRIES 1963: 264. Moreover, in his exegetical work *Storehouse of the Mysteries* Bar ‘Ebroyo reads the laying on of the hand in Psalm 139 indeed as the transfer of the Holy Spirit. See BAR ‘EBROYO, *Storehouse of the Mysteries*, 256T.

¹³⁸ Genesis 4,3-5; Genesis 8.20-21

¹³⁹ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Storehouse of the Mysteries*: 128T-129V.

that 'the office was new',¹⁴⁰ namely the priesthood came into being in between. Therefore, while Michael acknowledges the symbolic value of the cult in Genesis as anticipation of priesthood in Leviticus, which in its turn anticipates the New Testament one,¹⁴¹ Bar 'Ebroyo uses exactly this symbolic value as an argument against the acknowledgement of it as proper priesthood. In short, cult legislation is of pivotal importance in Bar 'Ebroyo's historical concept of priesthood. This issue leads us to Bar 'Ebroyo's adaptation of Pseudo-Dionysius Aeropagite's *Ecclesiastical Hierarchies* to his historical view. In his *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary* he mentions two definitions of priesthood:¹⁴²

First Definition: The priesthood is the action that leads men to the likeness of God, as much as possible for the human nature through the likeness of the (divine) substance.¹⁴³

Second Definition: The priesthood is the way that leads the men from the animal conducts to the angelic ones through the material things where the type of the immaterial is represented as the perfumed oil, the heavenly bread and the giving-life wine.¹⁴⁴

Both definitions imply that the priest is an intermediary between the human and the divine, as is indeed asserted in Pseudo-Dionysius. The second definition emphasises, however, the relevance of the material means through which the priestly function of adaptation to the divine is performed. The material connotation of priesthood Bar 'Ebroyo proposes emerges also from the following section, where he distinguishes two kinds of priesthood: divine and earthly, the latter being divided in legislative (Old Testament) and ecclesiastical (New Testament). As I shall mention in 2.1.2, earthly priesthood, both in his legislative and ecclesiastical versions, entails the deployment of physical means. Specifically 'legislative priesthood has been given through physical rules and commandments'.¹⁴⁵ In short, the priest has to perform a physical cult in order

¹⁴⁰ BAR 'EBROYO, *Storehouse of the Mysteries*: 157T-161V.

¹⁴¹ 'N'est-il pas facile, pour quiconque a la foi, de comprendre que le Seigneur ne se complaisait pas seulement dans ces sacrifices parce qu'ils figuraient alors d'une manière obscure et voilée les sacrifices symboliques de la loi ancienne, mais aussi parce qu'ils étaient la figure des sacrifices nouveaux et manifestes'. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, II.3:11T-21V.

¹⁴² The definitions likely come from one of his sources. For the sources of the *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary* see TAYLOR 2008: 83-85.

¹⁴³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*, Base VI.1.1: 84T- 17V.

¹⁴⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Candelabrum of the sanctuary*, Base VI.1.1: 84T-17-18V.

¹⁴⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Candelabrum of the sanctuary*, Base VI.1.1: 84T-18V.

to be an effective means of connection between the human and the divine. It is not surprising therefore that the successful performance of the cult has to follow precise rules given by God himself. It has indeed been argued indeed that cult divergences between Syrian Orthodox and other Christian communities gave rise to severe controversies and they did not escape the attention of Syrian Orthodox theologians because of the crucial role of the cult in making humans accessing the divine sphere.¹⁴⁶

To sum up, Bar 'Ebroyo's conceptualization of the history of priesthood is consistent with the definition he gives in his *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*. Specifically, what he wants to focus on in his *Ecclesiastical History* is what he calls the 'earthly priesthood', which establishes a connection with God through material means. Earthly priesthood was conferred to Aaron through Moses, along with precise cult rules which made indeed the material cult fully effective. Ultimately, in my view, what Bar 'Ebroyo is presenting us in his *Ecclesiastical History* is a history of ordained priesthood as distinct from the so-called 'priesthood of the baptized'. Such a distinction, as I shall argue presently, underpins the entire work.

2.2.1.2 The New Priesthood

The change from Old Testament to New Testament priesthood marks another critical moment in the historical narration. As in the previous case, Bar 'Ebroyo's view of the New Testament priesthood is consistent throughout both his historical and theological works. It has already been mentioned that Bar 'Ebroyo distinguishes between the divine and earthly priesthood in the *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*. The earthly priesthood is in turn divided into legislative and ecclesiastical. The former is given through Moses (and to Aaron) while the latter is given through Jesus:

The ecclesiastical priesthood has been given through the incarnation of God...
The legislative priesthood has been given through physical rules and commandments. Our ecclesiastical priesthood represents a midway position between these two (divine and legislative) since it represents the Sense of the incorporeal thing in a corporeal person.¹⁴⁷

The legislative and the ecclesiastical priesthood share as common trait the use of the corporeal means, in opposition to the divine priesthood. However, the ecclesiastical priesthood stands, obviously from a Christian perspective, at a higher compared to the legislative one. The shared material aspect sets the legislative and the ecclesiastical

¹⁴⁶ DE VRIES 1963: 268-269.

¹⁴⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Candelabrum of the sanctuary*, Base VI.1.1: 84T-18V.

priesthood in continuity with each other. Let us see how this continuity is shaped in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

Bar 'Ebroyo does not devote much space to Jesus, though he marks explicitly his role in the passage to the New Testament priesthood.

At this time, when the king Herod was appointing yearly the high priest for the Jews, deposing and changing as long as spoiling their actions and abolishing their edicts, our Lord arose. He was born in Bethlehem in the 43rd year of Augustus. He ascended to the heaven in the 19th year of Tiberius. Our Lord stayed for 33 years in the world. During the high priesthood of Ananus and Caiphas, the old high priesthood changed and the new high priesthood arose. It was confirmed through our Savior when he appointed Peter the head of the Apostles and entrusted to him the key of the Reign of Heaven. After the high priesthood of the Old Testament, Peter the high priest of the New Testament.¹⁴⁸

The new priesthood, which corresponds to the ecclesiastical priesthood in the *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*, is given through Jesus to Peter who is indeed counted as the first in the lineage of the new high-priests. Jesus, therefore, is intentionally not depicted as a priestly figure. He is not himself a priest but rather a mean through which the new priesthood is established and handed over to Peter.

The move from the Old Testament to the New Testament priesthood introduced in part of the Christian tradition the idea of Jesus as priest, on the basis of Hebrews 5.5-10, where Jesus' priestly status is affirmed in view his connection to Melchisedek.¹⁴⁹ An exhaustive overview of the reception of the figure of Melchisedek in Syriac has not yet been carried out,¹⁵⁰ though his presence seems to be conspicuous in anti-Jewish literature.¹⁵¹ That the figure of Melchisedek was thoroughly discussed among Syrian Orthodox minds emerges also from the exegetical commentary of Bar 'Ebroyo on Genesis 14.18, where different opinions on Melchisedek are quoted.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 29-31T.

¹⁴⁹ Hebrews 5.5-10 in turn cites Psalm 110.4. The interpretation of Melchisedek as a priest relies on the interpretation of his offering in Genesis 14.8 as a priestly action. An account of Christian discussion on Melchisedek in the early centuries is given in FITZMYER 2000. On the connection between Melchisedek and Psalm 110 see NEL 1996.

¹⁵⁰ For some perspectives see BECKER 2006: 91-93.

¹⁵¹ BECKER 2006: 93. The connection between Melchisedek and Jesus is the kernel of an anti-Jewish discourse on priesthood preserved in MS Add. 18295. See BECKER 2006.

¹⁵² BAR 'EBROYO, *Storehouse of the Mysteries*: 52T-53V.

And Melchizedek, king of Shalim, brought forth bread and wine; and he was priest of God Most High. That is, (some) of what was left over from his offering he proffered to Abraham by way of a gift. And some, having heard Paul say: "Neither his father, nor his mother, nor the beginning of his days, nor the end of his life, are recorded in the genealogies," have asserted that he was the son of God, and that concerning him Isaiah had said, "Who shall declare his generation?" But they do not take note (of the fact) that Paul said, "in the likeness of the son of God" and not "the son of God." And because he was a Canaanite Moses did not record his genealogy.

This text reveals that interpretations of Melchisedek as prefiguring Jesus had widely circulated also in the Syrian Orthodox milieu. However, Bar 'Ebroyo provides a series of lexical and historical arguments to disprove, first that Melchisedek performed a proper priestly function since his offering was given simply 'by way of a gift', and second that he had any figurative connection to Jesus. The portrayal of Jesus as a high priest, according to the line of Melchisedek, therefore, does not find any room in Bar 'Ebroyo's conceptualization of priesthood.

In short, Bar 'Ebroyo stays true to the Aaronic priestly line for the old priesthood and sets the new priesthood in continuity with the old one, representing both of them as two inflections of the same kind of earthly priesthood and disproving an independent lineage for the new priesthood through Jesus. This underlying conceptualization makes, as anticipated, the *Ecclesiastical History* ultimately a history of the ordained priesthood as distinct from the priesthood of the baptized.

The priesthood of the baptized is the priestly function the Christians assume through the baptism. It is based on the interpretation of 1 Peter 2.4-9, where newly baptized are addressed:

Come to him, to that living stone, rejected by men but in God's sight chosen and precious; and like living stones, be yourselves, built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. Now you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, so that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his wonderful light.

The baptism implies the acceptance of the new covenant established by Jesus. Through this commitment the believers become a priestly nation called to the apostolate and to prayer. Similar to the Greek and the Latin early Christian tradition, Syriac authors also conceptualized the baptism as conferring the royal priesthood to Christians. Drawing

from various passages of Syriac catechetical literature, Sebastian Brock has pinpointed the following aspects related to the priesthood of the baptized. First, it is a spiritual cult.¹⁵³ The believer is expected to offer up prayers to God interiorly, from his heart. When the cult has to be physically performed, as in the Eucharistic rite, the intervention of the ordained priesthood is required. Second, it is conditional upon the conduct of the believer.¹⁵⁴ The priestly status of the Christian is made manifest when he exercises the above mentioned spiritual cult. Since the latter consists of inner prayers and apostolic mission, consequently the priesthood of the baptized becomes effective only if the individual complies with that. Moreover, in the royal priesthood the baptized share the priesthood of Christ who, accordingly, is considered a priest. As shown above, that the interpretation of Jesus as a priest is not found in Bar 'Ebroyo's conceptualization. Also the other elements strongly suggest that Bar 'Ebroyo was consciously writing a history of the ordained priesthood, avoiding any element that might have denoted a different kind of priesthood.

As to the first element, I have already referred to the relevance of the materiality in Bar 'Ebroyo's conceptualization of the earthly priesthood both in his legislative (Old Testament) and ecclesiastical (New Testament) variants. The former is given through material cult rules while the latter is given through the incarnation of Jesus, and it entails in fact, through his Passion, a form of physical sacrifice. The spiritual cult performed by the baptized is therefore distinct from the material one. That the priesthood of the baptized does not find place in Bar 'Ebroyo's theory emerges also from his interpretation of 1 Peter 2.4-9 where the verse 'You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood' is glossed with 'He does not laud them as a bodily race but for the faith because (it is the faith that) creates a holy people, a separate assembly'.¹⁵⁵ In his definition of the legislative and the ecclesiastical priesthood Bar 'Ebroyo had already underlined that the first one was limited to Israel while the second one was given to all the people.¹⁵⁶ The interpretation of 1 Peter 2.4-9 couples with the definition of the ecclesiastical priesthood as an extension of the legislative priesthood out of the national border of Israel.¹⁵⁷ Therefore it does not indicate a different kind of priesthood but as an extension of the legislative one to non-Jewish people.

As to the second element, it will be shown presently that Bar 'Ebroyo does not select

¹⁵³ BROCK 1987: 16-18.

¹⁵⁴ BROCK 1987: 19.

¹⁵⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Storehouse of the Mysteries*: 538T.

¹⁵⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary*, Base VI.1.1: 84T-18V.

¹⁵⁷ In order to assess to which extent the interpretation of Bar 'Ebroyo depends on previous exegetical tradition, a study of the sources of the *Storehouse of the Mysteries* still remains a *desideratum*.

the patriarchs to be included in the legitimate line of the priesthood on the basis of their qualities but rather on the formal regularity of their election. In short, deplorable candidates are preferred to better ones when the ordination of the former is considered formally valid. The priestly status is not acknowledged thus on a moral basis. This again clashes with the conceptualization Michael had adopted in his *Chronicle*. Drawing from John of Dara, Michael endorses the interpretation of the priesthood as a sacral function given to whoever proves to be worthy of it,¹⁵⁸ even before the priestly function was regulated by the divine law, that is before the establishment of the legislative priesthood with Aaron. In Bar 'Ebroyo, the preponderance of the regularity of the ordination procedure over the qualification of the candidate in the legitimate sequence comes full circle with the importance of the cult legislation mentioned at the outset. Bar 'Ebroyo conceived therefore his *Ecclesiastical History* as an institutional history where the ordained hierarchs constitute the reference point of the community in virtue of the special status the ordination confers to them.

2.2.2 The Continuity Criterion

2.2.2.1 The Literary Format

Michael the Great, Bar 'Ebroyo's main source, drew the structure of his work from Jacob of Edessa's *Chronicle*,¹⁵⁹ which ultimately derives from Eusebius' *canones*.¹⁶⁰ As already mentioned, that the original form of Michael's *Chronicle* likely consisted in a three-column *spatium historicum* juxtaposed to *fila regnorum* of the Eusebian type which in the Aleppo-Edessa manuscript are found at the bottom of the pages. As in the case of Eusebius and Jacob of Edessa, the episcopal sequences are embedded in the *spatium historicum* and they are thus related chronologically to the *fila regnorum* as the rest of the lemmata. Conversely, in Bar 'Ebroyo the episcopal successions constitute the backbone of the *Ecclesiastical History*. The narrative material of Michael's *spatium historicum* is arranged under the episcopal sequences which thus end up playing the role of the *fila regnorum*, as W. Witakowski has already suggested.¹⁶¹ In the next chapter it will be shown indeed that Bar 'Ebroyo undertook an attentive reworking of Michael's material

¹⁵⁸ 'Le sacerdoce est donc une fonction sainte, qui, par sa science parfaite et par l'accomplissement des choses qui sont en son pouvoir, imprègne ceux qui ont été dignes de l'exercer saintement'. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, II.1:7T-15V.

¹⁵⁹ For the structure of Jacob of Edessa's *Chronicle* see WITAKOWSKI 2008: 32-36.

¹⁶⁰ For the structure of Eusebius' *Chronicon* see BURGESS 1999.

¹⁶¹ WITAKOWSKI 2006: 66.

to shape his *Ecclesiastical History* as a *liber pontificalis*. The episcopal sequences, thus, must have been crucial in Bar 'Ebroyo's historical discourse. What I am going to argue in this subsection is that the formal configuration of the episcopal successions betrays indeed the theological significance Bar 'Ebroyo acknowledges to them.

In the *Ecclesiastical History* every entry is introduced by the standard formula 'After Patriarch X, Patriarch Y'. The formula is appropriately used only for the patriarchs which Bar 'Ebroyo acknowledges belong to the legitimate lineage while it is not used for the illegitimate ones. The criterion of Bar 'Ebroyo's selection of the legitimate candidate over his competitors will be addressed in the next subsection. Here I give some example showing that the formula used is not a merely stylistic practice.

Immediately after the death of Michael the Great a quarrel over the patriarchal election occurs between Michael's nephew Isho' Seftana and Athanasius Saliba Kraha. The backbone used by Bar 'Ebroyo to arrange this narrative is as follows:

After Mor Michael the Great, Athanasius Saliba Kraha.¹⁶²

After the consecration of Athanasius Kraha, Michael the Younger Isho' Seftana was also consecrated.¹⁶³

After Athanasius Saliba Kraha, John Isho'¹⁶⁴

The valid succession is clearly represented by the passage from Michael the Great to Athanasius Saliba Kraha and thence to John Isho', while for Isho' Seftana the standard formula is omitted. Shortly later, he reports on the beginning of the patriarchate of Dionysius Aaron 'Angur. In the same year in which Dionysius was ordained (1252 A.D), the rival patriarch John Bar Ma'dani was chosen by an adversary faction of bishops. As in the previous example, Bar 'Ebroyo uses the standard formula only for the one he considers the authentic patriarch.

After Mor Ignatius, Dionysius Aaron¹⁶⁵

After the ordination of Dionysius, Mor John Bar Ma'dani was ordained.¹⁶⁶

After Mor John bar Ma'dani, Mor Ignatius Isho'¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 605T.

¹⁶³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 611T.

¹⁶⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 617T.

¹⁶⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 695T.

¹⁶⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 707T.

¹⁶⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 743T.

In the next section it will be shown that initially the election of Bar Ma'dani was considered unlawful but after the death of Dionysius 'Angur, it was ratified by the bishops. This emerges also from the wording of the sequence: Bar Ma'dani is initially excluded from the standard formula but afterwards he appears in the sequence as immediate predecessor of Ignatius Isho'. If Bar Ma'dani's election had not been ratified at a later stage, the name of Dionysius Aaron would have appeared in its stead as happened in the above mentioned case of Athanasius Saliba Kraha.

The use of the formula proves relevant also in the portion drawn from Michael. Bar 'Ebroyo used the appendix of Michael's *Chronicle* to build up the backbone of his *Ecclesiastical History*, arranging the narrative material of Michael's main text to fit the continuity of the episcopal successions.¹⁶⁸ In the following example, Bar 'Ebroyo structurally recomposes the narrative of the Meletian schism in Syria.¹⁶⁹ While Michael provides the numbered episcopal list, setting in continuity with each other the protagonists of this intricate episode, Bar 'Ebroyo shapes the appropriate formula for each candidate. The schism occurred as follows: Meletius was translated to the see of Antioch in 360 with the consensus of both the Arian and the Nicaean factions. Shortly afterwards, urged by the Arians, the emperor Constantius deposed and exiled Meletius and replaced him with the Arian Euzoius. After Meletius had returned from the exile in 362 a rival party of Nicaeans which considered Meletius' theological positions suspicious, elected Paulinus in his stead. The schism lasted until after the death of Meletius.

MICHAEL THE GREAT ¹⁷⁰	BAR 'EBROYO
31. Meletius	After Eudoxius, Meletius ¹⁷¹
32. Euzoius	After Meletius, Euzoius the Arian occupied the throne ¹⁷²
33. Paulinus	At the same time Paulinus governed the party of the Orthodox ¹⁷³
34. Flavian	After Meletius, Flavian ¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ See chapter III.

¹⁶⁹ KAZHDAN-GREGORY 1991: 1333; CROSS-LIVINGSTONE 1997: 1068.

¹⁷⁰ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, Appendix: 432V-741T.

¹⁷¹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 97T.

¹⁷² BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 99T.

¹⁷³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 99T.

¹⁷⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 113T.

As it emerges from the formulas, Bar 'Ebroyo acknowledges the status of legitimate bishop only to Meletius, though as it will be shown, the doctrine of Paulinus was surely closer to Bar 'Ebroyo and the Syrian Orthodox theology.

Finally, the standard formula is used also for the succession of the East Syrian catholicoi until the election of the first 'Nestorian' catholicos Acacius. Afterwards, the use of the formula is suspended until the appointment of Ahudemme, the first Syrian Orthodox metropolitan of the East, when the formula is recovered to express indeed the restoration of the lineage of the Orthodox tradition.

- After Marabokht, Dadisho¹⁷⁵
- After Dadisho, Babowai¹⁷⁶ (Account on the 'Nestorianization' of Persia by Barsoum and election of Acacius who eventually gives in to Nestorianism)
- The catholicos Acacius died, the bishops gathered and consecrated a certain Babai as catholicos.¹⁷⁷
- After Babai had fulfilled his ministry for 5 years, Shila succeeded him.¹⁷⁸
- Shila died after fulfilling his ministry for a while. Then a schism arose among the bishops. - Some of them supported Elisha the son-in-law of Shila.¹⁷⁹
- After the Nestorians had deposed their catholicos Elisha, the son-in-law of the catholicos Shila, they chose a certain Paul.¹⁸⁰
- He died after fulfilling his office for one year, and Aba succeeded him.¹⁸¹
- Joseph succeeded him.¹⁸²
- Ezekiel succeeded him.¹⁸³
- After the persecution of the Orthodox of the East, arose Ahudemme the metropolitan of the East.¹⁸⁴
- After Ahudemme, Qamisho.¹⁸⁵
- After Qamisho, Samuel.¹⁸⁶
- After Samuel, Marutha.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 57T.

¹⁷⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 61T.

¹⁷⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 79T. For this passage see also HAGE 2007:15-16.

¹⁷⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 81T.

¹⁷⁹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 81T.

¹⁸⁰ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 87-89T.

¹⁸¹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 89T.

¹⁸² BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 95T.

¹⁸³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 97T.

¹⁸⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 99T.

¹⁸⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 101T.

¹⁸⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 109T.

In short, the sequences stand at a crossroad between literary format and theology of history. The formal utterance of the episcopal succession is intentionally shaped by Bar ‘Ebroyo to bestow legitimation on the candidates and accordingly to express his idea of continuity. Starting from the definition of priesthood emerged in the previous sections, the *ratio* behind the setting out of this succession will be analyzed, that is the criterion Bar ‘Ebroyo follows to choose the legitimate bishop/patriarch in situations of doctrinal or political crisis.

2.2.2.2 The Legitimation Criterion: An Anti-Schismatic Use

In subsection 2.1, it has been argued that Bar ‘Ebroyo shapes his historical and exegetical discourse to show the superiority of the ordained priests, due indeed to the special status the ordination confers them over the community. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the criterion which leads Bar ‘Ebroyo in establishing the lawful episcopal sequence is the validity of the ordination. This brings up, however, the tricky question of what actually makes an ordination valid. From the account of Bar ‘Ebroyo on the patriarchal elections occurred after Michael the Great’s death (1199 A.D) it emerges clearly that Bar ‘Ebroyo legitimates the election of candidates who gained the widest consensus in the episcopal community. Of course bishops could agree on a candidate for quite different motives: Athanasius Saliba Kraha was said to be rich and well versed in politics which made of him an excellent candidate to challenge the ambition of his rival Isho Seftana.¹⁸⁸ Ignatius Rabban David was chosen out of his manifest moral virtues,¹⁸⁹ while Dionysius ‘Angur’s familiarity with the rulers was considered an advantage.¹⁹⁰ The common agreement upon a candidate therefore was not necessarily led by abstract, ideal models but it was rather prompted by factual circumstances.¹⁹¹ The exigence to maintain or recover unity in the Church could also overshadow the moral or intellectual evaluation of the candidate himself. After Athanasius Kraha’s death, the (much despised) counter-patriarch Isho Seftana was approached by his former adversary’s bishops who offered him to ratify his illegal election if he paid a third of the tribute they owned to the governor of Mardin. Isho’s refusal prompted the election of a new

¹⁸⁷ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 117T.

¹⁸⁸ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 609T-V.

¹⁸⁹ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 641T-V

¹⁹⁰ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 699T-V.

¹⁹¹ This is not, of course, a new phenomenon. See e.g. the chalcedonian episcopal succession in Antioch in the 6th century as an imperial attempt at recover ecclesiastical unity with anti-chalcedonians. ALLEN 2011.

patriarch¹⁹² but the episode reveals that a candidate who had been previously opposed could receive a common consensus in order to restore the Church's unity. To secure the bishops' agreement by means of material gifts was also an accepted practice.¹⁹³

Bar 'Ebroyo fully shares this mentality: in his *Ecclesiastical History* he does not impose another model but includes in the legitimate priestly lineage only the candidates who obtained the widest episcopal consensus, whatever the reasons of this consensus might have been. Obviously, candidates who try to circumvent the bishops' consensus, bribing the rulers to obtain a diploma are excluded from the legitimate lineage.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, moral virtues are not necessarily a priority, compared to the consensus of the bishops. Dionysius 'Angur, portrayed as an arrogant and proud man, is preferred in the succession to his more outstanding adversary John Bar Ma'dani.

Of course, the 'widest consensus possible' is a vague concept, which could be taken rather loosely, especially when canonical literature, at least as witnessed by Bar 'Ebroyo's *Nomocanon*, was not useful in this respect. The minimum number seems to be three bishops according to the Nicaean rule but later canons speak of all the bishops of the region, or even more loosely 'as many bishops as possible'. In cases of practical impediment, a written consensus from the mentioned bishops should be delivered to the synod.¹⁹⁵ The canons therefore left some room for interpretation and they seem indeed to offer a rather loose framework within which to move. It has been already noted that in the 4th-5th century the canon law (and its use) was intended to safeguard the consensus rather than to set up a precise procedure through which to create the consensus itself,¹⁹⁶ which would explain why the norms included in the *chirotonia* section of the *Nomocanon*, which mostly consist of council acts,¹⁹⁷ remained quite vague. In short, the canons were a descriptive corpus rather than normative one.

The freedom the canons left to find a consensus wide as possible could also create situations where the consensus could not be quantified, as in the case of the dispute between Dionysius 'Angur and John Bar Ma'dani. The western bishops supporting the election of Dionysius 'Angur asked the maphrian Bar Ma'dani to participate to the synod and to grant his own consent and that of the eastern bishops to the election of Dionysius. However, when Bar Ma'dani intentionally delayed his coming, Dionysius urged the bishops to ordain him even in his absence. Immediately afterwards, Bar Ma'dani was ordained in Aleppo by the eastern bishops. In terms of numbers, the

¹⁹² BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 617-619T-V

¹⁹³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 609T-V; 747T-V.

¹⁹⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 611T-V; 747T-V.

¹⁹⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Nomocanon*, VII.3: 44-45V.

¹⁹⁶ VAN NUFFELEN 2011.

¹⁹⁷ For the sources see VÖÖBUS 1970. See also the juridical texts used in the *Ethicon*. TEULE 1995.

consensus to both the candidates was equivalent and accordingly both the elections could have been considered valid. However, as Bar 'Ebroyo reports, Bar Ma'dani was appointed patriarch before deposing Dionysius,¹⁹⁸ which put him out the canonical rights. After the death of Dionysius, Bar Ma'dani's election was ratified by the bishops and accordingly acknowledged by Bar 'Ebroyo in his sequences, as seen above.

In short, Bar 'Ebroyo follows the criterion of consensus to acknowledge the ordination of a bishop/patriarch. Such an agreement does not correspond to a strict adherence to ideal models. The canons gave rather vague directions in determining the election procedure, as a result of the fact that they were themselves conceived to facilitate the creation of the consensus. From this perspective, Bar 'Ebroyo's vision can be considered fully legalistic as expected by his conceptualization of the priesthood. One need only have a look at the kaleidoscopic political landscape of the 12th-13th centuries to realize why Bar 'Ebroyo promoted this policy. Syrian Orthodox dioceses found themselves under different, often rival, political entities which fostered the emergence of local claims within the Syrian Orthodox community.¹⁹⁹ As Jan van Ginkel has noted, in inter-territorial institutions 'the loyalty is directed to members of the network and their ideology'.²⁰⁰ The choice of a common leader, therefore, had to go through a controlled procedure which gathered the widest support possible from the various dioceses in order to keep unity.

As seen above, Bar 'Ebroyo resorts to the logic of the consensus to legitimate the ordinations occurred at his time, whatever the reasons of the consensus might have been. In this sense the *ratio* behind the establishment of the succession adopted by Bar 'Ebroyo for his period can be accordingly labelled as anti-schismatic.²⁰¹ The focus is on the political legitimation of the candidate rather than the tradition or the moral/doctrinal model he represents. The Syrian Orthodox Church of Bar 'Ebroyo's time had fully moved on from the theological debate of the previous centuries and the doctrinal credibility was not an important issue anymore. This brings up the question, thus, of whether the *ratio* used by Bar 'Ebroyo to establish the 13th century patriarchal lineage is the same as the one he used for the periods when the theological controversies strongly directed the election of the bishops, especially in a crucial see like Antioch. In the previous section I referred to the Meletian schism in Syria. When the bishop Meletius was deposed and exiled by Constantius II, Paulinus governed the Nicaeans in Antioch, against the Arian bishop Euzoius. When Meletius returned from

¹⁹⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 707T-V. Cf. BAR 'EBROYO, *Nomocanon*, VII.1: 40-41V.

¹⁹⁹ See WELTECKE 2008: 315.

²⁰⁰ VAN GINKEL 2006: 173.

²⁰¹ At the outset I have referred to the difference between the anti-schismatic and the anti-heretical use of the successions.

the exile in 362, Paulinus' party claimed the see alleging that Meletius' theological positions were suspicious. Although Bar 'Ebroyo seems more at ease with the theological position of Paulinus, who is indeed said to 'have governed the Orthodox party', he did not acknowledge him in the legitimate lineage, as seen above. The deposition of Meletius had been decided by the emperor at the request of the Arian party and therefore was not considered valid. Though Paulinus, theologically speaking, would have been a more suitable candidate in a Syrian Orthodox perspective, he was wrongly ordained when the legitimate bishop Meletius was still alive and formally in charge.

Even the Chalcedonian Paul the Jew is acknowledged as legitimate successor of Severus the Great who had been exiled at the accession of the pro-Chalcedonian emperor Justin I. According to Bar 'Ebroyo's account, drawn from Michael the Great, Severus was not deposed by Justin I but gave up his charge voluntarily. As seen in the case of Meletius, in Bar 'Ebroyo's view the emperor does not have the power to revoke an ordination.

After the faithful emperor had died and Justin had come to power from Thracia and had ordered the synod of Chalcedon to be accepted, the holy Severus despised life, neglected worldly glory and departed from Antioch to Alexandria, after he had been on the seat for 6 years.²⁰²

Severus' renunciation to the see legitimates the succession of the Chalcedonian Paul the Jew, though Severus continued to lead informally the anti-Chalcedonians in Antioch.²⁰³ To sum up, even at the time of theological controversies, the orthodoxy of the doctrine is overshadowed by other criteria in the establishment of the legitimate episcopal lineage. Unfortunately, for this period there are no as much as information as on the elections of the 13th century, but some elements suggest that it is again the logic of the consensus that motivated his legitimation of the candidates: the deposition imposed by the emperors does not have any value as in the case of Meletius, who had been initially elected with both the Arians and the Nicaeans' consent. Paul the Jew is acknowledged as Severus' successor because of the latter's voluntary renunciation to the see rather than as result of an imperial decree. The ordination and deposition are considered as valid only when they find the consensus of the episcopal community. In this perspective, the vision of Bar 'Ebroyo proves to be again anti-schismatic.

As to the sequences of catholicoi and maphrians in the East Syrian history, in section 4 it will be shown that the theological profession of the East Syrians does not play a

²⁰² BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 193T-V.

²⁰³ ALLEN 2011: 26. His involvement in the ordination of the bishops in the East is indeed limited to the years 512-518 that is before his exile. See ALPI 2011.

central role in determining the separation of the East Syrian lineage from the Syrian Orthodox one. Such a detachment is instead interpreted as result of the political move of Barsoum of Nisibis who uses the duophysite profession as a pretext to create an institutional schism. In a letter to the catholicos Denḥa, Bar ‘Ebroyo underlines that the separation of the two churches, and consequently of the two patriarchal lineages, is not a matter of theological disagreement but rather the consequence of historical and political factors. This episode will be analyzed more extensively later on; suffices it say that Bar ‘Ebroyo ‘s attention again is not focused on the doctrinal matter but rather on Barsoum’s personal ambitions in opposition to the commonly acknowledged rules that led the Church as an institution.

2.3 The Hagiographical Dimension

In an article of 2005, Denise Aigle has interpreted Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Chronicle* as a historical narrative in between historiography and hagiography, basing her argument on the preponderance of didactic/edifying stories in the work.²⁰⁴ Especially, Aigle stressed the importance of divine providence which through its miraculous interventions in human history shows men that their fate is subject to God’s will. Moreover, she has noted that several stories are dated according to the liturgical calendar which inserts them in a cyclical time giving the *Chronicle* a kind of a-historical dimension, and that some hagiographical *topoi* are employed in the narration.

This interpretation of Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Chronicle* brings up crucial questions on the way in which he decided to narrate history. Although Bar ‘Ebroyo’s anthropological focus and edifying aim represents a difference compared to his model Michael the Great,²⁰⁵ it should be assessed to which extent the edifying aim and other features of the *Chronicle* can be interpreted as a hagiographical dimension. This distinction is relevant because hagiography and historiography correspond to two different ways of narration, aiming at triggering in the audience different reactions.²⁰⁶ Forms of hybrid compositions actually exist, as Muriel Debié has shown for the East Syrian historiographical

²⁰⁴ AIGLE 2005: 98-101.

²⁰⁵ See WELTECKE 2009, WELTECKE 2010

²⁰⁶ For the Byzantine hagiographical *diegesis* see RAPP 1998, RAPP 2015. For the distinction between hagiographical and historiographical discourse in early Byzantine literature see KRUEGER 2010.

tradition.²⁰⁷ However, these compositions at the crossroad between hagiography and historiography share distinct formal features with both kinds of text, which, as it will be shown, is not the case for Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*.

The hypothetical contamination between hagiography and historiography in the *Ecclesiastical History*²⁰⁸ will be addressed in terms of narrative format rather than of content or *topoi*. Hagiographical themes and *topoi* might have found their way in historiography due both to the extensive use of hagiography by historians and to the fact that historical reliability is a modern categorization of which ancient authors were not aware.²⁰⁹ Hagiographical texts were indeed used by Greek and Syriac ecclesiastical historians as sources of no less value than others:²¹⁰ historians would 'filter' them in order to separate the historical data they preserve from the spiritual description of the protagonist, which were of marginal interest.²¹¹ No evidence of censure or scepticism towards miraculous (unreliable in a modern perspective) events emerges. Later Syrian Orthodox chroniclers used hagiographical sources too.²¹² Accordingly, since historians did not perceive a difference in terms of reliability and strands of hagiography were taken over in historiographies, it is not surprising to find typical hagiographical *topoi* such as the 'miraculous' being applied to historical events, without being considered inappropriate. To pick up but a few of Aigle's examples, the theme of the prodigious salvation of Syrian Orthodox churches during earthquakes²¹³ while mosques and churches of other confessions are, not very sportingly, said to have collapsed, is also found in Michael the Great.²¹⁴ As to the dating of some episodes according to the liturgical calendar, it should be noted that this is a common practice in Michael too,²¹⁵ which is not surprising when one looks at the structure of the calendars authors had at

²⁰⁷ See DEBIÉ 2010b, DEBIÉ 2012.

²⁰⁸ The analysis is focused on the *Ecclesiastical History*, yet saving the possible validity of these results also for the *Chronography*.

²⁰⁹ DEBIÉ 2012.

²¹⁰ DEBIÉ 2012: 21-23; VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 195-198.

²¹¹ For Socrates and Sozomen see VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 195-198.

²¹² For Dionysius of Tell Maḥre and Michael the Great see DEBIÉ 2012: 23-28; For the *Chronicle up to 1234* see HILKENS 2014: 420. As to the Byzantine tradition, from the 7th to the 10th century Byzantines went through reorganization and rewriting of earlier hagiographies. Claudia Rapp has shown that this re-elaboration betrayed that the spiritual dimension of the texts given by the holiness of the saints ceased to be crucial and the interest shifted to the subject itself, relegating the hagiographies 'to the realm of history'. See RAPP 1998.

²¹³ AIGLE 2005: 100

²¹⁴ MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle* XIX.8: 696T-339V.

²¹⁵ MICHEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XIII.3: 550T-120V; XIII.6: 565T-144V; XV.5: 582T-177V; XV.9: 591T-193V; XVI.10: 626T-253V; XXI.6: 733T-403V.

their disposal.²¹⁶ However, it makes perfect sense, as D. Aigle points out, that Bar 'Ebroyo might have exploited this practice to stress the connection between the penitential spirit of the Lent period with some dramatic events of his *Chronicle*.

It might be useful, thus, to reason in terms of narrative strategy rather than in terms of content. Claudia Rapp has argued that hagiographers employ a precise kind of storytelling (diegesis) 'characterized by simple style and intrinsic truth-value'.²¹⁷ This storytelling is consciously conceived to enhance the participation of the audience to the holiness of the saint. To put it more concretely: insistence on autopsy creates in the audience the confidence that the author has directly interacted with the saint. Through this device, the author assures the veracity of his account and, second, he creates an interactive dimension where, through him, the audience can feel closer to the saint.²¹⁸ Simple style, on the other hand, is employed to direct the audience's attention to the deeds of the saint, refraining from rhetorical embellishments. In Rapp's view this style choice is indeed due to the fact that hagiography wants to teach by giving powerful examples to imitate, rather than by inducing rational reasoning. In short, hagiographers employ a well-defined way of writing, intended at creating an emotional involvement of the audience and at triggering in them the desire to imitate the saint.

Against this backdrop, the storytelling adopted by Bar 'Ebroyo in his *Ecclesiastical History* will be investigated by focusing, first, on the literary performance through which he intends to edify/instruct his reader. I shall argue that whereas hagiographical stories employs the mechanism of imitation, Bar 'Ebroyo uses the mechanism of causation. Second, I will focus on the role of the autopsy, if any, in validating the veracity of the narration, especially in Bar 'Ebroyo's first-hand account of his time.

Beside the narration itself, I will address the macro-structure of the work in comparison to the hagiographical works. It has already been noted that, as to the macro-structure, hagiography does not correspond to a single genre and it can be written in a great variety of forms, both in poetry and prose (Acts of Martyrs, *Apothegmata*, Collections of Lives, *Menologia* etc.)²¹⁹ M. Debié has pointed out the influence the Acts of Martyrs and the Collections of Lives had on the historiographical praxis of the East Syrians.²²⁰ Monastic and local histories are usually organized as a

²¹⁶ E.g. a calendar attributed to Jacob of Edessa provides the correspondence between the numerical dates of the months with the liturgical feasts. BROCK 1970.

²¹⁷ RAPP 1998. See also RAPP 2015.

²¹⁸ Beside autopsy, also the authorial imitation of the saint virtues, through e.g. the *topos modestiae*, contributes in making the author participating in the saint's holiness. KRUEGER 2010, PRATSCH 2005: 22-34.

²¹⁹ For Byzantine tradition see TALBOT 2008. For Syriac tradition see BROCK 2011.

²²⁰ DEBIÉ 2010b, DEBIÉ 2012.

sequence of biographies of leaders or prominent figures of the local church, giving these works the biographical dimension typical of hagiography. However, the crucial difference between these histories and hagiography is that the former organize the biographies of the leaders chronologically.²²¹ Indeed, Thomas of Marga, author of the *Book of the Governors*, a monastic history of the Monastery of Beth Abhe, declares in the prologue that while the biography of each archimandrite provides a spiritual model to follow, he has arranged the biographies in one consecutive order, according to historical practice.²²² As Debié has noticed, it is thus the continuous reiterations of this model from an archimandrite to the others that gives the text an additional meaning, namely it shows the persistence of this spiritual model throughout time. In short, as it will be mentioned, Thomas uses typical hagiographical storytelling techniques in the account of each life, but the structure of the entire work is historical. This raises some interesting questions regarding the macro-structure of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* which is organized like a *liber pontificalis*. By referring also to what has been already argued on the episcopal/patriarchal successions,²²³ I will try to understand if Bar 'Ebroyo too is providing the reiteration of a spiritual model to create the history of the institution.

2.3.1 The *Diegesis*

2.3.1.1 The Edifying Aim: Causation vs Imitation

Edification is a key-concept of hagiography since the latter is intended to teach the audience how to behave, through the spiritual model of the saint.²²⁴ As already mentioned, the edifying dimension has been considered a cornerstone of Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*. In this subsection I am going to argue that, although Bar 'Ebroyo had surely a didactical purpose in mind, he employed typically historiographical tools to pursue this aim.

In the preface to his hagiographical work *Lives of the Eastern Saints* John of Ephesus sets up the intention of his work, presenting the standard hagiographical topos of the imitation:

Although we may seem to be presuming to set foot in things that are too great for us, by the power of his saying and the hope of his gift we have been

²²¹ DEBIÉ 2010b.

²²² THOMAS OF MARGA, *Book of the Governors*, I.2: 19T-24V.

²²³ See section 2.

²²⁴ PRATSCH 2005: 37-40.

encouraged to approach the task of compiling histories concerning their ways of Life and their brave triumphs and the characters of their good deeds, that, we may draw, though obscurely, by means the vile and common pigments of our poor words, the pattern of their likenesses for posterity, [and] leave it in the memorial of our writings; so that, when they read and see their good deeds and marvellous ways of life, by this means we opine that two beneficial results will be produced, one that when they see their good deeds they may also glorify their Father who is in heaven as it is written, and the second again, that, when the light of the narratives of their ways of life shines upon souls entangled in the vanities of this world and darkened by error, they may be enlightened by the light of their triumphs and be eager to imitate them.²²⁵

John explicitly declares that he wants to relate the ‘brave triumphs’ and the ‘good deeds’ of the saints to make the reader ‘eager to imitate them’. What is exposed here is thus an exclusively positive experience which gives the audience no choice than to repeat the saint’s deeds. Thomas of Marga also states that in his *Book of Governors* he wants ‘to praise and glorify the ascetics and holy men who have lived in the holy Monastery of Beth ‘Abhe’.²²⁶ In reality, Thomas offers a more nuanced narration than the usual overly positive account of hagiographers²²⁷ but the focus remained on the edifying spiritual depiction of the monastery’s archimandrites.²²⁸ Let us see, instead, what Bar ‘Ebroyo declares in his preface:

And as this our rational being was created so that it might know righteousness, so that it might glorify it, and goodness that it might find it; and as knowledge in the first place becomes rich through thoughts of a theoretical nature, and it in the second place profited through practical (i.e., actual) hearings, the calling to remembrance of the things, both good and bad, which have happened in each and every generation conferred no small benefit on all those who care greatly to acquire what is good, and who take pains to hate what is bad, and it urged a man to demonstrate pointedly the

²²⁵ JOHN OF EPHEBUS, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, Preface: 1-2T-V.

²²⁶ THOMAS OF MARGA, *Book of Governors*, I.1: 16T-18V.

²²⁷ Jean Maurice Fiey has noticed that Isho‘dnah of Basra, author of the *Book of Chastity*, a collection of lives of prominent East Syrian monks, intentionally omits the real reason of the monks moving from one monastery to another, while Thomas of Marga reports that they left because of internal quarrels. FIEY 1984-1985: 256.

²²⁸ This is also anticipated explicitly in the preface: ‘the style and manner of the lives of the holy men concerning whom thy holiness hath persuaded me to speak.’ THOMAS OF MARGA, *Book of Governors*, I.1: 16T-19V.

things which are excellent related thereby, and incited him to reject the disgraceful happenings which it narrated.²²⁹

History finds its utility in the realm of what Bar 'Ebroyo calls 'practical knowledge'. The division between theoretical and practical knowledge is explained in his *Ethicon*. While theoretical knowledge is a purely speculative act, practical knowledge has to do with the experiences of the daily life.²³⁰ The narration of the events of world history is intended, thus, to make the reader assume in his own life the good behaviours and to reject the bad ones. Thus, the focus on the didactical dimension has been rightly pinpointed as a distinctive trait of the historian Bar 'Ebroyo. Although they also include several didactical stories²³¹ Michael the Great and the *Chronicle up to 1234* seem more concerned with the informative value of their chronicles.²³² What I want to focus on, however, is the mechanism through which Bar 'Ebroyo wants his *Chronicle* be didactic. In the preface he never refers to imitation. Contrary to hagiography, which proposes entirely positive examples to follow on the wake of an emotional immersion, Bar 'Ebroyo presumes an involvement of rational nature. In his compendium of Aristotelian philosophy *The Cream of the Wisdom*, there is an interesting remark betraying that Bar 'Ebroyo did not hold the concept of imitation in high regard. The following passage comes from the section on *Ethics*, that is the practical knowledge to which Bar 'Ebroyo refers in the preface of the *Chronicle*:

Since actions are usually performed by non-virtuous men who imitate the actions of the virtuous, it is necessary to distinguish between virtuous actions and actions which resemble virtues, but (which) are not virtues in reality...Those who are instructed in some of the philosophical sciences and on that account are not acquainted with the right arguments, are not true philosophers. They may be compared to small children who perform the deeds of kings and prefects in their games.²³³

²²⁹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*, 1-2T-V

²³⁰ 'Of the things that are subject to be understood by us, either only knowledge is possible to us, as, for instance, that the Creator is one and the world has a beginning; or, besides knowledge, also practice, as, for instance, that the soul receives illumination by the emaciation of the body, but grows dark by its giving way to flesh. The former is called theoretical knowledge, the latter practical, viz. active knowledge. And as the first aims at distinguishing truth from error, so the second intends to distinguish good from evil'. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ethicon*, Preface: 7-8T, 5V.

²³¹ See use of causation in Michael the Great in subsection 1.2.1

²³² ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle up to 1234*, Preface 26-27T-17-18V, MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle (Armenian)*, Preface: 1-2T. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, Preface:1-2V.

²³³ BAR 'EBROYO, *The Cream of the Wisdom*, Ethics III.1.2, III.2.2: 53-54T, 54-55V.

This part, as most of the work, is an abridged version of the *Nasirean Ethics* of Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī who explains at length that the virtue consists indeed in the knowledge of the true value of each action rather than in imitation.²³⁴ Accordingly, slavish imitation is not what Bar ‘Ebroyo is aiming at with his *Chronicle* but, instead, he aims at triggering in his audience a deeper understanding of the facts. First, it should be noted that the reader is presented with the account of both bad and good deeds rather than exclusively good ones. Hagiographical literature has been indeed described as ‘overly positive accounts that ignore or minimise negative experiences and weaknesses of people considered to be venerable’.²³⁵ Therefore, the exposition of both good and bad deeds requires the reader to understand why good should be acquired and evil be rejected. In opposition to the imitation model typical of hagiography, Bar ‘Ebroyo employs the cause-effect relation, proper of historiography. In the section 1.2 I have already referred to the importance of causation in the historical narrative and specifically in Bar ‘Ebroyo. Conversions of Christian clerics to Islam is always preceded by episodes demonstrating their moral inadequacy to the office²³⁶ which prompts in the reader the understanding that conversion to Islam occurs only out of manifest immorality. It goes without saying that other reproachable characters of his *Ecclesiastical History* often meet a horrible end: Simon Tabakan, archimandrite of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum during the patriarchate of John XI (1208-1220), said to have troubled the life of both the patriarch and his fellow-monks, ends up murdered by his own servant in a way which wears resemblance to the death of the ‘heretic’ Arius.²³⁷ Moreover, it should be noted that the spiritual depiction of the characters of the *Ecclesiastical History*’s is quite exiguous. Beside few, scant occurrences of the topoi of humility and care of the poor in reference to (some) patriarchs and maphrians,²³⁸ Bar ‘Ebroyo does not pay any attention to the spiritual deeds of his protagonists. This distances him even more from the model of edification played out by hagiographers.²³⁹

To sum up, Bar ‘Ebroyo’s storytelling employs the causation effect to trigger in the audience a rational understanding of the facts rather than an automatic imitation. As it has been argued in subsection 1.2, the cause-effect relation is a cornerstone of the

²³⁴ NAṢĪR AD-DĪN ṬŪSĪ, *Nasirean Ethics*, 89V.

²³⁵ MITCHELL-HOWCROFT 2015.

²³⁶ See subsection 1.2.2.

²³⁷ After Simon has been struck in the belly, his intestines pour out on the ground. BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 639T-V. For the death of Arius see SOCRATES, *Ecclesiastical History*, I.38: 88-90T, 34-35V.

²³⁸ See e.g. Patriarch Mar Basil II (1074-75), Patriarch John III (1086-87), Maphrian Abraham II (837-50). BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 449T-V, 455T-V; Part II: 189T-V.

²³⁹ On this aspect see VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 195-198.

development of the Syrian Orthodox chronicle after Dionysius of Tell Mahre and thus it is not an exclusive trait of Bar 'Ebroyo as a historian. It should be read, thus, as an element that ties Bar 'Ebroyo in with the previous Syrian Orthodox historiographical tradition.

2.3.1.2 Autopsy

Hagiographers emphasize that they report from eye-witness accounts to build their credentials with the audience and consequently to convince them of the veracity of their story.²⁴⁰ As it has been noted, through autopsy, the author presents himself as being touched in his own life by the encounter with the saint.²⁴¹ Inspired by the saint, the author decides to write down his deeds and imitates him, exhibiting some traits of his holiness, such as the humility through the topos of the authorial incompetence.²⁴² Autopsy, thus, is not only a way to validate the historical reliability of the work but it is part of the spiritual communication involving saint, author and audience. It becomes clear, therefore, that the spiritual aspect of autopsy topos cannot have any relevance in a historiographical work, including Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History*, which, as argued above, does not hinge only on entirely positive models. Autopsy or at least first-hand accounts might be, however, valuable to authenticate the narration. It should be noted that the use of autopsy and eye-witness reports is quite limited in the Greek ecclesiastical historians where written sources are mostly preferred,²⁴³ contrary to hagiographical works where, even when they are available, written sources are neglected in favour of eye-witness accounts.²⁴⁴ Also in this case, the work of Thomas of Marga's work is a conjunction of hagiography and historiography. He says that he has used primarily the first-hand oral accounts of monks he met while staying in the monastery of Beth Abe,²⁴⁵ but that he was also compelled to use written accounts of others, in order to avoid gaps in the narration.²⁴⁶ Autopsy, eye-witness and first-hand account, thus, stand in the higher ranks of the hierarchy of the sources, at least

²⁴⁰ 'I have been an eye-witness in every one of their actions for a long time'. JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Lives of Eastern Saints*, Preface: 3T-V.

²⁴¹ RAPP 2005

²⁴² KRUEGER 2010.

²⁴³ For Socrates and Sozomen see VAN NUFFELEN 2004: 225-228; 247-249.

²⁴⁴ E.g in the *History of St George of Izla* by Babai the Great. See WALKER 2010.

²⁴⁵ THOMAS OF MARGA, *Book of Governors*, I.1: 17T-21V.

²⁴⁶ 'And although I shall turn aside from [the writings] of others, yet wherever it is necessary, I shall add the record and narrative of others, in order to piece together and to harmonize the histories which in this respect require methodical arrangement, and consecutiveness" of completing portions.' THOMAS OF MARGA, *Book of Governors*, I.1: 16T-19V.

according to what Thomas declares in his preface. Moreover, Thomas seems to be concerned about the distinction between oral and written sources: the reader is warned when an oral source is corroborated by a written one,²⁴⁷ while entirely oral reports are introduced with the formula ‘it is said’.

Autopsy does not seem to have any relevance in Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Ecclesiastical History*. In the preface, Bar ‘Ebroyo refers to the *Chronicle* of Michael the Great and the main written sources that the latter had used. For the account of the period occurred between the death of Michael the Great and Bar ‘Ebroyo’s own time, he says he had access to the library of Maraga and consulted there ‘Syrian, Arabic and Persian manuscripts’.²⁴⁸ Therefore, even for the account of his own time, which in the *Ecclesiastical History* mostly comes from his personal experience, Bar ‘Ebroyo does not mention his credentials as eye witness of the facts. Accordingly, also in the course of the narration, Bar ‘Ebroyo never refers to himself in first person to validate the veracity of the events in which he is directly involved.²⁴⁹ Only one exception can be found in the *Chronography* where Bar ‘Ebroyo presents himself as the author of the narrative and says to have been present in the monastery of Mor Barsoum while Mongol troops were devastating the region around.²⁵⁰ It should be noted, however, that no emphasis is put on the connection between his presence and the reliability of the account.

The passages where Bar ‘Ebroyo might have referred to oral sources are the ones introduced by the formula ‘it is said’ (ܡܬܬܝܠܐ) or ‘some say’ (ܠܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܐ). However, most of these passages are actually quotations from written sources, especially from the Nestorian source(s), on which Bar ‘Ebroyo relies for the second section of his *Ecclesiastical History*.²⁵¹ The formula seems to be, in these cases, a vague way to report information, avoiding the embarrassment of crediting it to a ‘Nestorian’ source. This is even more understandable when considering that Bar ‘Ebroyo is usually little inclined to

²⁴⁷ ‘And concerning Plato, who was wiser in philosophy than all [other men], and who obtained a splendid reputation among the Athenians, it is said and written that he built himself a cell in the heart of the wilderness, beyond the habitation of man.’ THOMAS OF MARGA, *Book of Governors*, I.1: 298T-531V.

²⁴⁸ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Chronography*: 1-2T-V.

²⁴⁹ D. Weltecke has already noted that Bar ‘Ebroyo wants to present the history of the Syrian Orthodox tradition and not a narrative of himself. Accordingly, he avoids direct interventions or first person references in the text. See WELTECKE 2017: 321-323.

²⁵⁰ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Chronography*: 492T-V. Cf. WELTECKE 2017:321.

²⁵¹ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 17T-V; 21T-V; 33T-V; 37T-V; 53T-V; 65T-V; 69T-V; 99T-V; 163T-V; 233T-V; 251T-V. Cf. *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 3V; 4V; 14V; 17V; 28V; 36V; 62V; 80V; 89V.

mention systematically even his Syrian Orthodox sources.²⁵² Other passages introduced by the formulas possibly come from written sources additional to Michael and Amr Ibn Matta or contemporary oral reports.²⁵³ Therefore, contrary to Thomas of Marga, who uses the formula 'it is said' specifically to point out an oral source, in Bar 'Ebroyo no real distinction is proposed on this account and consequently no focus on the value of first-hand accounts seems to be stressed. Only in two cases, Bar 'Ebroyo mentions explicitly his oral sources and stresses their credentials. The first is the account of the humiliation that Theodore Bar Wabun, counter-patriarch to Michael the Great, suffered during the synod convened to judge on his rebellion.

It is said that at the moment of the offering they stripped off his monastic habit, dressed him with lay clothes and put a felt cap on his head. Then they placed him next to the altar and everyone went there spitting on his face and then taking the Eucharist. The blessed Mor Michael did not mention this sort of degradation but we have heard from many elder trustworthy men that this happened. If it is true it is not fair!²⁵⁴

The degradation of Theodore happened shortly before his death (1193 A.D), thus Bar 'Ebroyo might have received the report after two generations at most. The second case is an account of the moment when the patriarch John XI (1208–20) receives a letter of insults and derision by Simon Tabakan, former archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Barsoum. The story is narrated to Bar Ebroyo by the bishop of Qlaudia who was eye witness of the event.²⁵⁵ It is not entirely clear why Bar 'Ebroyo's mention of oral sources

²⁵² Other 4 occurrences indeed come from Michael the Great. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 55T-V; 129T-V; 131T-V; Part II: 69T-V. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, VI.8: 116T-195V; VIII.1: 168T-9V; VIII.2: 169T-11V; XI.9: 427T-440V.

²⁵³ The notice on Thomas' reluctance to go to India ultimately derives from the Acts of Thomas. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 5T-V. Cf. ANONYMOUS, *The Acts of Thomas*: 172T (مكد)-17V. Due to chronological closeness, the notice on the patriarch Ignatius IV Isho who swears on the communion altar to not claim any authority over the monastery of Mor Barsoum most likely came to Bar 'Ebroyo by an oral report. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 763. For other occurrences see BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 67T-V; 191T-V; 633T-V; 639T-V; Part II: 21T-V; 99T-V.

²⁵⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 581T-V

²⁵⁵ 'The elder Mor Dionysius of Qlaudia narrated to me: I was a novice at that time. I was reading the Gospel for the patriarch. When I entered to read and I had the Gospel under my armpit, I saw him paling at the letter and his hands quivering. Also his entire body was trembling because he was of little stature, much thiny body and emaciated by the constant fasting. After he had read he gave it to Rabban Rabula his disciple who started threatening Simon but the patriarch replied: 'No, because

is so inconsistent. Bar 'Ebroyo is usually little concerned with citing his sources systematically, except for the cases where the mention of the source serves to strengthen his interpretation of the facts.²⁵⁶ This might suggest that he explicitly quoted the oral sources of these two passages because he felt them to be more relevant than others, and they needed some kind of legitimation. However, this practice is not limited to the oral sources.

To sum up, autopsy is never referred to in Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* and the mention of eye-witness sources is not consistent, which betrays that first hand reports are not particularly relevant for Bar 'Ebroyo's historical discourse.

2.3.2 The Macro-Structure

2.3.2.1 Chronology and Successions

In the previous subsections, I mentioned that Thomas of Marga used typical elements of hagiographical storytelling, such as the display of spiritual models and the preference for autopsy and eye-witness accounts. However, as M. Debié has pointed out, as to the way in which the author organizes his biographical material, the *Book of Governors* is one of the histories at the crossroad between hagiography and historiography. Thomas says to have arranged the lives of the archimandrites in a chronological sequence in order to build the universal history of the monastery.²⁵⁷ The reiteration of the spiritual model provided by the archimandrites through the years constitutes the history of the monastic institution. The succession is the principle of organization of most of the East-Syrian monastic and local histories, which are organized around the lives of the ecclesiastical leaders. Evidently, this sequential pattern could turn from a chronological

this affair is bigger than you and you are not adequate (to this)'. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 637T-V.

²⁵⁶ See e.g. the passage on the catholicos Aba: 'In the Ecclesiastical History of the Nestorians we found that this Aba after having learned Syriac desired to learn also the Greek language and went to Edessa where he was instructed by a certain Thomas, a Jacobite who was competent in Greek language.' The reference to the Nestorian source defends Bar 'Ebroyo from the suspect to have invented the notice. In this way Bar 'Ebroyo contributes to delineate the derivative Edessene nature of the East Syrian Christianity. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 89T-V.

²⁵⁷ 'To arrange all these things, one after another, in one consecutive order, a matter which belonged to the care of writers, and which the order of historical works required. I shall not confound story with story, or history with history, in such a manner that the mind of the reader will become confused by the mixture of matters, but I shall, with much brevity, set down each narrative by, and to itself, that from here universal history may arise.' THOMAS OF MARGA, *Book of the Governors*: 19T-24V.

sequence of leaders' lives to a historiographical work which simply structures its records around the succession of the leaders. The *History of Arbela*, though focusing on the lives of the bishops, inserts also events happened at the time of the bishop protagonist of the account. The depiction of the bishops seems to follow a common pattern but this likely derives from the use of hagiographical material.²⁵⁸ Thus, it is not only the sequential structure but especially the biographical interest and the replication of behavioural patterns that represents a link with hagiography, although the macro-structural organization is chronological.

Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* is organized as a *liber pontificalis*, which constitutes an *unicum* in the Syrian Orthodox tradition. It might be argued that Bar 'Ebroyo was inspired by the East Syrian patriarchal histories with which he surely came in contact,²⁵⁹ but in absence of any statement by him in this sense, this hypothesis remains speculative. However, it can be investigated if the *ratio* underlying this sequential pattern is of 'hagiographical' nature as in Thomas of Marga:²⁶⁰ that is if Bar 'Ebroyo exclusively focuses on the biography of the patriarchs and if the successions aim at offering the reiteration of a virtue model.

The *lemmata* of the *Ecclesiastical History* are usually filled with abundant material about the patriarchs, except in the case of manifest lack of sources, as for the Old Testament priests.²⁶¹ However, this is not a specificity of Bar 'Ebroyo. His main source, Michael the Great offers plenty of biographical material on the patriarchs from the period covered by the *Chronicle* of Dionysius of Tell Mahre up to his own time. The biographical material covers only the deeds of the patriarchs during their office, omitting any information on their youth which is instead a hagiographical topic²⁶² that

²⁵⁸ For the depiction of the catholicoi as successors of the martyrs after the 5th century see WOOD 2013: 52-65.

²⁵⁹ It should be mentioned that also the *Chronography* is structured around the sequence of civil leaders. Bar 'Ebroyo might have simply used the list of the appendix in Michael's *Chronicle*, yet saving the importance of the ecclesiastical successions, as shown in section 2.

²⁶⁰ P. Wood has suggested that first attempts by East Syrians to write patriarchal histories dates back to the 5th century, as result of two key developments. First, the re-elaboration of the catholicoi as successors of the martyrs and, second, the administrative centralization in Seleucia-Ctesiphon which prompted the reconciliation of strands of earlier histories under the authority of this siege. See WOOD 2013. However, Wood's reconstruction of these first histories relies on the identification of successive layers of writing within 12th-14th century compilations (Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History*, *Book of Tower*, *Chronicle of Seert*, *Haddad Chronicle*) and thus his reconstruction is not substantiated by preserved textual evidences.

²⁶¹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 7-31T-V.

²⁶² See PRATSCH 2004: 81-108.

the East Syrian patriarchal histories borrowed.²⁶³ For instance, the account on the patriarch Athanasius Gamolo (d. 631 A.D.) of Michael the Great, most likely borrowed from a hagiographical life of the patriarch, includes a long account of his youth and education.²⁶⁴ Bar 'Ebroyo skips this section of the story, starting his account from moment of the ordination.²⁶⁵ Notably, some passages of the life of the patriarch originally attributed to the time before his ordination are postponed by Bar 'Ebroyo to the time he had already been chosen as patriarch.

The focus, therefore, is not on the patriarchs as characters but rather on their prominent role in the ecclesiastical affairs the *Ecclesiastical History* has to narrate. Furthermore, some space in the *lemmata* is devoted also to other information, not directly related to the patriarchs but which happened during their time.²⁶⁶ For instance, as in Michael the Great, the section on the 5th century devotes a considerable space to the ecumenical councils and very little is left to the patriarchal deeds.

It has already been argued that the criterion adopted by Bar 'Ebroyo to establish the patriarchal sequence follows the legitimacy of the ordination and, accordingly, it does not have anything to do with the moral qualities of the candidate. The patriarchal sequences of the *Ecclesiastical History*, thus, do not present the reiteration of a behavioural pattern nor do they aim at idealizing the patriarchs.

The prominence of narrative material on the patriarchs results from the fact that they are the protagonists of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Syrian Orthodox community, and as such they are mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Their relevance in Bar 'Ebroyo is due to their institutional function, as it has been shown in the previous section, and not to their personal characterization. To sum up, the patriarchal successions are crucial for Bar 'Ebroyo's historical discourse, but the *ratio* behind this issue is not of hagiographical nature.

²⁶³ See e.g. in the *Chronicle of Arbela*.

²⁶⁴ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, X.24: 387-389T, 375-377V.

²⁶⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 261T-V.

²⁶⁶ See subsection 1.2.2.

2.4 The Division between Syrian Orthodox and East Syrian History

The usual explanation for the omission of events relating to the East Syrian Church in Greek and Syrian Orthodox ecclesiastical histories is that by the identification of the Roman Empire with the Christian *oikoumene*, Eusebius provided a model which ignored any church standing outside the Roman borders.²⁶⁷ When in the equation of Christianity and Roman Empire the first was identified with Chalcedonism, the Miaphysite community reacted by crafting an independent identity²⁶⁸ which, in their mental map, led to a slow separation from the Roman political orbit. A few decades later, with the Arab conquest, they geographically found themselves out of this orbit. These two events thus prompted a change in the perception of the geographical horizons of their historiographical discourse. P. Wood has indeed shown that the geographical interest of Syrian Orthodox historiographers after the 6th century considerably contracted and that 'there was little interest in the world of the surviving Roman Empire.'²⁶⁹ Accordingly, the exclusion of East Syrian affairs from Syrian Orthodox ecclesiastical histories should not be interpreted as a repetition of the Eusebian model because the new historical circumstances changed the geographical imagination of Syrian Orthodox and brought them in direct contact with East Syrians under a new common rule.²⁷⁰ Thus, the inclusion or not of East Syrian matter must have been motivated by other dynamics. Michael the Great largely ignores the Church of the East in his *Chronicle*, except for a list of catholicoi appended at the end of the work.²⁷¹ It has been suggested that for Michael, Syrian Orthodox identity is defined in opposition to the Chalcedonians rather than the East Syrians.²⁷² This is due to the fact that he lived in the region of Melitene which was barely touched by the presence of East Syrians and which had been under the Byzantine rule from the mid. 10th century until the Seljuk conquest in 1170 A.D.²⁷³ More importantly, the Syrian Orthodox and the Chalcedonians have a shared, pre-

²⁶⁷ BROCK 1982, BROCK 1996, DEBIÉ 2010b.

²⁶⁸ WOOD 2010.

²⁶⁹ WOOD 2018.

²⁷⁰ See e.g. the interpretation of the rise of East Syrian ecclesiastical histories in the 7th century as a response to the propagation of the Syrian Orthodox church in the regions where the East-Syrians had been living. VAN NUFFELEN 2018. For the role of the Syrian Orthodox movement in the process of the formation of the East Syrian Christological identity see REININK 2009.

²⁷¹ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, Appendix: 775-777T, 520-524V.

²⁷² VAN GINKEL 2008.

²⁷³ On this period see DAGRON 1976, PALMER 1986, VARGHESE 2013.

Chalcedonian past, in which they all belonged to the Imperial Church. This inevitably results in the fact that the writing of the Syrian Orthodox history cannot exclude the Chalcedonians. This is not the case for the Syrian Orthodox patriarchate and the East Syrian catholicate which knew a largely separated historical development. Bar 'Ebroyo, though, spent the two decades of his maphrianate (1264-1286 A.D.) in the East Syrian regions, a period during which he wrote his literary works.²⁷⁴ As representative of the Syrian Orthodox community settled in East Syrians regions, Bar 'Ebroyo could not refrain from giving a history of the East Syrian Church in order to show that the maphrianate was the only legitimate heir of the orthodoxy in the East. In this section, I shall argue that Bar 'Ebroyo was concerned in shaping a history of the eastern regions which, on one side, competed with the 'Nestorian' tradition and, on the other, defined these regions as belonging to the Syrian Orthodox sphere whilst maintaining their regional identity.

2.4.1 The Apostolic Foundation

The East Syrian sources start with the history of the apostles Addai²⁷⁵ or Mari,²⁷⁶ and no mention is made of the apostle Thomas. The connection between the apostle Thomas and the succession of *catholicoi* of Seleucia-Ctesiphon is indeed an innovation found only in recent times among the East Syrians.²⁷⁷ Rather, the apostolic tradition of Thomas seems to have been perceived originally in juxtaposition to the one of the seat of Seleucia. In the 8th century the bishops of Fars resist the attempts of the *catholicos* Timothy I to adapt the habits of all the communities to a common standard, exploiting the following argumentation:

‘We are the disciples of the Apostle Thomas and we have no part to the seat of Mari.’²⁷⁸

Attempts at recomposing the history of different, maybe competing, seats under a common origin are attested in the East Syrian lists of *catholicoi*, which go back to the

²⁷⁴ TAKAHASHI 2005: 90-94.

²⁷⁵ *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 1T-1V; SALOMON OF BASSORA, *Book of the Bee*: 131T (ܡܠܟܐ) -106V.

²⁷⁶ *Book of the Tower* (5 Books): 1T-1V.

²⁷⁷ See the *catholicoi* lists edited in COAKLEY 1999 and EBIED 1974. Cf. WOOD 2013: 67. Note that the reference of Abdisho bar Brikho to the apostle Thomas is not directly related to the seat of Seleucia as asserted in JULLIEN 2005: 99. SEE ABDISHO BAR BRIKHO, *Nomocanon*: 154V.

²⁷⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 171T-V.

apostle Addai rather than to Mari,²⁷⁹ the traditional preacher of Mesopotamia.²⁸⁰ As I shall argue, Bar 'Ebroyo's narration of the apostolic period of the Church of the East aims indeed at giving an ecumenical and unifying vision of a rather fragmentary tradition. As a first step, I shall analyse the ecclesiastical geography of the Church of the East in the time of the apostles as outlined in the *Ecclesiastical History*.

It has been argued that the extremely heterogeneous literary tradition about the apostles actually originated in different regional and confessional milieus.²⁸¹ Thus, the differences in the lists of the regions which they evangelised, betray the need of building tailored ecclesiastical geographies and traditions to foster the image of a specific church.²⁸² As said, some late East Syrian sources date back the origin of the *catholicoi* lineage to Addai rather than to Mari and they attribute to Addai an area of evangelization which goes quite beyond the boundaries of Edessa where his preaching activity was originally set.²⁸³ This may betray the intention to put larger areas of the Church of the East under an old apostolic tradition, besides creating a connection with such a prestigious centre of Christianity as Edessa.

Bar 'Ebroyo chooses to start from Thomas, one of the twelve apostles. According to him Thomas preached in Parthia, Media, Persia, Carmania, Bactriana, Margiana and India.²⁸⁴ This range of regions is significantly wider than the one mentioned in other Syriac sources which remain limited to the model of Thomas as preacher of India and Parthia.²⁸⁵ The list of places provided by Bar 'Ebroyo corresponds to an extensive, continuous area which goes from India to the eastern border of the Caspian Sea. Not accidentally, Bar 'Ebroyo refers to this region as the eastern *pnīto* (فندا), a term used to define one of the quarters of the globe.²⁸⁶ The activity of Addai, the disciple and successor of Thomas, as in the *Doctrine of Addai*, is limited mostly to Edessa even though he is said to have visited the East with his disciples Aggai and Mari. The former is said to have preached in Persia, Assyria, Armenia, Media, Babylonia, Khuzestan and Beth

²⁷⁹ *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 1T-1V SALOMON OF BASSORA, *Book of the Bee*: 131T (ط)-116V.

²⁸⁰ HARRAK 2005: xxxiii-xxxvi.

²⁸¹ JOHNSON 2010, VAN ESBROEK 1994. Cf. DESREMAUX 2005: 75.

²⁸² 'The inheritance of the apostles as a literary theme becomes for various late antique and medieval writers a *modus operandi* for discussing the spheres of influence of contemporary cult sites, with or without relics.' JOHNSON 2010: 20.

²⁸³ For the attribution of the regions preached by Aggai to Addai see JULLIEN 2005: 101-102.

²⁸⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 3T-V. For the source of this list of regions see section III.2.2.

²⁸⁵ AGAPIUS, *History*: 23T-479V; ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle up to 1234*: 127T-100V; MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, V. Appendix: 92T-147V, 92T-148V; VII.3: 132T-258V; SALOMON OF BASSORA, *Book of the Bee*: 219T-105V.

²⁸⁶ PAYNE SMITH 1879-1901: 3170-3171.

Gelayē, while the latter in Mesopotamia and Beth Garmai.²⁸⁷ By comparing the way Michael the Great, the *Book of the Tower* and Bar ‘Ebroyo assign portions of the Eastern region to each apostle, it will be noticed that in Bar ‘Ebroyo the area covered by Thomas dovetails with the one covered by Aggai, where the boundary between the two is placed at the eastern side of the Caspian Sea. The result is that the entire region from India to the Osroene is covered uninterruptedly by the evangelization of the apostles while the other sources give a more fragmentary outline of the apostolic geography.²⁸⁸

	BAR ‘EBROYO	BOOK OF THE TOWER	MICHAEL THE GREAT
THOMAS	Parthia, Media, Persia, Carmania, Bactriana, Margiana, India	//	Parthia, Media, India
ADDAI	Edessa	Edessa, Mosul, Babylonia, Khuzestan	Edessa
AGGAI	Persia, Assyria, Armenia, Media, Babylonia, Khuzestan, Beth Gelayē	Qardu, Beth Zabdai, Sind, Gog and Magog	Sophene, Arzanene, Exterior Armenia
MARI	Mesopotamia, Beth Garmai	Mesopotamia, Beth Garmai	//

Moreover, through the device of the apostolic filiation from Thomas to Addai and then to Aggai-Mari the areas preached to are connected to each other: the seat of Seleucia-Ctesiphon founded by Mari is embedded into a wide, universal map which extends from India up to the western borders Mesopotamia. As maphrian of the East Bar ‘Ebroyo may have felt the need to create such an ecclesiastical geography, especially in a period where Mongols had unified under their dominion all the above mentioned territory.²⁸⁹

This brings us to the second point. As maphrian of the East Bar ‘Ebroyo had to deal with the fact that he represented the Syrian Orthodox Church in eastern dioceses which were under the jurisdiction of the East Syrian *catholicos*. Accordingly, in the second section of his *Ecclesiastical History*, he aims at building up a tradition for the eastern regions that forms an alternative to the ‘Nestorian’ one.²⁹⁰ At the same time Bar ‘Ebroyo

²⁸⁷ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 11-17T-V.

²⁸⁸ For the geographical location of these peoples see BENGTON-MILOJCIC 1958: 17.

²⁸⁹ This marks a difference between Bar ‘Ebroyo and previous Syrian Orthodox tradition. As P. Wood has pointed out, after the 6th century, Syrian Orthodox historians’ geographical focus was limited to Syria and Mesopotamia. See WOOD 2018.

²⁹⁰ On this theme see HAGE 2007, JULLIEN 2008, WELTECKE 2017: 315-319.

was concerned with defining the hierarchy between maphrianate and patriarchate and with marking their respective jurisdictions. This brings him at presenting, also through the narration of the apostolic times, the relation between the two institutions. Wolfgang Hage has already addressed the issue if Bar 'Ebroyo presents the Church of the East as autonomous or autocephalous in respect to the seat of Antioch, analysing the sections concerning the synods of 4th-5th centuries.²⁹¹ Hage's conclusions that Bar 'Ebroyo aims at presenting the Church of the East as an autonomous, not autocephalous, institution finds some echoes in his account of the apostolic period. I shall focus here on the history of the maphrianate seat of Tagrit in relation to Edessa and Antioch.²⁹²

On his way to India the apostle Thomas is said to have passed through Tagrit where the king Ardashir 'the Black' had encamped and he preached the Gospel to the Magians there.²⁹³ The *Canons of Mor Matay* to which Bar 'Ebroyo probably had access,²⁹⁴ already talk of Tagrit as the place of the garrison of the king Ardashir²⁹⁵ but they say that the city was evangelized by Garmai (5-6th cent.) the first archimandrite of Mor Matay.²⁹⁶ The intention of the *Canons* is clearly to foster the prestige of the monastery of Mor Matay by linking it to Tagrit, seat of the maphrianate, through the archimandrite Garmai. In Bar 'Ebroyo the evangelization of Tagrit is dated back to the apostle Thomas.²⁹⁷ In this way he connects the seat of Tagrit to one of the twelve apostles, which ultimately grants the seat of Tagrit equal prestige as the one of Antioch.²⁹⁸ Second he adds the epithet 'the Black'²⁹⁹ to Ardashir which, as it has already been noted,³⁰⁰ echoes the name of Abgar V the Black, king of Edessa, the founding city of the Eastern Christianity.³⁰¹ In my perspective, this is corroborated by the way Bar 'Ebroyo uses the *Acts of Thomas* in his

²⁹¹ HAGE 2007.

²⁹² Note that the 'Nestorianization of Persia' in the 5th century determines for Bar 'Ebroyo a rupture in the lineage of Seleucia-Ctesiphon seat which is recovered by the institution of the maphrianate in Tagrit. See section 2.2.1.

²⁹³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 5T-V.

²⁹⁴ See the study of the sources in section III.2.

²⁹⁵ Ardashir III (628-630 A.D).

²⁹⁶ VÖÖBUS 1976: 199-200. For Garmai see MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XI.5: 413T-417V.

²⁹⁷ Bar 'Ebroyo might have known a Christian tradition about the anachronistic conversion of Ardashir (3rd century) by the hands of a Jesus' apostle. This (probably 6th century) Christian tradition is uniquely preserved in the 9th century Arabic chronicle *Nihāyat al-irab fī aḥbār al-Furs wa'l-'Arab* of Pseudo-Asmā'ī. See SCHILLING 2008.

²⁹⁸ For the division of the apostolic seats see MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, V. Appendix: 92T-146-147V; BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 31-37T-V.

²⁹⁹ This epithet is found only in Bar 'Ebroyo.

³⁰⁰ WELTECKE 2017.

³⁰¹ See the legend of Abgar in the *Doctrine of Addai* edited and translated in PHILIPS 1876. For the relevance of Edessa for Syriac Christianity see SEGAL 1970: 62-109, WOOD 2010: 82-131.

Ecclesiastical History. One of the main discrepancies between the *Acts of Thomas* and the account provided by Bar 'Ebroyo is the role acted by the Indian king Mazdai.³⁰² While in the *Acts of Thomas*, the apostle is sentenced to death by the king, in Bar 'Ebroyo he is killed by a certain pagan during a sermon and no mention is made of Mazdai's involvement. Rather, the king is said to have buried Thomas by himself in Calamina.³⁰³ The connection Thomas-Tagrit-Ardashir and the favourable attitude of the Indian king towards Thomas set the apostolic period of the Church of the East under the auspices of royal power as it is the case for the evangelization of Edessa under the king Abgar.

To sum up, Bar 'Ebroyo tries, first, to gather the entire territory to the east of the Euphrates, that is the Eastern regions, under a common apostolic origin. In this way he avoids competition between different seats and presents a wide, compact territorial counterpart to the area under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate. Second, he tries to equate the apostolic history of the eastern regions to the western ones through the creation of a 'twin tradition' to the one of Edessa. This dovetails with the idea of an equality of rank between patriarch and maphrian, with two distinct but complementary areas of jurisdiction.³⁰⁴

2.4.2 A Political Schism

Narrating the history of the Church of the East implies, for a Syrian Orthodox author, to give a reading of the past alternative to the competing 'Nestorian' tradition. The figure of Bar 'Ebroyo has been often associated by scholarship to a form of ecumenism which results in considering confessional divisions as being mere differences in formulation rather than substantial divergences.³⁰⁵ Such a standpoint derives mainly from the autobiographical account of Bar 'Ebroyo included in his *Book of the Dove*.³⁰⁶ Indeed, as it

³⁰² See section III.2.2.

³⁰³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 11T-V. Cf. ANONYMOUS, *Acts of Thomas*: 245-251V.

³⁰⁴ See e.g. the rule according to which a maphrian cannot be appointed without the patriarch and *vice versa*. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 299T-V, 455T-V.

³⁰⁵ SAMIR 1987, TAKAHASHI 2005, TEULE 1999, TEULE 2009, TEULE 2013.

³⁰⁶ 'When I had reached the age of twenty, the then living patriarch compelled me to receive the dignity of a bishop. Then it was inevitable for me to engage myself in disquisitions and disputations with the heads of other confessions, interior and exterior. And when I had given my thoughts and meditations to this business during some time, I became convinced that these quarrels of Christians among themselves are not a matter of facts but of words and denominations. For all of them confess Christ, our Lord, to be wholly God and wholly man, without mixture, nivellation or mutation of natures. This bilateral likeness is called by some nature, by others person, by others hypostasis. So I

has already been observed, Bar 'Ebroyo does not include the East Syrians in the list of heretics appended to his theological summa *The Lamp of the Sanctuary*.³⁰⁷ Moreover, whereas East Syrians are regularly referred to as 'heretics' by Michael the Great, Bar 'Ebroyo drops this label in his *Ecclesiastical History*. This raises the question if the formal adoption of different Christological formulas represents for Bar 'Ebroyo the breaking point between the Syrian Orthodox and the East Syrian churches or, rather, if he uses other historical events as watersheds between the two traditions.

Unsurprisingly for a Syrian Orthodox, whose party had long been using 'Nestorian' as a pejorative epithet to designate their East Syrian adversaries,³⁰⁸ the orthodox lineage of the East Syrian *catholicoi* is interrupted by the alleged forced adhesion of the East Syrian regions to the doctrine of Nestorius under Barsoum of Nisibis at the end of the 5th century.³⁰⁹ Every other event which contributed to the formative period of the Church of the East before is silenced or minimized. The synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon (410 A.D) sanctioning the supremacy of the city as catholicate seat³¹⁰ is mentioned only in relation to the canons which Marutha of Maipherqat established, as Bar 'Ebroyo underlines, 'to teach the Easterners all the doctrine'.³¹¹ The synod of Dadisho (424 A.D) declaring the independence from the seat of Antioch³¹² is entirely omitted. On the contrary, until the time of Barsoum of Nisibis, the derivative nature of the Eastern tradition in respect to the Western one, and accordingly to the seat of Antioch, is underlined. After the death of Mari, the eastern faithful are said to send a message to Antioch to ask for a leader at Mari's place,³¹³ while both versions of the *Book of the Tower* mention that the message was sent to Jerusalem.³¹⁴ The *catholicos* Simon Bar Šab'e (329–44) is said to have instituted two choirs in the church³¹⁵ but Bar 'Ebroyo adds that it was a practice already introduced by Ignatius the Fiery,³¹⁶ third bishop of Antioch and iconic figure of the

saw all Christian peoples, notwithstanding these differences, possessing one unvarying equality.' BAR 'EBROYO, *Book of the Dove*, IV: 75T–60V.

³⁰⁷ TEULE 1999.

³⁰⁸ DEBIÉ 2016: 315–317. On the historical inconsistency of this epithet see BROCK 1996.

³⁰⁹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 61–77T–V. See section II.2.1. This tradition dates back to Philoxenus of Mabbug who locates the beginning of the Nestorian catholicate under Acacius. Cf. DEBIÉ 2016: 315.

³¹⁰ CHABOT 1902: 17–36.

³¹¹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 49T–V. Cf. HAGE 2007.

³¹² So HAGE 2007 but this interpretation has been questioned. See VAN ROMPAY 2011a.

³¹³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 19–21T–V.

³¹⁴ *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 4–5V; *Book of the Tower* (5 Books): 2V.

³¹⁵ Cf. *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 14–16V

³¹⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 33T–V.

Syrian Orthodox Church.³¹⁷ In short, Bar 'Ebroyo underlines the affinity of the Church of the East from a doctrinal and liturgical point of view with the Syrian Orthodox until the intervention of Barsoum of Nisibis.

The Syrian Orthodox account of the forced 'Nestorianization of Persia' by the hand of Barsoum of Nisibis³¹⁸ is included in a letter which Marutha, metropolitan of Tagrit addressed to the patriarch John. The letter is preserved in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Great but ultimately comes from Dionysius of Tell Maḥre. Bar 'Ebroyo draws mainly from Michael the Great but adds some information, conveniently adapted, from his Nestorian source.³¹⁹ The text can be resumed as follows: Barsoum of Nisibis, Narsai and Magna openly preach the doctrine of Nestorius in the East and allow the bishops to take a wife. The western bishops send a complaint to the catholicos Babowai who apologizes alleging his powerlessness for being under the rule of the 'impious' Sassanid kingdom. The letter of Babowai is intercepted by Barsoum who hands it over to the king Firuz and accuses Babowai of being a spy of the Greeks. By order of the king, Babowai is killed. Then Barsoum proposes to the king Firuz the following deal:

'Unless you change the confession of the Christians in your region from the confession of the Christians in the regions of the Greeks, they will not set their heart and their mind aright with you.' Firuz believed his word and ordered to be done whatever he wanted. Barsoum said again to Firuz: 'There was a patriarch of the Greeks, a wise man, a doctor called Nestorius, naturally inclined to Persians, who continually advised Greeks saying: "If you are Christians proceed in the path of the Messiah. Show humility and submission to all your enemies and pray for those who curse you" and for this reason the Greeks hated him and dismissed him from his seat. If you give me an army I will make all the Christians of your region followers of the doctrine of that man so that being hated by the Greeks they will hate them (in return).'

There follows an account of the murders and imprisonments that Barsoum perpetrated to impose the adhesion to Nestorianism on the eastern regions. Only Tagrit and Armenia successfully escape the forced Nestorianization. At the end Barsoum convenes one synod in Beth 'Edray where he authorizes bishops to marry, and two synods, in Seleucia and Karka d-Beth Slokh, where the doctrine of Nestorius is formally accepted.³²⁰ What is surprising in an account which aims at blaming the adhesion to 'Nestorianism'

³¹⁷ See TAKAHASHI 2011.

³¹⁸ On this figure see GERO 1985.

³¹⁹ See section III.2.2. Cf. GERO 1985: 11.

³²⁰ So also in Michael the Great. It probably refers to the synod of Beth Lapaṭ (484) and the synod of Acacius (486).

is that no doctrinal refutation of duophysism is found. Bar 'Ebroyo surely had all the necessary background to object to 'Nestorianism' on a doctrinal plan and to include appropriate quotations from the Holy Scriptures and the Church Fathers in his *Ecclesiastical History*.³²¹ It seems that Bar 'Ebroyo found it more effective to pursue his aim through historical arguments rather than doctrinal ones. In his letter to the catholicos Denḥa (1265–81) he engages in a dispute against 'Nestorianism' first through doctrinal arguments and then through the historical account of the Nestorianization of Persia which he draws almost *verbatim* from the *Ecclesiastical History*. At the end of his letter he remarks: 'I have written a history, not a profession of faith!'³²² As mentioned at the outset, Bar 'Ebroyo knew that in a doctrinal debate he ran the risk of falling into mere sophisms but the history gave an incontrovertible support to his point.³²³ The adhesion to Nestorianism is indeed understood as a political move of Barsoum to take the Church of the East out of the political orbit of the Greeks. Actually, Bar 'Ebroyo in several passages refers to the fact that Nestorianism brought East Syrians out of an ideal ecclesiastical *oikoumene*.³²⁴

To sum up, Bar 'Ebroyo prefers to set his competition to the East Syrian tradition on an historical plan rather than doctrinal. This has two main consequences. First, this puts his argument on a safer plan because historical fact is less subject to sophisms than doctrinal debate. Second, whereas Michael the Great simply ignores East Syrians and polemicists such as Dionysius Bar Salibi use controversy to emphasize the distance between his community and the adversaries,³²⁵ Bar 'Ebroyo uses his history to bring back ideally the authentic (i.e. orthodox) Church of the East into the *oikoumene* of which it used to be part. This ecumenical attitude cannot be read as a concession to East Syrians, even though in the everyday life they used to be on quite good terms. While, as said above, Bar 'Ebroyo avoids the label of 'heretics', contrary to Michael the Great, he does not spare any offensive details in his account where even Mamai, the wife Barsoum, without mincing his words, is referred to as a prostitute. The controversy has simply passed from doctrine to history.

³²¹ See the first part of his letter to the catholicos Denḥa I. CHABOT 1898. For Bar' Ebroyo's background of the Church Fathers see TAYLOR 2008.

³²² BAR 'EBROYO, *Letter to the catholicos Denḥa I*: 127V.

³²³ Cf. JULLIEN 2008, WITAKOWSKI 2006.

³²⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 39T-V, 79T-V, 83T-V. BAR 'EBROYO, *Letter to the catholicos Denḥa I*: 106V. For this idea see also MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XI.4: 413T-414V.

³²⁵ TEULE 2010: 17.

2.5 Conclusions

In conclusion, Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* is deeply rooted in the Syrian Orthodox historiographical tradition, especially in the new forms developed after the 6th century. The political and theological implications of emperors' conversion to Christianity determined, in the long term, the disappearance of the Ecclesiastical History as a genre in the Greek tradition. On the other hand, the emergence of the Syrian Orthodox as independent Church, detached from the political power, prompted Syrian Orthodox historiographers to recur again to a clear-cut separation between civil and ecclesiastical material in their works. The reappearance of Ecclesiastical History, however, seems to have occurred only in respect to the focus on the ecclesiastical affairs rather than the stylistic conventions originally associated to the genre. Indeed, Dionysius of Tell Maḥre launched a new historiographical form which combined the chronological accuracy of the chronographic genre with the narrativity of the ecclesiastical histories. This new format is equally used for the civil and ecclesiastical parts, which eventually resulted in the fact that later historians understood the Ecclesiastical History as a work focused on ecclesiastical events rather than characterized by specific narrative forms. Bar 'Ebroyo positions himself in this tradition, by structuring his *Chronicle* in two parts, which respectively deal with civil and ecclesiastical matter. Even though he lived under Mongolian rulers, who showed a favourable attitude towards the Christians, Bar 'Ebroyo proves to understand that this attitude was directed more by political calculation than inner convictions. This resulted in the fact that, in his work, he kept distance between religious and civil spheres as his predecessors did. Also the balanced combination of narrativity and chronological arrangement is important in Bar 'Ebroyo's work. He was equally interested in giving a chronologically orientated account, as a direct consequence of the importance of the chronology for demonstrating the antiquity of the Syrian Orthodox tradition against competing Churches. On the other hand, the narrativity implies causal connections between events which are crucial for the instructive aim of history. The importance of edification in Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* was thought to give this work a hagiographical dimension. However, Bar 'Ebroyo wants to stimulate in the audience a rational understanding of the events by showing their cause-effect relation. In this sense, again he positions himself in the historiographical rather than in the hagiographical tradition. Indeed, hagiography tends to trigger in the reader automatic imitation of the protagonists of the story by presenting an entirely positive representation. Conversely, in Bar 'Ebroyo's work even the representation of the patriarchs is not idealized. Bar 'Ebroyo emphasizes that the prestige and the authority of the priestly function is not determined by the moral qualities of the recipients of this office but rather by the special status that the ordination give them. Starting from a conceptualization elaborated in his theological

and exegetical works, Bar 'Ebroyo dates back the origin of the priesthood to the conferment of cult legislation by God to Aaron. The importance of cult rules, especially in the form of the ordination rite, underpins the entire work because Bar 'Ebroyo recognises the legitimacy of a candidate on the basis of the juridical validity of his ordination. The election of the patriarch had to rely on the widest consensus possible among bishops, which ultimately betrays Bar 'Ebroyo's concern for ecclesiastical unity. It comes as no surprise that as maphrian of the East, namely the highest ecclesiastical hierarch after the patriarch, Bar 'Ebroyo considered the theme of the unity of his flock crucial for his historiographical discourse. His charge as maphrian determined another aspect of his *Ecclesiastical History*. As representative of Syrian Orthodox community settled in East Syrian regions, Bar 'Ebroyo defined the historical identity of his regions in opposition to the 'Nestorian' tradition and as complementary to the history of the patriarchate. He does so by building an apostolic past that equates the prestige of the apostolic tradition of the patriarchate. On the other hand, he elaborates a historical argument to show that the forced 'Nestorianization' of East Syrian regions by Barsoum of Nisibis caused the history of the Church of the East to deviate from the path of orthodoxy and that the unique heir of orthodoxy was the Syrian Orthodox maphrianate.

Chapter 3

Sources

The other two great chronicles of the Syriac Renaissance, Michael the Great's *Chronicle* and the Anonymous *Chronicle up to 1234*, have been used as a lens through which to reconstruct often lost sources and to give an insight into the wide, multicultural and multilingual exchange network which lies behind them.¹ The *Ecclesiastical History* is suitable for this kind of approach to a lesser extent. Bar 'Ebroyo normally models his writings on one main work, complementing it with some additional information.² Even though the additional material is extremely useful for other purposes, normally it is not quantitatively sufficient to reconstruct the sources from which it comes from. Therefore, in this chapter I shall address the sources of the *Ecclesiastical History* by studying the main source for the first part, namely Michael the Great's *Chronicle* and by trying to assess the main history (if any) responsible for most of the information of the second part. As it will be shown, the significance of the *Ecclesiastical History*'s study of the sources lies in several elements. The evident reliance of the first part of the *Ecclesiastical History* on Michael's *Chronicle* can contribute to the reconstruction of the latter's original layout. For the second part, dependence from one of the main East Syrian patriarchal histories is likely, though the defective status of the manuscripts of the *Chronicle of Seert* and the *Haddad Chronicle* does not allow us to give conclusive arguments on this issue. The textual comparison unearths also the existence of additional material which though not sufficient to reconstruct or identify the sources from which it comes from, gives a glimpse of the context in which Bar 'Ebroyo had access to this information. Moreover, I shall address the redactional technique of Bar 'Ebroyo in the use of his sources. The

¹ See e.g. CONTERNO 2015, HILKENS 2014, HOYLAND 2011.

² TAKAHASHI 2005: 94-96. For a list of works that Bar 'Ebroyo modelled on one main source see TAKAHASHI 2005: 97.

compilatory activity of Bar 'Ebroyo should be read in the broader context of the so-called 'compilation culture'.³ Excerpting earlier sources and reorganizing the excerpts into a new whole was a redactional practice which gained wide currency in Late Antiquity. Accordingly, the literary creativity of Bar 'Ebroyo, as his predecessors, should be located in the way he selected, displaced and reworked material from his sources. For this reason, the identification of the sources will be complemented with some observation on the compilatory method of Bar 'Ebroyo, and its significance as narrative strategy to convey his view of history.

3.1 Sources for the History of the Western Priesthood

The *Chronicle* of Bar 'Ebroyo has long been recognized as largely dependent on Michael the Great's *Chronicle*.⁴ Though Bar 'Ebroyo gave an original contribution in organizing and filtering his material, Michael the Great was responsible for the vast majority of the information included in the first section of the *Ecclesiastical History*. Given the tendency of Bar 'Ebroyo to report almost *verbatim* his main source, the textual comparison allows to make major corrections on both texts.

The only extant manuscript of Michael's *Chronicle* is the so-called Edessa-Aleppo codex (1598 A.D) a copy by the scribe Barsoum on the basis of a manuscript that Moses of Mardin⁵ had copied from Michael's autograph,⁶ likely between 1556 and 1576 AD.⁷ As D. Weltecke has shown, it was especially the complicated layout of Michael's *Chronicle* that underwent distortions in the copying process,⁸ and ultimately results in the fact that the extant manuscript does not reproduce accurately the original layout. Beside the Syriac original, there are two Armenian adaptations based on Michael's autograph. The

³ This concept was introduced by Paolo Odorico. He questioned the attribution of the collecting and copying practice to the specific context of the 10th century Byzantine encyclopaedism, arguing that this practice dates back to earlier texts which all respond to a common redactional technique in Late Antiquity. ODORICO 1990. For an overview of the role of excerpts in the literary production from Antiquity to the Middle Age see KÖNIG -WOOLF 2013; MORLET 2015. For Syriac see M. DEBIÉ 2015b.

⁴ BAUMSTARK 1932: 318, BROCK 1978: 19, DEBIÉ 2015a: 589-590, TEULE 2006: 306.

⁵ Syrian Orthodox bishop and writer (16th cent.). He was sent to Rome by the patriarch Abdullah Bar Stephanos to arrange for a project of Syriac text publishing. He collaborated to the first edition of the Syriac New Testament in Vienna (1555 A.D).

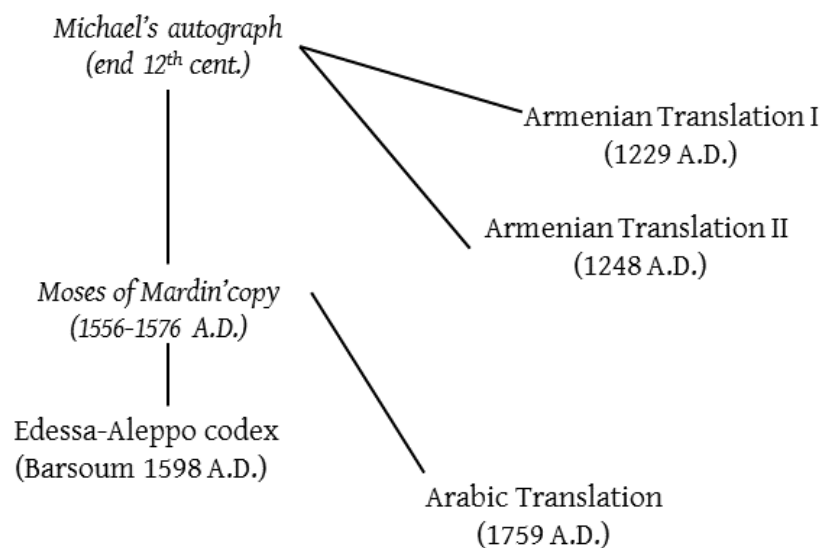
⁶ DEBIÉ 2015: 579-580. Cf. WELTECKE 2003: 151-152.

⁷ VAN ROMPAY 2011b: 301.

⁸ WELTECKE 2000, WELTECKE 2003.

first one was written by the priest Isho‘ of Hēsno d-Kifo in 1229 (Version I). The second one was written by the historian Vardan Areweltsi (d. 1271) in 1248 (Version II) at the request of the Armenian patriarch Constantine Bardzrbetsi (1221-1267).⁹ The Armenian translators omitted much material involving specifically the Syrian Orthodox Church and gave a narrative format to the chronological canons. The complicated textual transmission of these adaptations and the unsatisfactory extant editions¹⁰ impose some caution in their use to reconstruct Michael’s original. In 1759, John Shuqair al-Sahadi, bishop of Damascus translated Michael’s *Chronicle* into Arabic directly using the Moses of Mardin’s copy or another independent manuscript.¹¹ This textual transmission is illustrated in fig. 3. (lost manuscripts are written in *italics*).

Fig. 3: The Textual Transmission of Michael the Great’s *Chronicle*



The full reconstruction of Michael’s *Chronicle* needs further research which would take into account also the Arabic and Armenian translations, beside Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Chronicle*.

⁹ SCHMIDT 2013.

¹⁰ Version I and II were both published in Jerusalem by Tigran Sawalaneants, respectively in 1870 and 1871. In 1868 Victor Langlois, published a French translation based on two manuscripts which probably contained both versions. Langlois’s translation thus is probably the result of a composite text. In 2013 Robert Bedrosian published an English translation based again on a composite text of both versions but with the notable advantage to have the passages taken by the version I (published in 1870) marked in italics. For full bibliography see DEBIÉ 2015a: 580-581.

¹¹ DEBIÉ 2015a: 582. A photographical reproduction of three garshuni manuscripts of the Arabic version is available. See in bibliography under ‘Michael the Great, *Chronicle* (Arabic Version)’. For full bibliography see DEBIÉ 2015a: 582.

The study provided in this section partially sheds light on the contribution Bar ‘Ebroyo’s *Ecclesiastical History* can give in the reconstruction of Michael’s *Chronicle*, especially in the amendment of the lists of hierarchs. Second, it sets forth the way in which Bar ‘Ebroyo used his main model.

3.1.1 The Chronological Backbone

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Bar ‘Ebroyo consists of lemmata gathered under the backbone of the patriarchal sequence. As already mentioned, the sequence starts with the Jewish high-priests and, after the establishment of the apostolic seats, it continues with the patriarchal lineage of the seat of Antioch, from Peter up to Bar ‘Ebroyo’s time.

Bar ‘Ebroyo names as sources for the Jewish high-priesthood Jacob of Edessa and Andronicus who, as he points out, often disagree both on the chronology and on the names of the hierarchs.¹² Contrary to Michael the Great who reports both sources, Bar ‘Ebroyo choses to follow only Jacob of Edessa for the sequence, though in the lemmata he occasionally mentions also Andronicus’ version. Bar ‘Ebroyo had access to the lists of these authors through Michael. Michael provides bare lists of priests in the first appendix of his *Chronicle* while he mentions each sequence (both in Jacob and Andronicus’ versions) and the narrative associated to it in the main text. According to Michael’ statement the lists given in the appendix originally reproduced the ones given in the main text.¹³ Thus, where distortion in the copying process has caused discrepancies between main text and appendix, a third witness is required to make emendations. Unfortunately neither Jacob’s nor Andronicus’ list of Jewish high-priests is fully preserved outside Michael’s *Chronicle*.¹⁴ Therefore, one can only compare Michael’s text and appendix of Michael to Bar ‘Ebroyo’s text which still allows for major corrections on both works, besides revealing the use Bar ‘Ebroyo made of Michael’s list. In the following table I give a comparative overview of the Jewish high-priests as given in Bar ‘Ebroyo, Michael’s main text and Michael’s appendix.¹⁵

¹² BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 3-5T-V.

¹³ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, Appendix: 427V-741T.

¹⁴ See ‘Andronicus’ and ‘Jacob of Edessa’ in VAN HOOF-VAN NUFFELEN 2018. Cf. WITAKOWSKI 2008: 40.

¹⁵ Michael’s lists are reported as they are found in the Edessa-Aleppo codex.

Table 10: List of Jewish High Priests

BAR 'EBROYO	MICHAEL THE GREAT							
	Appendix				Main Text			
	Jacob of Edessa		Andronicus		Jacob of Edessa		Andronicus	
Aaron 38	Aaron 38	1	Aaron 36	1	Aaron 38	1	Aaron 32	
Eleazar 56	Eleazar 56	2	Eleazar 30	2	Eleazar 56	2	Eleazar 30	
Phineas 80	Phineas 80	3	Phineas 60	3	Phineas 80	3	Phineas 60	
Abishua 57	Abishua 60	4	Abishua 32	4	Abishua 55	4	Abishua 52	
Bukki 60	Uzzi 42	5	Bukki 46	5	Bukki 60	5	Bukki 46	
Uzzi 42	Zerahiah 52	6	Uzzi 48	6	Uzzi 42	6	Uzzi 48	
Zerahiah 52	Meraioth 50	7	Zerahiah 31	7	Zerahiah 52	7	Zerahiah 34	
Meraioth 40	Amariah 32	8	Meraioth 40	8	Meraioth 50	8	Meraioth 40	
Amariah 32	Ahitub 20	9	Amariah 42	9	Amariah 32	9	Amariah 44	9
Ahitub 20	Zadok 60	10	Phineas 41	10	Ahitub 20	10	Phineas	
Zadok 60	Bukki 60	11	Eli and his sons 40	11	Zadok	11	Amariah 40	
Ahimaaz 8	Ahimaaz 18	12	Ahitub 46	12	Ahimelech	12	Eli and his sons 40	
Azariah 22	Azariah 22	13	Abiathar 13	13	Azariah 22	13	Ahitub	
Amariah 60	Amariah 60	14	Sadok 19	14	Amariah 60	14	Abiathar	
Ahimelech 22	Ahimelech 22	15	Azariah 31	15	Ahimelech 29	15	Sadok 19-8	16
Jehoiada 3	Jehoiada 3	16	Ahimaaz 12	16	Jehoiada	16	Azariah 33	17
Azariah	Azariah	17	Ahimelech 32	17	Azariah	17	Ahimaaz 12	18
Shallum	Shallum	18	Sadok 20	18	Shallum	18	Ahimelech 32	19
Amaziah	Amaziah	19	Shallum 9	19	Amaziah	19	Sadok 20	20
Hilkiah	Hilkiah	20	Joiada 44	20	Hilkiah	20	Shallum 90	21
Azariah	Azariah	21	Zacharias 10	21	Seraiah	21	Joiada 42	22
Seraiah	Seraiah	22	Ourias 6	22	Azariah	22	Zacharias 8-10	23
Sadok	Sadok	23	Amaziah 21	23	Sadok	23	Ourias	24
Jehozadak 20	Jehozadak 20	24	Azariah 40	24	Jehozadak 20-34	24	Amaziah	25
Jeshua	Jeshua	25	Hananiah 13	25	Jeshua 20	25	Azariah 40	26
Jehozadak 20	Jehozadak	26	Simon	26	Jehozadak 20-34	26	Hananiah 13	27
Elisha 50	Elisha 50	27	Mardai 19	27	Elisha 50	27	Simon 23	28
Judah 40	Judah 40	28	Ourias 16	28	Judah 40	28	Mardai 39	29
Manasseh 31	Manasseh	29	Hananiah 45	29	Manasseh 31	29	Ourias 16	30

	31							
John 14	John 14	30	Andromachus 24	30	John	30	Hananiah 45	31
Hilkiah 30	Hilkiah father of Jeremiah 30	31	Honia 11	31	Andromachus 24	31	Hilkiah 30	32
Pashur 4	Pashur 4	32	Simon the right 32	32	Honia son of Judah 11	32	Pashur 4	
Azariah 10	Azariah 10	33	Eleazar his brother 10	33	Simon son of Honia 32	33	Seraiah	
Seraiah 6	Seraiah 6	34	Manasseh his uncle	34	Eleazar 10 ¹⁶		Azariah	
Sadok 25	Sadok 25	35	Honia 36	35	Manasseh 10		Sadok 25	
Jehozadak 35	Jeshua son of Jehozadak 35	36	Simon son of Honia 100	36	Honia 4		Jehozadak 35	
Jeshua son of Jehozadak 38	Joiakim 20	37	Honia son of Simon 4	37	Simon 18		Jeshua son of Jehozadak 20	
Jehoiakim 20	Elisha 32	38	Jason 9	38	Honia 4		Jehoiakim 46	
Elisha 12	Joiada 17	39	Menelaus 3	39	Jason 1		Elisha 32	
Joiada 17	John 33	40	Eleazar 3	40			Joiada	
John 33			Mattathias 5	41			John	
Joiada 40			Judas Maccabeus 3	42			Joiada 40	
Manasseh 3	Moses 3	43	Jonatan his brother 19	43			Manasseh 3	
Andromachus 17	Andronicus 17	44	Simon his brother 8	44			Andromachus	
Honia 12	Honia 12	45	John his son 26	45			Honia son of Joiada 32	
Simon 9	Simon 9	46	Aristobulus	46			Simon 9	
Eleazar 34	Eleazar 34	47	Alexander 27	47			Eleazar 32	
Manasseh his uncle 10	Manasseh 10	48	Hyrcanus 34	48			Manasseh 10	
Honia 4	Honia 14	49	Hananel 3	49			Honia 4	

¹⁶ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, V.1: 77T-108V and in the appendix. Differently in MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, V.7: 83T-127V.

Simon his son 48	Simon 48	50	Aristobulus 1	50			Simon 14	
Honia his son 4	Menelaus 2	51	Jason 2	51			Honia 5	
Menelaus 2	Hananel 20	52	Eleazar 1	52			Menelaus 2	
Jason 2	Zacharias 22	53	Mattathias 4	53			Jason 9	
Eleazar 1	Simon 8	54	Judas Maccabeus 3	54	Simon 8		Eleazar 1	
Mattathias 4	Caiphas 16	55	Jonatan 19	55			Mattathias 4	
Judas Maccabeus 3	Hannah 15	56	Simon his brother 26	56			Judas Maccabeus 3	
Jonathan 19	John 22	57	John 26	57			Jonathan 19	
Simon 8			Aristobulus 1	58			Simon 8	
John Hyrcanus 26			Hananel 12	59			John Hyrcanus 26	
Aristobulus 1			Alexander 22	60			Aristobulus 1	
Hananel Alexander 12			Hyrcanus 34	61			Alexander 27	
Hyrcanus 12			Aristobulus 1	62			Hyrcanus 34	
Aristobulus 1			Zacharias 22	63			Aristobulus	
Zachariah 22			Simon 24	64			Zachariah 22	
Simon Hananel 8			Caiphas 1	65			Hananel 20	
Caiphas 1			John 2 months	66			Simon 24	
Ananus 2								

If we take a look at the correspondence between the columns it becomes clear that Bar 'Ebroyo, as declared in his preface, follows the sequence of Jacob of Edessa in Michael's appendix.¹⁷ Jacob's sequence in the appendix, except for minor variations, matches the one provided in the main text up to the 30th high-priests. Henceforward we find under the name of Jacob the sequence which in the main text is attributed to Andronicus. Bar 'Ebroyo, who at the beginning of his work declares he has reproduced only the sequences of Jacob of Edessa, relies on the same 'corrupted sequence'. As suggested by Jean Baptiste Chabot, the scribe of Michael's *Chronicle*¹⁸ mistakenly inverted turning a

¹⁷ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: xxvii.

¹⁸ I.e. Moses of Mardin or Barsoum.

page while copying the appendix.¹⁹ The *Chronicle up to 1234* gives additional evidence that the sequence from the 30th priest Hilkiah preserved in the main text is the genuine sequence of Andronicus and thus the corruption occurred in the appendix. Even though it does not preserve a full list of high-priests, the *Chronicle up to 1234* mentions some names of Jewish high-priests. Andy Hilken has shown that the author of this chronicle did not use Jacob of Edessa except for a short passage on Abgar transmitted to him via an intermediary.²⁰ This makes it plausible that the information of the *Chronicle up to 1234* about the Jewish priesthood actually come from Andronicus who is indeed one of its main sources for Jewish chronology.²¹ This seems to be confirmed by the comparison with Andronicus' list in Michael. The *Chronicle up to 1234* includes some names of Andronicus' list before Hilkiah such as Eli and Abiathar who are absent in Jacob of Edessa.²² In the view of this, also the names after the 30th high-priest Hilkiah in the *Chronicle up to 1234* have plausibly to be attributed to Andronicus. And indeed, the chronicler mentions names attributed to Andronicus in Michael's main text. To sum up, according to this evidence, the sequence from the priest Hilkiah has to be attributed to Andronicus, as in the main text of Michael. We can draw three additional conclusions.

a) Since Bar 'Ebroyo declares he has followed Jacob of Edessa and from Hilkiah on he reproduces Andronicus' sequence, incorrectly written under the name of Jacob in the Edessa-Aleppo codex, also the copy of Michael he used had the same mistake. Since Bar 'Ebroyo used Michael's work 300 years before Moses of Mardin and Barsoum, this substitution had to occur in Michael's autograph which Moses of Mardin copied.

b) Most likely Bar 'Ebroyo did not have direct access to Andronicus and Jacob of Edessa.

c) Bar 'Ebroyo followed as main track for his sequences the lists given in the appendix, even though he compared this information with what he found in the main text. We have evidence of this practice, for instance, in the passage about the high-priest Hananel Alexander. Bar 'Ebroyo counts 12 years, as in the appendix, but he also adds '24 (years) in the manuscript' (٢٤ حيسا). This expression is used by Bar 'Ebroyo in other cases, where he refers to inconsistencies between information given in Michael's main text and the appendix III about the Syrian Orthodox patriarchs.²³ In this case too,

¹⁹ CHABOT 1905: 428.

²⁰ HILKENS 2014: 281.

²¹ HILKENS 2014: 233-241, HILKENS 2015.

²² ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle up to 1234*: 85T et seqq.-64V et seqq. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, IV.5: 32T-54V.

²³ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 273T-V, 329T-V. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XI.5: 414T-419V; XII.3: 484T-11V. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, Appendix: 752T-449V; 753T, 450-451V. For this working method in Bar 'Ebroyo see also PRATELLI 2014: 403.

therefore, he was most likely referring to the years of Alexander given in the main text.²⁴

From the sequence Menelaus-Jason, 52th and 53th high-priests, the list given by Bar 'Ebroyo matches the sequence ascribed to Andronicus both in the appendix and in the main text. As I said, Bar 'Ebroyo followed the sequence he found under the name of Jacob of Edessa. The original sequence of Andronicus was incorrectly placed under Jacob's name from the 30th high-priest Hilkiah. However, from Menelaus the sequence is again under Andronicus' name. We can infer that in the model used by Bar 'Ebroyo this part of the sequence was under the name of Jacob of Edessa for the following reasons. First, Bar 'Ebroyo declares he has followed Jacob, thus if we find this part of sequence in Bar 'Ebroyo, it should have originally been placed under Jacob's name. Second, this part of sequence repeats the same names already mentioned in the previous piece (borders marked in the table). In short, the scribe of the successive manuscript(s) misplaced the piece of sequence. Thus the sequence 'Jason 2- Eleazar 1-Mattathias 4' etc. is to be placed after 'Menelaus 2' of 'Jacob's (=Andronicus) sequence.

The comparison allows for the correction of other alterations occurred in Michael's text after Bar 'Ebroyo consulted it. The 5th high-priest Bukki has to be restored in Jacob's list in the appendix. Jehozadak has to be restored as 36th high-priest after Sadok in Jacob's (=Andronicus) list in the appendix. Honia has to be restored as 51th high-priest between Simon and Menelaus in Jacob's (=Andronicus) list in the appendix. Amariah 11th high-priest in Andronicus' list in the main text, is to be delete. The sequence 'Phineas-Amariah 40 -Eli and his sons 40' is in fact a scribal oversight for 'Phineas son of Meraioth 41- Eli and his sons 40' as attested in Bar 'Ebroyo and Michael's appendix.²⁵ The years of the 56th high-priest Simon successor of Jonathan has to be corrected from 26 to 8 as in Bar 'Ebroyo and Andronicus' list in the main text. The spelling 'Ahimelech' of the 12th high-priest in Jacob's sequence of the main text is a mistake for 'Ahimaaz'.²⁶ Finally, the correct spelling of the 43rd, 44th, 67th priest in Jacob's (=Andronicus) list in the appendix are Manasseh, Andromachus, John. The result of these corrections is provided in the sequence given in the annex.²⁷

From Jesus' time, Bar 'Ebroyo introduces the history of the new priesthood and the establishment of the apostolic seats of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Ephesus and Antioch. As he declares, he chooses to skip all the succession lists provided in Michael's *Chronicle*

²⁴ '27 years'. The resemblance of '24' and '27' (ܡܕܪܐ) in Syriac had probably caused a misspelling by the copyist.

²⁵ Cf. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 11T-V.

²⁶ Probably due to the confusion with the Ahimelech successor of Sadok mentioned in the chronology of John of Litarba. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, IV.11: 37T- 64V. Cf. HILKENS 2014: 620.

²⁷ See Annex

except for the one of Antioch, which pertains to the Syrian Orthodox Church. In what follows I give the list of the Antiochene bishops as they are found in Bar 'Ebroyo, and in Michael's appendix and main text. The sequence goes up to the patriarch Sergius, first anti-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, ordained by Jacob Baradaeus and considered the first representative of the independent Syrian Orthodox hierarchy.²⁸ In Bar 'Ebroyo's column, the names of bishops not credited as legitimate²⁹ are written within brackets.

Table 11: List of Bishops of Antioch

BAR 'EBROYO	MICHAEL THE GREAT			
	Appendix		Main Text	
Peter	Peter 2	1	Evodius	1
Evodius	Evodius 3	2	Ignatius	2
Ignatius the Fiery	Ignatius	3		
Heron	Heron	4	Cornelius	4
Cornelius	Cornelius	5	Eudus 16	5
Eudus 16	Eudus	6	Theophilus 15	6
Theophilus	Theophilus 16	7	Maximus 8	7
Maximus 18	Maximus 18	8	Serapion 21	8
Serapion 21	Serapion 10	9	Aesculapius 12	9
Aesculapius 12	Aesculapius 12	10	Philip	10
Philip	Philip	11	Sabinus	11
Sabinus	Sabinus	12		
Babila	Babila	13	Babila	13
Fabius	Fabius	14	Demetrius	14
Demetrius	Demetrius	15	Paul of Samosata	15
Paul of Samosata	Paul of Samosata	16	Domnus	16
Domnus	Domnus	17	Timotheus	17
Timotheus	Timotheus	18	Cyril	18
Cyril	Cyril	19	Tyrannion	19
Tyrannion	Tyrannion	20		
Vital	Vital	21		
Philogonius	Philogonius	22		
Eustathius	Eustathius	23	Eulalius 1	

²⁸ As suggested by Richard Burgess, Michael used the same list of bishops as the one of the Byzantine *Chronographikon syntomon*. BURGESS 1999: 184-185. After the 56th bishop Domnus, they provide two different hierarchies. See NICEPHORUS, *Chronographikon syntomon*: 132T. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, Appendix: 432T. Cf. ALLEN 2011: 30-38.

²⁹ I.e. not included in the official formula but mentioned in the lemmata. See II.2.1.

Eulalius 1 (Paulinus)	Paulinus	24	Euphonious 6	
Euphonious 2	Eulalius (Arian)	25	Flacillus 4	
Flacillus 4	Euphonious (Arian)	26	Stephen 5	
Stephen 3	Flacillus (Arian)	27	Leontius 6	
Leontius 6	Stephen (Arian)	28	Eudoxius 3	
Eudoxius	Leontius (Arian)	29	Meletius	
Meletius	Eudoxius (Arian)	30	Euzoius	
Euzoius (Paulinus)	Meletius	31	Paulinus	
Flavian (Evagrius)	Euzoius	32	Flavian	
Porphyrius	Paulinus	33	Evagrius	
Alexander 10	Flavian	34	Porphyrius	34
Theodotus	Evagrius	35	Alexander 10	35
John	Porphyrius	36		
Domnus	Alexander 10	37		
Maximus	John 11	38	Domnus	
Martyrius (Julian, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Calandion, Peter)	Theodotus 32	39	Maximus	
Palladius	Domnus (Arian)	40	Martyrius	40
Flavian	Maximus (Arian)	41	Julian	41
Severus	Acacius (Chalcedonian)	42	Stephen	42
Paul the Jew	Martyrius (Nestorian)	43	Stephen	43
Euphrasius (Chalcedonian)	Peter 33	44	Peter 33	44
Ephrem (heretic)	Calandion (Chalcedonian)	45	Calandion	
Sergius	Martyrius (Chalcedonian)	46	Peter	
	Julian	47	Palladius	
	Stephen	48	Flavian	49
	Stephen	49	Severus	50
	Palladius (heretic)	50	Paul the Jew	
	Flavian	51	Euphrasius	52
	Severus	52	Ephrem	
	Paul the Jew	53	Sergius	
	Euphrasius (Chalcedonian)	54		
	Ephrem (heretic)	55		
	Domnus (heretic)	56		
	Sergius 37	57		

The strict correspondence between Bar 'Ebroyo and Michael's appendix up to the 23th bishop Eustathius, which in turn is corroborated by other sources,³⁰ makes it necessary to consider the sequence in the main text as corrupt. This dovetails with discrepancies in the numeration in the main text. First, Heron has evidently been overlooked by the copyist for he should have had the number 3 in the sequence. Second, starting from the correct numeration of Babila as 13th bishop it becomes clear that the previous numeration has been adapted by a later copyist to amend the omission of Peter as 1st bishop, which ultimately caused a blank space between Sabinus and Babila. The mention of Tyrannion as 19th and Porphyrius as 34th implies that in between there should have been at least 14 bishops, only 11 of which are attested in the main text. This betrays significant lacunae which likely affected the correct counting in the copying process. Between Alexander and Martyrius, respectively the 35th and the 40th bishop in the main text, there should be four bishops. Beside Domnus and Maximus, whose names are preserved in the text, the other two should be Theodotus and John, as in the appendix of Michael. Also the omission of the 14th bishop Fabius has to be reintegrated based on the appendix and Bar 'Ebroyo. In short, the numerical inconsistencies of the sequence in the main text betray that in the piece up to the 41st bishop Maximus, the sequence in the main text has been altered in the copying process, whereas originally it had to match with the one provided in the appendix. This supports the argument of the originality of Bar 'Ebroyo in shaping his patriarchal sequences according to his theological interpretation which, accordingly, is not a slavish repetition of what he found in his model.³¹

The part of sequence after Maximus presents substantial distortions both in the appendix and in the main text, likely due to the troubled and discontinuous tenure of Peter the Fuller.³² In 469 Peter succeeded to the chalcedonian Martyrius with the help of the general Zeno, a Miaphysite sympathizer. He remained in charge until 471 when a synod called at Antioch deposed him and elected Julian in his place. In 475 A.D, the usurper Basiliscus favoured the Miaphysite party which succeeded to make Peter return, elected him bishop of the city and deposed Julian who died shortly afterwards. In 476, after being restored on the throne, Zeno had Peter deposed and replaced by the Chalcedonian Stephen. When this bishop was murdered in 479 by some Miaphysite clerics, Acacius of Constantinople held the office in Antioch *ad interim* until he

³⁰ For the history of the patriarchate of Antioch see DOWNEY 1961. Except for minor misspellings also the Armenian version gives the same sequence for this part. See MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle (Armenian Version I-II)*: 364V. The Arabic version has the same sequence. See MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle (Arabic Version)*.

³¹ E.g. the treatment of the Meletian schism. See section II.2.1.

³² See DOWNEY 1961: 476–502.

appointed the chalcedonian bishop Calandion. In 484 Calandion was again deposed and Peter was elected for the third and last time. In short, Peter took over the throne after Martyrius, Julian and Calandion, which ultimately had to cause some confusion in the arrangement of the episcopal lists. The appendix in the Armenian version gives the same sequence as the Syriac appendix except for the omission of Palladius, and the Arabic version, based most on Moses of Mardin's copy, has the same list. This strongly suggests that also the autograph had this sequence. As to the main text, according to the narrative preserved in Bar 'Ebroyo, the list in the autograph must have been the same as the one of the Edessa-Aleppo codex because Bar 'Ebroyo preserves exactly the same sequence from Martyrius to Palladius (though reshaping them according to his personal layout). In short, though presenting substantial inconsistencies, the lists in the autograph must have appeared as they are in the extant Edessa-Aleppo codex. Unfortunately it is not possible to establish accurately the lists as they had been originally conceived by Michael, but I limit here to mention some details which might be useful for further research on this subject.

As noted in the numbering of the main text one space needs to be added to match the numbering of Flavian as 49th. The candidate for filling this space is most likely Acacius the chalcedonian. Richard Burgess has shown that Michael the Great, Jacob of Edessa and the author of the *Chronographikon syntomon*³³ used the same list of bishops of Antioch.³⁴ Indeed the list of *Chronographikon syntomon* (erroneously) records an Acacius predecessor of Martyrius, as in Michael's appendix.³⁵ The succession Martyrius-Julian-Stephen-Stephen is confirmed both in the appendix and in the main text. Distortion in the sequence might have been caused by the inclusion of Martyrius the Nestorian and Martyrius the Chalcedonian as two different persons whereas in fact they were one and the same person. The Miaphysite party used to attack adherents to the Council of Chalcedon for their being duophysite, i.e. Nestorians.³⁶ The confessional sympathies of the redactors of the episcopal lists contributed thus to label bishops in different ways which ultimately resulted in recording them as two different persons. The *Chronographikon syntomon* includes only one Martyrius, which supports the hypothesis that this was a scribal error in Michael's autograph.

To sum up, Michael's autograph likely presented the same sequence of the bishops of Antioch as they are found in the Edessa-Aleppo codex. However, both lists, especially

³³ Traditionally attributed to the patriarch Nicephorus (ca. 758-828). See VAN HOOF-VAN NUFFELEN 2018.

³⁴ BURGESS 1999: 184-185.

³⁵ NICEPHORUS, *Chronographikon syntomon*: 131T. Acacius of Constantinople actually succeeded to Stephen. See above.

³⁶ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, IX.1: 242T-127V.


the one in the appendix, went through a scribal error which determined the misplacement of pieces of sequence including Martyrius and Peter the Fuller. For this part, Bar 'Ebroyo had to rely on the sequences given in the text though he shaped them according to his original theological interpretation.

3.1.2 The Narrative Material

The narrative material of the first part of the *Ecclesiastical History* is almost entirely made up of passages taken from Michael the Great's *Chronicle*. In this subsection, I shall analyse Bar 'Ebroyo's working method, by addressing how he embeds the information of his source into his *liber pontificalis* layout and how he abridges and changes Michael's narrative units. As already mentioned, Michael's *Chronicle* is structured in three columns dealing with civil, ecclesiastical and *varia* matters. The episcopal sequences of Antioch and of the other main sees, are given in the column of the ecclesiastical matters. In the following example (fig. 3), I compare Bar 'Ebroyo's lemmata of the bishops Babila, Fabius and Demetrius with the correspondent passages of Michael's *Chronicle*, as they are found in the Edessa-Aleppo codex.³⁷ As it emerges, Bar 'Ebroyo mainly borrows his material from the ecclesiastical column but he relies occasionally also on the *varia* column. The material on the priest and theologian Novatian (200-258 A.D.), which in Michael's *Chronicle* is placed among the *varia*, is dated by Bar 'Ebroyo to Demetrius's episcopate (256-260 A.D.). However, as mentioned above, the episcopal successions are given in the ecclesiastical column, and the narrative does not give any chronological clue to infer that the story of Novatian should be dated to Demetrius' time. In my opinion, this is additional evidence that in Michael's autograph, the chronological canons were placed between the columns and that the events, including the episcopal successions, were synchronized with the canons, as D. Weltecke has argued. This also proves that Bar 'Ebroyo had access to Michael's autograph and was therefore able to date correctly material taken from different columns by seeing their relations to the canons, which in the layout of the Edessa-Aleppo codex would be impossible because the canons have been moved to the bottom of the page.

³⁷ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle* (Edessa-Aleppo Manuscript): 118. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, VI.8: 115-116T, 194-195V.

Fig. 4 Edessa-Aleppo Codex: Narrative on Babila, Fabius and Demetrius

BAR 'EBROYO	MICHAEL THE GREAT	BAR 'EBROYO
Ecclesiastical	Civil	Varia
<p>After Sabinus, Babila.</p> <p>After having ministered for eight years, he forbade the governor of the city to enter the church. Because of this, the governor got furious and killed many Christians including the bishop and three young disciples of him...³⁸</p> <p>After Babila, Fabius.</p> <p>He was martyred along with Alexander of Jerusalem, Fabian of Rome, Christopher and many others in the days of the emperor Decius...³⁹</p>		<p>After Fabius, Demetrius. At this time the priest Novatian used to say that there was not forgiveness for those who had sinned after the baptism...⁴⁰</p>

³⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 53T-V.

³⁹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 53-55T-V.

⁴⁰ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 55-57T-V.

usually omitted. For instance, Bar ‘Ebroyo includes none of the synodical acts handed down by Michael, and normally he turns Michael’s verbose narratives into essential, terse accounts of the facts. It might be argued that Bar ‘Ebroyo conceived his extensive, encyclopaedic literary production as an organic whole. The omission of the synodical material in the *Ecclesiastical History* clearly does not imply a lack of interest by Bar ‘Ebroyo in dogmatic issues. Rather, he considered the inclusion of this material in the *Ecclesiastical History* an unnecessary repetition because he wrote several other works on theology and law.⁴¹

The second feature is that Bar ‘Ebroyo strategically cuts and combines parts of Michael’s narrative to give the text a totally new nuance. For instance, in the account of the rebellion of the archimandrite John Barbur and Probus against the patriarch Peter of Callinicus (581-591 A.D.),⁴² both men are said to have adhered to the Chalcedonian doctrine, whereupon the archimandrite John is chased away from his monastery and isolated in the monastery of Beth Eustathius in Arath. After the patriarch’s death, John and Probus organizes a public debate to promote their heresy, and Probus is elected bishop by the Chalcedonian patriarch. Shortly later Probus falls sick and dies in repentance. Nothing is said about the fate of the archimandrite John. In Bar ‘Ebroyo’s version, instead, the archimandrite John moves to the monastery of Beth Eustathius at the end of the narrative, after the death of Probus. While in Michael’s text John retires to the monastery just before resuming his rebellion, Bar ‘Ebroyo consciously placed his retirement to the monastery after the story of Probus’ conversion and death, in order to give a definitive, edifying ending to his narration.

In another passage, Bar ‘Ebroyo narrates the episode in which some bishops ask the patriarch Severus Bar Mashqe (668-681 A.D.) to be allowed to ordain the bishops of Upper Mesopotamia by themselves.

MICHAEL THE GREAT	BAR ‘EBROYO
Severus, surnommé Bar Masqa, ayant été ordonné pour nous, Orthodoxes, patriarche d'Antioche, après Theodorus, il y eut entre lui et les évêques une querelle, pour la raison que voici. Ce Severus avait été évêque de la ville d'Amid. Devenu patriarche,	After Theodore, Severus Bar Mashqo. He came from the convent of Pagimta that is Saphylo, and John Bar ‘Ebrayta metropolitan of Tarsus laid the hand on him. At that time he was metropolitan of Amid and was ordained in the year 979. He was a

⁴¹ *Candelabrum of the Sanctuary, Book of Rays, Nomocanon*. For these works see TAKAHASHI 2005.

⁴² BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 253-257. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*: X.21: 379-382T, 361-4V.

par suite des circonstances, il se conduisait très durement dans les affaires ecclésiastiques, car c'était un homme sévère, et il avait l'appui du roi des Taiyayê. Il eut une difficulté de la part des évêques Sergius Zakounaya, Hanania du couvent de Qartamîn, et d'autres, qui voulaient eux-mêmes ordonner les évêques pour le Djézireh, quand le besoin en serait, et non pas (les faire ordonner) par le patriarche, selon la coutume en vigueur. Severus ne consentait pas à ce qu'il en fût ainsi: car, comme nous l'avons dit, il était très dur et inflexible. Ces évêques étaient célèbres dans l'Eglise, et âgés; et ils étaient persuadés que leur opinion était appuyée par la loi ancienne qui avait été en vigueur autrefois, d'après la quelle les métropolitains de la province ordonnaient eux-mêmes les évêques pour les sièges de leur juridiction. Le patriarche répondait: que cet usage antique était aboli depuis le temps du concile de Chalcedoine [que, de même que le patriarche d'Alexandrie] ordonnait les évêques de toute la Libye, celui d'Antioche (devait ordonner) tous ceux des pays soumis à la juridiction de ce siège; que depuis cette époque jusqu'aujourd'hui tous les patriarches des sièges d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche ont ordonné les évêques, et qu'il devait en être encore ainsi maintenant. Mais, les évêques voulant faire triompher leur manière de voir, il y eut lutte entre eux et le

harsh man, behaving very severely on ecclesiastical matters; he was supported by the king of the Arabs but he was opposed by the bishops, by Sergius of Zuqnin and Ananias of the monastery of Qartmin and others who wanted to ordain bishops for Mesopotamia without the patriarch. The patriarch did not consent saying: 'That ancient custom ceased from the time of the council of Chalcedon. As the patriarch of Alexandria ordains bishops for the entire Libya, that of Antioch also ordains for his regions. Like all the patriarchs from that time until today in the seat of Antioch ordain the bishops for all the cities, too it shall now be in this way.' The bishops because they were renowned and venerable men in the church, trusted that their argument might be helped by the ancient law that is still valid at our time: the metropolitan of each province appoint the bishops for the seat of his territory.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 283-285T-V.

patriarche.⁴³

Michael, who clearly takes the patriarch's side, constructs the dialectic confrontation so that the argument of the patriarch comes after the one of the bishops and contradicts it. Although Bar 'Ebroyo's account relies on Michael's material, he manages to make the account favourable to the bishops by reversing the order of the dialogue. He places the argument of the bishops after the one of the patriarch to prove the latter wrong. Indeed, the bishops' point that the metropolitan could appoint the bishops of his province dates back to before the council of Chalcedon, after which this right passed to the patriarch. This ultimately results in the fact that the law claimed by the patriarch was actually a later innovation in the canons. Such a stance by Bar 'Ebroyo is explicable by his concern about the juridical autonomy of the eastern regions from the patriarchal jurisdiction.⁴⁵

In short, Bar 'Ebroyo does not limit himself to epitomizing Michael's work but he makes an original contribution by selecting, excerpting, and re-organizing his source. As it will be argued in the next section, Bar 'Ebroyo's originality in the use of the sources is even more marked in the second part of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

3.2 Sources for the History of the Eastern Priesthood

3.2.1 An East Syrian Patriarchal History

The usual working method of Bar 'Ebroyo, consisting in taking a work as his main model and then complementing it with additional sources, has led scholarship to look at the *Book of the Tower*,⁴⁶ a massive East Syrian patriarchal history, as the best candidate for being the main source of the second section of the *Ecclesiastical History*.⁴⁷ At first sight, the *Book of the Tower* shows indeed notable correspondences with the text of Bar 'Ebroyo. However, as I shall argue, this hypothesis does not take into account several elements, and a more detailed comparison will shed doubt on Bar 'Ebroyo's reliance on the *Book of*

⁴³ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XI.13: 436-437T, 456-457V.

⁴⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 25T-V, 403T-V.

⁴⁶ *Kitāb al-majdal* 'Book of the Tower', theological encyclopaedia which includes a patriarchal history of the Church of the East. For the entire work see SWANSON 2010. For the historical part see DEBIÉ 2015a: 640-643.

⁴⁷ WILMSHURST 2016, WITAKOWSKI 2006.

the Tower. Even if Bar 'Ebroyo used a patriarchal history as his main model,⁴⁸ the range of possible candidates has to be extended to other works. Beside the *Book of the Tower*, there are two East Syrian patriarchal histories to which Bar 'Ebroyo could have had access: the *Chronicle of Seert* and the so-called *Haddad Chronicle*.⁴⁹ Both works are indeed structured around the sequence of the East Syrian catholicoi and, as I shall argue, show extensive parallels with Bar 'Ebroyo's text. Before giving some examples, it is necessary to mention the factors that make the identification of sources problematic. Though important studies have been published on this issue,⁵⁰ the textual tradition of these histories has not yet been fully investigated.

The *Book of the Tower*, a theological encyclopedia which incorporates a history of the East Syrian catholicoi, has been handed down in two redactions, one in seven chapters and another in five chapters. Georg Graf argued that the version in seven chapters was composed by Mari ibn Sulayman in the middle of the 12th century, because of two autobiographical references in the historical part dated to the catholicate of Makkikha (1092–1110 A.D) and Barsoum (1134–1136 A.D).⁵¹ The version in five chapters was instead composed in the middle of the 14th century by 'Amr ibn Matta on the model of Mari. Later, the work of 'Amr was plagiarized by a certain Saliba who presented it under his name.⁵² Both texts have been published under these attributions by Enrico Gismondi in the only extant edition and translation.⁵³ Yet, Bo Holmberg has challenged this *communis opinio*⁵⁴ arguing for an attribution of the seven-chapter version to 'Amr ibn Matta who composed it at the end of the 11th century,⁵⁵ and suggesting that Mari ibn Sulayman continued its historical section up to his own time (mid. 12th century).⁵⁶ Holmberg also claims that Saliba was not a plagiarist but rather the author of the five-

⁴⁸ i.e. he did not gather and organize independently different sources.

⁴⁹ From the name of Butrus Haddad who discovered and restored the only manuscript preserving the work. The manuscript bears the title 'mukhtaṣar al-akhbār al-bī'īyah', 'Abridgement of church stories'. For the description of the work see below.

⁵⁰ See HOLMBERG 1993, HOLMBERG 2003, TEULE 2009.

⁵¹ *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 125V, 132V.

⁵² GRAF 1947: 216–218. See also HOLMBERG 1999: 256–257.

⁵³ GISMONDI 1896 (ed.), GISMONDI 1897 (tr.).

⁵⁴ HOLMBERG 1999.

⁵⁵ Mainly on the basis of the fact that most of the manuscripts of the seven chapters version are attributed to Amr (and none of them are attributed to Mari). Moreover authors who died before the beginning of the 13th century author already mention him as the author of the *Book of the Tower*. Finally, the *Book of the Tower* is referred to by 10th century authors as being contemporary, which makes the attribution to the 12th century Mari ibn Sulayman (see below) impossible.

⁵⁶ As Mari refers to himself as witness for the catholicate of Makkikha (1092–1110) and Barsoum (1134–1136), he flourished in the 12th century.

chapter version, which he composed at the beginning of the 14th century (ca. 1332 A.D).⁵⁷ Holmberg's hypothesis has now been generally accepted.⁵⁸ In both Graf and Holmberg's reconstruction the five-chapter version was composed after Bar 'Ebroyo's death. As to the seven-chapter version, the lack of a detailed study on the textual transmission of the work calls for some caution in assessing the use of the *Book of the Tower* by Bar 'Ebroyo. All the extant manuscripts contain a historical section that goes up to Abdisho III Bar Moqli 1139–1148, i.e. including the Mari's continuations. However, Bar 'Ebroyo might have used a text where Mari's continuation was not yet present.⁵⁹ As I shall argue in this section, further research on Bar 'Ebroyo's sources should look more at the *Chronicle of Seert* and the *Haddad Chronicle* rather than the *Book of the Tower*. The 11th century *Haddad Chronicle* is preserved in a defective and damaged manuscript where only the portion of text from Christ to the catholicos Barb'ashmin (343–346) is preserved. Originally the work was likely to cover history up to the 11th century. The extant manuscript represents only the first of the two volumes which made up the *Chronicle*.⁶⁰ The early 11th century *Chronicle of Seert* is also preserved in a mutilated manuscript that contains only the narratives about the periods 251–423 and 483–650.⁶¹ It goes without saying that the defective state of preservation of these chronicles implies an additional obstacle for the investigation of the sources.

Second, the mutual relations between these chronicles have not been thoroughly investigated yet. The extensive parallels between the *Haddad Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of Seert* initially led to the idea that the former is a copy of the latter, and accordingly that the two works could be used to reconstruct the missing parts of each other. However, as Herman Teule has shown, the *Haddad Chronicle* should be studied as an independent work for it diverges from the *Chronicle of Seert* in style and content. Nevertheless, several notable correspondences suggest that the two chronicles, albeit being distinct works, are somehow related.⁶² Research on the relation of the *Book of the Tower* with the *Chronicle of Seert* and the *Haddad Chronicle* is so far limited to the contribution of Vincent van Vossel who shows that for the narrative on the apostle

⁵⁷ Statement by Saliba himself in MS. *Vat. neof.* 54. See HOLMBERG 1999: 261.

⁵⁸ DEBIÉ 2015a, SWANSON 2010, TEULE 2003: 103, WITAKOWSKI 2006.

⁵⁹ However note that among the manuscripts there is also a very old copy, the MS *Vat ar.* 109 (1213 A.D) used for Gismondi's edition, which betrays that the inclusion of Mari's continuation occurred at very early times. This might suggest that if Bar 'Ebroyo had access to the work, probably it was already this version.

⁶⁰ See 'Haddad chronicle' in VAN NUFFELEN- VAN HOOF 2018, DEBIÉ 2015a: 636–638.

⁶¹ See 'Chronicle of Seert' in VAN NUFFELEN- VAN HOOF 2018, DEBIÉ 2015a: 634–636.

⁶² See TEULE 2009.

Mari, the *Book of Tower* is essentially an abridgment of the *Haddad Chronicle*.⁶³ If further research on the mutual relations of these histories should show that their extensive correspondences are due to the use of the same sources, there would emerge an extremely homogenous historiographical substratum. This would affect also our interpretation of Bar 'Ebroyo's use of East Syrian sources, because his correspondences with these patriarchal histories might well be due to the use of common material rather than of one of them in particular.

For now, I limit myself to provide some examples to show that a) the *Ecclesiastical History* contains passages that are present in the *Chronicle of Seert* but not in the *Book of the Tower*; b) the *Ecclesiastical History* contains passages that are not present in any of the patriarchal histories, thus betraying the use of additional sources; c) Bar 'Ebroyo intervened on this material more heavily than he did with the *Chronicle of Michael the Great* in the first section: material of undoubtedly East Syrian origin has been changed, sometimes tampered with, in a Syrian Orthodox perspective, and interwoven with Syrian Orthodox sources. Moreover, Bar 'Ebroyo calculated his own chronology, coordinated with the *Chronography*, rather than following the datings included in the patriarchal histories.

That Bar 'Ebroyo used East Syrian material is acknowledged by the author himself, who states in two cases that he has drawn his information from the 'Nestorians'.⁶⁴ Bar 'Ebroyo explicitly talks of an 'Ecclesiastical History of the Nestorians' in a passage about the catholicos Aba (540-552):

In the Ecclesiastical History of the Nestorians we found that this Aba, after having learned Syriac, wanted to learn also the Greek language and went to Edessa where he was instructed by a certain Thomas, a Jacobite who was competent in the Greek language, and he went with him to Alexandria and with his knowledge translated the Scriptures from Greek to Syriac.⁶⁵

The account of a certain Thomas of Edessa as teacher of the catholicos Aba is found both in the *Book of the Tower* and the *Chronicle of Seert*.⁶⁶ However, the *Book of the Tower* is silent about a trip of Aba and Thomas to Alexandria as well as the work of translation of the Holy Scriptures. Both details, instead, can be found in the *Chronicle of Seert*. In several parallel passages, the *Ecclesiastical History* presents more accurate correspondences with the *Chronicle of Seert* than with the *Book of the Tower*. For instance, though they all share

⁶³ VAN VOSSEL 1988 mentioned in TEULE 2009: 162-163.

⁶⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 89T-V, 91T-V.

⁶⁵ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 89T-V.

⁶⁶ BOOK OF THE TOWER (7 BOOKS): 44V; ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*, XXVII: 154-164T-V.

the same material on the catholicos Shahdost, both Bar ‘Ebroyo and the *Chronicle of Seert* report the words addressed by the king Shapur to the catholicos while the *Book of the Tower* limits itself to summarize the content of the conversation.

BAR ‘EBROYO	CHRONICLE OF SEERT	BOOK OF THE TOWER
The catholicos was captured along with 118 priests, believers and monks and two brothers of him. It is said that Shahdost was brought at the presence of Shapur who told him: ‘I killed Simeon the chief of the Christians and several bishops with him. Why have you become chief of the people I hate?’ ⁶⁷	Le satrape de Séleucie-Ctésiphon en fit alors tuer cent vingt, puis il envoya Šahdost avec les religieuses à Sapor. Quand le patriache comparut, le roi lui dit: ‘J’ai tué Siméon, chef des Chrétiens, et un grand nombre de supérieurs et d’évêques; pourquoi donc es-tu devenu le chef de gens que je déteste?’ ⁶⁸	Ex eis interemit Marzabanus homines centum et viginti, Sahdostum vero et moniales Madainae misit ad Saporem qui illi proposuit ut magus fieret, nec permisit christianis praeesse sine sua venia. ⁶⁹

Similar cases of correspondence can be found for the accounts of the catholicoi Barb‘ashmin, Isaac, Aba and Isho‘yahb II.⁷⁰ Moreover, there are entire episodes in the *Ecclesiastical History* that are reported in the *Chronicle of Seert* but not in the *Book of the Tower* such as the notice on the foundation of Medina by Median⁷¹ and the diploma given by Muhammad to the Christians through the chief of the people of Najran.⁷² Conversely, there does not seem to be in Bar ‘Ebroyo any notice which is preserved in the *Book of the Tower* and not in the *Chronicle of Seert*.

As to the sections before the *Chronicle of Seert* stops, the evidence provided by the *Haddad Chronicle* suggests that the text of Bar ‘Ebroyo likely had more accurate

⁶⁷ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 37T-V.

⁶⁸ ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*, XXIX: 309-311T-V.

⁶⁹ *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 16-18V.

⁷⁰ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 39T-V, 49T-V, 95T-V, 113T-V. Cf. *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 18-24V, 26V, 43-46V, 54-44V; ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*, XXXI: 221T-V, LXIII: 313T-V, XXVIII: 159-160T-V, XCIII: 560T-V.

⁷¹ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 113T-V. Cf. ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*, CI: 280T-V.

⁷² BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 115-117T-V. Cf. ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*, CII: 281-298T-V.

correspondences with these two chronicles than with the *Book of the Tower*. The quarrel between the catholicos Papa (d. 327-335) and his main opponent Miles was reported in different terms by the sources. While the *Acts of Miles* take Miles' side, the report of the bishop Agapetus of Beth Lapaṭ included in the acts of the synod of Dadisho' is favorable to Papa.⁷³ Both sources, however, report the episode in which Papa, upset of the accusations made against him, strikes the Gospel, whereupon his right hand is shriveled. While Bar 'Ebroyo and the *Haddad Chronicle* stick to this account,⁷⁴ the *Book of the Tower* reports that it was Miles who laid his hand on the Gospel and was then struck by God.⁷⁵ Moreover, while both the *Haddad Chronicle* and Bar 'Ebroyo report that the hand of Papa remained withered for twelve years until his death and that Jacob of Nisibis and Ephrem wrote letters of support to Papa, none of this is mentioned in the *Book of the Tower*.⁷⁶

In short, the hypothesis of a derivation of Bar 'Ebroyo from the *Book of the Tower* has to be revised because if Bar 'Ebroyo actually modelled his section on an East Syrian patriarchal history, the *Chronicle of Seert* or the *Chronicle of Haddad* seem to be more likely candidates in this respect. An additional argument for the fact that Bar 'Ebroyo did not use the *Book of the Tower*, at least in Mari's redaction, is that he skips the office of Elias II Bar Moqli (1111-1132 A.D.) placing the catholicos Barsoum (1134-1136 A.D.) in direct succession to Makkikha I (1092-1110 A.D.).⁷⁷ Rather than mere carelessness in reading his source,⁷⁸ this omission could betray that Bar 'Ebroyo used a patriarchal history which stopped no later than the 11th century, which thus cannot be Mari's version of the *Book of the Tower*. In the research of material for the catholicoi of the 12th and 13th century, Bar 'Ebroyo might not have found any information about Elias whose ecclesiastical activities were apparently very limited.⁷⁹

As mentioned at the outset, the second section of the *Ecclesiastical History* includes also notices of East Syrian origin which are not found in the main patriarchal histories. For instance, the account of the catholicos Barb'ashmin contains information on his death which ultimately derives from the *Acts of Barb'ashmin*.⁸⁰ The notice that the

⁷³ See CHABOT, *Synodicon Orientale*: 46-49T, 289-293V.

⁷⁴ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 29-31T-V. Cf. ANONYMOUS, *Haddad Chronicle*, XCVIII: 158-160T quoted in WOOD 2013: 84-86.

⁷⁵ *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 7-8V.

⁷⁶ The information on Jacob of Nisibis and Ephrem is not mentioned in the *Acts of Miles* and the acts of the Synod of Dadisho.

⁷⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 327T-V.

⁷⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: xxxv.

⁷⁹ See TEULE 2011: 418.

⁸⁰ '(Shapur) killed them in Karka d-Ledan in Khuzestan, on 9 January. The bishops delayed to appoint (another) leader for them because (whoever) had been appointed was killed.' BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 41T-V. Cf. *Acts of Barb'ashmin*: 296-303T, 93-101V.

catholicos Aba was in contact in Alexandria with John the Grammarian is credited by Bar ‘Ebroyo to Nestorian sources⁸¹ but none of the patriarchal histories mentions it. The origin of this notice is unknown.⁸² In the passage about the catholicos Papa, Bar ‘Ebroyo relates that according to some sources the catholicos was ordained at the synod of Nicaea. This notice is not confirmed by any of the East Syrian histories, and it ended up in being dismissed as a late invention.⁸³ However, a 5th -7th century list of catholicoi preserved in MS *Vat. syr.* 135 explicitly says that Papa took over his office at the synod of Nicaea.⁸⁴ Thus, even though Bar ‘Ebroyo actually modelled his work on a main East Syrian patriarchal history, he did not content himself with relying on its information but he looked also at additional material.

Finally, while in the first section Bar ‘Ebroyo mainly limits himself to epitomizing Michael the Great and to complementing it with occasional, clearly identifiable chunks of additional information, in the second section the narrative is built in a more complex way. Bar ‘Ebroyo provides his own chronological calculations rather than relying on what he found in his sources. Although the list of catholicoi is the same as the one provided in the East Syrian sources⁸⁵ the lemmata are placed under each catholicos according to Bar ‘Ebroyo’s personal computation. The date of the conquest of Antioch by Khosrow I (531-579) is calculated according to the chronology given in the *Chronography*:

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY	CHRONOGRAPHY
In the year 843 of the Greeks Kavadh son of Firuz, king of the Persians died and his son Khosrow Anushirwan ruled after him. After eight years he went up to Antioch, burned it and took away its inhabitants as captives. ⁸⁶	And in his fourth year Kesru, the son of Kawad, reigned forty seven years. And in the eleventh year of Justinianus the peace between the Persians and the Rhomaye was dissolved. And a great and terrible comet appeared in the evenings for many days. And in that same year Kesru went up and took Antioch and

⁸¹ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 91T-V.

⁸² On the possible origin of this association see KOMINKO 2013: 16 n.51.

⁸³ WOOD 2013: 88.

⁸⁴ ANONYMOUS, *List of catholici until Peroz I*: 556T. On this list see ‘List of catholici until Peroz I’ in VAN NUFFELEN-VAN HOOF 2018.

⁸⁵ Except for the successor of Makkikha I for whom see above.

⁸⁶ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 85T-V.

According to the calculation of the *Chronography* Khosrow I started to reign in the fourth year of Justinian, i.e. in 531 A.D, which corresponds to the year 842-3 A.G. mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Also the dating of the conquest of Antioch is synchronized with the *Chronography* because the eighth year of Kavadh in the *Ecclesiastical History* roughly corresponds to the eleventh of Justinian in the *Chronography*. Relying on this computation, in the *Ecclesiastical History* Bar 'Ebroyo places the conquest of Antioch immediately after the death of the catholicos Elisha (524-537 A.D). Notably, both the *Book of the Tower* and the *Chronicle of Seert* set this notice under the catholicate of Joseph (552-556/567 A.D).⁸⁸ Bar 'Ebroyo's independence in the calculation of the chronology is also evident in the account of the catholicos Papa and the Persian synod of Seleucia (314-5 A.D). I have already mentioned that according to the *Acts of Miles* and the *Haddad Chronicle*, Papa died twelve years after his hand was paralyzed at the synod of oriental bishops where he was accused.⁸⁹ Saliba says that the synod was held in the year 6 of Shapur (314-315 A.D) and that Papa died in 637 A.G. (325-6 A.D) which dovetails with the period of twelve years between the synod of Seleucia and the death.⁹⁰ Accordingly, his death occurred within one year after the synod of Nicaea. Indeed, all East Syrian sources agree that Papa was too old at the time of the council of Nicaea to attend it in person and that he sent Simeon Bar Šab'e in his place. Both versions of the *Book of the Tower* attribute 79 years of office to Papa.⁹¹ Bar 'Ebroyo criticizes the datings given by his East Syrian material and offers a new computation.

The catholicos Papa was present at the synod of the 318 gathered in Nicaea in the year 636 of the Greeks, 59 years after his ordination. Some say that he was ordained at the synod but it is not exact. Others say that he did not go to the synod but he sent his disciple Simeon Bar Šab'e (in his place). Nine years after the synod of Nicaea the eastern bishops gathered and several leaders of the synod accused Papa of the disorders which had affected the ecclesiastical affairs for his negligence and denounced him of odious crimes. Since he could not defend himself from what he had been accused of, he raised his hand and beat the divine Gospel which had been put on his seat, saying: 'Speak if you have something to say, because I am not able to speak' and in an hour his

⁸⁷ BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 79T, 79V.

⁸⁸ *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 47V, ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*, XXXII: 182T-V.

⁸⁹ *Acts of Miles*: 261-262T, 64-65V. ANONYMOUS, *Haddad Chronicle*, XCVIII: 158-9T.

⁹⁰ *Book of the Tower* (5 Books): 8-9V.

⁹¹ For these calculations see also BURGESS 1999: 259-260.

right hand was shriveled up. Some say that when the bishops saw what had happened deposed him because it proved the accusation. Other say that he was not deposed because the bishops said that the divine chastisement fallen upon him was enough... One year after this chastisement he died. He fulfilled the office for 69 years and died in extreme old age. Other say that he died 12 years after his right hand had shriveled up but it is not exact.⁹²

Bar 'Ebroyo correctly places the synod of Nicaea in the year 636 of the Greeks.⁹³ However, a) he claims that Papa was present at the synod, b) he postpones the synod of Seleucia ten years after the synod of Nicaea rather than ten years before, as it actually was, c) he says that Papa died one year after the synod of Seleucia. In short, the chronology can be summarized as follows:

BAR 'EBROYO	EAST SYRIAN SOURCES
Synod of Nicaea: 636 A.G. (59 years after ordination)	Persian Synod of Seleucia 625 A.G.
Persian Synod of Seleucia: 645 A.G.	Synod of Nicaea: 637 A.G. (79 years after ordination)
Papa's Death: 646 A.G.	Papa's Death: 637 A.G.

It is possible that Bar 'Ebroyo misinterpreted the traditional account of Papa's death one year after the synod of Nicaea, confusing the synod of Nicaea with the one of Seleucia.⁹⁴ This would have forced him to postpone the synod of Seleucia after the one of Nicaea for all the sources state that Papa is alive at the time of the latter. Rather than a mere misunderstanding, the calculation of Bar 'Ebroyo might also be the conscious attempt to accommodate chronologically the participation of Papa to the synod of Nicaea and put the synod of Seleucia under the doctrinal and historical tradition of the Nicene Fathers. Bar 'Ebroyo's chronology might also have been grounded on a Syrian Orthodox tradition. Worth noting is that the Miaphysite list of catholicoi which we mentioned above reports that Papa was even elected at the synod of Nicaea.⁹⁵ The historical and doctrinal prestige of the synod of Nicaea, thus, probably prompted a change in the chronology by Bar 'Ebroyo or his Syrian Orthodox sources.

To sum up, in the second section Bar 'Ebroyo calculates his own chronology, which is a quite different approach in comparison to how he deals with Michael the Great. To

⁹² BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 29-31T-V.

⁹³ Cf. 637 A.G. given in the *Chronography*. BAR 'EBROYO, *Chronography*: 61T-61V. Actually the edition gives 677 A.G. but it is clearly a misspelling for 637 A.G. due to the similarity of ٦٧٧ '3' and ٦٣٧ '7'.

⁹⁴ Cf. BURGESS 1999: 261.

⁹⁵ ANONYMOUS, *List of catholici until Peroz I*: 556T. The list is probably of Miaphysite origin since he explicitly calls Nestorius 'accursed' (منعد).

give but one example, in the first section of the *Ecclesiastical History* Bar 'Ebroyo dates the synod of Nicaea to the year 642 A.G. which is the date supplied by Michael.⁹⁶ In this case Bar 'Ebroyo limits himself to report what he found in Michael even though the dating was inconsistent with what he had calculated in the *Chronography* and the second section of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

Beside the chronology, Bar 'Ebroyo intervenes also in the construction of the narrative itself, by presenting information drawn from East Syrian sources in a Syrian Orthodox perspective and interweaving it with Syrian Orthodox material. For the account of the Nestorianization of Persia by Barsoum, Bar 'Ebroyo mainly relies on Michael the Great.⁹⁷ However he shrewdly includes some notices, conveniently modified, from his East Syrian sources.

BAR 'EBROYO ⁹⁸	MICHAEL THE GREAT ⁹⁹	CHRONICLE OF SEERT ¹⁰⁰
Barsoum introduces the practice for the bishops to take women as concubines.		The bishops regularly have illicit intercourse with women.
The Western Fathers complain with the catholicos Babowai about the spread of Nestorius' doctrine and the spread of fornication among bishops in the East.	The Western Fathers complain with the catholicos Babowai about the spread of Nestorius' doctrine in the East.	The Western Fathers complain about this with the catholicos Babowai who defend himself. Barsoum writes a letter in which he authorizes bishops to marry.
Babowai defends himself alleging his powerlessness for being under the rule of an 'impious' kingdom (i.e. the Sassanid).	Babowai defends himself alleging his powerlessness for being under the rule of an 'impious' kingdom (i.e. the Sassanid).	The king Firuz forces Christians to convert to Magianism. Babowai writes to the emperor Zeno complaining for being under an 'impious' kingdom.

⁹⁶ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 75T-V. cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, VII.2: 125T-245V.

⁹⁷ Michael in turn relies on Dionysius of Tell Maḥre who ultimately used the account of Marutha of Tagrit. See 'Letter on the persecution by Barsauma' in VAN NUFFELEN-VAN HOOFF 2018.

⁹⁸ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 63-65T-V.

⁹⁹ MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle* XI.9: 423-427T, 437-440V.

¹⁰⁰ ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*: 99-101T-V. Cf. *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 36-38V.

		(i.e. the Sassanid).
The letter of Babowai is intercepted by Barsoum and sent to the king Firuz	The letter of Babowai is intercepted by Barsoum and sent to the king Firuz.	The letter of Babowai is intercepted by the followers of Barsoum and sent to the king Firuz.
A Syrian is called to read the letter. He tries to read the word 'impious' as 'great' in order to help Babowai but he does not succeed.		The Christians present try to help Babowai alleging that the word 'impious' simply means 'not Christian'
Babowai is sentenced to death.	Babowai is sentenced to death.	Babowai is sentenced to death.

I will not discuss here the way in which some information may have been received and reinterpreted in the Syrian Orthodox milieu before landing in Michael's *Chronicle*. As it emerges from the comparison, the correspondence between Babowai and Zeno, for instance, has been adapted in different way. I limit myself to a straightforward comparison of Bar 'Ebroyo with Michael who was his Syrian Orthodox source for this account. Bar 'Ebroyo complements Michael's narrative with material of East Syrian origin,¹⁰¹ such as the spread of illicit relations among bishops and the episode of the Syrian man summoned at the court to translate Babowai's letter. Of course, both notices are presented in a specific way. Bar 'Ebroyo presents Barsoum as main responsible for the spread of fornication within the Church. In another passage about the Persian king Kavadh, Bar 'Ebroyo entirely reinterprets the material he found in his sources.

At that time Jamasp, the son of Firuz revolted against his brother Kavadh, son of Firuz, and expelled him from the kingdom after he had reigned for eleven years after his brother Balash. Then Kavadh went to the country of the Greeks, made them (his) allies and came (back) to sit on (his) throne for 46 years, minus the two year his brother Jamasp had reigned. There he learned of the affairs of the Christians and the Nestorians in his region, and that none of the other faithful peoples agreed with them, but that they accepted everything that all of the others had rejected and despised. He also learned how his father Firuz had given power to Barsoum who by force made the faithful change the common confession of the Western fathers. Thus he hated

¹⁰¹ See also GERO 1985: 11.

them violently, especially (because) he had seen their fathers, catholicoi and bishops, compromise themselves with women, and thinking nothing but fornication.¹⁰²

According to the traditional account, Kavadh found shelter and military support at the court of the Hephthalites, a tribe of Central Asia which in the 5th century started pressing at the border of the Persian kingdom.¹⁰³ Kavadh persuaded the Hephthalite king to help him regaining his throne first from Balash and then from Jamasp. The account of Bar 'Ebroyo, instead, informs us that Kavadh found support in the kingdom of the Greeks, which, beside not being confirmed by any other source, sounds unlikely since the relationship with the Greeks were rather problematic at Kavadh's time.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, Bar 'Ebroyo hints at the fact that the trip to the country of the Greeks made Kavadh incline towards the orthodox faith and against the East Syrians. Conversely, the *Chronicle of Seert* explicitly says that Kavadh was very benevolent towards East Syrians.¹⁰⁵ It is likely that Bar 'Ebroyo changed the information he had at his disposal in order to make a convincing introduction to what follows, namely the Syrian Orthodox missionary activity of Simeon of Beth Arsham in Persia and the establishment of a common profession of faith by Greeks, Armenians and Syrians against Nestorianism. According to Bar 'Ebroyo, both Simeon's mission and the council of Dvin (506 A.D),¹⁰⁶ where the profession of faith was produced, took place under the auspices of the king Kavadh. Most likely, Bar 'Ebroyo had access to the acts of the synod which indeed allegedly state that the king Kavadh gave to the synodites the authorization of preaching the orthodoxy in Persia. Therefore, Bar 'Ebroyo might have needed to construct a convincing historical introduction, which he could not find in any source.¹⁰⁷

In conclusion, we have seen that Bar 'Ebroyo surely used East Syrian material, found in the three main East Syrian patriarchal histories. If Bar 'Ebroyo actually modelled his section on one of these histories, either the *Chronicle of Seert* or the *Haddad Chronicle* are much more likely to be the source he used. Thus, the hypothesis that he relied on the

¹⁰² BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 83-85T-V.

¹⁰³ ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*: 127-128T-V; PSEUDO-JOSHUA THE STYLITE, *Chronicle*: 251-252T, 185-186V; PROCOPIUS, *Wars*, I.6: 42-49T-V. Michael the Great does not mention the name of the people where he found shelter. See MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, VII.9:256T-154V.

¹⁰⁴ After decades of truce, the unfulfilled request of Kavadh to obtain money from Anastasius broke the peace between Persia and Byzantium.

¹⁰⁵ ANONYMOUS, *Chronicle of Seert*: XIV-XV: 128-129T-V.

¹⁰⁶ GARSOÏAN 1999: 438-446.

¹⁰⁷ Note that Kavadh is not mentioned in the report of the synod of Dvin given in Michael the Great. See MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, IX.11: 261-264T-165-167V.

historical section of the *Book of the Tower*,¹⁰⁸ at least in Mari's redaction, has to be excluded. Unlike the first section which mostly consists of a summary of Michael's *Chronicle* and chunks of additional sources which are easily detectable, the narrative of the second section is interwoven in a more complex way. Bar 'Ebroyo gives his own calculation of the chronology and places events according to his own computation, but within the patriarchal list given by his sources. Moreover, Bar 'Ebroyo alters and compiles his material to the point that it is not possible to assess with certainty if he modelled his section on a main history or if the extensive correspondence are rather due to the use of common sources.

3.2.2 Complementary Material

3.2.2.1 Sources on the Apostle Thomas

As mentioned in section II.4, the extension of the sequence of catholicoi back to the apostle Thomas is most likely a late innovation after Bar 'Ebroyo.¹⁰⁹ Until then the East Syrian patriarchal lineage was dated back to the apostle Mari, the preacher of Mesopotamia, or the apostle Addai.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, Bar 'Ebroyo's East Syrian source(s) cannot be responsible for the lemma of the apostle Thomas. The comparison with the relevant sources suggests that Bar 'Ebroyo's account on Thomas did not find this account as it is in one of his source. The account as a whole does not show straightforward parallels to any preserved source but it looks, rather, as a compilation and reworking of various apocryphal traditions. While approaching this material, it should be considered that it is an extremely rich and miscellaneous literary tradition.¹¹¹ Even though a common substratum lies at its core, apocryphal apostolic material developed and circulated in a rather uncontrolled way. For instance, as Jean Daniel Kaestli has noted, the list of regions in which the apostle preached cannot be traced back to a common, unitary tradition.¹¹²

Bar 'Ebroyo's account of Thomas basically consists of two parts. The first one informs about the missionary activity of Thomas in the Middle Eastern regions he crossed to go

¹⁰⁸ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016, WITAKOWSKI 2006.

¹⁰⁹ WOOD 2013: 67. See catholicoi lists in COAKLEY 1999 and EBIED 1974. Cf. SALOMON OF BASSORA, *Book of the Bee*: 131T (ܡܠܟܐ) -106V; *Book of the Tower* (7 Books): 1 T-1V; *Book of the Tower* (5 Books): 1T-1V.

¹¹⁰ For the overlapping of the missionary activity of Addai and Aggai see JULLIEN 2005: 101.

¹¹¹ On New Testament Apocrypha see BOVON 1981, MORALDI 1971. On Syriac tradition see DESREMAUX 2005, JULLIEN 2005.

¹¹² KAESTLI 1981: 264. The lists and accounts on the missionary activities of the apostles developed from the passages in the Gospel of Matthew and the Acts of the Apostles. See *Matt.* 28,19; *Acts* 1,8.

to India. I shall argue that there are reasonable chances that Bar ‘Ebroyo had access to this material through a juridical collection. The second part narrates Thomas’ activity in India and roughly corresponds to the material included in the *Acts of Thomas*.

At the beginning of his account of Thomas’ life, Bar ‘Ebroyo mentions as source the ‘Book of the teaching of the Apostles’ (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܡܬܐ). Though, at a first sight, the title might simply suggest that Bar ‘Ebroyo credits his account to the Acts of the Apostles, the Syriac title for the latter is *parksīs d-šlīḥē* (ܦܪܟܝܫܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ) after the Greek original ‘praxis’. I suggest, instead, that Bar ‘Ebroyo might allude to the Canons of the Apostles, a set of canons claiming apostolic origin which is incorporated in the *Octateuchus Clementinus*, a 7th century juridical collection in Syriac whose Greek original is attributed to Clement of Rome.¹¹³ There are some clues which point at this source. First, Bar ‘Ebroyo surely used the apostolic canons in his *Nomocanon* and in the juridical section of his *Ethicon*.¹¹⁴ Second, the *Teaching of Addai*¹¹⁵ and the *Canons of Mor Matay*, which both belong to the legislative collection that contains also the *Octateuchus*, are responsible for some notices on the apostolic time narrated in the *Ecclesiastical History*. Indeed, the *Ecclesiastical History* shows an extensive correspondence with the *Teaching of Addai* in the list of regions evangelised by Aggai.¹¹⁶

BAR ‘EBROYO	TEACHING OF ADDAI
After his teacher Addai was killed, Aggai fled to the East and started preaching in Persia, Assyria, Armenia, Media, Babylonia, Khuzestan and Beth Gelayē up to the borders of the regions of the Indians. ¹¹⁷	The whole of Persia, of the Assyrians and of the Armenians and of the Medians and of the countries round about Babylon, Bēt Huzzayē and Geliyē up to the borders of the Indians and up to the land of Gog and Magog and all the other countries on all sides received the apostles’ ordination to the priesthood from Aggai the Apostle. ¹¹⁸

¹¹³ GEERARD 1981: 223-224, CHILDERS 2011, KAUFHOLD 2012: 242-243. The work is edited and translated in VÖÖBUS 1975.

¹¹⁴ See BAR ‘EBROYO, *Nomocanon*: 5T-4V et passim. For the *Ethicon* see TEULE 1995.

¹¹⁵ Legislative work not to be confused with the *Doctrine of Addai*. See KAUFHOLD 2012: 243-244.

¹¹⁶ Note that the list is not the same as the one in Michael and the Book of the Tower. See II.4.1.

¹¹⁷ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 15T-V.

¹¹⁸ VÖÖBUS 1975: 210T- 196V.

The *Canons of Mor Matay* report the union between Syrian Orthodox Easterners and Westerners under the patriarchate of Athanasius I Gamolo in 628-9 AD. In that occasion Mor Marutha is appointed metropolitan of Tagrit. The account motivates the choice of the city of Tagrit with two reasons: the city had been converted from Magianism by Mor Garmai (5-6th century), the first archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Matay, and the king Ardashir (Ardashir III 628-630 A.D) had established there his garrison. Bar 'Ebroyo preserves the same material with the main difference that, according to him, the city was evangelized by the apostle Thomas and not by Garmai.

BAR 'EBROYO	CANONS OF MOR MATAY
In his way to India he passed also through the garrison which the king Ardashir known as the Black had established in Tagrit. He found in that garrison unworthy men who were enslaving it to Magianism and he preached to them the word of the Gospel. Some of them became believers. ¹¹⁹	It appeared, however, right to the blessed patriarch and to us, that we confer upon Mar Marutha, bishop of Tagrit, the office of the metropolitan for Tagrit and this for two reasons. First, its savage and pagan people had been Christianized by Mar Garmai, metropolitan of our monastery... Second because of Ardashir, the king of the Persians who wanted this to be in the citadel of Tagrit where his garrison was located. ¹²⁰

Bar 'Ebroyo's list of regions evangelized by Thomas does not have any correspondence in the juridical compilation containing the *Octateuchus*, the *Teaching of Addai* and the *Canons of Mor Matay* (edited by Arthur Vööbus). However, first, we know that this list is not an invention of Bar 'Ebroyo since the same, long list of regions is included in Pseudo-Sophronius' apocryphal account of the apostles.¹²¹ Second, apostolic biographical material of this kind usually landed in the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolicae*¹²² after which the Syriac *Octateuchus* was modelled. This discrepancy with the juridical collection edited by Vööbus might be due to the following reason. There exists another juridical collection incorporated in the MS *Par. syr. 62* which is different from the collection edited by Vööbus.¹²³ H. Teule has shown that for the *Ethicon* Bar 'Ebroyo used

¹¹⁹ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 5T-V.

¹²⁰ VÖÖBUS 1975: 191T-200V.

¹²¹ PSEUDO-SOPHRONIUS: 7-8T.

¹²² DESREMAUX 2005: 75

¹²³ VÖÖBUS 1975: 3.

an enlarged version of the juridical collection of MS *Par. syr.* 62 because the juridical material of the *Ethicon* shows affinities with the MS *Par. syr.* 62 (against the manuscript used by Vööbus) but includes also additional material.¹²⁴ Bar 'Ebroyo might have had access to this material on Thomas in this enlarged version.¹²⁵

The second part of the account on Thomas relates his deeds and martyrdom in India. The use of the *Acts of Thomas* as source for this part has been pointed out.¹²⁶ The *Acts of Thomas* were composed in Syriac probably in the 3rd century. They survive both in Syriac and in an early Greek translation. The Syriac original has been edited by William Wright on the basis of the MS *Add.* 14645 (936 A.D) and translated by Albert Klijn.¹²⁷ Beside the palimpsest *Sinai* 30 (5th-6th cent.), which according to Klijn shows differences of minor importance with the London manuscript,¹²⁸ there are several more recent manuscripts which witness a Mesopotamian redaction, the archetype of which is a manuscript from Trichur.¹²⁹ This redaction presents structural and content divergences with the text edited by Wright,¹³⁰ but it remains unpublished and untranslated. The Greek translation of the *Acts of Thomas* is preserved in several manuscripts from the 10th century onwards. It is preserved in two redactions which are referred to as A and B.¹³¹ The apostle Thomas is the protagonist of two more apocryphal works preserved in Arabic: the *Preaching of Thomas* and the *Martyrdom of Thomas*.¹³² The *Preaching of Thomas* has been proved to depend on the *Acts of Thomas* (Greek B).¹³³

Although the narrative kernel of Bar 'Ebroyo's account is the same as the one in the *Acts of Thomas*, some discrepancies prevent from saying that Bar 'Ebroyo used it in the version edited by William Wright.¹³⁴ For instance, while in the Syriac version and in the *Acts of Thomas* (Greek A) Thomas refuses to go to India alleging that he is Hebrew and he cannot teach to a foreign people,¹³⁵ in Bar 'Ebroyo he complains that he has to go to a

¹²⁴ TEULE 1995. For the content of the manuscript see ZOTENBERG 1874: 22-29.

¹²⁵ Apparently the MS *Par. syr.* 62 does not have this material. The text has been edited by Lagarde. See LAGARDE 1856: 41-42T (ܡܕܐܬܐ).

¹²⁶ WITAKOWSKI 2006: pp.

¹²⁷ WRIGHT 1871, KLIJN 2003.

¹²⁸ KLIJN 2003: 2.

¹²⁹ BRIQUEL-CHATONNET-DESREUMAUX-THEKEPARAMPIL 1998.

¹³⁰ BRIQUEL-CHATONNET-DESREUMAUX-THEKEPARAMPIL 1998: 292-296

¹³¹ The version A is edited in Lipsius-Bonnet 1903 and translated in JAMES 1924. The version B (cf. KAESTLI 1981: 251) is edited in JAMES 1897: 27-45.

¹³² Both edited and translated in LEWIS 1904: 67-99.

¹³³ For the relation between them see KAESTLI 1981: 251 and JAMES 1897: xl-xliv.

¹³⁴ For an overview the contents of the *Acts of Thomas* see KLIJN 2003: 4-5.

¹³⁵ ANONYMOUS, *Acts of Thomas* (Syriac): 173T (ܡܕܐܬܐ)- 17V; ANONYMOUS, *Acts of Thomas* (Greek A): 100T-365V.

‘barbarian people’ (ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܠܐ). This version echoes what is found in the *Acts of Thomas* (Greek B) and the *Preaching of Thomas* where Thomas refuses the task because Indians are ‘hard men, like wild beasts.’¹³⁶ However, Bar ‘Ebroyo does not seem to have relied on these works for both of them relate that he was accompanied by the apostles Peter and Mathias, of whom there is no trace in Bar ‘Ebroyo’s account. Also the passage about the brother of the Indian king shows notable differences in Bar ‘Ebroyo’s version and the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*.

BAR ‘EBROYO	ACTS OF THOMAS
Shortly later, the brother of the king fell sick and was going to die but after he recovered he told the king: ‘When I was laying in the peril of the sickness I saw a man coming to me, he held my hand and showed me a splendid palace whose foundation (was) on the earth while the top reached the heaven. I asked him ‘what is this?’ and he told me ‘The Hebrew servant of the king, your brother, made it (for) him.’ Thus I ask you to release him from the prison so that I (might) give him the gold to build for me a palace like yours.’ ¹³⁷	But when the soul of Gad, the brother of the king, had left him, angels took it and bore it up to heaven; and they were showing it each place in succession, (and asking) in which of them it wished to be. Then, when they came to the palace which Judas had built for the king, his brother saw it, and said to the angels: “I beg of you, my lords, let me dwell in one of the lower chambers of this palace”. The angels say to him: “You cannot dwell in this palace”. He says to them: “Wherefore?” They say to him: “This palace is the one which the Christian has built for your brother”. Then he said to them: “I beg you, my lords, let me go, that I may go to my brother and buy this palace from him; for my brother has not seen it and will sell it to me”. ¹³⁸

The *Acts of Thomas* (Greek A) have the same version as the Syriac. The *Preaching of Thomas* and the *Acts of Thomas* (Greek B) do not have the story of the brother at all. In short, for the part devoted to the deeds of Thomas in India, Bar ‘Ebroyo did not use the *Acts of Thomas* in the redaction edited by Wright. His account does not show striking parallels

¹³⁶ ANONYMOUS, *Preaching of Thomas*: 67T-90V, ANONYMOUS, *Acts of Thomas* (Greek B): 28T.

¹³⁷ BAR ‘EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 9T-V.

¹³⁸ ANONYMOUS, *Acts of Thomas* (Syriac): 189T (ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܢܚܠܐ)-67-68V.

even to the *Preaching of Thomas*. As I mentioned at the outset, the apocryphal material on the lives of the apostles circulated in a quite fluid way, landing in different works and undergoing reworkings. Bar 'Ebroyo may have had access to one or more accounts on Thomas which developed from the common substratum of the Acts. There is also the possibility that the account of Bar 'Ebroyo witnesses a local tradition of Tagrit where the patronage of Thomas seems to have been important.¹³⁹ Of course, in the absence of literary evidence in such sense, this must remain a hypothesis.

3.3 Conclusions

The comparison of the patriarchal sequence of Bar 'Ebroyo with the ones of the appendix and the main text of Michael's *Chronicle*, as well as the analysis of the way Bar 'Ebroyo dated the narrative material drawn from Michael, has produced the following results: a) Bar 'Ebroyo had access to Michael's autograph. b) it is possible to make some major corrections on the patriarchal sequence of Michael, detecting the steps through which it was distorted in the copying process. As to the second part of the *Ecclesiastical History*, it has been argued that the hypothesis of a derivation of Bar 'Ebroyo's work from the *Book of the Tower*, at least in Mari's redaction, should be excluded. If Bar 'Ebroyo based his second part on a main history, the *Haddad Chronicle* and the *Chronicle of Seert* are more likely candidates in this respect. Bar 'Ebroyo, however, shows to have made also supplementary historical researches since his work preserves additional information coming from East Syrian and Syrian Orthodox sources. A juridical compilation including apostolic canons and a narrative account derived from *the Acts of Thomas* are probably responsible for the history of the apostolic period in the Eastern regions.

In terms of compilatory method, Bar 'Ebroyo's work is not a slavish, unoriginal reproduction of his sources. Even though he is heavily dependent on Michael's *Chronicle* for the first part, Bar 'Ebroyo gives his text a totally new nuance by simply cutting and displacing pieces of Michael's work. In the second part, Bar 'Ebroyo's interventions on the text are even more evident. He calculated his own chronology instead of borrowing

¹³⁹ WELTECKE 2017: 316. A panegyric on Thomas was composed by the metropolitan of Tagrit Simon II (805-815). See FIEY 1963: 318. A great feast of the apostle Thomas is mentioned in the laudatory mimro on the maphrian Barsoum Safi (d. 1307-8 A.D), younger brother of Bar 'Ebroyo. See TAKAHASHI 2010: 185.

it from his sources, and places events according to his computation. Moreover, he heavily reworked information coming from East Syrian sources to make it fit his Syrian Orthodox perspective.

3.4 Annex

BAR 'EBROYO	MICHAEL THE GREAT							
	Appendix				Main Text			
	Jacob of Edessa		Andronicus		Jacob of Edessa		Andronicus	
Aaron 38	Aaron 38	1	Aaron 36	1	Aaron 38	1	Aaron 32	1
Eleazar 56	Eleazar 56	2	Eleazar 30	2	Eleazar 56	2	Eleazar 30	2
Phineas 80	Phineas 80	3	Phineas 60	3	Phineas 80	3	Phineas 60	3
Abishua 57	Abishua 60	4	Abishua 32	4	Abishua 55	4	Abishua 52	4
Bukki 60	Bukki 60	5	Bukki 46	5	Bukki 60	5	Bukki 46	5
Uzzi 42	Uzzi 42	6	Uzzi 48	6	Uzzi 42	6	Uzzi 48	6
Zerahiah 52	Zerahiah 52	7	Zerahiah 31	7	Zerahiah 52	7	Zerahiah 34	7
Meraioth 40	Meraioth 50	8	Meraioth 40	8	Meraioth 50	8	Meraioth 40	8
Amariah 32	Amariah 32	9	Amariah 42	9	Amariah 32	9	Amariah 44	9
Ahitub 20	Ahitub 20	10	Phineas 41	10	Ahitub 20	10	Phineas 41	10
Zadok 60	Zadok 60	11	Eli and his sons 40	11	Zadok	11	Eli and his sons 40	11
Ahimaaz 8	Ahimaaz 18	12	Ahitub 46	12	Ahimaaz	12	Ahitub	12
Azariah 22	Azariah 22	13	Abiathar 13	13	Azariah 22	13	Abiathar	13
Amariah 60	Amariah 60	14	Sadok 19	14	Amariah 60	14	Sadok 19-8	14
Ahimelech 22	Ahimelech 22	15	Azariah 31	15	Ahimelech 29	15	Azariah 33	15
Jehoiada 3	Jehoiada 3	16	Ahimaaz 12	16	Jehoiada	16	Ahimaaz 12	16
Azariah	Azariah	17	Ahimelech 32	17	Azariah	17	Ahimelech 32	17
Shallum	Shallum	18	Sadok 20	18	Shallum	18	Sadok 20	18
Amaziah	Amaziah	19	Shallum 9	19	Amaziah	19	Shallum 90	19
Hilkiah	Hilkiah	20	Joiada 44	20	Hilkiah	20	Joiada 42	20
Azariah	Azariah	21	Zacharias 10	21	Seraiah	21	Zacharias 8-10	21
Seraiah	Seraiah	22	Ourias 6	22	Azariah	22	Ourias	22
Sadok	Sadok	23	Amaziah 21	23	Sadok	23	Amaziah	23
Jehozadak 20	Jehozadak 20	24	Azariah 40	24	Jehozadak 20-34	24	Azariah 40	24

Jeshua	Jeshua	25	Hananiah 13	25	Jeshua 20	25	Hananiah 13	25
Jehozadak 20	Jehozadak	26	Simon	26	Jehozadak 20-34	26	Simon 23	26
Elisha 50	Elisha 50	27	Mardai 19	27	Elisha 50	27	Mardai 39	27
Judah 40	Judah 40	28	Ourias 16	28	Judah 40	28	Ourias 16	28
Manasseh 31	Manasseh 31	29	Hananiah 45	29	Manasseh 31	29	Hananiah 45	29
John 14	John 14	30	Hilkiah father of Jeremiah 30		John	30	Hilkiah 30	30
Hilkiah 30	Andromachus 24	31	Pashur 4		Andromachus 24	31	Pashur 4	
Pashur 4	Honia 11	32	Azariah 10		Honia son of Judah 11	32	Azariah	
Azariah 10	Simon the right 32	33	Seraiah 6		Simon son of Honia 32	33	Seraiah	
Seraiah 6	Eleazar his brother 10	34	Sadok 25		Eleazar 10		Sadok 25	
Sadok 25	Manasseh his uncle	35	Jehozadak 35		Manasseh 10		Jehozadak 35	
Jehozadak 35	Honia 36	36	Jeshua son of Jehozadak 35		Honia 4		Jeshua son of Jehozadak 20	
Jeshua son of Jehozadak 38	Simon son of Honia 100	37	Joiakim 20		Simon 18		Jehoiakim 46	
Jehoiakim 20	Honia son of Simon 4	38	Elisha 32		Honia 4		Elisha 32	
Elisha 12	Jason 9	39	Joiada 17		Jason 1		Joiada	
Joiada 17	Menelaus 3	40	John 33				John	
John 33	Eleazar 3						Joiada 40	
Joiada 40	Mattathias 5		Manasseh 3				Manasseh 3	
Manasseh 3	Judas Maccabeus 3	43	Andromachus 17				Andromachus	
Andromachus 17	Jonatan his brother 19	44	Honia 12				Honia son of Joiada 32	
Honia 12	Simon his brother 8	45	Simon 9		Simon 8		Simon 9	
Simon 9	John his son 26	46	Eleazar 34				Eleazar 32	
Eleazar 34	Aristobulus	47	Manasseh 10				Manasseh 10	
Manasseh his uncle 10	Alexander 27	48	Honia 4				Honia 4	
Honia 4	Hyrchanus 34	49	Simon 48				Simon 14	
Simon his son	Hananel 3	50	Honia 4				Honia 4	

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Honia his son 4	Aristobulus 1	51	Menelaus 2			Menelaus 2	
Menelaus 2	Menelaus	52	Jason 2			Jason 9	
Jason 2	Hananel 20	53	Eleazar 1			Eleazar 1	
Eleazar 1	Zacharias 22	54	Mattathias 4			Mattathias 4	
Mattathias 4	Simon 8	55	Judas Maccabeus 3			Judas Maccabeus 3	
Judas Maccabeus 3	Caiphas 16	56	Jonatan 19			Jonathan 19	
Jonathan 19	Hannah 15	57	Simon his brother 8			Simon 8	
Simon 8	John 22		John 26			John Hyrcanus 26	
John Hyrcanus 26			Aristobulus 1			Aristobulus 1	
Aristobulus 1			Hananel 12			Alexander 27	
Hananel Alexander 12			Hyrcanus 34			Hyrcanus 34	
Hyrcanus 12			Aristobulus 1			Aristobulus	
Aristobulus 1			Zacharias 22			Zachariah 22	
Zachariah 22			Simon 24			Hananel 20	
Simon Hananel 8			Caiphas 1			Simon 24	
Caiphas 1			John 2 months				
John 2							

BAR 'EBROYO	MICHAEL THE GREAT			
	Appendix		Main Text	
Peter	Peter 2	1	Peter	1
Evodius	Evodius 3	2	Evodius	2
Ignatius the Fiery	Ignatius	3	Ignatius	3
Heron	Heron	4	Heron	4
Cornelius	Cornelius	5	Cornelius	5
Eudus 16	Eudus	6	Eudus 16	6
Theophilus	Theophilus 16	7	Theophilus 15	7
Maximus 18	Maximus 18	8	Maximus 8	8
Serapion 21	Serapion 10	9	Serapion 21	9
Aesculapius 12	Aesculapius 12	10	Aesculapius 12	10

Philip	Philip	11	Philip	11
Sabinus	Sabinus	12	Sabinus	12
Babila	Babila	13	Babila	13
Fabius	Fabius	14	Fabius	14
Demetrius	Demetrius	15	Demetrius	15
Paul of Samosata	Paul of Samosata	16	Paul of Samosata	16
Domnus	Domnus	17	Domnus	17
Timotheus	Timotheus	18	Timotheus	18
Cyril	Cyril	19	Cyril	19
Tyrannion	Tyrannion	20	Tyrannion	20
Vital	Vital	21	Vital	21
Philogonius	Philogonius	22	Philogonius	22
Eustathius	Eustathius	23	Eustathius	23
Eulalius 1 (Paulinus)	Paulinus	24	Paulinus	24
Euphonious 2	Eulalius (Arian)	25	Eulalius 1	25
Flacillus 4	Euphonious (Arian)	26	Euphonious 6	26
Stephen 3	Flacillus (Arian)	27	Flacillus 4	27
Leontius 6	Stephen (Arian)	28	Stephen 5	28
Eudoxius	Leontius (Arian)	29	Leontius 6	29
Meletius	Eudoxius (Arian)	30	Eudoxius 3	30
Euzoius (Paulinus)	Meletius	31	Meletius	31
Flavian (Evagrius)	Euzoius	32	Euzoius	32
Porphyrius	Paulinus	33	Paulinus	33
Alexander 10	Flavian	34	Flavian	34
Theodotus	Evagrius	35	Evagrius	35
John	Porphyrius	36	Porphyrius	36
Domnus	Alexander 10	37	Alexander 10	37
Maximus	John 11	38	John	38
Martyrius (Julian, Stephen, Stephen, Peter, Calandion, Peter)	Theodotus 32	39	Theodotus	39
Palladius	Domnus (Arian)	40	Domnus	40
Flavian	Maximus (Arian)	41	Maximus	41
Severus	Acacius (Chalcedonian)	42	Acacius (Chalcedonian)	42
Paul the Jew	Martyrius (Nestorian)	43	Martyrius	43
Euphrasius	Peter 33	44	Julian	44
Ephrem	Calandion (Chalcedonian)	45	Stephen	45
Sergius	Martyrius (Chalcedonian)	46	Stephen	46
	Julian	47	Peter 33	47
	Stephen	48	Calandion	48
	Stephen	49	Peter	49
	Palladius (heretic)	50	Palladius	50

	Flavian	51	Flavian	51
	Severus	52	Severus	52
	Paul the Jew	53	Paul the Jew	53
	Euphrasius (Chalcedonian)	54	Euphrasius	54
	Ephrem (heretic)	55	Ephrem	55
	Domnus (heretic)	56	Sergius	56
	Sergius 37	57		

Conclusion

Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* is a complex historiographical work. Its complexity can be fully understood only through a multidisciplinary approach. For this reason, in this thesis I have followed three different research trajectories: philology/codicology, literary analysis and sources criticism. The integration of the results obtained from these three approaches generates the image of a multifaceted but coherent representation of history.

Bar 'Ebroyo conceived his *Ecclesiastical History* as an integral part of a larger Chronicle which included also the *Chronography*, its civil counterpart. The independent transmission of the two parts turns out to be a later development in the textual transmission which does not correspond to Bar 'Ebroyo's original plan. Scholarly understanding of the *Ecclesiastical History* should reckon with the fact that the author composed both of them in the same period and conceived them as parts of an organic whole. The study of the continuations of the *Ecclesiastical History* has shown that the continuations have been composed most likely at the end of the 15th century and that they have landed in the manuscripts as a later attachment to the main text. The text preserved in the manuscripts, thus, has not undergone modifications at the hand of the continuators. The main question that I have tried to answer is what it means for Bar 'Ebroyo to write Church History in his specific historical, cultural and personal circumstances he did. A full answer to such a broad question would require a larger study, but I will present some conclusions that, I hope, can give us a better understanding of this historiographical work.

Bar 'Ebroyo's *Ecclesiastical History* is essentially the history of the Syrian Orthodox Church. The identity of this church is defined with respect to 'the other', i.e. the political power and the other religious communities, and within its own community. As to the political power, Bar 'Ebroyo is deeply rooted in the post 6th century Syrian Orthodox historiographical tradition, which expressed the emergence of the Syrian Orthodox as independent Church, religiously detached from the rulers, with a clear-cut separation between civil and ecclesiastical material in their historical works. Governors' actions do not have any implicit or explicit significance for the development of the

history of the Church. The civil sphere, rather, offers the general background against which the ecclesiastical actors move, which ultimately explains why the civil and the ecclesiastical histories, though separated, are integral parts of one and the same work. The positive attitude of the Mongols towards the Christians did not stimulate in Bar 'Ebroyo a different understanding of the relation between the civil and the ecclesiastical spheres, for he was conscious of the mostly opportunistic nature of this inclination. On the other side, Bar 'Ebroyo realized the potential of the new political background for the prosperity of his own community, possibly to the detriment of the other religious communities. As maphrian of the East, Bar 'Ebroyo was particularly concerned about asserting the prestige and the relevance of the Syrian Orthodox tradition in the eastern regions, which were under the jurisdiction of the East Syrian catholicate. He does so by stressing the affinities of the eastern tradition with the western one up to the irretrievable rupture brought about by the 'Nestorianization' of the Eastern regions by Barsoum of Nisibis. Though stressing the belonging of the eastern and western regions to the same tradition, Bar 'Ebroyo subtly asserts the independence of the maphrianate by constructing an apostolic past equate with the prestige of the apostolic tradition of Edessa. He reiterates this message throughout his whole work, also by reworking Michael the Great's material which gives, instead, a perspective more favorable to the patriarch. Finally, Bar 'Ebroyo represents the internal dynamics of his community. The two main historical concepts that underpin the representation of the Syrian Orthodox community are the prestige of the priestly rank and the anti-schismatic concern. Bar 'Ebroyo starts from a theological and exegetical conceptualization of the priesthood as a role that connects humanity to God through the material rituals. The cult fulfills a role of mediation between the priests and God only if it follows established rules. Bar 'Ebroyo emphasizes the rituals of the ordination as a critical moment after which the ordained priest is the only one who can mediate between God and his community, often regardless of his strict adherence to moral and doctrinal models. At first sight, this could appear an unconventional position but, in practice, the election and ordination of a candidate had to rely on the consensus of the bishops who, thus, exerted a strict control on the turn over. The anti-schismatic policy of Bar 'Ebroyo clearly reflects the concern of keeping the unity of an institution which is spread across political borders such as the Syrian Orthodox Church. The ecclesiastical hierarchs, notably the patriarch and the maphrian, had to gather the widest support possible from the various dioceses in order to avoid the arising of local claims fostered by rival political entities.

Such a multifaceted representation of history is realized through specific literary codes and redactional practices that Bar 'Ebroyo inherits from the previous historiographical tradition. The patriarchal sequence formally expresses his idea of institutional continuity in the church. The mechanism of causation in the storytelling serves the purpose of triggering in the audience a rational understanding of the facts

and to make them infer from the cause-effect relations of the events how to behave. The sources are excerpted and rearranged to make its material fit his communicative aim.

To sum up, the *Ecclesiastical History* reflects Bar 'Ebroyo's personal concerns as maphrian. His historical representation betrays that he envisaged the Syrian Orthodox Church as a close, unitary community under the guidance of the patriarch in the West and the maphrian in the East, one that could successfully cope with the changing political landscape within which it moved. The cultural achievements of the Syriac Renaissance and the peak of the Mongol rule may have raised in Bar 'Ebroyo the optimistic conviction that his community could not only cope with the political dynamics of their time, but even profit from them and flourish. His encyclopedic literary production can be read as an attempt at providing his community the cultural tools it needed to prosper. Bar 'Ebroyo had plenty of sources to do so for he lived at the end of a period where extensive works had already been written. The textual tradition of Bar 'Ebroyo's work shows that his writings knew an enormous success, although for reasons different from those that Bar 'Ebroyo could have imagined. The hopes of a flourishing of the Syrian Orthodox community in the political and religious landscape of the Middle East never came true but Bar 'Ebroyo's works, including his *Ecclesiastical History*, became the means through which later audience had access to Syriac literature and culture.

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Part 2: Text and Translation

Introduction

This edition and translation were born out of the necessity to provide scholarship with a text that could mark an advance on its predecessors.¹ The *Ecclesiastical History* was edited by the Belgian scholars Jean Baptiste Abbeloos and Thomas Lamy between 1872 and 1877 on the basis of the MS *Add.* 7198 (16th cent.). As the editors themselves admit, the decision to use one single manuscript for the edition resulted from the urge to make such an important text accessible within a reasonable time.² Abbeloos and Lamy provided marginal lists of different readings based on comparison with MS *Hunt.* 1 (1498) and MS *Dd.* 3.8 (14th cent.). For the second section of the *Ecclesiastical History*,³ a list of readings from MS *Vat. syr.* 388 (18th cent.) was added. The Abbeloos-Lamy edition, which is still the only edition, has two major flaws. First, the editors, despite the effort to provide a list of different readings, refrain from any critical intervention in the text, which makes their work basically a diplomatic reproduction of the MS *Add.* 7198. Second, if the reliability of a diplomatic edition can be defended by considering the *codex optimus* less artificial than a reconstructed text,⁴ the choice of the London manuscript was just motivated by an accident, because Abbeloos had the chance to copy it during his stay in London.⁵ Therefore, the choice of the main manuscript and the manuscripts consulted for the list of variants was not motivated by the assessment of their philological status. This does not discredit the overall value of Abbeloos and Lamy edition but raised the awareness that research on the *Ecclesiastical History* should be able to rely on an edition grounded on textual criticism. In recognition of the tremendous

¹ WEST 1973: 61.

² The editors refer to the abortive attempts by G.H. Bernstein and O.F. Tulberg to make a critical edition of the *Chronography*. See ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872: xxiii-xxv.

³ Volume III of Abbeloos-Lamy edition. See ABBELOOS-LAMY 1877.

⁴ On this view see DRAGUET 1977. Cf. MENGOZZI 2015.

⁵ ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872: xxiv.

amount of work which a full critical edition demands, my text represents a first step towards a philologically accurate text. In section I.1, I evaluate the oldest manuscripts in order to determine their mutual relation and to provide a *stemma*. On the basis of the *stemma*, the three manuscripts *Vat. syr.* 166, *Hunt.* 1 and *Or.* 366 were used for the edition. Instead, I have refrained from using MS *Dd.* 3.8 (14th cent.). This choice is merely practical because in the partial *collatio* on which the *recensio* is based, it never gives a correct reading independently from the other manuscripts.⁶ The future critical edition will, of course, include variants of MS *Dd.* 3.8 as well. The reconstructed text is accompanied by a negative apparatus. Punctuation, abbreviations and orthography have been kept as they are in Abbeloos-Lamy edition, and variants of the manuscripts in these respects have not been registered not to overburden the apparatus.

This text comes with an English translation. After the Latin translation by Abbeloos and Lamy, no other translation was made until 2016, when David Wilmshurst published his English translation based on the *editio princeps*. My translation differs from Wilmshurst's in that it is based on a newly established text and it tries to stay as close to the Syriac text as possible. For this reason, it makes perhaps a less pleasant reading but I hope that, in a scholarly perspective, the faithfulness to the original can make up for the aesthetic limits. When my translation markedly differs from Wilmshurst's I mention it in the footnotes. I have tried to be as consistent as possible in translating terms that convey a specific meaning. E.g. the rendering of the verbs 'excommunicate/anathematize' (ܥܡܕܝܢܐ/ܥܡܕܝܢܐ) from the verb 'depose' (ܥܡܕܝܢܐ/ܥܡܕܝܢܐ) which expresses measures of different gravity,⁷ is rather inconsistent in the previous translations.⁸ Also the terms ܡܢܐܝܐ and ܡܢܐܝܐ will be rendered respectively as 'convent' and 'monastery' for they might not have been used as synonyms, as usually accepted.⁹ As it will be noted throughout all the text, different translations of the terms can affect considerably the overall interpretation. To give but one example, in the account of the dialogue between the catholicos Denha and the vizir of Baghdad,¹⁰ the translation of the term 'ܡܥܬܐ' as 'ancestors', instead of 'assessors' of the previous translations, renders the actual meaning of the passage which deals with the frequent problem of Christians renegades who converted to Islam. Words that have been added to make the text more readable are written between round brackets. Whenever possible, proper names are

⁶ I.e. the correct readings attested in *Dd.* 3.8 are attested also in the first branch of the transmission (*Vat. syr.* 166, *Hunt.* 1, *Or.* 366). Conversely, *Dd.* 3.8 or its antigraph (if any) has introduced a number of corruptions.

⁷ See e.g. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, X.13: 357T-324V

⁸ Cf. ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872-1877, WILMSHURST 2016: 467, 475, 489 *et passim*.

⁹ See e.g. BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 87T-V. Cf. FIEY 1965: 11-12.

¹⁰ BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 239-241T-V.

given in the most current Anglicized form and the toponyms in the version of *The Syriac Gazetteer*.¹¹

The references to the page numbers of the Abbeloos-Lamy edition have been indicated both in the text and the translation.

Conspectus codicum et siglorum

V = MS Vatican City, Vatican Library, syr. 166 (<1356/7)

O = MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 1 (ca. 1498)

F = MS Florence, Laurentian Library, Orientale 366 (<1558)

AL = ABBELOOS, J. B. & LAMY, T. J. (eds.) (1872-1877) *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, Paris- Louvain. (Diplomatic edition of MS London, British Library, Additional 7198. 16th century)

<i>al. man.</i> = <i>alia manus</i>	<i>sign. diacr</i> = <i>signum diacriticum</i>
<i>add.</i> = <i>addidit, addiderunt</i>	<i>sub l.</i> = <i>sub linea</i>
<i>corr.</i> = <i>correxerunt</i>	<i>sup. l.</i> = <i>supram lineam</i>
<i>de.</i> = <i>deest, desunt</i>	<i>transp.</i> = <i>transposuit</i>
<i>inc.</i> = <i>incipit</i>	<i>ut vid.</i> = <i>ut videtur</i>
<i>marg.</i> = <i>in margine</i>	< > <i>lacunam in codice indicant</i>
<i>om.</i> = <i>omisit, omiserunt</i>	[] <i>verba editores includunt</i>

Abbreviations

EME = ATWOOD, P. (2004) *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, New York.

EIS = FLEET, K.; KRÄMER, G.; MATRINGE, D.; NAWAS, J.; ROWSON, E. (2007) (eds.) *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (3 ed.).

EIR = YARSHATER, E. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, London.

GEDSH = BROCK, S.P.; BUTTS, A.M.; KIRAZ, G.A.; VAN ROMPAY, L. (eds.) (2011) *The Gorgias encyclopedic dictionary of the Syriac heritage*, Piscataway, NJ.

ODBIB = BROWNING, W.R. (ed.) (2009) *A Dictionary of the Bible* (2 ed.), Oxford.

¹¹ CARLSON-MICHELSON (ed.) *The Syriac Gazetteer*: <http://syriaca.org/geo/index.html>

ODB = KAŽDAN, A.P.; MAFFRY TALBOT, A.M. (eds.) (1991) *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, Oxford.

ODC= CROSS, F.L. (ed.) (1997) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (3 ed. E.A. Livingstone), Oxford

Translation

Book of the Ecclesiastical History

Second part of the Chronicle

First section of the Ecclesiastical History

On the Western High-priesthood

[1] With the help of God we write the book of the Ecclesiastical History which is the second part of the Chronicle which has been composed by our Holy Father the blessed, illustrious Mor Gregory Bar 'Ebroyo, maphrian of the East Abu al-Faraj Bar Aaron, physician of Melitene. May God be gracious to us thanks to his prayers.

[3] Firstly, the preface: I have related the civil events from various works and ancient traditions until my days as I was able. Henceforward, with the help of God, in the second section I am going to approach ecclesiastical matters. In the first part on the western high priesthood I start from Aaron, the first high priest of the Old Testament, even though there is someone who counted among the priests everybody who anyhow presented a sacrifice or an oblation or made an offering to the Lord, and who says that the priesthood starts in the mankind from Adam, the first ancestor of men, quoting the verse 'You formed me and you put your hand on me.' Nevertheless, it is evident that the sense was then obscure and allegoric, because until then it was not called priesthood, and the function (of the priests) had not been clarified (yet) in the pertinent law. Since among the renowned authors only Andronicus and [5] Father Mor Jacob of Edessa wrote about Jewish high priests, and there is neither agreement nor balance between their words, not only on the years of the leaders but also on the person themselves, I add my fabric to the canvas of the pious (Jacob of Edessa) for he took care of the comparison of Hebrew, Greek and Syriac manuscripts. He, in fact, excelled in these three (languages) and he was unique (in this) at his time.

[7] **First section of the Ecclesiastical History about the western high-priesthood.**

Firstly, Aaron the first high priest ruled for the people of Israel in the 87th year of Moses who, having being esteemed worthy to speak with God, received the stone tablets written according to divine will. After having learned the divine laws, the judgments and the decrees, he taught them to his brother Aaron, besides the sacrifices and the

lawful (way) of the veiled¹ offering. Aaron died after fulfilling the high priesthood that is the sacrifices and the offerings, for 38 years.

[9] **After Aaron, his son Eleazar.** He received the high priesthood of the people by heavenly decree, while Nadab and Abihu, the other sons of Aaron were rejected because they burned profane² fire, by hidden and unconceivable judgments of the Lord. Eleazar married the daughter of Amminadab, from whom the Messiah descends, and she begot Phineas. Thus, it was shown that consanguinity existed between the two tribes of Judah and Levi that is between secular reign and priesthood.³ It is in that generation that our Savior arose in the flesh. Eleazar fulfilled the priesthood for about 56 years, after the seventh year of Othniel.

After Eleazar, his son Phineas. He was moved with laudable zeal to kill the fornicator Zamri and the prostitute Cozbi and satisfied the fury of the justice. He fulfilled the high-priesthood for 80 years and (then) died.

After Phineas, Abishua for 57 years.

After Abishua, Bukki for 60 years.⁴ He lived at the time of Deborah and Barak.

[11] **After Bukki, Uzzi** for 42 years.

After Uzzi, Zerahiah for 52 years. He lived at the time of Tola, Jahir, Jephthah of Gilead and the judges Hesebon and Ibzan.

After Zerahiah, Meraioth for 40 years.

After Meraioth, Amariah for 32 years.

After Amariah, Ahitub for 20 years. Andronicus says that after Amariah, Phineas son of Meraioth ruled for 41 years and after Phineas son of Meraioth, Elias and his sons (ruled) for 40 years and then Ahitub.⁵

After Ahitub, Zadok for 60 years,

After Zadok, Ahimaaz for 8 years.

After Ahimaaz, Azariah for 22 years.

After Azariah, Amariah for 60 years.

After Amariah, Ahimelech for 22 years.

[13] **After Ahimelech, Jehoiada** for 3 years. But Andronicus after Ahimelech who was killed by Saul along with 150 priests because he was counsellor of David sets Abiathar who is also mentioned in the holy book of the Gospel. The holy Jacob does not count

¹ 'Veiled' (مُخْتَفِئ) used in opposition to 'manifest' (مُجَلِّئ) to designate allegorical forms of priesthood in the Old Testament before the Levitical prescription.

² Fire of their own making rather than taking fire from the altar, as established in Lev. 19,12.

³ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'both under the kings and under the priests.'

⁴ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: '70 years.'

⁵ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'Phinehas was succeeded by his son Meraioth, and by Eli and his sons, for 40 years, and that Ahitub came afterwards.' Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, Appendix: 741T- 428V.

Abiathar among the high priests nor does he mention Elias and his sons in the series of the high priests.

After Jehoiada, Azariah for unknown years.

After Azariah, Shallum for unknown years.

After Shallum, Amaziah for unknown years.

After Amaziah, Hilkiah for unknown years.

After Hilkiah, Azariah for unknown years.

After Azariah, Seraiah for unknown years.

After Seraiah, Sadok for unknown years.

After Sadok, Jehozadak for 20 years.

After Jehozadak, Jeshua for unknown years.

After Jeshua, Jehozadak for 34 years.

[15] After Jehozadak, Elisha for 50 years.

After Elisha, Judah for 40 years.

After Judah, Manasseh for 31 years.

After Manasseh, John for 14 years.

After John, Hilkiah for 30 years.⁶ He was the father of the prophet Jeremiah at the time of Amon, Josiah and Jehoiakim, kings of the Jews. All the chroniclers spent many words on this just and greatly illustrious high priest Hilkiah who found the book of the law and showed it to the king Josiah and they made the Passover renowned.

After Hilkiah, Pashur for 4 years.

After Pashur, Azariah for 10 years.

After Azariah, Seraiah for 6 years.

After Seraiah, Sadok for 25 years.

After Sadok, Jehozadak for 35 years. This one was led in captivity to Babel in the days of the king Zedekiah who was (also) led captive and his eyes were pulled out.

After Jehozadak, Jeshua son of Jehozadak for 38 years. He also was led [17] after his father to Babel. He stayed there until Cyrus the Persian, the one who ordered the people to leave and to build the temple, ruled. The great priest Jeshua went up with Zerubbabel and started the construction of the temple in the second year of Cyrus.

After Jeshua son of Jehozadak, Jehoiakim for 20 years. In his days the temple was completed and those that were forbidding the Hebrews from building were killed.

⁶ Henceforward the sequence of Andronicus is reproduced. This is due to an oversight of the scribe of Michael's *Chronicle* who inverted the sequences of the high-priests of Andronicus with the one of Jacob of Edessa after the 30th priest John. See section 3.2.1.

After Jehoiakim, Eliashib his son for 12 years. Also the scribe Ezra was known (at this time) as teacher of the laws to the Hebrews and an illustrious grammarian illustrious. He, above all, received the gift of the learning.

After Eliashib, Joiada his son for 17 years. At his time the construction of the temple was fulfilled in the completion of 46 years.

After Joiada, John his son for 33 years. He ruled at the time of Artaxerxes king of the Persians.

After John, Joiada his son 40 years. He was surnamed Juddus. At his time there was a pagan priest whose name (was) Andromachus and he helped the Hebrews by all means.

[19] After Joiada, Manasseh his brother for 3 years. He built a temple in the mountain of Gerizim in the days of his brother Joiada and there he ministered. When his brother died he received the high priesthood in the temple of Jerusalem.

After Manasseh, Andromachus for 17 years. He lived in the years of Alexander the Great son of Philip and since he had welcomed and honored the king, the Samaritans killed him. When Alexander heard (it) he killed the entire people of Samaria and he brought the Macedonians to colonize it.

After Andromachus, Onias for 12 years.

After Onias, Simeon for 9 years.

After Simeon, Eleazar for 34 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt asked him to receive the Holy Scriptures and 72 translators.

After Eleazar, Manasseh his paternal uncle for 10 years.

[21] After Manasseh, Onias for 4 years.

After Onias, Simeon his son for 48 years. He was the father of Jeshua who is called Sirach, the one who composed the famous book of the Wisdom. Simeon took into (his) arms our Lord bringing him into the temple as an infant.⁷ He was burdened (by the age of) 216 years at that time, because he had doubted about the prophecy of Isaiah 'The virgin will conceive and will beget a son' and for this reason an angel of the Lord appeared to him saying 'You will not die until you will have seen this birth with your eyes'. Therefore, when he had seen him and carried him (on his arms) he recognized him by the (holy) Spirit and proclaimed 'Release me now that my eyes have seen your mercy' etc.⁸

After Simeon, Onias his son for 4 years. In his days, the king of Egypt was impelled to destroy the Jews but Joseph [23] the wise Hebrew mitigated the rage of the king by the

⁷ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'This same Simeon praised Our Lord, when he was taken into the temple as an infant.'

⁸ Luke 2:29-31.

aid of wisdom and because of this he was appointed as governor and commander on all the cities of the Hebrews.

After Onias, Menelaus for 2 years. He delivered Antiochus to the people. Then a certain Alcimus received the high priesthood unlawfully since he did not descend from a generation of priests. And for this reason Onias son of Onias, after having departed to Egypt, built a city in the region of the Hellespont⁹ and erected a temple there which resembles the one in Jerusalem.

After Menelaus, Jason for 2 years.

After Jason, Eleazar for 1 year.

After Eleazar, Mattathias for 4 years.

After Mattathias, Judas Maccabeus for 3 years. In that year Alcimus the illegitimate high priest stirred up a tumult but the plague of God fell (on him) and he died. The entire people of the Jews offered to Judas Maccabeus the high priesthood together with the (political) leadership. Henceforward the high priesthood and the command of the army [25] were held together. He expelled the command of Antiochus from the Judea, purified the temple and restored the religion of the fathers. He was killed when he fought against the army of Demetrius.

After Judah Maccabeus, Jonathan his brother for 19 years. At that time he was both high priest and commander of the army and he was greatly renowned in the battles. He was killed by Tryphon the general of the army of the Romans.

After Jonathan, Simeon his brother for 8 years. Likewise his brother he was high priest and commander. He was killed by Ptolemy, king of Egypt.

After Simeon, John his son who was called Hyrcanus for 26 years. When he was high priest he led arduous struggles against the royal edicts.

After John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus son of Jonathan for 1 year. He put on not only the command of the army but also the (royal) diadem. Then Antigonus his brother arose against him and killed him.

[27] **After Aristobulus, his brother Hananel who was called Alexander** for 12 years, (but) 24 years according to the manuscript. He ruled the Jews very harshly. After Alexander had died his wife ruled for 9 years. Henceforward the matters of the high priesthood started to be troubled. She appointed as high priest her son Hyrcanus and as king the other son Aristobulus, the one who one year later was led captive to Rome.

After Alexander Hananel, Hyrcanus his son for 34 years. After they became again tributaries to the Romans, as in the time of the Chaldeans, the Jews retained only the priesthood without the kingdom. After Hyrcanus had served for three years he was led

⁹ An error for Heliopolis, probably due to the misspelling 'Heliospolis' in Michael the Great's *Chronicle*. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, V.8: 86T-129V.

away captive to Parthia and Herod (started) ruling on the Jews. When Hyrcanus escaped and came back, (Herod) killed him and sent to summon in Babel a certain Hananel who did not come from a priestly family, appointed him as high priest for one year and (then) deposed him.

After Hyrcanus, Aristobulus his son for one year. After Herod had killed [29] Hyrcanus, he took his daughter as wife and thus she instigated him to remove Hananel and appoint her brother. But afterward Herod feared that she might have acted deceitfully against him, killing him with the poison or in another way and delivering both the kingdom and the priesthood to her brother (and so) he killed his wife, her brother and many of their familiars.

After Aristobulus, Zachariah for 22 years, (though) not in one (uninterrupted) length. When the (first) year was expiring for this Zachariah, he deposed him and appointed Hananel, the one whom he had (previously) deposed in order to appoint the brother of his wife. Thus for several years he kept going appointing high priests.

After Zachariah, Simeon his brother who is also called Hananel for 8 years.

After Simeon, Caiphas for 1 year.

After Caiphas, Ananus for 2 years. At this time, when the king Herod was appointing yearly the high priest for the Jews, deposing and changing as long as spoiling their actions and abolishing their edicts, our Lord arose. He was born in Bethlehem in the 43rd year of Augustus. He ascended to the heaven in the 19th year of Tiberius. Our Lord stayed for 33 years [31] in the world. During the high priesthood of Ananus and Caiphas, the old high priesthood changed and the new high priesthood arose. It was confirmed through our Savior when he appointed Peter the head of the Apostles and entrusted to him the key of the Reign of Heaven.

After the high priesthood of the Old Testament, Peter the high priest of the New Testament. In the first year that Agrippa ruled in Judea, he killed Jacob Bar Zabdi, the brother of John the Evangelist; Stephen the deacon was stoned and Peter was imprisoned. When the angel of God led him out the prison he left Jerusalem and spent two years, travelling and preaching. (Then) he arrived in Antioch and established the foundation of the Church, erected an altar and appointed there the first bishop Evodius. From there he went up to Rome and was bishop there for 25 years. John the Evangelist preached in Ephesus and Asia, Andreas preached in Nicaea, Nicomedia, Scythia and Achaea. He [33] was the first to sit in Constantinople and there he died. Philip preached in Phrygia. Bartholomeus preached in Armenia. Thomas preached to the Parthians and the Medes and he was martyred in Calamina a city of India and his body was brought to Edessa. Matthew died in Gabala and was buried in Antioch. Simeon of Cana died in Hemath. Thaddeus was called Lebæus for his wisdom and was buried in Berytus, James, son of Alpheus died in Sarug, Jacob, son of Zebedee was killed in Jerusalem, Judah the traitor choked himself and Matthew succeeded him. These are the twelve apostles and the rest of the preachers such as Mark, pupil and son of Peter whom the Apostles had

sent [35] to preach to the whole Egypt and (who) was bishop in Alexandria for 22 years, and James the brother of our Lord whom the Apostles had ordained first bishop in Jerusalem and others whom our Lord chose when he was living in the world. Their number stretched out as far that Paul said that he had appeared to more than 500 brothers. In the 13th year of Nero, year 383 of the Greeks, on 29 June but 25 July according to the manuscript, the blessed apostles were crowned (with the martyrdom). As far as concerns Paul, his head was cut with the sword while Peter asked to be crucified with the head downward so that he (could) kiss where his master feet had lain. After Peter, Linus ruled in Rome for 11 years. After Linus, Anacletus for 12 years. After Anacletus, Clement whom Paul mentioned as follows: 'Clement with the rest of my helpers.' And after Mark, Annianus ruled in Alexandria. [37] Then Avilius, then Cedron. [39] After Andreas had ruled in Constantinople, (he was succeeded by) Styclus, Onesimus, Polycarp, Polydorus and Sedecion. In Jerusalem after Jacob the brother of our Lord, Simeon son of Cleophas (ruled), then Justus, Zacchaeus, Tobias, Benjamin, John, Matthew, Philip, Seneca, Justus, Levi, Ephrem, Joseph and Judah. All of them (came) from the Jews and observed the circumcision until the devastation of Jerusalem. In Ephesus after John the Evangelist, Paul the apostle ordained his disciple Timotheus. Since the eastern regions are subject to the authority of the seat of Antioch, we arrange this succession in order, on (the basis of the) sequence of his chiefs, one after the other until the time when we live.

After Peter the chief of the Apostles, Evodius. He ruled as first bishop in Antioch. Even though Peter had founded a church there he did not rule there but [41] he ordained Evodius and took the seat of Rome (for him).

After Evodius, Ignatius the Fiery. He was captured in Antioch and sent to Rome. On (his) way (to Rome) he strengthened all the Christians he met, saying: 'I am the grains of wheat of God that is going to be grinded by the animals so that I will become pure bread in the heavenly table.' He saw angels singing in two choirs and he ordered to do the same in the Church. When he arrived in Rome Trajan ordered to throw him to the wild beasts and he was devoured as he had predicted.

After Ignatius the Fiery, Heron, in the time when Plinius Secundus (Plinius the younger) condemned many Christians to death and degraded (them) from their greatness. Since he was worried by (their) great number he wrote to Trajan: 'Beside the fact that they do not want to worship the idols, that they wake up at dawn and that they worship the Messiah like a God, I do not find anything hateful in them: they forbid to kill and commit adultery or other things like these'. Trajan ordered the rest of Christians not to be harmed.

[43] **After Heron, Cornelius.** At this time a heretic named Cerinthus flourished in Corinthus. He asserted to have learned from the angels in a vision that after the Resurrection the reign of the Messiah would have taken place on the earth and that there would have been 1,000 years of feast days, food, drink and copulation.

After Cornelius, Eudus for 16 years. At this time the heretic Marcion flourished. He professed three entities: the right, the good and the middle. From the right one gave the Old Testament, the good one gave the New (Testament) while the middle entity gathered the matter. He says: the creator made the sun, the four elements and the Paradise from what is pure in the matter and he made the Sheol and the Tartarus from the sediment. He formed the man taking a lump of earth from the Paradise and from its substance he put a soul in him. He denies the resurrection of the bodies and says that the Messiah seemed to inhabit a body and suffer but (actually) he did not.

After Eudus, Theophilus. He [45] composed many treatises, orthodox doctrines and wrote on different matters.

After Theophilus, Maximus for 18 years. At this time the Christian philosopher Justin from Neapolis, near Jerusalem went to Rome and composed an apology for Christian religion. The emperor Anthony accepted his word and ceased the persecution.

After Maximus, Serapion for 21 years. At this time the bishops gathered in Jerusalem (to discuss) about the Easter. They wrote to the region of Asia that (the Easter) should be celebrated on the (first) Sunday after the Easter of the Jews, as they are in the habit in Rome, Alexandria and Palestine. However, Polycarp of Ephesus and the rest of the bishops of Asia did not agree but they kept going celebrating the Easter in the day of the Jews until the synod of Nicaea.

After Serapion, Aesculapius for 12 years. He was greatly renowned for his profession of faith.

At this time flourished Bardaisan who after having abandoned the pagan doctrine of the priests of Mabbug became [47] a believer and was baptized. He taught the ecclesiastical doctrine in Edessa. He composed treatises against the heresies (but) eventually he turned to the doctrine of Marcion and Valentinian, he denied the resurrection, he called the sexual intercourse clear and pure and (professed) that every month when the moon, mother of life takes off her light and enters the sun, father of life she receives from him the spirit of preservation and delivers (it) captive over all this (world). Bardaisan lived 68 years and died in the year 544. Daisan was the name of the river near Edessa on which his mother Nahashirama generated him. The name of his father was Nuhamas. The river is called Daisan after the name of the holy apostle Addai who, when he saw that the torrent called Distadium on the west (side) of the city was overflowing and destroying it, blocked the torrent with great stones, directing the water into a canal around the wall of the northern side. Afterwards this barrier was called in Arabic Adisan that is translated 'Addai broke down.'

[49] **After Aesculapius, Philip.** At this time flourished Origen, the one whom Eusebius praises greatly saying that he was trained first in the Holy Scriptures and then in the Greek sciences. He started teaching when he was eighteen years old. He used to teach and catechize all the day, in the night he used to stay awake studying the Holy Scriptures and when he was overpowered by the sleep for a moment he did not go to

sleep but he laid down on the ground. He never tasted wine and he renounced everything to the point that he used to walk barefoot. But since he was young and he used to teach also to the virgins in Alexandria, he mutilated his body in order to remove every bad suspicion. Even though this action was blameworthy and unlawful, to many people the reason was that his chastity (in this way) would have been preserved. He had many disciples. He emended all the Holy Scriptures and annotated them in accurate and reliable commentaries. Many nobles trusted him and were baptized. In the time of the persecution of Severus he encouraged many martyrs to deliver them up to the death and not to apostatize and even his father was martyred in this persecution. When Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, saw that Origen was (so much) celebrated and [51] praised, he envied him and accused him of asserting the migration of the souls from a body to another, of refusing the resurrection, of professing that the son and the spirit were creatures and of teaching that there was an end to the punishment of the sinners. By these charges he had him expelled from Alexandria and produced his fame of heretic until the nowadays, giving the opportunity to the commentators to erase his name and publish his teachings under their names. His worst enemy was Porphyrius who greatly bore a great grudge against him, saying that once, when he went to preach to the pagans in a village they said to him 'Worship with us and then we will all follow you and we will be baptized' but after he had worshipped (with them), the pagans derided him and did not become believers.

After Philip, Sabinus, namely Zabino, a Syrian. At this time Narcissus was in Jerusalem. (Since) during Easter there was not enough oil, he prayed over the water which turned to oil. Some wicked men that rivalled him spread the rumour that this had not happen. One (of them) used to say that if it was true he would have been burned in the fire and another used to say that if it happened, his eyes would have been blinded. That holy man, [53] being offended by them, left and departed to the desert. Shortly later, when a spark fell on his house, one of them was burned like he had decreed on himself, while the other, after he had seen what had happened to his fellow, got blind out of wailing and weeping.

After Sabinus, Babila. After having ministered for eight years, he forbade the governor of the city to enter the church. Because of this, the governor got furious and killed many Christians, including the bishop and three young disciples of him. At this time Gregory of Neocaesarea became known for his erudition, miracles and marvels. Though he was not present in person (at the ceremony) he was ordained bishop by Phaedimus, bishop of Amasea. The forty martyrs were martyred during the persecution of Decius and (also at this time) the monastery of the monks in the desert of Egypt flourished through the blessed Paul of Thebes and Father Anthony.

After Babila, Fabius. He was martyred along with Alexander of Jerusalem, [55] Fabian of Rome, Christopher and many others in the days of the emperor Decius. Seven young men fled from Ephesus and hid in a cavern. Many apostatized out of fear and when

Decius was killed and the persecution ceased, those who had apostatized went to Rome and asked to be absolved but Novatian said that there was not forgiveness and he was called 'head of the pure.'

After Fabius, Demetrius. At this time the priest Novatian used to say that there was not forgiveness for those who had sinned after the baptism. It is said of him that in the time of the persecution he himself denied to be a priest in front of many people. Since he was intoxicated by the desire of the episcopate he deceived three bishops to appoint him secretly but 64 bishops gathered in Rome and excommunicated him. At this time Sabellius in Libya, a region of Egypt, asserted that the hypostasis of the Holy Trinity is one as the Father showed himself to the prophets, the Son [57] appeared to the apostles and the (Holy) Spirit spoke through them.

After Demetrius, Paul of Samosata. He was discovered (to be) a heretic. He gave new strength to the abominable doctrine of Artemon. He used to say that our Lord was a common man who had been justified and made God through his actions and that everyone who imitates his pains can reach the rank he reached. When the bishops assembled to reprove him, he retired in remorse and the synod was dismissed. After four years he returned to his vomit and again the bishops assembled to excommunicate him. However, he sought refuge among a Jewish woman called Zenobia whom the Persian had appointed for the regions of Syria after they had won against the Romans. The words of Paul greatly pleased her but the bishops informed Aurelian the emperor of the Romans, and even though he was a pagan he expelled him. Eusebius says that the women used to follow Paul singing his name, that he used to sit on a throne like the layman judges and not like a disciple of the Messiah; if there was some judgement he used to beat his thigh with his hand and drum with his feet on the ambon. He was (also) charged of fornication.

[59] **After Paul of Samosata, Domnus.** At this time Mani flourished. At the beginning he behaved with dignity in the name of a Christian. He was a priest, he commented the Scriptures and debated with Jews and Pagans. Afterwards he (started) calling himself Messiah, gathered twelve disciples and sent (them) to preach two entities, a good and a bad, that after the bad (entity) had strived with the good one and it was overcome, it departed to the lower region of the South and began creating there a world, ruling over it. After it started building a cart around the southern pole like the one that is seen around the northern pole, the angels mediated and promised to the bad entity) that they would have bring down the good (entity) to radiate his light on the matter and that a creation would have been made under his authority. After they were conciliated, the good (entity) radiated his light on the matter and created the men, the animals, the plants. The evil rules on it that is this (our) world of birth and corruption. The good one which was displeased of what had happened, created the sun and the moon, the great vessels, and the rest of the stars, the little vessels, which receive [61] the souls of the men and whatever good which is mixed in the matter so that little by little being the

matter emptying out through the good (entity), the rule of the bad will cease. Along with these things he asserted the migration of the souls from body to body and that everything is alive, (even) the earth and the water. After the king of Persia had killed Mani, he skinned him, filled his skin with straw and lifted him up on the city wall because he had promised to heal his son but he was not able (to do so).

After Domnus, Timotheus. At this time, Eusebius bishop of Laodicea became known for his teaching and, after him, Anatolius. (They were) two Alexandrines, the most prominent in the ecclesiastical and profane erudition. After them, Theodotus, who was the best in the knowledge of the body and there was nobody like him in the cure of the soul. He was much merciful and sympathizing with those who were in need. The throne of Jacob, brother of the Lord, [63] was preserved honourably until this time, because the ancients held these honours for the holy men.

After Timotheus, Cyril. At this time Meletius, bishop of the Church of Pontus, flourished. He was an excellent philosopher and a pious man, and because of this those who proceed according to the wisdom called him 'honey of Attica.' At this time, in the days of the persecutor Numerian, Cosmas and Damian were martyred.

After Cyril, Tyrannion. In Alexandria there was the holy Peter, who after nine years of persecution was gloriously martyred for witnessing the truth. Three priest of him, other bishops and many from the imperial families were martyred with him in the days of Diocletian. Great part of the churches was destroyed in Nicomedia, Phoenicia, Phrygia and Syria. At this time, that is at the beginning of the kingdom of Constantine, the bishop of Edessa established the foundations of the Great Church [65]. After him the bishop Sha'uta ruled, who completed it and it was called Hagia Sophia. After him Aitalaha ruled, who built the eastern side of the church and the cemetery for the pilgrims. After him Abraham ruled, who built the temple of the house of the confessors. After him Barsai ruled, who built the baptistery. In that year the Orthodox of Edessa took back the great church that the Arians had seized by force. Then the bishop Eulogius ruled in Edessa, who built the house of Mor Daniel that is surnamed Mor Demet. At that time he transferred the coffin of the apostle Thomas from India to Edessa and placed him in the temple of Mor Thomas. Mor Rabbula became bishop of Edessa and built (the Church of) Saint Stephen which had been previously a synagogue of the Jews.

After Tyrannion, Vital. At this time the deacon Arius [67] who had been excommunicated by the holy Petrus, went from bad to worse during his banishment, he shed forth (his) poison and conceived an evil heresy, coveting the episcopate, and because of it he left no stone unturned. It is said that after the holy Peter had excommunicated Arius, the clerics made a petition to persuade (him) (to pardon) Arius and our Lord the Messiah appeared to him in the shape of a young man, wearing a lacerated garment; that blessed man shout in terror saying 'My Lord who tore up your garment?' and our Lord replied 'Arius lacerated my tunic. Do not pardon him!' And thus that holy man departed from this world without absolving him.

After Vital, Philogonius. At this time Achillas who succeeded Peter in the church of Alexandria took pity on Arius and ordained him deacon. However, after Arius had again manifestly reverted to his impiety, he excommunicated him. Then he persisted in leading astray many people and created a band of heretics. He used to preach that if the father begot the son, then there was (a time) when the son did not exist and hence it follows that the son is not consubstantial of the father but it is a creature that God created first of his creatures as Salomon said. This heresy spread not only in Alexandria but (also) [69] in Egypt, Libya and Thebaid.

After Philogonius, Eustathius. Alexander who was then archbishop of Alexandria gathered a synod and excommunicated Arius. He wrote letters to every region and proclaimed his deposition but he was not entirely able to suppress the poison of Arius' vomit. The emperor Constantine the Victorious saw that the evil had grown and summoned the bishops from every place to Nicaea of Bithynia. 318 bishops were assembled from Europe, Phoenicia, Egypt, Palestine, Cilicia, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Libya. The first to come were Eusebius of Rome, Alexander of Alexandria with his disciple Athanasius, Jacob of Nisibis with his disciple Mor Ephrem, Eustatius of Antioch, Gregory of Parthia, who, like the Holy Apostles, performed wonders and miracles in Armenia and through him [71] the Armenians were converted from paganism to Christianity. The emperor provided a big, wide room and seats for the bishops. The emperor entered last with the lowers; a seat was placed in the middle (of the room) and he did not seat until the bishops allowed him (to do so). When he started to speak with them, first he asked them to reconcile themselves to one another. With the bishops there were thousands of priests, deacons and monks, and the emperor nourished all of them and satisfied all their needs, from the 20 May until the 19 June. While the dialecticians (started) to debate, many (of them) let themselves get carried away with the fashion of the eloquence. A young confessor spoke against them: 'The Messiah and his apostles did not hand down to us the artifice of the speech but a simple faith to be preserved with good actions.' Then they kept silence and the faithful emperor admonished all of them, praised (those who were) rich in fear of God and lauded those who had spoken out of the Holy Scriptures [73]. He set on fire the documents of mutual accusation, saying: 'Be the reproaches of hierarchs and priests hidden in my purple.' After a definition of faith was established, Arius was anathematize^d. Also holy canons were constituted (establishing) that the Great Feast should take place on (the first) Sunday after the ancient Easter of Jews because the easterners until then were celebrating on the same day as the Jews but the westerners did not agree with this, and some were celebrating the Easter, the Nativity and the Epiphany once every 30 years. As for the Great Fast everyone was allowed to fast whenever (they want), every year, for 40 days only, either in summer or in winter. Somebody fasted on Wednesday and Friday, others on Saturday, others on Tuesday and others on the Thursday, and the believers were not baptized before they were 30 years

old. All these things were corrected in the synod. The bishops wanted also to established the rule that none of the clerics could marry but Paphnutius of Thebes, an elder, virtuous man to whom had been the eyes had been tore out at the time of the persecutions of the pagans, arose in the middle (of the room) and said 'Do not establish a rule that cannot be observed by everybody. For the clerics it is sufficient not to be united in a second marriage according to the teaching of the Holy Apostles. With an excessive severity you might harm the church of God! This (is what) that holy man said [75] since he was never married. The emperor and the entire synod agreed with his opinion. At the synod was present Eunesius bishop of the Novatians and the emperor asked him if he agreed on the definition of faith and the feast of Easter and he replied 'Yes', the emperor asked him: 'Why then are you separated from the church?' and he replied 'It is not right to accept those who committed mortal sins after the baptism' and the emperor replied: 'So now, raise up a staircase on your own and ascend to the heaven.' This holy synod received the heavenly completion in the year 20 of Constantine the Victorious that is 642 of the Greeks and 5833 from Adam. After the synod, the holy Alexander of Alexandria lived only five months. Then by common consent, Athanasius the Great was proclaimed and ordained at the place of his chief. He much strenuously rejected the evil doctrine of the Arians. Because of this, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Teogonus and the rest of the Arians burned in the fire of envy and they armed (themselves) against him asserting that he had said that the gift of linen given to the emperor [77] belonged to the church of Alexandria, and that he had sent a case of gold to Philemon, a certain rebel. When they sought to make a synod in Caesarea of Palestine Athanasius did not consent to go. They departed to Tyr, cut off the right hand of a dead man and said that Athanasius had killed Arsianus bishop of the Meletians and that he used to ordain putting his hand on the hand he had cut off and that he was a sorcerer. The emperor summoned Athanasius to Tarsus and there he inquired about the truth. When he arrived, (he found that) they had brought also (Athanasius') priest Macarius in chains but by divine intervention Arsianus arrived; he took (with him) the followers of Athanasius and entered in front of the synod and showed both his hands, and the falsehood of the accuses was unmasked. Even if these accusers had perverted the justice on Macarius, Athanasius hid himself and was taken away to the emperor. They deposed him, and the Arians made an assembly and brought a woman who in adultery [79] beget (a son) from Eustathius, a smith, and they taught her to say that she had conceived the son from Eustatius of Antioch and they deposed him. They sought to appoint Eusebius of Caesarea at his place but he declined because of (the dissension) of part of the people, and the seat of Antioch remained empty for eight years.

After Eustatius Eulalius for one year. The Arians appointed him. The Orthodox appointed Paulinus at the place of Eustatius.¹⁰ When Eusebius and Mari of Chalcedon repented, they were received (by the emperor) and they asked him to receive also Arius. When he was brought in front of the emperor he took two documents with him, one in which his heresy was written and which he hid under his arm, and the other in which the orthodox faith was written, put in his hand. He laid his hand on the document hidden and swore 'I recognize no other faith than this one.' Through these artifices the emperor was deceived and he wrote to Alexander, not that of Alexandria, since this one had already died but the one of Constantinople, to accept Arius. When the holy man saw the order of the emperor threw himself in front of the holy altar, praying and saying: 'Lord, you know the heart of everyone. If an impure iniquity is hidden [81] in him and he is going to behave immorally against the Church take my soul from me.' Arius went out to go to the holy Alexander of Constantinople in a solemn procession, in clamour and shouting, but when he arrived at the palace of the emperor he suddenly (started) trembling, he was struck with terror and his bowels overturned, he sought a latrine but when he seated his bowels burst asunder and he died. It was a disgrace for all his followers and the holy Alexander thanked to God who unmasked that impious man.

After Eulalius, Euphonious the Arian for two years. The synods in the days of Constantine the Victorious are the following: first, in Ancyra of Galatia fourteen bishops established 24 canons, then (there was) the big assembling in Nicaea, afterwards in Neocaesarea twenty bishops established 25 canons, in Gangra they established 20 canons, in Laodicea of Phrygia they established 19 canons, in Antioch 90 bishops assembled (and) established 14 canons. [83] When Constantine the Victorious died his middle son, who had taken the power in the East, inclined towards the Arians and likewise did the queen and all the Christians. Constantine, the elder son, who ruled in the West remained firm in the faith. He made Athanasius return to Alexandria, saying 'Also our Lord Constantine was going to restore him if the end would have not seized him.' Athanasius was received joyfully by the Alexandrines but the Arians accused him that an assembly of bishops had not yet judged and justified him. Then, he entered the church.

After Euphonious, Flacillus the Arian for four years. There were faithful teachers at this time: Athanasius of Alexandria Eusebius of Emesa, Ephrem of Nisibis in Edessa. The latter excelled in the divine teaching but he never experienced the instruction of the Greeks. When Harmonius son of Bardaisan composed the hymns he mingled his impiety

¹⁰ Actually Paulinus I (330 A.D.), an Arian sympathizer, mistaken for Paulinus II, monophysite opponent of Meletius during the Meletian schism. The error ultimately derives from Jacob of Edessa. See BURGESS 1999: 185.

there. With the pleasantness of the melody he induced many [85] to the perdition. (Ephrem instead) received the teaching of the harmony of the melody and mixed there the fear of God and created the *madrashe*. (At this time) also the blessed Julian the elder, Abraham of Kiduna, the wise Buzites and the Persian Sage flourished. The latter was an orthodox and composed a book of demonstrations. Socrates Scholasticus said that at that time lived also the great Anthony who had fought openly with the evil, and on whom Athanasius the Great wrote extensively. (He said) that God revealed to Anthony the pain that was entering the Church through the Arians, saying: 'I saw mules surrounding the holy altar and kicking it with the hoofs.' At that time Mor Awgin and his disciples adorned all the East with monasteries and convents from Mardin [87] to the borders of lower Persia, and Mor Aaron of Sarug built two honourable monasteries in the region of Melitene.

[89] **After Flacillus, Stephen the Arian** for three years. The Arians were taking possessions of all the churches in Antioch and Paulinus held just a small one in Antioch. After the Arians had again provoked the emperor to anger against Athanasius, he left and went up to Rome. When Constans learned these things he ordered a synod to take place in Serdica so that the faith of Nicaea might be recovered and the seat be restored for Athanasius. Constans sent two bishops to his brother Constantius to advise him to adhere to the truth and to turn away from the Arians. When the bishops arrived in Antioch, this Stephen who was holding this seat prepared a plot against the bishops who had come and sent a young man to call a prostitute. When it was night, they brought her to the house where they were dwelling. One of the bishops was sleeping in the inner building and the other, his companion, [91] in the outer building. When the latter noticed that the prostitute had entered and heard her voice, he cried out 'Who are you?' he called the young man and they caught the prostitute. At dawn when they had entered in front of the emperor, she confessed 'The young Evagrius called me'. The young man was arrested and after he was scourged he confessed that Stephen had instructed him (to do so), and Stephen was removed from the Church.

After Stephen, Leontius for six years. When the plot of the Arians was revealed to him, the emperor accepted the request of his brother and sent to summon him but he prayed him to give a church in Alexandria for the Arians. Athanasius replied 'As for me, I beg you to give a church in Antioch where the followers of our faith can assemble.' After the emperor had consented, the Arians protested, saying: 'No (church) for us in Alexandria nor to them in Antioch!' Athanasius returned for the second time to Alexandria and he was received with great honour from everyone but when Constans died, again the Arians provoked the emperor Constantius to anger against Athanasius, saying: 'He provoked a dispute between you and your brother.' [93] (The emperor) ordered Athanasius to be removed again and he sent Sebastian with the Romans to kill him. The holy man reports: 'When the soldiers had come with the Romans in number of 5,000, they surrounded the church so as nobody was able to escape. As to me, it seemed good

to me not to escape but to face the soldiers in front of the entire people. I sat on the throne and I ordered one of the deacons to sing one of the psalms of David and the people answered after the verse 'Would his mercy last forever.' When the sanctuary was surrounded by the soldiers and they moved round in the church to seize me, our clerics and the monks supplicated me to leave because I was resisting saying: 'It is right for me alone to endure this and that none of you should be harmed.' They took me by force and cast me down from the seat and we passed between the soldiers and those Romans. Since God leads us and keeps us safe we escaped from their hands. This was the third exile of the holy Athanasius, and the Arians substituted him with Gregory a follower of their doctrine but when the Alexandrians could not [95] bear (anymore) his evil actions they killed him and burned him. Others say that they bound him on a wild camel, and he was ripped out. The emperor begged Liberius of Rome to subscribe the expulsion of Athanasius but he did not give in and (the emperor) decreed his exile and sent to him 500 dinars for expense but he did not accept. Thus he was banished and cast out. After two years, when the emperor had gone to Rome, the nobles were too afraid of him to intercede for Liberius but they exhorted their wives to mediate. When the noble women had come in a solemn procession¹¹ and had interceded (for Liberius) the emperor replied that Felix was (now) the shepherd of the church. Afterwards, when he saw that nobody wanted to follow Felix, he accepted the petition of the noble women and ordered Liberius to come and both of them to administer the church but the people cried out: 'Be one Messiah and one bishop for us!'

After Leontius, Eudoxius. He came from (the siege of) Germanicia and by order of the emperor he passed to Antioch after Leontius died. The emperor again gathered a synod [97] of 150 (bishops) in Seleucia. Eusebius, Eudoxius and Aetius went up to the emperor and Eudoxius excommunicated anyone who asserted that the son was different from the father or that he was a creature. The emperor required them to anathematize (the word) 'consubstantial' but they did not obey and he deposed them. Also Cyril of Jerusalem was banished after having ruled for twelve years and Hadrian succeeded him. Macedonius of Constantinople after having ruled for five years was banished and Eudoxius succeeded him after he had been in Antioch for three years.

After Eudoxius, Meletius. He was bishop of Sebastia of the Armenians. When at first he did not use to say anything about the faith he was accepted by everyone. When one day he was delivering a homily and showing three fingers he proclaimed: 'We profess three *hypostasis* [99] but we know them to be one.' The Arians realized that he observed the faith of Nicea and expelled him after he had ruled for two years. John Chrysostom was educated by him and he ordained the holy Basil bishop of Caesarea and Cappadocia, his

¹¹ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'in solemn dress.'

brothers Peter of Sebastia and Gregory of Nyssa. (At that time) also Gregory the Theologian, bishop of Nazianzus, his brother Caesar and his father Gregory flourished.

After Meletius, Euzoius the Arian. He ruled when Paulinus the elder, as we have said, was leading the orthodox side at the place of Eustathius. At this time, Apollinaris the heretic flourished. He came from Alexandria and used to teach the profane disciplines. He went to Laodicea, he took a wife who gave him a son whom he called after his name. He became priest and his son (was made) reader by Theodotus (who was) bishop there. When they met Epiphanius, the pagan sophist, they inclined to him. For this reason, Theodotus (first) suspended them from the office and then he expelled them from the church. Apollinaris the young went to some bishops which had been expelled and [101] they ordained him bishop for an unknown diocese. He and his father formulated the heresy of the degrees and the measures: they asserted that the Spirit was smaller than the Son and the Son (was smaller) than the Father. (Even) Arius acknowledged equality between the Son and Spirit (even though he professed) that the Son had received not a rational soul but a vegetative one and the Godhead filled the place of the mind. At this time also Eunomius uttered a heresy. He used to say that God knew nothing more than us but he knows only what we know of him. (At this time) also Audius flourished in Edessa. He was archdeacon and adhered to the teaching of the Daisanites. At this time Julian was ruling. He ordered to the bishops to return to their seats and also Athanasius to return to Alexandria since the pagan sought deceitfully to make them to agree with his will. When they realized his cruelty they fled from him. Also Athanasius fled and apologized (saying) that it was not shameful to flee from the persecution. David fled from Saul, Jacob from Esau, Elias from Ahab [103] and Jezebel, and when they let down Paul in a basket from the city wall, our Lord said: 'When they persecute you in this city flee to another.'¹² After Athanasius had escaped again from this persecution he was received joyfully by the Alexandrines. (But) the pagans slandered him to the emperor and he fled for a fourth time saying 'Let us turn aside by, oh brothers, for a short while because this cloud is small, passing and perishable.' When he was travelling on a ship the persecutors reached him and asked his companions about him but they replied 'It is not much far from you. chase him quickly because you are in front of him.' After they had passed on, the holy man returned to Alexandria and hid himself among a virgin nun for all the time of Julian. Maris of Chalcedon who was much aged and whose eyes-light was consumed approached Julian and rebuked him severely but the pagan, deriding him, said: 'Oh blind man, your God the Galilean do not heal you.' Mari said: 'I thank God to be blind so that I cannot see your pagan face!' Julian used to listen to many things like these but he used to endure (them) and he never got angry because he used to exhibit

¹² Matthew 10:23.

the manner of philosophy. Another time, when he had entered in Aleppo, he said to a Christian noble whose son had apostatized 'Do not compel your son to adhere to your religion for, [105] I do not compel you to adhere to mine.' But the noble said: 'You, oh Emperor, are inquiring on an infidel who has left the truth and hates God.' Julian pretending to exercise the manner of a philosopher did not get angry but he said: 'Man, you have dishonoured us enough!' He turned to his son and said: 'I will take care of you since I could not persuade your father to do the same with you.' After Julian had perished, Jovian the believer ruled. He made the bishops return from the exile to their seats, strengthened the faith of the family of Constantine the Victorious and bestowed many things to whoever professed the word consubstantial and exempted them from the tribute. After Jovian had died the brothers Valentinian and Valens ruled. Valens, since he had been baptized by the Arians, expelled the Orthodox Meletius to Armenia and Eusebius of Samosata to Thrace. The latter, in the dress of a Roman, riding a horse and putting a hood in order not to being recognised, travelled through the cities appointing bishops, priests and deacons for the Orthodox. Also Athanasius of Alexandria hid in the grave of his parents for four months. The people of Alexandria made a great clamour against the emperor Valens and he ordered Athanasius to return for the fifth time. He kept [107] the church until his death. At the same time flourished in the desert Father Macarius who healed the woman that had become a horse: that had happened to her because of the abstention from the divine Sacraments and she was held in an enchantment. Ephrem died on 18 June 682 and after one year (also) Athanasius the Great died, after fulfilling (his ministry) for 46 years and appointing 284 bishops. After him Peter ruled for seven years. 80 priests were summoned to go to the emperor Valens on account of the conciliation in the Church but when they boarded the ship and they were sailing, the emperor sent to set fire to the ship and to burn up the priests. At that time the holy Gregory of Nazianzus was appointed from the Orthodox bishops so that he could take care of the faithful in Constantinople. Themistius, a philosopher from Antioch, calmed the anger of the emperor with a treatise in which he said: 'Nobody should be surprised that the Christians are divided in their religion because also among the pagans there are 300 religions. It is God who wants [109] to be glorified in various ways because his knowledge cannot be comprehended easily.' After Valens had died and Gratian, son of his brother, had come to power, the bishops returned from the exile. When (Gratian) died, Theodosius the Great, the believer emperor, ruled. He summoned a synod of 150 bishops in Constantinople and the profession of consubstantiality was confirmed and strengthened. The chiefs of this second synod were: Meletius of Antioch, Timotheus of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Theologus of Constantinople and Gregory of Nyssa. These added to the faith of Nicaea the sentence on the Holy Spirit: 'That proceeds from the Father and with the Father, and the Son has to be worshipped and glorified' etc. These things (were intended) indeed against the evil doctrine of Apollinaris. This synod decided that Constantinople should be ranked second in honour

after Rome and that the bishops could not rule outside [111] their borders, as it had happened generally during the persecution. (The synod) deposed and excommunicated along with Arius, also Eusebius of Nicomedia, Euzoius of Antioch and other Arians. Diodorus and Theodore, who afterwards became heretics, were (also) present. [113] When the synod attributed the seat of Constantinople to the holy Gregory Theologus, the Egyptian bishops got jealous and complained; for this reason he resigned and left the seat voluntarily after he had occupied it for ten years. He composed a valedictory oration where he said 'Send me back to the cell, the desert and God.' The synod, after removing Euzoius the Arian, proclaimed Meletius the Great for Antioch but Meletius died immediately afterwards.

After Meletius, Flavian, while Paulinus was still alive, and for this reason there was a tumult in Antioch. When the death of Paulinus was approaching, he did not want Flavian to rule alone out of jealousy and even though both of them were Orthodox, he laid his hand on his disciple Evagrius and appointed him in his place. Even if it was unlawful because the canons order that a bishop cannot be appointed without (the presence of) three bishops, the Romans and the Egyptians favoured Evagrius and pressed the emperor to expel Flavian. When he summoned him in Constantinople, so that he might set off to Rome [115] the winter was approaching and he said: 'I will go on April' and he returned to Antioch. Again they incited the emperor to summon him for the second time but he could not find any faults on him that could justify the deposition and he ordered him to return to Antioch. When the emperor went to Rome, Flavian sent Acacius of Aleppo to Rome and he made peace with the Romans thanks to the emperor and also the Egyptians were conciliated. At that time the emperor Theodosius discovered two shameful affairs in Rome and he put an end to them. One was that (there were) some inns of prostitutes beside millstones and all the foreigners who entered there were caught to work the grindstones for a long time and the emperor ordered to destroy the house of the prostitutes. The other (was that) every woman caught in fornication was seized and placed in a certain building after a little bell had been fastened on her to let it show that she was a prostitute and the lustful men (were allowed) to fornicate with her against her will. The emperor abolished also this custom and ordered the adulteress to be judged and to be put to death if she deserved it. The emperor established also the law that a woman could not be deaconess before she was 70 years old. At that time a deacon fell (in fornication) with a woman of noble origins and when she admitted her guilt to the priest the deacon was unmasked and he fell from his rank. [117] Then the priest Eudaemon exhorted Nectarius to raise the priests who had repented and he allowed everyone to approach the holy Sacraments according to his conscience. On this Eudemon the chronicler Socrates said: 'Your advice will either benefit or not, however because of you they will not rebuke each other's transgressions nor observe the word of the Apostle that says: do not communicate with those who passed through the darkness but rebuke them especially.' And also Socrates says: 'How

many times those who share one faith are (still) separated in the practice! Those who are in Rome fast only three weeks before Easter and they are called ‘*tessarakosti*.’¹³ Others, instead, begin the fasting seven weeks before Easter. Others are separated also about the food. There are Christians who abstains from everything alive during the fast and there are (Christians) eating only fish. Others refuse also birds because they consider them equal to the fishes from the waters. Others restrain from both the eggs and the fruits of the trees, and others tolerate only dry bread. Others fast for nine hours. Since no example was given, [119] the apostles left it to the personal conscience so that one would not do penance out of fear or of necessity. The Egyptians and the Thebans administer the communion after eating bread. In Alexandria they read and expound the scriptures on Wednesday at the eve like we do on Sunday. In Thessaly, the clerics, after they have taken a wife, are not permitted to approach her, otherwise they are deposed; in the eastern regions this is up to the will of each one so that also bishops do so only if they want to restrain themselves and not by necessity of law and many (others) instead during the period of the episcopate generate children from legitimate wives. In Thessaly they baptize only in the days of the fast and for the rest (of the year) they die without baptism. In the Churches of Antioch the altar is placed in various ways but many set it up to the western direction. In Alexandria, after Arius had troubled the church, a priest was not allowed to deliver a homily in the church. The holy apostles did not put other burdens on man except for avoid sacrifice, blood, strangulation and prostitution. They said: ‘So it pleased the Holy Spirit and us.’ In the first year that the emperor Arcadius started to rule, that is the year 708 of the Greeks, the monastery of Qarṭmin was built by [121] Mor Samuel, the holy archimandrite, and Mor Simeon his disciple, to whom the angel of God showed the entire plan of the foundations of the convent and of the temple. After a while the archimandrite Mor Gabriel ruled, who was also ordained bishop in the year 965 of the Greeks and went to the residence¹⁴ (of) Bar Katab,¹⁵ king of the Arabs, in the island of Beth Zabdai to receive the diploma over the people of the Christians. At this time became known for eloquence and manner of life Epiphanius of Cyprus and Marutha of Maypherqaṭ who was sent as ambassador to Yazdegerd king of the Persians. There God performed great marvels through him. When Nectarius of Constantinople died the emperor Arcadius sent the bishops to summon the renowned John who in his youth was instructed by the philosophers Libanius and Andragathius. Then, he started reading the ecclesiastical works under the guide of Diodorus of Tarsus

¹³ Fast of forty days of fast before Easter prescribed in the fifth canon of the Council of Nicaea. See ‘Lent’, ODC: 966.

¹⁴ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: ‘monastery.’

¹⁵ Abdallāh b. ‘Umar. (d. 693 A.D) Companion and brother-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad and one of the most important transmitters of his sayings. GÖRKE, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb’, EIS.

and Carterius [123] who were monks at that time. Also Theodore of Mopsuestia studied with him and he was close also to Basil the Great. He departed to the mountain, to a certain elder, illustrious man and learned from him (how) to fight with the demons, for four years. He confined himself for the sake of discipline. Since he had fallen sick he entered to Antioch and was ordained deacon by Meletius, and afterwards priest by Evagrius the one who succeeded Flavian, and expounded the Gospel and the (Acts) of the Apostles when he was 28 years old. He was called Chrysostom that is 'the golden mouth.' He was severe in the zeal of modesty but his rage surpassed his modesty and since he was confident in (the rightness of) his conduct of life, he was imprudent with the words. He was inclined to the sharpness of the tongue without measure. When he was 50 years old he became bishop of Constantinople and since from the very beginning he showed himself strict, many of the clerics were annoyed by him. It happened that (when) he went to Ephesus to appoint a bishop there, [125] Severian of Gabala was in Constantinople disputing and composing treatises to oppose Serapion, John's deacon. When he (John) came he had him expelled without any inquiry. The empress Eudoxia blamed John on this matter and ordered Severian to return. John did not accept to be conciliated with him until the empress went to the church of the Apostles and brought his son Theodosius the Young with her, she threw herself at the knees of John and made him swear but she (succeeded) to make only a specious peace between them. For this he unceasingly used to rebuke women ardently and removed the statue of the empress that was close to the church. He used to scorn her (calling her) Jezebel who took away the vineyard from a widow,¹⁶ and (thus) increased the enmity against her. But the people were captured by him because of his learning. Theophilus of Alexandria ceded (also) to human ambition because he wanted to ordain his priest Isidore for Constantinople. Therefore he stirred up jealousy (against John) and also Epiphanius of Cyprus was foolishly praised (by him). (Epiphanius) went to Constantinople and in the church of Mor John, outside the city, ordained the deacons without the permission of John and anathematized also the writings of Origen upon which John used to muse. [127] He sent a message to him, saying: 'You have transgressed the canons, you have administered in my church without my permission and you have vaunted even the imposition of the hand. Beware that there is not a tumult in the people.' Epiphanius was terrified and went back. John made a homily in which he reviled all women. When the empress heard it she took it as an insult addressed to her. She sent to Theophilus to come and to gather a synod. When he came, he called John four times but he did not come (and Theophilus) deposed him but the people was agitated and was about to carry out a massacre, had John not devised to go out at noon without making it know to anybody. The emperor

¹⁶ 1 Kgs. 16:31

was agitated and he made him to return from Nicomedia but when he had returned he did not want to enter (the city) until his case had been examined. The people got furious and brought him by force in procession¹⁷ but since he did not want, they placed him on the throne, he delivered a homily and blessed (them) but again he was enflamed because the image of the empress was erected (at the door) of the church and armed his tongue against those who had erected it. The empress brought these words to her person and ordered a synod to be summoned. When he came to know, he delivered a homily in this way: 'Again Herodias goes on madly, again she dances, again she desires the head of John [129] in a dish.' When the bishops had gathered, they said that since he occupied the throne before his matter had been examined, he deserved to be excommunicated. The emperor ordered his exile, he went out the church and they replaced him with Acacius, the brother of Nectarius. After a while he died and they appointed Atticus, a virtuous man, at his place. Also Epiphanius died because John had prophesized that he would not have entered his seat alive. They say that he also predicted that John would have died on exile. Both of them were virtuous men but as human beings they were engaged one against the other. Socrates wrote on this affair, saying: 'I would have concealed the names of those who behaved perversely with John because I am afraid (to dishonour) their other virtues, were not necessary (to name them) not to violate the principle of accuracy.' The holy Epiphanius was a Jew by birth; he was baptized when he was sixteen years old and became monk. He received the gift of performing miracles and wonders and he used to expel demons. When he was 60 years old he became bishop and held the (priestly) rank for 55 years. They say [131] that he did not use to minister or baptize unless he had received a vision. He baptized the emperors Arcadius and Honorius. John held (the position) only for five years, (he spent) three years in exile and died in Comana. They say of him that after his baptism he never swore nor made swear, he did not curse, nor lie, nor laugh, and he did not drink wine and he never ate with anybody. Because of this his enemies say that he lived greedily. (Actually) he never used to eat in front of the people because the figure of his mouth was disfigured while eating. After the deposition of the holy John all the dioceses of the church in the east and in the west were perturbed. The earth bellowed for seven days and the earthquakes did not smooth down in Constantinople, night and day, for four months, and everyone said that it was the vengeance of the Lord because of the unlawful deposition of John. [133] At this time Theodosius of Mopsuestia died. The monks came and reported to the emperor that he was a heretic, complaining about him. Then 'Absimia, son of the sister of Mor Ephrem the teacher, flourished. He composed *mimre* in the verse of Ephrem¹⁸ on the

¹⁷ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'in his episcopal robes.'

¹⁸ Narrative poems, employing 7 syllables couplets.

expeditions of the Huns that happened at this time. At this time flourished Mor Abhai in the region of Mardin. After having heard of him, the emperor Theodosius received him and he was ordained metropolitan of Nicaea. At this time a prodigious vision appeared to the emperor: an angel of the Lord said to him: 'In vain you worship the bones because not all of them belong to holy men.' The emperor was upset and he related what he had seen to Mor Abhai. The holy man gathered all the relics in the territory of the Romans, on the order of the emperor, piled up a quantity of woods, put the relics on it and set them on fire with honeycomb. 30.000 relics burned up and 8.000 went out (from the fire) shining. The emperor rejoiced and honoured that holy man. He put Mor Abhai in charge of the relics in the great sanctuary he had built. After the emperor died, Mor Abhai took 5,000 relics [135] and went to dwell in the monastery on the river Euphrates, that is the monastery of the Ladders. His disciple Andronicus was ordained in Nicaea. In the seat of Antioch, Flavian and Evagrius were ruling at the same time. Flavian died and shortly later also Evagrius (died).

After Evagrius, Porphyrius. At this time Sisinnius bishop of the Novatians flourished. (He was) an eloquent man who also possessed the aptitude [137] of the readiness of the word. Someone blamed him because he used to wear white clothes but he used to reply: 'Where is it written that he wore black clothes? Salomon guided me with this saying 'Let your clothe be white!¹⁹' Our Saviour in the mountain of Tabor was seen in whites (clothes) and the angels announced the resurrection of our Lord in whites (clothes). John, bishop of Constantinople, said to him: 'It is not possible that there are two bishops in the same city but Sisinnius replied '(Indeed) this is not the case' and when John said: 'You see: you desire to be the only bishop!' and he replied 'Only for you I am not bishop, like you are not bishop for the others.' John said to him: 'I will make you not to dispute anymore' and he replied: 'I thank you for sparing me such a labour.'

After Porphyrius, Alexander for ten years. He united all the Orthodox in Antioch, who had been divided for 45 years because of Flavian, and reconciled [139] the easterners with the westerners, joining the company of Flavian and the one of Evagrius. He took a cleric of him and went to the place where they were gathered, he instructed him to summon them with spiritual hymns to the church and his entire flock was united. He wrote the name of John in the diptychs like also Atticus did in Constantinople. This Atticus took much care of the poor, not only of his church but also of other cities and while sending alms he used to say: 'Never discuss with the poor if they belong to our religion but do not associate to this part of the subsidy those who pursue only avidity; give more to those who are ashamed to beg for aid. And after Atticus ruled in Constantinople, Sisinnius (ruled) and when Sisinnius died some asked that Proclus was

¹⁹ Eccl. 9: 8.

appointed as bishop for Cyzicus while others (claimed for) Philip. Then they dismissed both of them and asked Nestorius from Antioch because he was an eloquent (man), of pleasant voice, native of Germanicia that is Marash. When he had sat on the throne of Constantinople he started spreading the profane teaching.

[141] **After Alexander, Theodotus.** At this time the bones of Stephen the ancestor of the martyrs were discovered and the blessed Mor Simeon flourished who used to stand on a column in the *curia* of Antioch and performed miracles and wonders like the Holy Apostles. At this time Mor Barsoum a man renowned for his virtues flourished at the border of little Armenia, in the district of Samosata in the mountain of Claudia. (At this time) the seven young men who had fled from the persecutor Decius seemed to have arisen from the house of the dead in Ephesus. They hid themselves in a cavern in one of the mountains, and after they had fallen asleep they died by God's intervention. Decius looked for them and he was told that they were hiding in a certain cavern. (Thus) he ordered to block its mouth so that they descended alive to the Sheol. Then Athenodorus²⁰ and Domnus believers in Christ wrote about this affair and put (the document) inside the building. After 180 years, in the year 38 of the emperor Theodosius the Younger, when a disputation on the resurrection of the dead was taking place and the emperor had doubt as to it, God stirred up the heart of a certain Aldus, lord of that place to build a sheepfold [143] on his property; after they had carried away the stones, the cavern was opened and God blew life on the sleepers and like someone who had slept they woke up and said to one of them named Dionysius: 'Stand up, enter the city secretly, buy some food for us and seek out what has been decreed for us.' When he went out, (he brought) with him money of the ancient coinage and arriving to the door of the city, he saw the cross fixed there and he was stupefied; the city had changed at his eyes and he asked which was the name of the city and they said 'Ephesus'; thus he was terrified, went to buy some bread and went out. When the sellers had seen the old coinage, seized him and said: 'Show us where you found (it)' and there was so much clamour that the news reached the proconsul. When (the young) was brought to him he began inquiring about the place and asked again 'Where is it?' and (the young) replied 'In Ephesus', (the proconsul) inquired about his brothers and after he had said their names that were unknown (to the inhabitants) someone said that he was mad, others that he was pretending madness in order to escape. The proconsul sent for the bishop and when he saw him, the young fell in front of him and said 'I beg you my lord, where is the emperor Decius?' and the bishop replied 'He is already dead' and the young said: 'So now come with me and I will show you my companions in the cavern where we had fled from Decius.' The bishop realized [145] that it was a revelation and went with him

²⁰ Athiodorus in the manuscripts. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, VIII.4: 174T.

accompanied by other men. They entered the cavern and they found the confessors in a great splendour; he read also the writing that he found there and immediately sent a letter to the emperor who went (there) immediately, fell at their feet and started crying and praying them to speak with him. Achilius the eldest of them said: 'It is because of you, oh emperor, that the Lord woke us before the time of the resurrection, stay in peace and do not doubt about the resurrection of the dead.' When he had said these things he fell asleep again and died. When (the emperor) wanted to make a coffin of gold for them they appeared to him in a dream saying: 'Our bodies have been raised from the dust, not from the gold.' Then the emperor did not transfer them from their place but ordered a sanctuary to be built for them (there).

After Theodotus, John. At this time Nestorius preached in Constantinople and he said in front of the emperor 'Give me, [147] o emperor, a world purified from heretics and I will give you in return the kingdom of the heaven. Destroy the Arians for me, and me, I will destroy the Persians for you.' The emperor did not accept (the offer) because he knew his vainglory and that he did not even wait to occupy (his) seat before saying such things. One day, Anastasius a priest of Nestorius, stood up to give a homily and cried out: 'It is evident that no one can call Mary mother of God. The daughter of a man indeed begets a man and not a God' When the people heard this they supposed that Nestorius would remove Anastasius immediately, but when he did not, they realized that he had the same opinion. After a great disputation between the faithful, the emperor Theodosius ordered in the year 21 of his reign that is the year 742 of the Greeks and 423 of our Lord, the first synod in Ephesus to be gathered in the month of June. [149] According to Zacharias Rhetor 193 bishops were present. Its chiefs were Caelestinus of Rome through its substitutes, Cyril of Alexandria, Memnon of Ephesus, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Acacius of Melitene, Theodotus of Ancyra. Nestorius went early to Ephesus. Cyril and Juvenal went after Easter while John of Antioch delayed (his coming). After Cyril had discussed with Nestorius the term 'Mother of God' which from the time of the apostles was preached in the holy Church and among the believers, he said: 'I do not acknowledge a one or two months years old (baby) as God. I will not come to you.' After they had called him four times and he did not come, they decreed his deposition.²¹ Nestorius and his fellows deposed Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus as (they were) at their presence.²² Socrates Scholasticus, who lived at this time, after writing on this matter said 'I do not praise Nestorius because is friend of mine [151] nor do I rebuke (him) because I loathe him but I tell the truth. He was a man of natural eloquence and reputed

²¹ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'so I cannot agree with you. After he was censured four times and refused to submit, they passed a motion to depose him.' Cf. SOCRATES, *Ecclesiastical History*, VII.34.

²² Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'Then Nestorius and his supporters deposed in return the blessed Cyril and Memnon of Ephesus.'

to be cultivated, but he is ignorant of truth and the force of the Holy Scriptures. If he had understood the (word) of the divine apostle that said ‘Even if we have known the Messiah in the flesh we do not know him more.’²³ Indeed the divinity had joined the humanity in the Messiah our Lord. For this reason, our Lord Jesus is not two. Even if Nestorius has introduced duality he does not say that the Messiah is a simple man like Photinus and Paul of Samosata do, but everywhere he acknowledges that he is one hypostasis.’ John of Antioch delayed his coming because he was not willing to subscribe the deposition of Nestorius. After two days he went with the 26 bishops that were with him, and also (with) the consent of all the easterners except for Rabbula of Edessa and Acacius of Aleppo, accused Cyril because he had not conducted a proper inquiry and had deposed Nestorius without an accurate investigation. Then it was shown that John was a follower of Nestorius and he was also deposed. He left and returned in bitter anger to Antioch. [153] When Nestorius saw what happened, out of remorse and necessity said ‘Let Mary be called mother of God and let these evils cease!’ but his word was not accepted because he did not said it sincerely. Thus, by order of the emperor he was exiled to Oasis in the region of Egypt. The emperor sent again to call John and the bishops that were with him and ordered the two sides to be gathered and an accurate examination to be carried out. After they had come to Constantinople and the investigation had taken place, the followers of Cyril prevailed because of the force of the Holy Scriptures and John and the easterners who were with him were defeated. Then by order of the emperor, or rather by severe decrees they agreed to profess according to the synod and to be united with Cyril and both the seats were declared legitimate. However, they made only an apparent peace because in their hearts John of Antioch, Theodoretus of Cyrrhus, Andreas of Samosata, Alexander of Mabbug, Irenaeus of Tyr, John of Cilicia that is from Aegae, Euthericus of Tyana and the other easterners professed like Nestorius. [155] When Nestorius left, Maximianus, from the same Church, was elected for Constantinople. He was an excellent man, simple in the manners and sincere in the word, because their conscience had been seared by the polished eloquence of Nestorius, who had troubled the entire church and had created an irremediable schism between Easterners and Westerners. In Edessa, after Rabbula, Ibas the Nestorian ruled. Maximianus died after leading the church for two years and five months. The holy Proclus was asked to be elected for Constantinople (but) some rivals opposed (this decision) saying that he had been appointed for another city that is Cyzicus. Then the emperor Theodosius informed Cyril, Caelestinus of Rome and John of Antioch and they replied that had never ceased in the Church (the habit) to allow a bishop to pass from a city to another when he is elected, in agreement to the canon 18.

²³ 2 Cor. 5: 16.

Thus Rigenes of Patara since the people of his dioceses had not accepted him, (the bishop) of Rome ordered him to pass to Corinthus which was widowed; [157] and Gregory Theologus who was bishop of Sasima passed to Nazianzus, afterwards to Constantinople and again returned to Nazianzus, Meletius of Sebastia was led to Antioch and Dositheus of Lycia was led to Tarsus, Philip of Heliopolis²⁴ was lead to Aspona, Alexander of Heliopolis passed to the Arian(s), Theosebius of Apamea was led to Eudoxiopolis, Polycarp of Sexantaprista was led to Nicopolis of Thrace, Anthemis of Trapezus passed to Constantinople and Barsai of Harran to Edessa. On the basis of this support the holy Proclus of Cyzicus occupied the throne of Constantinople and showed (there) to be a great teacher. He brought the body of the holy John to the imperial city and the people rejoiced.

After John, Domnus. After Cyril had died Dioscorus succeeded him in Alexandria. [159] In Constantinople after Proclus Flavian the Nestorian ruled. At this time when Eutyches, a priest and archimandrite of one of the monasteries in Constantinople, well known for his customs, had seen that Nestorius was banished because he had asserted two natures for the Messiah, he wanted to establish one nature in the Messiah, not through the force of the Holy Scriptures but he introduced a pagan dogma and denied that God the Word had taken the body from the Virgin but (asserted that) it takes form like the air which takes form from the frost and becomes rain and snow, and like the water which from drying air becomes ice. When this shameful doctrine had acquired fame he was called by Flavian of Constantinople [161] to defend what could have been accepted²⁵ but he did not go, making of excuse once that he was detained because he was imprisoned and he could not go out, once because he was sick, coughing and old but eventually he was compelled he came. Flavian of Constantinople and Eusebius of Dorylaeum persuaded many to agree with their Nestorian doctrine, he was interrogated and he sent a *libellus* to Rome to Leo asking that these things would be examined in another synod. Also Flavian wrote to Leo and Leo replied with that letter known as ‘Tome’ which contains many chapters confirming the duality of the natures. Then the emperor Theodosius wrote to Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem and Domnus of Antioch to assemble the bishops under their authority, he wrote (also) to the bishop of Ephesus to be present and (demanded) that they examined these matters. The emperor ordered also in a letter to the bishops: ‘If it pleases to your divinity, the God-loving, priest and archimandrite Barsoum renowned for the purity of customs and orthodoxy should come to Ephesus to fulfil the charge [163] of archimandrite of the whole East. Barsoum went

²⁴ Palladius of Helenopolis. Misspelling partly deriving from the reading ‘Philemos of Heliopolis’ of Michael. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, VIII.5: 177T-24V.

²⁵ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: ‘to clear himself of this kind of suspicion.’

up to this second synod and when they started to dispute Eutyches wrote to the synod in this way: 'Me, I am willing since I was very young to live on my own, in quiet, and to stay out of tumults but I have not deserved to live in the gladness that I desired but I have fallen in great danger from the injury-harm of others. Now and from the beginning I invoke the judgement of your beatitude and I witness in front of the Messiah Jesus who witnessed in front of Pontius Pilatus the good doctrine that I believe, I reckon and I adhere to the faith that the Holy Fathers who gathered at Nicaea have delivered to us. I confirm also the Holy Fathers in the synod of Ephesus and if someone agrees with (something) other than this I will anathematize him, among Mani, Valentinian, Apollinaris, Nestorius and even Simeon the Magician.' When the bishops read this letter and heard it also from the mouth of Eutyches accepted it and rejected immediately the decrees against him but afterwards it was discovered [165] that he had again returned to his first vomit, he was deposed (and) they did not read the tome of Leo which his substitutes had brought in order to avoid an anathema on its writer and that a tumult would take place in the churches. The act that the fellows of Flavian had composed was read and after they had discovered that it included two natures after the incarnation the bishops cried out 'Remove (it) and set (it) on fire but also Eusebius of Dorylaeum who has read it!', and thus they decreed the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius and also of Domnus of Antioch and the other seven that they discovered (to follow) this doctrine but who did not repent. At this time Isaac, a monk and writer flourished in Edessa. Having changed with the times he also became a heretic.

After Domnus, Maximus. After that the second holy synod of Ephesus was dismissed and the envoys of Leo returned to Rome and related that [167] the Tome had not been accepted, (Leo) was filled with rage and anger and he nursed hatred against Dioscorus. At this time the empress, wife of Theodosius, and her sister Pulcheria went up to Rome to pray. While they were going all around the churches, they entered in the House of the Apostles and they found Leo of Rome weeping inside a rug on the floor. They asked him the reason and he said: 'In your days this apostolic seat has been insulted by the second synod which was gathered in Ephesus. I wish that an ecumenical synod would be assembled and that the one of Ephesus would be abolished.' They wrote to the emperor on this business but the emperor replied 'The second synod has ruled in all fear of God and I have learned everything with accuracy, therefore you should do better not to interfere with this business.' After Theodosius had died and Marcian started ruling thanks to the choice of Pulcheria, in the same year it became manifest that Leo wanted first [169] to have his Tome accepted and then to take revenge on the synod. He asked Pulcheria and Marcian to gather a synod and the emperor ordered a synod to take place in Nicaea and 318 bishops to be there but the divine providence did not allow that an error (like that) could occur under the dignity of the name (of Nicaea). In those days there was an earthquake and the great church of Nicaea fell. The emperor repented and ordered them to gather in Chalcedon and in November 765 of the Greeks, 636 bishops

gathered, that is the double of those in Nicaea. They entered in the sanctuary of the martyr Euphemia, the leaders²⁶ sat in front of the altar, the substitutes of Leo, Anatolius, Maximianus of Antioch and the rest of the eastern bishops [171] of Asia and Thracia sat on the left. On the right Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem and the rest of the bishops of the dioceses of Egypt, Illyricum and Palestine (sat). Some Nestorian bishops approached Marcian and Pulcheria and demanded the archimandrite Barsoum not (to be allowed) to come to their synod. The emperor sent (a letter) to the rest of the bishops to ask them and these replied 'Barsoum be accursed!' 'Barsoum (should) go to exile!', 'Cast out the murderer Barsoum', 'He killed the blessed Paulinus saying 'stab (him)!'. Then the substitutes of Leo arose in the middle (of the room) and said 'We bear the order of the blessed, apostolic pope of Rome, head of all the churches, that Dioscorus should not seat in the assembly.' The chiefs asked the reason of the accusation against him. His adversaries replied that even if he was not in the condition of passing sentence (on Leo), (Dioscorus) dared (to do it) and he was so bold to gather a synod without the permission of the apostolic seat of the church of Rome. [173] After many things they made the holy Dioscorus stand up from his place and made him seat in the middle where those who had to be judged (usually) seat. Theodoretus entered, and so (also) Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Ibas of Edessa, those who after being deposed started to revolt. They accepted to read the things that had been examined in the second synod of Ephesus. The eastern bishops denied the deposition of Flavian who had asserted two natures after the union, saying: 'These things have been examined without our consent.' The Egyptians said '(What) we said then we say now.' The holy Dioscorus said: 'I state clearly that Flavian was deposed because he asserted two natures after the union. As for me, I have examples from the Fathers that it is not right to speak of two natures after the union but of one nature of the Word incarnated, thus I proceed with the Fathers.' He left and went out. The emperor immediately had him guarded so that he could not depart. Then the bishops wrote to him 'The holy synod asks Your Holiness to come.' Dioscorus said: [175] 'I am retained but if they say that they let me go I will come down.' Again they called him but he replied: 'I am ready to come to the holy synod but I am not allowed.' After this, he was called by the emperor Marcian through John of Accudaeus (and asked) to subscribe to the precept of Chalcedon (but) he said 'Even if my hand will be cut and the blood will flow on this document I will not do it.' Then they decreed his deposition writing: 'Dioscorus, the former bishop, has been called twice and at the third time he had not obeyed. We alienate every honour of the priesthood and the ministry

²⁶ ܩܠܝܐ, 'the first men'. Syriac correspondent of the Greek 'prôtoi'. It was used in some cases to define the ecclesiastical commission responsible for the candidature to the episcopal sees. See ALPI 2011: 312.

from him.’ The emperor ordered to send Dioscorus into exile to Gangra. They set on his place Proterius who had been priest with him and because of the episcopacy he became like Judas and like Absalom²⁷ to his father. The bishops were gathered, they sat according to their rank and the emperor went to them, then [177] Aetius archdeacon of Constantinople stood up and said: ‘Because of the sign of the heavenly grace and the zeal, Your Serenity God-loving, faithful and pious emperor, you who from God had received the power on everything, by your decree this great, holy and ecumenical synod has been gathered, the orthodox precept which you establish with the force of the Holy Scriptures, this that I bear in hand, if it pleases you, by sign of Your Serenity I will read it.’ The emperor said: ‘Read it.’ After he had read, the emperor recognized the common judgement: ‘We have exposed the teaching of the error and we have anathematized those who speak foolishly of two natures before the union but device one (nature) after the union! One and the same, Messiah, Son, Lord, only born in two natures not altered, not confused, not divided.’ Then the emperor asked the bishops if this precept had been set with the agreement of all of them and they cried out ‘To this we all agree, this we all decree and subscribe!’ Thus after the true faith had been rejected in Chalcedon, the Churches were divided, the faithful separated, fled from any relation with heretics and ordained Orthodox at their place: at the place of Juvenal they appointed Theodosius in Jerusalem [179] and at the place of Proterius the holy Timotheus in Alexandria and so everywhere as far as the ordinary seats. But when the bishops who turned aside from the faith to obey the earthly emperor, were not accepted gladly by the faithful, they seized the dioceses of the Messiah through the imperial sceptre and the tyrannical sword and they came to the bloodshed to the point that Proterius, fellow of the error, killed 24,000 men, many of whom (were) bishops, priests and monks, with the help of the Romans. The Alexandrians, moved by zeal, killed him, dragged him (out) and set him on fire in the *tetrapylon* of the city. Then the Chalcedonians appointed at his place Timotheus Salofaciolus and sent the orthodox Timotheus into exile to Gangra. They united again against the holy Barsoum and wrote to the emperor ‘Barsoum the archimandrite is a magician, he performs enchantments, he gathers gold and incites people to revolt against the emperor.’ Marcian was furious and wanted to send the Romans to the monastery of the blessed to kill him and everyone who was with him. When the holy Barsoum heard these things he said: ‘I trust the cross [181] that I worship that Marcian does not have any authority on me, that he will not see my face and me, I will not see his abominable presence. I trust and assure that my death will extirpate Marcian.’ This really happened: the blessed, holy Barsoum the elder died in the year 770 of the Greeks,

²⁷ Third son of the king David, who rebelled against his father.

and after three years Mor Simeon the Stylite died. The disciples of Mor Barsoum fearing that the emperor would send the army of the Romans against them, made a request in front of the shrine of the holy man and John Baptist appeared to them in a vision arising in the middle of the sanctuary saying: 'Marcian the emperor has died because the Christian king had accused him.' After some days the news of his death arrived.

[183] **After Maximus, Martyrius.** After this Martyrius was expelled by the Orthodox of Antioch, Julian ruled but he was not confirmed either, and Stephen succeeded him. After this one, another Stephen who was also expelled, and Peter the Orthodox, called the Fuller succeeded him. Then, when Leontius, Illus and Euphrasius of Antioch rebelled against Zeno they expelled Peter and appointed Calandion of their same doctrine. When, after three years these rebels were subdued by Zeno, he expelled also Calandion from Antioch and Peter entered (the city) again by order of the emperor. Peter ordained the holy Philoxenus for Mabbug, eloquent man and admirable teacher who strenuously attacked the duophysites and exhibited firm knowledge on the holy way of life of the monasticism. He composed treatises of every kind on the holy feasts (and) homilies.

[185] **After Peter who is called the Fuller, Palladius.** At this time the emperor Anastasius the believer wanted that also in Constantinople as in the district of Antioch the church proclaimed 'He was crucified for us.' The duophysites gathered to him and said: 'It is not right that you exhort men (to say) more than the hymn that the angels offer to the Trinity (said): 'Holy, holy, holy the mighty Lord of whom the heaven and the earth are full of praise.' The emperor replied: 'The angels do well and we also do most justly. He incarnated for us and he did not put (a body) on the angels.' Since the majority of the people in Constantinople were duophysite, they made a (great) clamour, surrounded the palace shouting 'Another emperor for the Romans!' they ran to the house of Marinus the Syrian to kill him, as if (this man) had incited the emperor in such sense. After he had fled they set his house on fire and they found a poor Syrian monk there. They cut off his head and fastened him to a pole, wandering around with him and shouting 'This is the imposter, this is the enemy of the Trinity.' When emperor saw what they had done, he ordered that a horse race would take place and he went up without his diadem. When they saw his humility they repented [187] but shortly later, for other reasons, they revolted again. The emperor was furious, slayed many (of them) and they stopped.

After Palladius, Flavian. At this time the emperor Anastasius favoured the party of the Orthodox. He hated and overturned the Chalcedonians. He gathered a synod, and went there, and Philoxenus of Mabbug (went) to the imperial city by order of the emperor. About 200 monks from the east went with Severus the Great who at that time was only a monk. They were greatly honoured and the emperor ordered the shrine of the martyr Euphemia to be loosed, and the Tome of the profession of the synod of Chalcedon to be brought and set on fire. They anathematized the synod and Leo of Rome. After that Flavian was discovered to be a heretic, the emperor expelled him and he was sent into exile.

After Flavian, Severus. (He was) an eloquent man and philosopher, especially [189] in the ecclesiastical doctrine of Old and New Testament and all the Doctors (of the Church), from the convent of Theodore of Gaza. He wrote the full teaching of his entire life and composed the book of *Philalethes* to confute the questions of the duophysites. He expounded the *Henotikon* of Zeno which had abolished the synod of Chalcedon. At this time Simeon bishop of Beth Arsham, called the Disputer flourished among the Persians, and also the famous teacher Mor Jacob who was bishop of Batna of Sarug flourished (at this time). He received the gift of the knowledge from the grace of the spirit and not from human instruction. He was periodont of Hawra that is in Sarug and was author of splendid *mimre*, full of teaching of true life. The illustrious exhibition of his learning was proved and examined [191] by the holy Severus patriarch of Antioch who accepted and praised him. Some say that when he was young he was examined by five bishops and while seating in the church in front of the image of the chariot that Ezekiel had seen, they asked him to speak about it. He started saying: 'Oh High one who seat on the chariot' and the rest and he continued to speak about the devastation of Amid in the middle of the discourse. They were perturbed and thought that he had lost his mind but afterwards the story of Amid was confirmed, and became known to everyone that his knowledge was (rooted) in the Holy Spirit. They asked him not to stop and 70 scribes were with him writing his *mimre*, 760 in number, beside a commentary, letters, *madrashe*,²⁸ *soghite*,²⁹ and another *mimro* he proclaimed on Mary and the Golgotha. But that is not all: there is also his commentary of the six *Centuries* of Evagrius which he composed at request of Mor George of the (Arab) Tribes who was his disciple. At this time also Simeon Qoqaya flourished, in the district of Antioch in the village called Gushir. He [193] was author of chants (of) sound and accurate doctrine also through the divine help without any training. After the faithful emperor had died and Justin³⁰ had come to power from Thracia and had ordered the synod of Chalcedon to be accepted, the holy Severus despised life, neglected worldly glory and departed from Antioch to Alexandria, after he had been on the seat for six years. With his departure the fire fell on the city and most of it was burnt down. For six months the fire was flaring up from each side of the city and nobody could understand from where it was blazing.

[195] **After the holy Severus, Paul called the Jew.** This was the vessel of anger. He ruled a year after Severus the Great had gone out and he started to preach the synod of Chalcedon in Antioch. He summoned all the bishops and compelled them to promulgate

²⁸ 'Stanzaic poem in which every stanza follows the same syllabic pattern.' BROCK, 'Poetry', GEDSH: 334.

²⁹ Four lines poem with a simple meter. BROCK, 'Poetry', GEDSH: 335.

³⁰ **سولستيا** in the manuscript

it. Those who gave in could remain on their thrones while those who did not were exiled. John of Amid of Asia that was bishop of the Orthodox in Constantinople after Anthemius (and) other 55 bishops left their throne rather than accepting the synod, including Constantine who deserves to be preached on all the altars along with the patriarchs because of his virtue, Philoxenus of Mabbug that is Aksenaya [197] who was sent to exile in Gangra and who was imprisoned above a kitchen in an hospital and there he suffocated by the smoke, Thomas of Damascus, an ascetic who did not eat bread nor drink wine for 28 years, Theosebius of Ephesus who threw himself in front of the altar three times begging to depart from this world rather than be corrupted in his confession and he did not stand up until God removed him, and Julian of Halicarnassus who afterwards became a Phantasiast and many others. At the completion of one year, Paul the Jew that had been appointed in Antioch, the emperor saw that he had much divided the church because of his tyranny and expelled him. After a while that insolent died.

[199] **After Paul the Jew, Euphrasius called Bar Malala.** When the emperor ordered that all their attendants had to adhere to the synod and those who did not had to be deprived of their pay (and) honour and then, Amantius the *praepositus*,³¹ Theocritus, Andreas the *cubicularius*, did not agree to accept and to adhere and were crowned with the sword. Since Euphrasius, like Paul the Jew, had inflicted evils on the faithful, the (divine) justice could not endure it but made the city tremble in a strong earthquake in which Euphrasius perished in the seventh year of his impiety. 1250 men only were found alive in the whole of Antioch. The earthquake continued day and night for a year and half.

[201] **After Euphrasius, Ephrem of Amid.** He was considered to be a wise man and a Messalian but he was sick of the teaching of the duophysites and deceived many with the cunning and the threats of the emperor who was much obedient to him. He made every sort of bad thing to those whom he encountered; he destroyed many monasteries, uprooted the altars and marched with barbarian armies around the eastern regions up to Persia. He persecuted the faithful for eighteen years until the wrath of God arrived in his city, the Persians went (there) and destroyed it. At this time a Jew from Ĥirta of Na'man ruled over the Himyarites, [203] that is the people of the Christians Arabs in the south, and forced them to deny the Messiah and forbade them to pray. Many of those men and women were crowned with the sword and they became the martyrs of Najran.

³¹ Term to define the grand chamberlain at the by Byzantine court. KAZHDAN, 'Praepositus sacri cubiculi', ODB: 1709.

Justinian the young³² would have taken much pain of the peace of the churches if the sins had not prevent (it). The faithful empress Theodora took even more pain of the peace of the churches and received the persecuted men in charity and faith. She nourished more than 500 Syrians and Greeks who had been expelled from their monasteries and watched over them in the great court of the palace. When the holy Severus patriarch of Antioch went up to the royal city, also Theodosius of Alexandria and Anthimus of Constantinople, who had not adhered to the synod, went. [205] For many years she made them dwell in the palace, maintained them and they lived in each other's company, and with the three persecuted patriarchs. Also the holy Mor Ze'ora the Stylite, whom the synodites had made descend from the column, led ten of his disciples and arrived to Constantinople and rebuked very harshly the emperor who, contained by his gentleness, was not able to lay the hand upon him. But one day (the emperor) said to him: 'If you are the true believers, God would show me a sign through you.' Mor Ze'ora replied: 'It is written that the believers do not need signs and since you have demanded an exterior sign, God will not show (it to you).' After a day his forehead was swollen and the lineaments were covered. The empress called the holy man to come and to pray for him and when he came he said: 'Here is the sign you demanded', and after he had prayed for him he was healed. At that time the archpriest Sergius of Resh'ayna went up to Antioch to accuse Ascholi, who was bishop there, to Ephrem. Sergius was an eloquent man [207] practiced in the reading of Greek and Syrian books and was great expert of the medicine of the body. In his will he was a faithful like the prologue³³ witnesses but in the practice he was very immoderate, luxurious, immodest and avid. Ephrem consented to accomplish everything he asked after a letter had been sent to Rome to Agapetus. Sergius accepted, he went to incite Agapetus and summoned him in Constantinople. All the senators went out to meet (Agapetus) and when he saw the emperor he was magnificently received by him because he spoke the same language.³⁴ He forced the emperor to make a decree against everyone who did not adhere to the synod and if (they were) ministers they should be dismissed, that their witness should not be accepted (in a lawsuit) and that they could not to inherit anything. He also talked with the emperor about the blessed Ze'ora 'Why have you left this Syrian impostor?' and the emperor said: 'What should I do to him who is an austere man? Deal with him by yourself!' Then Agapetus sent (this) message: 'The emperor and the patriarch ordered

³² Actually Justinian I (527-565 A.D.). The epithet 'young' is added by Bar 'Ebroyo or the scribe to distinguish him from Justin I, his predecessor whose name is incorrectly spelled 'ܝܫܬܝܢܝܐ'. Cf. ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872: 203.

³³ Probably the *Treatise on the Spiritual Life* that prefaces his translation of the Corpus of Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite.

³⁴ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'As he was an eloquent man.'

you to come and if you do not you will see!’ Since it was the period of the Fast the blessed man replied: ‘The law establishes for us that we should stay indoors, and thus the door is closed for us but wait until the fifth day of the Sacraments when the doors are open for us and God [209] will do what he knows is right.’ But Agapetus got furious and ordered the magister to take him away in chains, and after he boarded a ship (he set off) to the suburban estate where the holy one was staying. (The magistrate) had (almost) arrived at Sykai³⁵ on the other side, the wind pushed back the boat and those who were approaching, and they returned to the point from where they had left. And when the magister railed against the rowers they started to get closer by force. A lightning hit the boat and tore out a plank from it, from one end to the other (of the ship), and the wretched men and their legates realised that it was God who was doing (such things) by request of the holy one. In those days, the Lord stroke Agapetus in his tongue which swelled, it putrefied and rot and he made his torment last until the fifth day of the Sacraments, as the blessed had predicted, and then he perished. His companions were ashamed. Before dying the miserable Agapetus deposed and anathematized the holy Severus, Theodosius, Anthimus, Ze’ora and because of this the holy Severus went out from Constantinople [211] and travelled from desert to desert in monastic poor dress, wearing the cowl and the sandals so that he might not be recognized by the persecutors. Then the elder Julian of Halicarnassus of Caria after he had refused to assert the two natures was persecuted by the Chalcedonians, fell into another heresy: he asserted that the body of our Lord did not endure death and suffering before the resurrection and that he just pretended to suffer and that he died (only) in appearance, but truly he did not suffer nor died. When the holy Severus much admonished him through examples from the Holy Scriptures and quotations of the Doctors, he was not convinced. (Thus Severus) excommunicated him. He created a party and spread the rumour that Severus had introduced (the word) ‘corruptible’ for the body of our Lord, and that he professed that it was corrupted and rotten in the tomb. With these things he dismayed many people and stirred them up. At that time the patriarch Mor Severus departed from temporal life in Alexandria, in the place called Kasuta on 8 February 850 of the Greeks.

[213] **After Severus had died, Sergius the Excellent.** When the blessed Mor Severus patriarch died the Orthodox elected, in his place, Sergius priest of Tella called Beth Kartysa for the seat of Antioch. He came from the convent of Hala, and John of Anazarbus laid the hands on him. The orthodox bishops in all our cities under the jurisdiction of the Romans were reduced (in number) because some of them had died like Thomas of Dara, John of Tella, Antony of Aleppo, [215] Sergius of Shura, Peter of

³⁵ Suburban district on the north side of the Bosphorus. MANGO, ‘Galata’, ODB: 815-816.

Resh'ayna, Thomas of Germanicia, Thomas of Damascus and Severus the Great who had just passed away, while some of them had submitted to the heresy of the duophysite, like Philoxenus the young, son of the sister of Philoxenus of Mabbug, who when his uncle died in Gangra, for a reason that I am not going to write adhered to the synod and lived in Cyprus. Only few who had not faltered remained in Constantinople. They mitigated the emperor and urged the empress (to support) the believers, such as Constantine of Laodicea, John the Egyptian, Peter, Theodosius, Anthimus, and a few other bishops (who) were confined and guarded in a citadel. Enflamed by the zeal of justice, they laid the hand upon Jacob, a simple man who was there in Constantinople, priest of the convent of Psilta from the village of Gamua on the Mount Izla. They then appointed (him) ecumenical metropolitan.³⁶ [217] He was present everywhere, visiting and exhorting (his flock). He was an austere and frugal man, laborious, strong, fast walker and traveller like Asahel. He began to travel in the eastern regions laying the hand on the Orthodox, dressing like a mendicant especially on the roads for fear of the persecution. It is said that he performed marvels and miracles in the manner of the apostles. It is said that when (the faithful) were persecuted and they travelled through the desert, wearied and thirsty, he made flow water; he resuscitated a dead man and performed many miracles. This story is known clearly from his history. At that time the east was deprived of orthodox high priests except for Qaris bishop of Sinjar who had not appointed any priest until when this Jacob started ruling and then they increased. Because of this they are called Jacobites. Also all the tribes of the Christian Arabs in the desert were very furious at the synod and [219] did not make communion with the Chalcedonians. When Haret Bar Gabala their king was present in Constantinople met there Theodore the monk, an admirable man, and brought him to Pope Theodosius and under the protection of the empress Theodora he appointed him for Edessa, whilst for the Chalcedonians in Edessa there was the bishop Amazon who built and decorated the great church there. At the time of Justinian II³⁷ many heresies sprang up: that of the Borborites who are called *Malionaye* in Syriac. They are a sect of Manicheans. They were expelled from Persia, (then) they went to Armenia and from there to Syria. Finally they remained in the convents that they had seized. They and their wives wear black (clothes) like the monk and celebrate a feast every year on an unknown day. During the night they gather [221] all together, men and women, they quench the lamps, and each one takes a woman randomly even if she is his mother or his sister, and the baby who is born first from this impure intercourse is pierced with needles and with the blood that flows from him on the flour (with which) they make the offer. Rumour has it that they

³⁶ Metropolitan not assigned to a specific seat. See PAYNE SMITH 1879-1901: 4379.

³⁷ Actually Justinian I. See above.

mix in it also the blood of an adult and of a white hen, and that they probably learned this from the magic rites of the sorcery. The Persians call their fest *Mashush*. I found this story and also our ecclesiastical writers mention it in the book of Abu Rahian, the wise Persian of Bairuna. At that time Stephen Bar Sudaili flourished in Edessa in the ascetic life. He interpreted the Scriptures by himself, he asserted the end of the suffering and (asserted) that the sinners, even the evils, (can be) pardoned, and he based his teaching on (the sentence) 'God becomes all things to all men'³⁸ like Paul said. There appeared also a hermit man called John from Apamea. He went to [223] Alexandria, he was instructed in the pagan knowledge and started teaching like them that according to the first intention of God, glory to his grace, one simple creation was created while from the intention of another (other worlds are created) up to this tenth world of existence and destruction. Also the heresy of the Tritheistes sprang out through John Ascotzanges that is translated 'Flask-shoe.'³⁹ He was a disciple of Samuel Peter from Resh'ayna of Mesopotamia, an excellent Syrian man who by the age of 20 years had (already) learned all the wisdom of the Greeks in Constantinople and when he died this John succeeded him. (Once) he went in front of the emperor, who asked him about his confession and he said 'I confess the Messiah from one nature of the incarnated word. As to the Trinity, I count the natures and the substances according to the number of the hypostases.' The emperor got furious and expelled him. John of Asia says 'We [225] were even more insulted because of him because he seemed to be one of us and not one of the duophysites.' The empress Theodora had a grandson from her daughter called Athanasius who was raised by Amantius, an Edessene monk and by Sergius his priest, who later became patriarch of the Orthodox and who did not communicate with the Chalcedonians. He also was corrupted with this heresy when he was an ordinary monk and with him also Conon of Tarsis and Eugenius of Seleucia of Isauria. Also John the grammarian, Philoponus of Alexandria who became known for the knowledge of the ecclesiastical and pagan disciplines inclined to this doctrine and from then our little people was separated in two parts. Many from us adhered to the Chalcedonians saying that it was better to adhere to those who assert two natures than to those (who asserts) four. When John Ascotzanges was reproved by (the patriarch) Theodosius the Great but did not repent he was excommunicated from the church. Not a long time later he died. Then the monk Athanasius gathered the doctrine that Ascotzanges had established and sent it [227] to Alexandria to John Grammaticus called Philoponus. Athanasius made a book on this confession and sent it to Constantinople. When the Alexandrians knew it they anathematized him and his book. When the Tritheistes saw that everyone

³⁸ 1 Cor. 9:19.

³⁹ See PAYNE SMITH 1879-1901: 2046.

abhorred them they asked the emperor to judge on the matter about which they were accused. The emperor committed their judgement to the patriarch of the Chalcedonians and commanded him not to employ anything of the teaching of the duophysite fathers but only (the teaching of) of Severus, Theodosius and Anthimus. Then the patriarch summoned the *diakrinomenoi* that is those of us who profess one nature in the Messiah our Lord. Both the parties were standing one in front of the other. The Tritheistes (were) led by Conon, Eugenius and the orthodox (were) led by John of Asia and Paul that became patriarch after Sergius. They debated for four days in front of the patriarch of the Chalcedonians. In the fourth day the Tritheistes brought a document in which they gathered the testimonies from the words of Severus the Great where he also asserts three natures and three divinities.’ In truth [229] that holy man never said such a thing but (he said) that each one of the hypostases of the Holy Trinity, when it is perceived separately by the mind, God that is both the nature and the substance should be professed.’ Paul brought a document with several arguments of the Fathers and while reading it they arrived to the word that Paul had written: ‘Because there is not a king in Israel, do you go to Beelzebub, the God of Ekron?’⁴⁰ The Chalcedonian patriarch presuming that the word was addressed to him stopped the reading and prevented them to assemble again, and thus this heresy was extinguished. At that time a certain Orthodox priest called Julian, who had been at the service of Theodosius, the pope of Alexandria in Constantinople, had great zeal to convert to the faith the black people of Nubia at the upper end of the Thebaid because they were pagans and they had much damaged the Roman regions. When [231] he informed the faithful empress Theodora she rejoiced very much and innocently informed the emperor, trying to convince him to send Julian but the emperor asked to send a Chalcedonian bishop and the bishops prepared envoys with honourable gifts to the king of the Nubians. Then the empress, having realized (what had happened) hastened to send Julian and wrote a letter to the governor of the Thebaïs ‘I and the emperor have thought to send (an envoy) to the people of the Nubians, so here he is: I have sent the priest Julian from my region. The emperor has sent others with a load (of gifts). Make sure that this man of mine enters first and opens the way for them.’ When the governor read the letter of the empress, he accepted her order and hindered the envoys of the emperor until Julian arrived. (Julian) showed the letter of the empress, baptized the king and the nobles and informed (them) about the schism that the Chalcedonians had made and (that) they had oppressed holy men and established a new faith out of the one of Nicaea. When the envoys of the emperor arrived with the letters and the gifts, and said to the Nubians not to be united with those who had been expelled and excommunicated, the king of Nubia and his

⁴⁰ 2 Kgs 1:16.

nobles replied: 'We accept the honour of the emperor and we send in return twice as many honours (we have received) but we do not adhere to the persecutors and the oppressors. Already we have received the baptism from this excellent man [233] and we do not accept another.' Thus the entire people of the Nubians was instructed in the orthodox faith and subjected to the Alexandrian seats. Julian remained there for two years. It is reported that from the third hour up to the tenth he was standing up and baptizing, with the upper part of the body out of the water, naked and girded in a towel, in the caverns. Sergius the patriarch died after fulfilling the pastoral office for a short period. In the manuscript we found that it was for three years.

After Sergius, Paul of Beth Ukome. He came from Alexandria and was educated in the convent of Gubba Barraya and dwelt with Pope Theodosius. He received the imposition of the hand from Jacob and Eugenius for the seat of Antioch, after that Sergius of Tella had died. In the manuscript I have found that Mor Thomas metropolitan of Edessa, laid his hand on him. When Paul had fulfilled his office for some time he yearned for the seat [235] of Alexandria. The Alexandrians were asking for Anastasius the monk, son of the daughter of Theodora⁴¹ and Paul wrote calumnies to the Alexandrians about Athanasius who, when he heard of this, sent to investigate on the conduct of Paul. Then the Alexandrians, who hated Paul, wrote an act full of the most hateful insults against him with the support of the evidence because he had led their city and they knew him very well from other things. Athanasius showed them to the emperor. Paul, seeing that he had been dishonoured descended to Harat Bar Gabala, the king of the Christian Arabs who welcomed him and ordered his name to be preached in the *diakrinomenoi* churches. Since the Alexandrians were offended not only with Paul but also with the holy Mor Jacob who ordained him without the consent of all the Orthodox provinces. Also the followers of Conon and Eugenius were travelling in the regions of Syria, preaching the terms of 'natures' and 'substances'. Then the holy Jacob gathered the Syrian bishops who, raising their hands, anathematized Conon and Eugenius. The partisans of Conon and Eugenius anathematized Jacob and his followers (and) wrote [237] to the East but they did not accept and for this reason they asked to the emperor to investigate why they had been anathematized by Jacob. The emperor again committed the judgement to John the patriarch of the Chalcedonians and when they had entered in front of him to debate, they insulted each other with calumnies and insults. The party of Paul and Jacob was calling 'Thriteist' the party of Conon and Eugenius and those ones were calling the other 'Sabellians' and John was not able to conciliate them. Thus, both the sides went out being condemned, and they were silenced also by the emperor. When they asked for reconciliation he told them: 'How can I conciliate you with others since even you are

⁴¹ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'sister's son.'

divided (among yourselves)?' Trying to divide them, the emperor Justinian persuaded them with threats and promises to adhere to Chalcedon. Even John of Asia and this Paul of Antioch (adhered) but at the end John repented: 'I adhered to the synod because of your promise that if I had once adhered, you would have suppressed (the persecution) and I did not for faith.' For this reason the emperor got angry and expelled him. Paul fled to Syria and delivered a libellus of penitence. After three years he was received from the elder Jacob at request of Mundar Bar Gabala. [239] The Alexandrians having heard that Paul was accepted wanted to separate and for this reason Jacob and the Syrians were compelled to excommunicate him. The party of Paul appointed bishops and founded monasteries and convents, and the party of Jacob did likewise. They rejected each other with insults and divided the people even though there was no difference at all in the faith. While these things were managed so brutally Paul sent a message to Jacob: 'What is all this disorder in the Church? Let us meet each other and let these things be examined between us through the canons. If I am found guilty I will commit to fulfil sentence of the judgement for three times, and if you are found guilty, I will bear willingly the punishment at your place.' Since he was an innocent and sincere man and because of the deep old age he had become more ingenuous so that those who surrounded him could make change his mind, [241] he did not agree to meet him nor to be conciliate with him but he was induced by his disciples to go to the Alexandrians and they instigated him to renew again the excommunication of Paul. He sent three bishops to Syria, they travelled and proclaimed everywhere that Paul had been deposed. When Paul saw that he had been expelled from Syria and Egypt he went up to Constantinople and also Sergius the *synkellos* of Jacob and the bishop Julian went there. For a whole year they insulted and challenged each other to the point that we became shameful (at the eyes) of our haters the Chalcedonians. The great monasteries of East and West were divided to the point that murders were committed between them and many monks were chained up and taken to the tribunal, and judged like murderers; elder men with long beards and loose garments were taken away in chains. Who does not weep for these atrocities [243] and does not howl like jackals for the salt that not only loses flavour but also gets putrid, rotten and trampled on?⁴² After these events, the elder Jacob went to Syria and gathered all the archimandrites in the convent of Mor Ananias and chose three eminent men to appoint a patriarch. Then some of the bishops, since Paul was still living and he was not found guilty on the base of the canons, did not agree to appoint another at his place. Thus the synod was voided and dismissed. The zeal

⁴² Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'Who will not weep at such lamentable things, and howl like a wild dog in the woods? Who is so hard-hearted that he will not only be astonished, but also sickened and struck dumb?'

again instigated the elder Jacob to enter in Alexandria and, taking (with him) some bishops and his *synkellos*, he arrived at the great convent of Romanos called Cassian, on the Egyptian border. John bishop of the monastery of Qartmin, excellent man who conciliated the Edessenes who were divided on the issue of the denomination of the substances died there. After him, Sergius the *synkellos* of Jacob died and after three days Jacob died on the 30th [245] of July, year 889 of the Greeks. He fulfilled the high priesthood for 33 years and appointed high-priests, priests, deacons up to 100.000 according to (what) is found in the documents. After him also his deacon died. In the (span) of ten days the death came to them. Then even more scandal was added because those of the party of Paul were saying that the Lord had taken him because he had decided to ordain a patriarch at the place of Paul. The *synkelloi* of Jacob said: 'The Lord took him because he wanted to make return Paul on the throne, so that he could not have part in (this) guilt and lose his soul of godly man.' Damian, the patriarch of Alexandria wrote to the bishop(s) of Syria a letter of consolation and after many things he wrote as follows: 'As for Paul of Beth Ukome, I do not need to write to you to turn your face from him. According to your and our synod he much attacked the churches of the believers and you know it well. [247] Let the peace now be preserved between us and the spirit of that one who is taking delight of the house of the saints, who never ceased to cry out with groans 'Avenge me on Paul, my Lord!.' Afterwards Damian went in person to Syria to see his brother who was governor of the province of Edessa and planned to elect a patriarch for Antioch while Paul was still living as it had happened with him and Peter while Theodore was still alive, and some of the bishops agreed with him. They called one (bishop), (then) a second, (then) a third but they did not want to become (patriarch) uncanonically. At the end they found a certain feeble minded man called Severus. Damian and two bishops led him to the Church of Cassian in Antioch and gave to its *prosmonarios*⁴³ 18 darics so that he would open the church for them during the night and they would ordain him there. When this trick became manifest to the Chalcedonian patriarch, he sent some men against them. When [they arrived to the house where] they were dwelling they captured three monks of them. Damian, the bishops and the one elected descended to the basement and, struck with terror, they descended to the drain of the building, namely the sewer and went out through an opening under the latrine. They were ashamed more for being soiled with excrement than for [249] (their) stratagem. Then Damian went up to Constantinople and Mandur Bar Hirat, who was there (too), rebuked him and persuaded him that they should cease the division and reconcile with Paul. Damian swore to Mandur that he would have

⁴³ 'The 'concierge' of a church or monastery, so called because he remained in the church permanently. MAGDALINO, 'Prosmonarios', ODB: 1739.

ceased the scandal about Paul with the Alexandrians. Damian left and the clerics who were with him returned to Alexandria to lie like their fathers and started to oppress Paul like before. When Mandur learned this, he wrote to fine⁴⁴ them. These, because of the shame, they could accept his document nor make a copy for him. Similarly, in Constantinople there were some agitators full of venom of the iniquity, who out of jealousy did not (want) to enjoy peace. They gathered a factious assembly and troubled all of Syria and Egypt.

After Paul, Peter Callinicus. Then the bishops of Syria gathered with the monks in the convent of Mor Ananias in the desert, between Balas and Callinicus [251] and proclaimed a certain young man named Peter, son of Paul, from Callinicus as patriarch for the seat of Antioch, and Joseph the metropolitan of Amid laid the hand on him. Jacob had (already) asked twice to appoint him for Antioch but he did not consent because he used to say: 'I do not accept to stay above a man who has been condemned unlawfully' but he was (then) persuaded by Damian. When Paul saw that a storm had started because of him, he went to hide himself and some supposed that he was staying in the mountains of Isauria but eventually he was discovered dwelling in a mountain of Constantinople for a period of four years. After he had fallen sick he entered in Constantinople and lurking there he died and was buried during the night in a nunnery. Thus these two men of portent, Jacob and Paul, departed confusedly. Since Peter besides being an eloquent man and versed in both languages,⁴⁵ he was also acknowledged for his customs, he had a pang of conscience for he had ruled while Paul was (still) alive. (Thus) he went to Alexandria, resigned from his seat and asked them that Paul should be accepted but these not only did not obey but drove him out through vexations. Immediately the message of the death of Paul arrived and some thought that [253] Peter was (already) aware of Paul's death and had craftily entered to Alexandria and pretended to resign. At the time in which Peter of Callinicus went to Alexandria, the abbot John Barbur and Probus, eloquent men, went with him. There was a man at that time in Alexandria, a sophist whose name was Stephen, who was teaching and asserting that if one nature is to be confessed in our Lord, [then] it is not appropriate to say that the difference of the natural identification is preserved. And if the identification of the natural difference is preserved, two natures and not one exist in the Messiah, our Lord. Probus sat down and composed a text of refutation against the thought of this Stephen. Since John and Probus were expecting to become bishops but the Patriarch Peter did not want it, they departed from him and they did not leave Alexandria when he left, but they remained there and conversed with the sophist and they fell in his thought.

⁴⁴ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'reconcile.'

⁴⁵ i.e. Greek and Syriac.

Whereas the abbot was limping on his two legs, Probus was openly struggling to build up the things that he himself had overthrown and when he was expelled by Damian of Alexandria, and he came to the East [255] and wanted to spread the doctrine of that sophist, he was chased away from the church and with him also John Barbur who was defending him. They both went over to the Synodites.⁴⁶ Probus went to Constantinople and was made bishop of Chalcedon. After a while he fell sick and felt that he was about to die. He repented and entreated his disciples to go out onto the streets and go to the nearby cities and bring, if they could, an orthodox bishop or priest who would absolve him. As they had sought but they could not find anyone, he urged them to bring to him even a simple monk or a layman. One of the disciples said to him: 'How [can] a monk absolve a bishop?' He answered: 'Yes, an orthodox monk [can] absolve a heretic bishop'; [257] his pupils said: 'So then we are heretics' He answered: 'Indeed it is so' and died in his repentance. The abbot John Barbur, after he had been chased away from his convent, went to live in the convent of Bet Eustathius in Artah. After the deposition of John and Probus, a dispute was started between Damian of Alexandria and Peter of Antioch when some Tritheistes wrote some chapters and sent [them] to Damian asking for a response. He wrote them an explanation and sent a copy to Peter of Antioch so that he would examine it and correct what had to [be corrected]. When Peter read it, he found there that the said that the characteristic properties of the persons of the Holy Trinity are the persons themselves. Peter was not willing to reprove Damian at the beginning, but he wrote to him in veiled terms: 'I have found certain chapters in your book which looked dubious to me, and I want you to enlighten us about them.' But Damian, when he received the answer, got furious and said that indeed his doctrine was not accepted out of envy, and he harboured hatred (against him). Peter wanted to make a communal gathering but Damian refused. Then Peter sat and wrote three treatises against Damian. Mor Peter the Patriarch died in the year [259] 902 of the Greeks in the monastery of Gubba Barraya and Damian also died and the controversy remained as it was.

After Peter Callinicus, Julian his *synkellos*. When Mor Peter had died, the bishops gathered and ordained his disciple Julian in his place, an eloquent and virtuous man from the monastery of Mor Aptonia called Qenneshre. At that time the bishop of the Orthodox in Edessa was Sergius surnamed the Armenian. He, with his brother John, took position against the writings of Mor Peter saying 'They should not be read.' The patriarch Julian rebuked them and explained the words about which they had been scandalized, but they were hardly restrained from vain zeal. Julian died after fulfilling the patriarchate for three years and five months.

⁴⁶ i.e. The Chalcedonians.

[261] **After Julian, Athanasius called Gamala.** When Julian the patriarch had died, the bishops gathered in one of the western convents and since they laboured to appoint a patriarch, they fasted and prayed for three days and on the third night appeared to them in a vision: 'At the dawn when you open the gate of the convent ordain the monk you meet first.' When they went out they saw Athanasius from Samosata, riding the camels and passing through Gabula to bring salt to the convent of Qenneshre. When they had spoken with him, they experienced his knowledge and learned that he came from the great monastery. They led him, suffering force and weeping, and ordained him patriarch in the year 906 of the Greeks, but in the manuscript I have found 908, and Severus of Jerusalem laid the hand on him in the monastery of Qenneshre. Afterwards, he asked from the brothers the oath that if he had accepted they would have allowed [263] him to perform the service of the camel trade for that year. The blessed departed from them according to the promise and went to carry the salt and to bring (it) to the monastery but he did not reveal anything even to his brother Severus who was monk in the same monastery. When the time of the term had arrived and the bishops went to take him they found him standing at a mud clod picking up and holding out to the brothers who were with him to pitch the building of the camels on which he had worked for one year. When the monks and his brother realized and learned what had happened they started to blame him because he had kept the affair from them. Before being ordained, during the night he went out to the place where the monks used to go out for their (physical) needs and while nobody was seeing he drew the excrements, carried (them) in a basket and threw (them) in the Euphrates. In this way, he was initiated and subdued the flesh to the spirit. Therefore, my brothers, whoever wants to humiliate the passion of pride should be humbled in this way. This blessed man ordained Severus his brother bishop of Samosata and both men proved to be illustrious in the Church. At this time, after Maurice the emperor of the Greeks had been killed and the Persians had taken control of Mesopotamia and Syria, Khosrow sent to Edessa a Nestorian bishop named Ahishma. Since he was not accepted by the faithful [265] he sent John our bishop and the faithful accepted him cheerfully. Khosrow ordered that all the Chalcedonian bishops should be expelled from the whole of Syria and he returned to us all the churches and convents that had been seized to us in the days of Maurice through Domitianus the Chalcedonian bishop of Melitene who stirred up the persecutions against the Syrians. Khosrow ordered also that three other eastern orthodox bishops should have ruled over the dioceses: Isaiah who obtained Edessa because Jonah had returned to his region, Samuel to Amid and another to Tella of Mauzalath. But the inhabitants of the villages outside the regions did not accept the bishops that had been sent by Khosrow because they had been ordained by the eastern maphrian and this diocese belonged to the patriarch and not to the maphrian. When the patriarch Athanasius had heard these things he ordered to Cyriacus of Amid, who had been persecuted by the Chalcedonians, to visit the faithful of Amid and the entire

Mesopotamia. The eastern bishops got furious against Cyriacus, strove with him and threatened him through Khosrow. However, [267] the bishoprics were ruled by our bishops and the memory of Chalcedon was erased from the Euphrates to the East. The Lord returned their injustice on their heads and they have been rewarded by the Persians for what they have done us through the Romans. At this time flourished Thomas of Ḥarqel from the convent of Tar'el. He was trained during his youth in the Greek language and was bishop of Mabbug. When he was persecuted by Domitianus he went to Egypt and dwelled in Anton of Alexandria in the convent of Mor Antoninus, and taking great care of the literal correspondence corrected the Gospel and the rest of the New Testament and the correction was surpassing in style and accuracy the first translation that Philoxenus of Mabbug had carefully composed. [269] At that time the patriarch Athanasius went to Alexandria, while Anastasius was patriarch of the orthodox (there) and he (Athanasius) made union with the Alexandrians after the schism that occurred because of the controversy between Peter and Damian. This union between our church in Syria and that of Egypt took place in the year 927 of the Greeks through these two holy men, the general Niketas and the rest of the believers. When Khosrow the king of Persians was killed by his son, and Heraclius took again possession of Syria he went to Edessa and priests and monks went out to meet him; he praised the monks and he said to his counsellors⁴⁷: [271] 'It is not right for this people to be separated from us.' When the day of the feast had arrived he descended to our church and offered great honours to the entire people, maybe (with the intent) of persuading them to adhere to the synod of Chalcedon and when the divine sacrifice was celebrated the emperor came close to communicate according to the custom of the Christian emperors. Isaiah metropolitan of Edessa out of zealous fervour refused the Eucharist to the emperor and said 'If you will not anathematize the Council of Chalcedon in a document I will not allow you to touch the Eucharist.' Heraclius was furious and expelled the bishop Isaiah from the Great Church and gave it to the Chalcedonians. Also the nobles went out of the church with the bishop. These gathered the first rank of the families of Beth Sarphia, Beth Tel Mahroyo, Beth Qosma Bar Arabi and many others which owned the treasure of the church. When the emperor went to Mabbug the patriarch Mor Athanasius went to him with 12 bishops and (the emperor) asked them a libellus [273] of profession (of faith) and they gave it to him. When he had read it, he praised them but he did not desist from urging them to accept the synod of Chalcedon. Since they did not consent, Heraclius got furious and wrote to the entire (region under) his jurisdiction that the nose and ears of whoever did not agree would be cut off and his house pillaged. Many converted and the monks of the Beth Maron, Mabbug and Emesa

⁴⁷ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'he said to the faithful of his religion.'

showed their ferocity and seized most of the churches and convents. When our people complained with Heraclius he used not to reply. For this reason, the divine vengeance obtained for us the salvations from the hands of the Romans through the Ishmaelites even though our churches were not returned because when the Arabs started to rule, everything that was found in its hands remained to each confession. But not a little we have profited from being freed from the cruelty of the Romans and their bitter hate against us. At the time of this Athanasius the union of the Easterners with the seat of Antioch took place as we are going to show with the help of God. Mor Athanasius died after fulfilling for 36 years and he was placed in the convent of the Garamians but in the manuscript we have found that he fulfilled the office for 44 years [275] and died in the year 942.

After Athanasius, John his disciple. He was the one who was called 'Of the Sedre' from the convent of Eusebona and was ordained in the year 942 of the Greeks. Abraham metropolitan of Nisibis laid the hand upon him. Amr ibn Sa'id emir of the Arabs called him and asked him to translate the Gospel into Saracen language, that is Arabic, only without inserting in it the name of the Messiah, who is God, or the baptism or the Cross as if the Messiah had (not) been crucified. That blessed said to him: 'God forbids that I subtract (even) one dot or one character from the Gospel even though all the arrows and lances that are in your camp will pierce me!' When he saw his courage, he said to him 'Go and write whatever you want.' At that time flourished in the dialectic, mathematic and ecclesiastical doctrine Severus Sebokht bishop of Qenneshre and also Matthew of Aleppo. [277] Martin the Chalcedonian bishop of Rome gathered 109 bishops and anathematised the emperor Heraclius, Sergius, Pyrrhus and Paul and everyone who was not confessing two wills, two actions, two deaths for the Messiah. This heresy was disseminated in Rome from a certain Maximus from the village of Haspin in the province of Tiberias. Maximus went to Constantinople and when Constans the son of Heraclius heard his teaching got furious against him and shut him up in a nunnery to put him on shame. However, he deceived the nuns so that they did not partake the Eucharist that Axes their superior was administering. These women trampled upon the Eucharist with their sandals and when it was discovered, the emperor ordered that they to be dragged to the city and burned and that Maximus had his tongue cut off. However, he did not desist and he started again to write letters. The emperor ordered [279] his right hand to be cut off but again he started writing with his left hand. Then also his left hand was cut off and he was just sent into exile after he had never been esteemed worthy of an ecclesiastical rank. He used to say: 'Since the body desires what is opposed to the soul and the soul desires what is opposed to the body, one is the will of the soul and another (is the will) of the body, one (desires) what belongs to God, the other what belongs to the man. The Messiah is the union of both (of them).' At the beginning the Chalcedonians shunned this heresy. Now they are all held in it. The Nestorians even though they profess two minds and two natures, are greatly ashamed of professing two

wills and neither in their writings (the notion of two wills) can be found. The patriarch Mor John after fulfilling the office for 18 years died in the year 960 of December and was placed in the sanctuary of Mor Zaura.

After John of the Sedre, Theodore. He came from the desert of Skete and was called from the convent of Qenneshre and Abraham of Emesa laid [281] the hand on him in the Church of the Antiochenes and he was ordained in the same year when Mor John died. At that time a great tumult occurred between the Chalcedonians over the expression 'Two wills.' They were gathering great assemblies to refute each other. While a bit earlier they were mocking us because of the Thriteists who separated from us and were immediately extinct, they slide down from a pit to another. They were all enslaved to a heresy that last until nowadays but even though the heresy concerned the number of the natures, they professed one substance, one willing, one action. Their impiety was not so evil. Now, as they have got increasingly used to the corruption they had become more corrupted. Theodore our patriarch guided the church for 18 years. He died in the year 978.

After Theodore, Severus Bar Mashqo. He came from the convent of Pagimta that is (the convent of) Saphylo, and [283] John Bar 'Ebrayta metropolitan of Tarsus laid the hand on him. At that time he was metropolitan of Amid and was ordained in the year 979. He was a harsh man, behaving very severely on ecclesiastical matters; he was supported by the king of the Arabs but he was opposed by the bishops, by Sergius of Zuqnin and Ananias of the monastery of Qartmin and others who wanted to ordain bishops for Mesopotamia without the patriarch. The patriarch did not consent saying: 'That ancient custom ceased from the time of the council of Chalcedon. As the patriarch of Alexandria ordains bishops for the entire Libya, that of Antioch also ordains for his regions. Like all the patriarchs from that time until today in the seat of Antioch ordain the bishops for all the cities, too it shall now be in this way.' The bishops because they were renowned and venerable men in the church, trusted that their argument might be helped by the ancient law that is still valid at our time: the metropolitan of each province appoint the bishops for the seat [285] of his territory. When the patriarch and these bishops were gathered to Beth Tellat, Sergius and his fellows learned that the patriarch was making preparation to expel them. As soon as they entered, they attempted to anathematize the patriarch. Afterward the patriarch anathematized them and wrote a letter to their regions to forbid communicating with them. They abolished the proclamation of the patriarch and this tumult lasted four years until the patriarch died. The patriarch when he was about to die wrote a letter to John the maphrian of the East: 'Now that I am seized with the giddiness of the death and I know that after my death they will spread false rumours about me, saying that I have forgiven and absolved them and that they will deceive the simple minded on their side calling me blessed and holy, thus I say and write that while I am still alive they have not come to me and they have not asked pardon. The anathema be (still) on them until they repent and show openly the

unlawful anathema they made on me.’ After Mor Severus had died the bishops wrote to John of the monastery [287] of Mor Matay: ‘We have rendered void and we render void (now) our anathema of the holy Mor Severus patriarch who has just departed to our Lord. We accepted and we accept (now) that his name will be proclaimed in the churches and in the convents with the Holy Fathers who preceded him and we accept the ordinations by him and by the holy fathers, brothers who had adhered to him. We do so because for no other reason than that the schism and the disputes might cease and peace govern the churches everywhere.’ Then Mor John of the East wrote encyclical letters to announce the peace everywhere. This Mor Severus fulfilled the office for 12 years and died in the year 991.

After Severus, Athanasius of Balad. In the year that Mor Severus Bar Mushqe died, a synod was convened in Resh’ayna and the separated sides were conciliated. Mor Athanasius called of Balad was ordained. He was an interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, student of Severus Sebokht, during his youth he was trained at the monastery of Qenneshre and was practiced in the Greek language and afterwards [289] he spent his days in the monastery of Beth Malka. He was ordained in the year 995 of the Greeks in the monastery of Sophocles of Resh’ayna. Ananias bishop of Marde and Kfarthutha laid the hand on him. At that time flourished Jacob who was called ‘of Edessa’, because afterwards he was ordained bishop for Edessa by this patriarch Athanasius. The holy Jacob came from Ain Deba a village in the region of Guma in the district of Antioch and in the monastery of Mor Aptonia that is of Qenneshre, he learned accurately the Greek language and the reading of the Scriptures. From there he went to Alexandria, gathered (further) knowledge and returned to Syria. He arrived at Edessa and was proclaimed and ordained for it. After he had stayed four years on his seat, he was harassed unlawfully by some clerics and since his zeal did not allow him to bear it, he left the office. He disputed with the patriarch Mor Julian and the bishops on the observation of the ecclesiastical canons and nobody listened to him at all, but they would all exhort him to accommodate himself to the circumstances of the time and because of this he brought the book of the ecclesiastical canons and set it on fire in front of the door of the patriarch’s convent, crying out and saying: ‘I am setting on fire the canons which are trampled upon and are not observed by you as they are superfluous and useless’ and led a quiet life in the convent of Mor Jacob of Kaysum. For Edessa was ordained Saba Habib, a quiet, simple and gentle man while the monks of Eusebona hosted the holy Jacob among them and for 11 years he taught the hymn and the reading of the Scriptures in Greek and restored there the Greek language that had vanished away but were attacked there by the brothers who hated the Greeks, so he left them and passed to the great convent of Tel ‘Ade and dwelt there for 9 years [293] and there he emended the Old Testament. After Habib had died the Edessenes burned with zeal, went to the patriarch and demanded him to force Jacob to return. He sat on his seat for four months and then set off to the West to bring his books and his disciples and return to his church. But

when he arrived at the convent and had loaded his writings and had sent them before him, his life came to end and died in the year 1019 of the Greeks on 5th of June. The patriarch Mor Athanasius died after he had ruled for three years. At the moment of his departure, he ordered to the metropolitan Sergius of Zuqnin who used to call himself archbishop to ordain George bishop of the Arab peoples and they ordained him in November, two months after the death of the patriarch.

After Athanasius of Balad, Julian who was called the Roman. His father had been a soldier with David the Armenian who was slain in the days of Heraclius and took a Syrian wife and this Julian was born. He was brought up by his father in the military profession and then he brought him to the convent [295] of Qenneshre. He was trained in the Attic language and was called the Roman because of his father. Since he loved the honourable custom of monastic life he surpassed many in all the virtuous habits and his bodily aspect overcome everybody in beauty so that he was said to be worthy of the rank of royalty. He was proclaimed and ordained patriarch in the year 999 in Amid and Athanasius of Sarug laid the hand on him. A hindrance arose to him and a tumult occurred at his days in the church through Denḥa maphrian of Tagrit and others from his province, John of Circesium of Karma, and Joseph of the Taghlibite Arabs⁴⁸ because of the dioceses. When the patriarch prevailed, he rejected Denḥa and appointed at his place Bacchus. This blessed Julian used to investigate and choose, and unless they were trained in the ecclesiastical and philosophical sciences and adorned with the spiritual qualities he did not grant the rank of priesthood. After 21 years that he led the Church of God, he died in the year 1019 of the Greeks and in the same year died Abbas Mor Jacob od Edessa.

[297] **After Julian, Elias.** He came from the convent of Gubba Barraya and he was bishop of the city of Apamea. After fulfilling the episcopate for 18 years he was proclaimed and promoted to the high seat of the patriarchate of Antioch in the year 1020. He went to Walid king of the Arabs who received him gladly. He conferred to him a great honour and this Elias entered in Antioch with monks and clerics in a solemn procession and ordained there the New Church, that had been built on his care. This happened 203 years after the patriarch Mor Severus went out from it and none of our orthodox patriarchs had entered there anymore but this Mor Elias entered there during the time of the Arab kingdom. After one year that is the year 1033 he ordained a new church in the district of Antioch [299] in the village of Sarmada of Awluna with much adversity of

⁴⁸ Taghlib b. Wā'il, an important nomadic tribe of ancient Northern Arabia. Before Islam the Taghlib were within the sphere of influence of the Sassanids and their clientkings, the Lakhmids. LECKER., 'Taghlib b. Wā'il', EIS.

the Chalcedonian inhabitants. After fulfilling the patriarchate for 14 years he died at the age of 82 years old and was buried in his convent.

After Mor Elias, Athanasius. He was the archimandrite of the convent of Gubba Barraya. He was ordained in the year 1035 in April in the monastery and Theodosius of Resh'ayna laid the hand on him but in the manuscript we have found that he came from the convent of Herbaz, that he was ordained in Edessa and the bishop Gabriel laid the hands on him. He made the union with the Armenians while a certain John was their Catholicos. The Julianists of the region of Maypherqaṭ, who are called Gregorians were troubling the Armenians saying: 'The Jacobites profess that the body of the Messiah is corrupted.' [301] Since the Armenians do not know any but one kind of corruption, the one which occurs to the body after the separation of the soul, they were scandalized. Then the patriarch Mor Athanasius chose 6 bishops teachers and sent them to the Catholicos John and also to a multitude of Armenian bishops assembled there. After these bishops had much laboured in the demonstrations from the Teachers, they were not yet persuaded but they were asking witnesses from the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament where the destruction of the body of the Lord was mentioned. Then our bishops brought the testimonies that Paul had pronounced in the Acts about the Messiah: 'God raised from the house of the dead so that he could not see corruption again.' When they brought the book of the Apostles in Armenian language they found the word and realized exactly that (the word) 'again' meant that it had already happened once. The Catholicos rejoiced much, because he was greatly concerned about the union. Even though the Armenians did not agree to write it and made pretexts in childish opinions lacking any learning, both sides dealt prudently with the deed and unite with each other. The Syrian bishops fulfilled the offering and [303] the Armenians communicated with them. Then the Armenians offered an oblation, the Syrians communicated and they became one single faith. The synod produced a tome and the one in Syriac was placed among the Armenians and the one in Armenian among the Syrians. These things happened in the year 1037 of the Greeks that is the year 135 of the Armenians. It is right to say that the word 'destruction' (is used) also for 'death' which is the division of the soul from the body affirmed in the Holy Scriptures like: 'Do not be afraid to corrupt the Messiah Lord' and in this way we say that he is corruptible that is the death of the body of the Messiah before the resurrection and not in the way of the sundering of the limbs and of the decay as the Armenians think of us. God forbid because of (the sentence): 'I have not given to your sanctity to see corruption' and 'His bone was not broken.' The disfigurement of a doctrine like this is reproved.

In the first year that Mor Athanasius was ordained, Abba Mor George bishop of the Arab people died and in the year 1051 the patriarch Mor Athanasius died. [305] He fulfilled the office for 15 years. In the same year also the maphrian Denḥa of Tagrit died.

After Athanasius, John. When the bishops assembled to appoint a patriarch, there was much dissent among them and they agreed to choose three persons and to draw lots

that is to ballot on them. Since there was a good opinion about Athanasius Sandalaya of Maypherqaṭ, an elder man, all the bishops entrusted him with the guidance of this affair. After Athanasius had written the names of the three persons who had been chosen by the bishops, he put them on the altar and summoned someone [307] who was not aware at all of the matter. He set the hand to the papers and took one of them. The name of the bishop John of Harran from the convent of Zuqnin came out. Sandalaya said: 'I do not ratify what happened by chance' and after he put them on the table he sent another one to pick up the name and so (he did) for three times. Everyone said that it was the finger of God but eventually it was disclosed that it was a stratagem of Sandalaya (who) had written on three papers the same name and for this he repeated (the election) confidently for three times. The Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥre who writes on these things, says: 'The stratagem was not trustworthy in front of the Lord and the right man was chosen through divine providence because neither a sparrow fell in a snare without its sign. The same schedule went out three times even if in the other two was written the same name.' Mor John was immediately ordained patriarch, the king Marwan went to Harran and the patriarch prepared great gifts and loaded (them) on 50 camels, he went to him [309] and was welcomed. He wrote for him a stupendous diploma (diploma). Then the bishops were smitten with envy instead of joy and they started laying snares, finding pretexts, approaching the riches, and ruling over their dioceses tyrannically. The patriarch had divided also the dioceses of Amid in two (parts) and gave 5 districts to Isaiah of Ashparin who was a disciple of Sandalaya and the city and the remaining villages to Severus. The Amidians resisted saying: 'We do not allow to divide our region.' Since the patriarch was not able to force them, Sandalaya and other bishops (who were) with him got furious and the patriarch was compelled (to do something) but he did not know whom he could persuade: the king who had been bribed, the bishops or the people. Sandalaya who was considered the only one who remained in the fear of God in the Church turned to misery more than all the others, he insulted the patriarch and denounced him to Marwan the king of the Arabs of having gathered [311] 100,000 coins from Tagrit and the East, to take bribes to appoint bishops, along other abuses of adultery and so abominable witchcrafts that cannot be pronounced if not through the acting. The patriarch said against him that he had taken a woman in the dress of a nun and fornicated with her and other women. The king of the Arabs since he knew that he could have seize from the patriarch more money than (his accuser), promptly accepted the accusations against him, imprisoned him in Harran and ordered that he could not go out from there until he had given 14,000 darics. Marwan left, went to the East for the war and Sandalaya (went) with him in order to provoke him even more to anger against the patriarch. Then Marwan was defeated and fled in shame and also Sandalaya was seized by the robbers and returned stripped. Thus it was fulfilled for him what Micah said to Ahab: 'If, returning, you return safe, then the Lord has not spoken through me.' When the patriarch heard such things despised (him)

and went to his convent and stayed (there) secretly until the things were set up. The bishops who had been rough towards him after being blamed by everyone put forward against the patriarch the pretext that he did not want peace. Then a synod of bishops was gathered in the village of Tarmāna in the territory [313] of Cyrrhus and made peace between the patriarch John and Athanasius Sandalaya. The latter fell at the feet of the patriarch, weeping and asking his pardon but after the reconciliation he again turned to impiety. He gathered the bishops to Tella and they proclaimed him great metropolitan. Then the faithful were separated from the bishops who adhered to him. David of Dara was urged by the people of his dioceses to the extent that he signed to anathematize Sandalaya and then he was accepted. When the bishops saw that their dioceses were separated, they gathered and wrote letters to the patriarch showing affliction. The blessed man since he realized that he was losing strength because of extreme oldness and that it was not convenient to leave the church in disorder was indulgent and pardoned them but Sandalaya was not delivered by his impiousness and appointed a man named Isaac as bishop in Harran without the agreement of the patriarch and deposed Elias of Sinjar a wise and learned man, who had admirably translated and commented the first part of the Theologus even if he came from the province of the maphrian, and appointed at his place a blameworthy man named Isho' Bakr. John the patriarch died on October of the year 1066 after fulfilling for 16 years [315] and his body was placed in the village of Bādiya on the Euphrates.

After John, Isaac the illegitimate. After John had died Abu Ja'far⁴⁹ the king of the Arabs ordered the bishops to appoint patriarch Isaac of Harran who came from the monastery of Qarṭmin in the year 1066. At that time this Isaac was dwelling in the convent of Purqsa in the mountain of Edessa and a certain foreigner monk went to him. After having being honoured by him for several days, he wanted to reward him and asked Isaac to bring a block of lead. After he had liquefied the lead, he pulled out a little purse from his bag. He took (something) from it, threw it upon the lead and this was sprinkled and became gold. When Isaac saw it, he was struck by the desire of (knowing) the artifice and asked to the monk to teach it to him. When that one said that the elixir had been given to him by another man, he did not believe him, he pursued the monk and he threw him [317] into a cistern killing him, expecting to find in his bag the book who teaches how to make (the elixir) but he could not find the book nor the elixir but just a little bit left in the purse. For this reason he became intimate with Abu Ja'far. After Mor John had died the king compelled by force the bishops to gather and appoint the illegitimate patriarch in Resh'ayna. Jacob bishop of Rish-Kifo who was blind laid the

⁴⁹ Abū Ja'far 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Manṣūr, commonly known as al-Manṣūr. Second Abbasid caliph, (754-75 A.D). KENNEDY, 'al-Manṣūr', EIS.

hand on him. He received from the king a diploma that was accepted by everyone. He travelled around the regions to gather chemical eradication. After he had travelled through many regions the king sent to call him before the completion of one year to be investigated and found out that he knew nothing. He ordered to choke him and throw his body in the Euphrates and what he had done to the foreign bishop was done to him.

[319] **After Isaac the illegitimate, Sandalaya the illegitimate.** After that Isaac had perished, the king Abu Ja'far ordered the bishops tyrannically to appoint Athanasius of Maypherqaṭ that is Sandalaya who also came from the monastery of Qartmin and who caused the entire tumult in the days of John. He received the diploma from the king and after he had reached Harran he wanted to ordain a disciple of Isaac 'Abdani. The people of Harran did not want and they evilly thought to strangle Sandalaya during the night and it seemed that this had happened by the hands of the emir. The monks of his convent went to took his corpse and placed it in a stone coffin in his convent and he was honoured by them. This and the one who was before should not be ranked among the patriarchs but we set them because those who read and listen might be struck with terror seeing the perilous end of those who transgress the divine law.

After Sandalaya, the holy George. He came from the village of Ba'altan in the region of Emesa and was instructed in the convent [321] of Qenneshre. He was engaged with books in the Greek and Syrian languages. He was *synkellos* of Theodore bishop of Samosata who had prophesied about him: 'God will confer a great rank to you in the church but your eye stays on the monastery where you have grown up because it is weakened.' When Sandalaya died, there was a synod in December 1070 and George was mentioned (during the synod); they summoned him though until then he was still (wearing) the dress of a deacon. When they noticed his knowledge, all the bishops were happy to accept him except for David of Dara and John of Callinicus who both wanted the honour for themselves and they started saying 'We will not raise to the ambon someone with white clothes'⁵⁰ Then when the faithful of Mabbug saw their ambitions, they let them hear something to chasten (their ambitions): they encouraged the other bishops and ordained George without the consent of these two. When the synod was dismissed and the bishops of Mesopotamia crossed the Euphrates [323] Satan instigated them to ordain patriarch John of Callinicus and he was corrupting the eastern region. After four years John died and David of Dara succeeded him and he was troublesome for George. He went to Abu Ja'far the caliph of the Arabs and accused George saying: 'He became patriarch without your decree, he oppresses us with taxes and when we ask him: Why don't you carry the diploma of the caliph? He replied: it is not appropriate that the name of their prophet enters in my travel bag.' The caliph immediately got

⁵⁰ Colour of the deacons' vestments.

furious, summoned George, stripped off him his garment and stretched out his arms. The blessed man cried out in Greek: '*Theotokos boethei*' that is: 'Mother of God help me!.' When the caliph asked [325] what he was saying, one of his haters replied: 'He is uttering impieties' and they beat him with three whips and the blood flowed on the ground and the caliph said: 'Why don't you take the diploma?' and he replied: 'I had decided not to compel anyone' and the caliph again said: 'Why don't you accept to carry the name of our prophet in your travel bag?' When the patriarch heard this he was astounded and replied: 'Look, the name of your prophet is indeed inside our travel bags and in our pouches by means of the *zuzze* and the dinars.' When the caliph saw his fortitude and his intelligence he realised that he had been delivered up (to him) out of envy and ordered the scribe to bring him to his house and investigate if he knew the art of the alchemy. When he started to flatter and seduce him the patriarch replied: 'I do not know.' It seemed (indeed) that it (alchemy) was not yet discovered at this time. He stayed three days in the house of the scribe without eating bread nor drinking water. Afterwards he was imprisoned in chains in Bagdad. The caliph forced the bishops to nominate patriarch David of Dara and he received the diploma. The Persians were travelling with him and they forced the faithful to accept him but he was set apart from everyone. The Persians used to draw the swords and encircle the altar [327] in the moment of the Sacraments and induced men and women by force to take the communion. The bishops who adhered to Mor George stayed in affliction and sometimes wearing with the clothes like laymen they used to travel from village to village while Mor George remained imprisoned for 9 years. There he wrote beautiful *mimre*, *madrash*e and 22 canons after he had got out (from prison). When Abu Ja'far died and Mahdi⁵¹ his son started ruling and the chains were loosed, the holy patriarch went out from the imprisonment but Mahdi ordered that the decree of his father should not be dismissed and that he should not call himself patriarch. The blessed man went to Tagrit and was received like an angel of God, likewise in Mosul and Mesopotamia; he arrived in Antioch and ordained 10 bishops there and removed those of David. While travelling and establishing churches in every place he arrived at Claudia and he fell ill. When the illness had increased he went up to the monastery of Mor Barsoum and there he ended his course and took rest in the year 1101 of the Greeks.

[329] **After George, Joseph.** In the June of the year when George died the bishops gathered to Badiya Za'urta in the valley of Harran and elected Joseph of Gubba Barraya. When he went and they saw the great beauty of his figure they rejoiced but when they heard (his) speech they found (it) ignorant and wanted to send him back to his convent

⁵¹ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Manṣūr. The son of the caliph al-Manṣūr. Reigned 775–785 A.D. See KENNEDY, 'al-Manṣūr', EIS.

but they were afraid of the monks of his convent who were inclined to quarrel and elected him patriarch. While he was descending to Bagdad to receive the diploma, passing through the churches of the East he died in the convent of Atonas above Tel Beshme in January of 1103 after consecrating one bishop: Anthimus for Baalbek.

After Joseph, Cyriacus. In the year 1104 of the Greeks the bishops gathered in Harran on the eight day of August, but (we found) in the manuscript during fool moon (the fifteenth day), and ordained patriarch Cyriacus from the convent of Bizana, but in the manuscript (it says that he was) from the convent of the Column in Callinicus. [331] He was an eloquent and holy man. Theodosius of Baalbek laid the hands on him. When he saw that his affairs were prospering and he was not meeting any hindrance he sought to abolish in our church the sentence 'We break the heavenly bread' and he did not remember that also Mor George was much troubled for that but in order not to divide the church he did not cut off (the sentence) and he did not impose any law on that: neither that it should be said nor that it should not be said. When the deacon Gurya from Beth Na'ar asked (him on this matter) he said: 'When it was introduced in the church I do not know (but) when it has been rejected I know: from eternity to eternity. Jacob, the first bishop and Mark, son and disciple of Peter handed down to us the consecration of the body and the blood of God the Word but not this sentence: We break the heavenly bread in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit in our anaphora.' After a while, he said: 'Woe for us if we profess that the bread descends from heaven and it is not the Son and the word of God.' Cyriacus gathered a synod in Beth Botin in the territory of Harran [333] but he was not able to abolish it and consented that each one employs it according to his will and established 40 canons of reformatations. Severus of Samosata who from the beginning of the election was not pleased with the patriarch was secretly plotting a scandal. Also the patriarch became angry with him and set off to his dioceses to establish order there. When he went to Samosata Severus did not open the door of the church to him until the sultan, having seen the royal diploma sent to open it and the patriarch went up to the ambon and anathematized Severus. Afterwards when (Severus) asked for forgiveness the patriarch pardoned him. At the beginning of his election the patriarch Mor Cyriacus appointed bishop of Marde and Kfartuto a man named Ananias from the monastery of Mor Matay on mountain Alpap. The Nestorian Dnah-Isho' wrote on this: 'Ananias the Jacobite bishop of the Severans found in the proximity of Mardin a citadel built in stones at the time of the Romans. He bought it and made it a convent and planted vines and olives there. After he had given much gold to the rulers to silence with wisdom the rage of his enemies [335] he erected there a church and an altar, he gathered several monks and took care of them. He did not do that for false honour but because of heavenly reward.' In the year 1109 Gabriel the patriarch of the Julianists went to our patriarch Cyriacus to seek to make union at the condition that they did not proclaim Saint Severus nor they anathematized Julian, and whoever of them had died before his companion, the one

who remained should rule over both the communities. The patriarch much rejoiced at this idea since there would not have remained two at the same time but only one flock and one pastor, and he communicated with Gabriel and Gabriel with him. Those bishops who were not honest with him, murmured and cried aloud: 'We will not accept if he does not anathematize openly Julian.' Gabriel said to them: 'Know, my brothers, if it is only me that you are seeking to inherit from, I will anathematize Julian but none of my people will be willing (to do so) out of ignorance or out of old habit. This can happen in some time.' After he had said many things to them but they could not be persuaded, he stood up, tore his garment on them saying: 'Now I know that you are not quarrelling because of God but out of jealousy against your chief so that nothing good might be achieved by his hands' and he left and departed. At the same time died Bacchus the bishop [337] of the people of Cyrrhus that is the inhabitants of the region of Aleppo who later suddenly abandoned their faith and became Arabs. When he was about to die he ordered the inhabitants of his convent not to accept any bishop who did not come from their monastery. He used to say⁵²: 'There is nothing that annoys me except for the fact that when the Garamaeen who is the patriarch Cyriacus, will rule, he will delete from our region the expression 'the heavenly bread' that is for us much more in accordance with the Fathers. Therefore, when Bacchus died, the monks of his monastery took Xenous his disciple, and with them also others from Gubba Barraya and went to the patriarch and offered him wine, a travel bag and a staff as it is customary in the church and they asked Xenous bishop for them. The patriarch replied: 'It is not right that the dioceses are taken possession of like an inheritance' but they persisted obstinately saying: 'This one has to be ordained, otherwise we will not accept' and they left. The patriarch because he was of heated temperament wanted to make prevail his will and, not properly, hastened to ordain for them Salomon a monk from the convent of Mor Jacob of Cyrrhus. Then [339] the evil was more enflamed and not only they did not accept the bishop but they abolished the proclamation of the patriarch. They went to the caliph Harun Rashid in Marga of Dabeka and accused the patriarch saying: 'This is a spy of the Romans in your region. He transmits letters and messages.' The caliph was furious and ordered to destroy all the new building of churches and the Arabs ruled over and committed atrocities not only in Tagra but also in the region of Antioch and Jerusalem. They uprooted the old churches and there was a great sorrow for all the Christians. The caliph sent his servants to bring the patriarch in shame from Callinicus. When he learned it, he hurriedly went out and went to meet the caliph on the way near Gubrin, prayed him and prostrated in front of him. Then the caliph had pity on him and

⁵² Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'They used to say: 'Nothing upsets us except the behaviour of that Garamaeen'.

committed his judgement to Ismael Bar Saleh, his scribe. The latter, because he was friend of the patriarch expelled his accusers and sent the patriarch to his convent of Callinicus. The monks of Gubba Barraya with some bishops assembled against the patriarch [341] in the village of Kulaz and ordained two bishops. The patriarch gathered the bishops in Gubrin, the citadel of Cyrrhus and cursed all the (monks) of Gubba Barraya, the bishops and the monks. These sent to summon Abraham monk of Qartmin and accepted him as patriarch and that miserable started to appoint archbishops without provinces, who were travelling and announcing that they would strive for the sentence 'the heavenly bread' and calling the patriarch heretics because he united with the Julianists. While he was occupied in this struggle, there was another dispute against him by the citizens of Tagrit who several times had complained about the maphrian Simeon but the patriarch had not listened to them so far as they reviled him (saying) that he was taking his part because he was his disciple. When he was compelled (to do so) he expelled Simeon but since some of the Tagritians favoured Simeon, they got offended and started to accuse the patriarch because he had expelled him while the enemies of Simeon denounced him and the patriarch his master because of him. Thus from both the sides [343] the patriarch was shamefully treated and immediately he set to go to Tagrit. (In the meantime) Simeon had died and Basil was ordained (at his place) and there was a big dispute between the monks of Mor Matay. The patriarch anathematized the monks of Mor Matay and the bishops and the monks of Mor Matay dared to anathematize the patriarch and Basil. The patriarch was compelled to confirm the metropolitan Daniel of Mosul but (at the condition that) he was subject to that of Tagrit. In the middle of these troubles the patriarch reached his end and died in Mosul, on 16 August 1128. They brought his holy body in a light boat to Tagrit the city of his parents.⁵³ He fulfilled the patriarchate for 24 years and ordained 86 bishops. He never laid his hands on gold or silver for the entire time of his governance and since he was zealous and severe against those who transgress the law he spent his days in bitterness. **After Cyriacus, Dionysius of Tell Mahre.** The (monks) of Gubba gathered with (the monks) of Cyrrhus and went to Abraham whom they had appointed [345] as patriarch and they said 'How long will we remain under the anathema and separated from the church? Since the patriarch Cyriacus, who had diligently honoured the sentence because of which we have been divided, died time ago we want to unite with the Church.' Abraham, acting cunningly, replied to them: 'Me too, for my zeal I have been struck and treated shamefully because of you but I resist until a chief will be appointed and if they appoint someone who pronounces the sentence, even once, I will be cursed if

⁵³ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'his uncle's city.'

I do not consent to his governance and I seat in silence'⁵⁴ He believed that the bishops fearing the powerful party of his protectors would have appointed him and he stayed silent in this hope for an entire year moulding (inside) and feigning. The bishops summoned each other and (in the number of) 45 they gathered in Callinicus on June 1129 and also Abraham and a troop of monks went (there). They dwelt in a tavern and started stirring up because of the sentence 'The heavenly bread' and the bishops agreed that who wanted to pronounce (it) should not be forbidden and that who did not want should not be forced and also the maphrian Basil and the monks of Mor Matay were conciliated. One of the elders immediately stood up in the middle saying: 'Now that we have complied with these things we should dismiss the matter that is the foremost of all the good things. Let hold ourselves in fast for three days, praying that God provide for his church someone whom he knows will reconcile it with sanctity and holiness. [347] The advice of the elder pleased (the bishops) and they fasted and prayed for three days; afterwards they sat according to their ranks and consented to each one to pronounce what it pleased (him). After many had said that in their convents there was no one fitting and others mentioned some famous men such as Mor Atonos, teacher and commentator, at the end the bishop Theodore from the convent of Jacob of Kaysum stood up and said: 'If you permit, oh Fathers, I will speak' and he said: 'Among us (there is) Dionysius, a brother from the monastery of Mor John Aptonia that is the convent of Qenneshre. He has stayed with us for two years and we have ascertained that he is suitable.' After he had spoken, the door was opened to the other bishops and they approved his word. He wrote a document of agreement and first Basil maphrian of Tagrit subscribed it and then Barḥadbshabba of Marga, John of Germanicia, Anastasius of Damascus and the others in order. Here Dionysius says: 'Up to here [349] I have related the histories without extolling or rebuking anyone (judging) by appearance,⁵⁵ now I have been seeking another writer outside myself who could unmask my faults and mention (my) right actions whenever they are worthy of praise but since there is nobody acquainted with my things like me, I have refrained from any praise, so that it would not be said that I recall (only) the things which are convenient to me, and I will confess the weaknesses and inability that I bring with me. I am an unworthy and contemptible man and I do not know why the Holy Fathers have rejoiced, not to say they have been deceived, in preaching me, but with simple mind they were carried off by alien reports and they sent before (them) two intrepid monks to the monastery of Mor Jacob where I was dwelling because the inhabitants of Qenneshre were dispersed;

⁵⁴ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'If they appoint someone who has usurped these voices, I am anathema unless I relinquish this dignity and keep my mouth shut.'

⁵⁵ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'out of respect of persons.'

they went to me, stared at me and watched me as I was doing evil things until those bishops, who seemed to me even harsher and less merciful, came; some of them brought me at the centre of the synod while I was revolting and uttering my weakness and unsuitability, weeping and bowing (myself on the ground), they appointed me by force and at last they could not be withheld to stand up from their thrones and bless my lowliness. When [351] I was advocating that it was difficult for me to accept the priesthood, not only because I am a wretched and a feeble one but also for those who had reached the height of the virtue. But to persist in the disobedience was a danger and therefore on Friday they ordained me deacon in the convent of the Column and in the seventh day priest in the monastery of Mor Zacchaeus and on Saturday 1st August 1129 they brought me to the full rank of priesthood in the catholic church of the city of Callinicus and they made me heir and recipient of the seats like those, as they say, to whom I am not worth (to tie) the straps of the sandals.’ Theodosius of Callinicus laid the hand on him. When Abraham saw that his hope had failed got furious and said to the monks of Gubba, his fellows: ‘You see what the bishop have done! They have appointed one who comes from a city which expunged the sentence ‘The heavenly bread’! Behold, I forbid you, by the word of God, if I die, to leave that my body to be buried until you will have appointed a chief at his place and do not be reconciled with them’ and thus, after they had separated they left. The patriarch Dionysius, after the synod was dismissed, left towards the inhabitants of Cyrrhus [353] and the priests, the deacons and the people gathered in Cyrrhus and after they had learned that it was not forbidden to pronounce the expression ‘Heavenly bread’ they returned to him but Abraham anathematized them and they returned again backwards. The Patriarch then departed from Cyrrhus to Antioch and from there he went to Mesopotamia and descended again to Bagdad to take the diploma. When the Tagritians asked to the patriarch to come among them to celebrate (the service), the maphrian Basil wrote ‘It is not (yet) the time that you go to Tagrit as the believers are pressed from the bitter coercion of the governors’ and therefore he left by road for Tagrit and Mosul and went up along the Circesium and arrived at the villages of Habora, Nisibis, Dara and Kfartuto, cities of Mesopotamia and from there he went to give greetings to the Emir Othman and received [355] from him the order to build a splendid chapel in the convent of Qenneshre that had burnt and subjected the monks of the monastery of Eusebiona in the district of Antioch who were adhering to Abraham. Then Abraham went to Callinicus among the emir Abd Allah son of Tahir ad went (there) also Mor Dionysius and after many things were performed, the emir ordered him to stand up, to go out asking to the Christians who were standing outside ‘Who is your chief?.’ When he went out and informed the thousands who were standing on the door they cried out: ‘Abraham is not our chief. He is not even a Christian.’ Then the emir looked at Abraham angrily and said to him: ‘You are a dishonest man and an impostor’ and he ordered to strip off his mitre and rebuked him saying [357] ‘Never again will you be called patriarch. Return on your own and disperse

the monks who are with you' and thus Abraham and those who were with him were dismissed. But Satan did not let them to rest, thus they sent Simeon the brother of Abraham to Baghdad and with him the document that Ali Bar Abi Talib⁵⁶ cousin of the prophet⁵⁷ had given to the convent of Gubba Barraya and after the ones of the House of Ali had seen the documents of their elders went to the caliph and produced a diploma for him and after he had gone he gathered a crowd of monks. The fact was made known to the patriarch while he was in Antioch and he set forward to Callinicus and they all entered at the presence of the emir 'Abd Allah. When the emir saw the diploma of Abraham, he delayed the matter, sent one of his men to Bagdad and within 20 days he brought a document of Ma'mun who abrogated the diploma of Abraham and put again (the matter) in the hands of the patriarch so that he could settle it according to his will. The patriarch, after taking his cowl, dismissed him. He then went to Cyrrhus stirring up (troubles) likewise. The emir heard (of this) and again sent (order) to bring him enchained like a brigand and stripped him off for the second time in front of himself and the villagers who were following him, so that, perhaps, he would be ashamed and he would depart from his wickedness. [359] In the year 1336 of the Greeks the emir 'Abd Allah descended to Egypt and Muhammad his brother destroyed every new building he found among the churches of Antioch. He uprooted the church of the 40 martyrs, the *diakonikon*, the treasure of the Great Church,⁵⁸ the northern⁵⁹ inner room (cubicle) of the baptistery, the basilicas and the nunnery of the Chalcedonians and they built a mosque in the tetrapyleion in front of the old church, a place that was called Beth Shabta, where the nobles were sitting before the morning office, conversing in ecclesiastical and rhetorical questions. For this reason the patriarch departed to Egypt by sea. Storms arose (during his voyage) and the waves of the sea rose up but he succeed in arriving at the harbour of the city of Tanis that is like an island inside the lake formed by the depression of the Nile and the big Adriatic sea and the Christians (who were) there went out to meet him. Those in the neighbourhood were 3,000 and also the patriarch Jacob, pope of Alexandria, and the bishops went to him, rejoicing and saying that from the time of Mor Severus the Great no Patriarch of Antioch was seen again in Egypt. Mor Dionysius said: 'At that time we informed them [361] about the promise of the patriarch Athanasius, who was surnamed Gamala, and about the union that he made with Anastasius after the schism of Peter and Damian. We noticed that, the (art of the) recitations had declined among them because they were not concerned about the

⁵⁶ 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (c. 600–40/661 A.D) cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad for he had married his daughter Fatima. He was fourth caliph. GLEAVE, "Alī b. Abī Ṭālib", EIS.

⁵⁷ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'the son-in-law of their Prophet.'

⁵⁸ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'place of sacrifice of the great church.'

⁵⁹ Cf. WILMSHURST 2016: 'western.'

knowledge of the Scriptures.’ From there the patriarch went to the camp of the Persians and was admitted (to the presence of) the emir Tahir. Since he was very dear to the emir, he (the emir) blamed him for travelling by sea and said ‘What urged you to come to Egypt, when it is possible not to inform me by letter what you are asking me now?’ The patriarch then prayed for him, thanked him and informed him about the evil thing that had been devised in Edessa. He (the emir) wrote with his own hand to his brother and ordered not to molest or harass the patriarch and to forbid any violence against the churches. The patriarch made a petition also for the people of Tanis who complained of the burden of the poll tax. Five dinars were taken from everyone, be he rich or poor and the emir ordered to take from the rich 48 *zuze*, from the middle 24 and from the poor 12. Also Theodosius the metropolitan of Edessa, who was the brother of the patriarch went with him to Egypt at this time to complain [363] about his dioceses. This Theodosius translated the book of the hymns of the Theologian⁶⁰ from Greek to Syriac. The monk Anthon the Rhetor mentions him in the fifth section, which is the last one, of the *Rhetoric* and Philoponus says that he was admired for being skilled in a variety of languages. It is known that in the days of the patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, Anton the monk of Tagrit lived as the doctors and the elders of our time have handed down to us but we wonder why an excellent man like this was neglected by the patriarch and he does not mention him in his *Chronicle*. The Patriarch, after he had accomplished his matter, returned to Syria as he desired to rest a bit but he could not escape from being approached by the pain that subverted the church. Philoxenus of Nisibis after having being deposed in a synod of 40 bishops who gathered in Resh’ayna, because of the abominable charges that had been brought against him by Nonnus, an excellent and virtuous man, persuaded Abiram and his fellows. They gave up themselves as prisoners in Gubrin in the days of Cyriacus and he brought them to the church [365] of Nisibis which since then was split up in two parts. At that time a dissension arose between the Jews regarding the chief of the Exile since the people of Tiberias had appointed a man named David, and the Babylonians (had appointed) Daniel⁶¹ from the heresy of the Ananites which weaken the *Shabath* and worship on the fourth day of the week. When their judgement arrived in front of Ma’mun, he ordered that if 10 men are gathered from a confession and they ask to appoint for them a chief, be they Jews, Christians or Zoroastrians it should not be impeded to them. For this reason the patriarch descended to Bagdad and before he met the caliph, the people of Bagdad had accused Lazar their bishop but the patriarch delayed the affair until he had gone to Tagrit so that our people

⁶⁰ Gregory of Nazianzus (329-390 A.D.).

⁶¹ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘because the people of Tiberias had appointed a certain David, a Daniel of Babylon from the sect of the Ananites.’

would not be mocked in front of foreign people. However, the people of Bagdad did not agree but they confirmed the accusations against the bishop and forced the patriarch [367] to depose him. The church of Bagdad was divided in two parts and the affair reached the caliph. The supporters of Lazar stirred up a tumult against the patriarch but Ma'mun since he was a wise man did not want to grieve a man who had come from distant regions to worship him with gifts, after a while, when the patriarch was allowed to enter, he allowed him to approach without the bishops, riding (his) horse and walking in the garden. Holding out his right hand he asked him: 'How are you? How are things with you?' The patriarch then, after the prayers, started his account from Lazarus' assumption. After having being judged, according to the law, having being found he guilty and having been dismissed, he impudently said: 'An edict has been emanated for us that when there are 10 of us we have the authority to appoint a chief.' The caliph replied: I have emanated this edict first of all for the Jews not because we (want) to appoint by force a leader for you. The patriarch said: 'Your sapience, promises and covenants existed between us and you, when our fathers handed down to you many cities, that our laws should not be altered and it is evident that the law without a law keeper cannot be preserved. [369] One of our laws is that there is an ecclesiastical governorship.' After many things the caliph said: 'You Christians and especially you Jacobites much importune us but today is gone, return another day.' After ten days the patriarch said to Lazar of Marde to precede the caliph and remind him of his promise. Ma'mun said that he could come at the dawn of the day and summoned their lawyers, prepared them and the caliph asked them: 'What do seem (opportune) to you? Should we condemn according to our power a Christian who appoints rulers?'⁶² and they replied 'We should not but only to refrain from compelling them by force to change their confessions and habits, if they observe the submission that is due to us, sitting quietly and enjoying the peace that they gain through our army.' After they had left, the patriarch spoke to the caliph, saying: 'Your deceased fathers allowed us our governance and they gave us the diploma and also you did so to me. Now, a new law arises upon us.' The caliph asked: 'Why you Christians more than every other religion dispute with this edict?' [371] and the patriarch replied: 'They are chafed too. Moreover, the governance of Mages (Zoroastrian) and Jews is a bodily one and it is passed to them by inheritance, but our (is) a spiritual one which instructs through the fear of God and does not inflict penalties in the need of money but touch our faith. This is known that we do not punish the offenders by scourge or by chains or decree the confiscation of properties but if he is a bishop or a priest we depose him from his rank, and if he is a layman we expel him from the church.' The caliph ordered: 'We do not forbid you to depose them from the

⁶² WILMSHURST 2016: 'Should we strengthen the Christian bishops as much as we can?'

rank and the honour and to remove who has sinned, (though) we do not judge right that you expel from the church and restrain from the praying the sinners: it is more appropriate for him to pray and ask forgiveness to God for his evil action.’ The caliph ordered to Isaac, a certain judge ‘Look if Lazar is the servant of the patriarch in his confession, (and if it so) accomplish his order.’ Thus the patriarch went out and was praised by the lawyer for his fortitude. These things happened in March 1140. In October/November 1041 he ordained a bishop for Bagdad at the place of Lazar and set forward to Tagrit and from there to Mosul. The maphrian Basil died in the convent of Anique outside Balad [373] and he (the patriarch) ordained at (his) place Daniel from the convent of Birqum. He set forward to Syria in December. In that year the caliph Ma’mun came to Kaysun and the patriarch went to see him but he was not able (to see him) because he had set off hastily to Damascus and also the patriarch went with him and there he sent by the hands of Lazar of Marde some gifts that is fruits to eat and the caliph ordered to the patriarch to go with him to Egypt in order to send him as envoy to the Christians Bashmurites in the lower region of Egypt to turn them back from rebellion. When our patriarch went with the patriarch Joseph of Egypt to make peace, the general Afshin did not want and set their villages, vineyards and gardens on fire, killed many of them, took the rest prisoner and sent them in a galley to Antioch and from there to Bagdad. Many died on the way and the patriarch returned to Ma’mun and informed (him) that the Bashmurites were oppressed and accepted the order to go out to Damascus. [375] On the Pope Joseph and the Egyptian bishops the patriarch relates: ‘We have found a people chaste, humble and rich in love of God and they elevated us to such a high honour that they applied to me every special reverence that is due to the pope in his region while I was staying among them. But I also saw habits that do not suit their virtues. The study of the Holy Scriptures had been removed; the monks are increasingly renouncing to this benefit and those who are waiting to become priests do not care with the knowledge and wisdom but with the availability of the gold, for without 200 or 300 darics nobody can reach the high priesthood. When we blamed them on that matter the pope produced an apology: ‘Because of the debt with which the Church of Alexandria is swamped have we remained in this unlawful (habit)’ and we blamed them also because they do not baptize male babies before the forty days and the female babies before the thirty days so that many children die without the baptism.’ [377] Mor Dionysius also says: ‘We saw the obelisks in Heliopolis the royal city of the Egyptians, that of Potiphar the father in law of Joseph who was his priest. Every pillar of stone stretched out for 60 cubits (high) and 6 cubit wide, not of soft stone but of a sort of marble; the *Trilithon* of outer Heliopolis that is Baalbek are only 40 cubits high each one. They have a summit like the helmets of the soldiers of silvery brass, each of which weighs more than a thousand pounds. And none of the avaricious Arabs was able to ascend and bring down the brass as they did with the colossus in the island of Rhodes that the Arabs had casted down and broken [379] taking 3,000 loads. The prophet

Jeremiah predicted that the Messiah would have destroyed the pillars of the House of the Sun; perhaps he called the abolition of their worship ‘destruction’ but behold, they were not destroyed. The patriarch says also: ‘We saw in Egypt also the Pyramids which the Theologus evokes in his poems and they are not granaries as someone has supposed but marvellous temples on the tombs of the first kings. They are slanting and solid⁶³, not hollow and empty. We saw in a breach made on a side of one of them that it was deep 50 cubits and we found that the stone quarries were compact, 500 large from the top and 500 long like a pith, decreasing to one cubit on the top, the stones of the building are 250 cubits high, the stone quarries are between 5 and 10 cubits and they (can) be seen as great mountains from far away.’ He says also: ‘I saw a house built on the Nile in a place where (the river) is gathered before being divided into four cisterns; in the middle arises a stone column where degrees [381] and measures are inscribed. When the river overflows in September and the water enters in the house, the officials go every day in the house and they see how much the water has gone up to the column: if it is less than 14 levels a small portion of land of Egypt has been watered, the crop is not raised and the poll tax is not exacted. If the water has ascended to 15 degrees, it is raised the half (of the crop) and likewise the poll tax. If it has ascended to 17 or 18 degrees the whole of Egypt is watered and a complete poll tax is raised. If it overflows to 20 degrees it devastates and nothing is raised that year. In the year 1146 the patriarch descended to Tagrit and solved a dispute between the monks of Mor Matay and the Tagritians and decreed that only twice the metropolitan of the monastery should be proclaimed in the church of the Tagritians in Mosul, on the day of the Palms and on the day of the consecration of the Myron, while the primacy after the patriarch of Antioch should go to the maphrian of Tagrit for the entire East. Since Daniel of Tagrit had died, he chose and ordained Thomas for Tagrit and returned to Syria. Again he descended to Bagdad to celebrate the caliph Mu‘taṣim⁶⁴ who succeeded his father Ma’mun. [383] He met the son of the king of the Nubians who had gone to pay respect to the caliph. In the year 1148 Abraham of the schism died and the schismatic bishops gathered and appointed his brother Simeon at his place and Philoxenus who had been deposed laid the hand on him. While the people of Cyrrhus were supporting Dionysius, they adhered to Simeon because they were led by coercion of his fellows as it is written about the Samaritans: ‘They feared the Lord but worshipped the gods.’ At that time the Arabs multiplied various calamities on the Christians everywhere with intolerable confiscations since in this way Dionysius replied to John of Dara to his request to write a chronicle on (their)

⁶³ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘They are heavy and solid.’

⁶⁴ Abū Ishāq Muḥammad ibn Hārūn al-Rashīd, 8th ‘Abbāsīd caliph. He succeeded his brother al-Ma’mun in 833 A.D. until his death in 842 A.D. Bar ‘Ebroyo erroneously reports that al-Ma’mun was his father. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, XII.19: 530T-90V.

times: 'I do not need to describe to your Understanding how many sufferings burden me, and how [385] the nights without sleeping and the days without resting pass on me with other tribulations and the consumption of the anxiety that enflames (my) heart and consume (my) body; the heart is conscious of the grieve of the bones, I weep inside but I do not mourn my life since I grieve because of my sins, I am reduced to drink from this cup and suffer and pain when I see with my eyes the humiliations and the chastisements that the sons of the Church are enduring and every day (new) evils are added for us and therefore only one thing would release me from the evils: the death which I covet as a good and blessed thing.' In this way the blessed ended his chronicle and died on 22 August 1156. He was buried in the monastery of Qenneshre and fulfilled the patriarchate for 17 years and ordained 100 bishops.

After Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, Mor John. This one came from the monastery of Mor Zacchaeus that is outside Callinicus. When Mor Dionysius had died the bishops gathered in the monastery of Mor Shaina and ordained him on 21 November 1158. [387] Habib of Tarsus laid the hand upon him. In the year 1159 of the Greeks, in July the great church of Amid burnt down because of a certain immoderate sacristan who had gathered (some) degenerated young (there) and they were lodging in the narthex; they were eating and drinking and a kindle seized one of the beams of cedar. That wretched one taken by fear turned around and saw a pot of oil and thinking that it was water poured it out on the fire and all the planks were kindled and that splendid church was entirely destroyed. After three years the nobles of the city took care to send three priests to Pancras Bar Ashut lord of Mush, firm believer and he helped them with great pieces of wood cut from the mountains of his region and expended for them from his own funds 300.000 zuz. He comforted the people of Amid on account of the building and the church arose again even though it was not like it had been before. The patriarch ruled the church for 27 years and appointed 86 bishops. He died in December 1185 in Resh'ayna and was buried in the monastery of Sophocles. After a while he was transferred to his monastery of Mor Zacchaeus according to his order.

[389] **After Mor John, Ignatius.** He came from the monastery of ḥerbaz. He was called from the hermit cell of a monastery on the Euphrates in the territory of Samosata and was ordained in the monastery of Mor Zacchaeus of Callinicus on 5 June 1189. Mor Timotheus of Samosata laid the hand on him. He led the church for four years and 10 months and ordained 26 bishops. He died on 26 March 1194 on the Tuesday of Easter in the citadel of Meriba and he was placed in the Great Church that is there.

After Ignatius, Theodosius Romanus the Doctor. After the death of Ignatius our church remained widowed for four years and this happened because there could not be found in that generation an adequate man showing such great virtues so that everyone would consent to him. When the name of somebody was put forward [391] they used to say: 'If that man is not is not better, (at least) he is not worse.' Since the disagreement continued, the faithful people got zealous and every diocese urged his bishop. They then

gathered in Amid and they disputed for several days. Then they turned out to cast again the lots on the names that had been mentioned and wrote the name of 12 people on the altar of the holy Sacraments and it came out the name of Romanus the doctor. He was ordained in Amid and was called Theodosius from the monastery of Qarṭmin on 5 February 1198. Mor Timotheus of Samosata laid the hand on him. He fulfilled the patriarchate for 8 years and four months and then he died and his body was placed in his monastery of Qarṭmin on 1 June 1207. He ordained 33 bishops. There is an illustrious collection of medicine that is called 'Collection of the patriarch Theodosius.'

After Theodosius, Dionysius. In the year that Theodosius had died the bishops gathered in the Beth Botin of the city of Harran and made an election by lots. In April 1208 they ordained [393] the patriarch Dionysius from the convent of Beth Botin in Ashit, a village of Sarug and laid the hand on him Mor Jacob of Emesa. At that time flourished Severus, bishop of Beth Ramman who is Moses Bar-Kepha [395] commentator of the Holy Scriptures. The holy died on 12 February 1224 and was buried in the monastery of Sergius in the Dry Mountain. The Patriarch led the church for 13 years and ordained 51 bishops. He died on 18 April on Wednesday of the Easter week 1220 in his convent where his body was then buried.

After Dionysius, John. He came from the column of the convent of Qurzoḥil in the territory of Antioch. He was ordained in the convent of Beth Sapra outside Harran on 21 April 1221 and laid the hand on him Mor John [397] of Mar'ash. He led the church for 12 years and 7 months and ordained 41 bishops. He died on the last Saturday of November in Resh'ayna in the monastery of Sophocles.

After John, Basil. He came from the monastery of Sophocles of Resh'ayna and was ordained in the citadel of Meriba of Rish-Kifo on 15 August 1234 and laid the hand on him Mor Habib of Anazarbus. He led the church for 11 years and 7 months and ordained 32 bishops. He died on the fourth day of the Passion 25 March and his body was placed in an eastern convent.

After Basil, John. He came from the monastery of the Black Mountain. He was ordained on 28 August 1247 in the citadel of Tel Ade in the territory. [399] of Antioch and laid the hand on him Mor Athanasius of Tarsus. He led the Church for 19 years and 10 months and ordained 48 bishops. He took rest on Sunday 3 July and was placed in the great convent of Tel 'Ade in the shrine of the holy Jacob of Edessa

After John, (another) John. He was called from the column of Qurzoḥil on the 'Ufrin river and was ordained on 16 July 1265 in the citadel of Tel Ade and laid the hand on him Jacob of Callinicus. He led the church for two years and six months and ordained 10 bishops. He died at the end of December/January and his body was placed in the monastery of Mor Salomon of Dolikh.

After John, Dionysius. He came from the monastery of Qarṭmin and was ordained on 28 November 1269 in the citadel of Tel Ade and laid the hand on him Jacob of Callinicus. He led [401] the church two years and six months and ordained 8 bishops. He died on 2 June

1272 and his holy body was placed in the monastery of Qartmin and in the shrine of the patriarch Theodosius from the same monastery. In the days of this patriarch and of Mor Elias metropolitan of Melitene from the monastery of Zuqnin, the convent of Sergisyeh of the borders of the region of Gubos was built. A certain faithful from the region of Persia, from Ushanu a city of Azerbaijan, wanted to dwell in the regions of the Christians, thus he departed from his region and went to the region of Şemḥa and dwelt in a convent close to the village of Turshena; then he passed the Euphrates and built a convent in the region of Claudia close to the village of Gregorina. While he was staying in the village, three monks from the convent of Mor Ananias of Marde came to him: Noah, Severus and Emanuel. Since they did not want to dwell there they took Rabban Gaysa and went to the borders of Gubos. They saw this place that recalled a convent and the inhabitants of the region rejoiced of them and brought them to the governor Joseph the *protospatharios*⁶⁵ known as Gumaya [403] who allowed him to build a convent and also helped him in word and deed. Then he and the monks who were with him started to build a church in bricks and wooden planks. They had with them relics of the holy Sergius and Bacchus and placed them there and built also a cell. These things (happened) in the year 1269. When the fame of the convent (started) to come out, went there John the Nazirite from the mountain of Edessa and went also John of Maron who had been excellently trained in the profane sciences and in the Holy Scriptures by the teaching of Mor [405] Amakim, great flame of the Mountain of Edessa and started teaching to the monks. After having led (the convent) for 12 years Mor Gaysa took rest in peace and the archimandrite Elias his disciple succeeded him. He adorned the sanctuary with vestments, parchment, writings and vessels of gold and silver and the monastery became illustrious for the study and reading of the scriptures and for the disputations (who took place) in front of John of Maron. Many copyists were there and also the patriarch John of Sargyta went to this monastery and he would have been at ease dwelling there had not the jealousy of the heretics had not compelled him to flee. The archimandrite Rabban Elias appointed at his place John, the manager (of the monastery) and departed to the desert. After two years he returned to the monastery and died there. John the archimandrite desired to build especially a sanctuary and God arranged that Emanuel of Harran the disciple of the maphrian Cyriacus gave 300 dinars and they built the sanctuary with three altars of stone and quicklime and carved their names on the bricks. They made the southern court with two flats of wood for the teachers, the students and the scribes and added [407] to the court the inner dormitory,

⁶⁵ The highest dignity of the imperial hierarchy, conferred until the 10th century to the commanders of the *themata* (territorial unities of the Eastern Roman Empire). KAHZDAN-CUTLER, 'Protospatharios', ODB: 1748.

the refectory and the guest house. Also Marutha son of Elishu the Tagritian merchant went to draw the water in the canals to the great court in front of the sanctuary, and he built also fishponds that is cisterns on the east side of the sanctuary watering the vegetables of the brothers. These things happened in the year 1312. At that time a certain Tagritian monk named Elias Bar Gagai went to the region of Melitene and bought a place to found a convent there and since he had died before its completion, Eutyches the patrician of the region which in our time is known as Kulaib forced Mor John of Maron to go there and named the sanctuary with the name of the forty martyrs. He built cells and gathered many monks who were delighted at his knowledge and he taught them the holy disciplines and when the number of priests had gone up to 120, after he had stayed there for 12 years he desired peacefulness, thus he departed from there in the night, crossed the Euphrates, went up to the convent of Mor Aaron of the blessed mountain and stayed there four years and ended (there) his blessed old age.

[409] **After Dionysius, Abraham.** (He came) from the convent of Tar'el in the territory of Aleppo. He was ordained in the citadel of Tel 'Ade on 25 May 1273. Mor Job bishop of Zeugma laid the hand on him. This Mor Abraham as for his entire life had behaved with humility and also during his office his fame did not change. He used (to abstain) from clothing, eating, riding on the saddle but when a journey on the road was necessary he contented himself to ride a common donkey for a while. He was a disciple of Mor Anastasius archimandrite of his convent of Circesium in the province of Germanicia and he ordained his master bishop of Aleppo and when he (started) feeling illness (on him) he went to his master and there he ended his life. He was buried at the presence of three bishops, priests, monks and deacons in the number of more than 200. He fulfilled the patriarchate for 9 months and 9 days. He appointed the maphrian Cyriacus and six bishops. He fell asleep on Wednesday 4 March. Praise to the inscrutable judgement of the Lord! Perhaps (to avoid that) he weakened with time and his firmness diminished he (the Lord) hastened to give him rest.

[411] **After Mor Abraham, Mor John.** (He came) from the monastery of Tar'el and because he (practiced) extreme poverty he was surnamed Sargitah. He was ordained in the village of Kfar Nabu in the region of Sarug on Sunday 9 July 1276 and Sergius of Sarug laid the hand on him. At this time the Greeks again took possession of Syria and emperor Nicephorus, having seen that Melitene was ruined and devastated summoned Mor John and told him that if he dwelt in those regions and gathered the citizens to Melitene, Hanzit and Qalisura he would decree that the Chalcedonians would not importune him or his people. The patriarch consented, took the signet-ring of the king about the matter and founded a place that is called Barid, that is 'Cold (Regions)' and started to build a sanctuary there and a monastery. The entire region was administered by the Syrians. Then the deceitful Greeks contended jealously such benevolence and incited the king to renege on his promise. The emperor sent to bring John to Constantinople with four bishops and (also) summoned [413] the Chalcedonian

patriarch who was a eunuch with his bishops and they debated with us for two months. When they saw that they could not succeed to overcome them through the Holy Scriptures they stirred up the king and he violently spoke to the patriarch and the bishops saying: 'Agree with our confession and you will gain great honours, otherwise you will be sent to exile.' When the patriarch and the bishops replied: 'We will never agree' he ordered them to be imprisoned. Then the justice was done on the emperor Nikephoros for four months after he had imprisoned those holy men he was killed by Tzimiskes. The prisoners were released from the exile: the patriarch, the bishops and their disciples. The patriarch went again to Melitene, to the monastery of Mor Barsoum, returned to the monastery of Barid and restored it in the year 1280 and stayed there until the year 1296 when he died. He appointed 48 bishops and one of them was Ignatius of Melitene that is Isaac the runner [415] He was called in this way because he used to go every day around the convents of the mountain of Edessa to distribute food supplies.⁶⁶ He built the convent of the Mother of God in the suburb of Melitene and the Great Church of Melitene which is called 'Of the Saint.'

After Mor John Sargitah, Athanasius of Salah. He was (the monk) Lazar from the monastery of Mor Aaron of Shigar. He was ordained in the village of Qoṭaine in the region of Gihon Thursday 21 October 1298. Mor Lazar, metropolitan of Anazarbus laid the hand on him. He dwelt in the monastery of Barid which he enlarged, restored and decorated. Since he was a pious man, of excellent conduct, Agapius the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch revered his virtues and ceased the persecution of the faithful. Mor Athanasius fulfilled the patriarchate for 16 years and died in the monastery of Barsoum in the region of Claudia. His body was placed in the northern side [417] of the sanctuary. He ordained 38 bishops and the maphrian Ignatius Bar Qiqi who (later) became Muslim. At this time the monasteries and the convents were increased and consecrated in the region of Melitene and there were (there) illustrious, wise and eloquent men who were envied by the Greeks of Melitene. 7 monks were sent to Constantinople and ended their lives in prison. The Greeks seized the Great Church that is called Raḥta. In the year 1299 Mor Athanasius ordained as bishop of the monastery of Qarṭmin the renowned Mor John who revived the writing of the *estranghelo* in the Tur Abdin that had ceased 100 years earlier. He learned it from the example of the books and taught it to the sons of his brothers. A perfect (knowledge) of the writing was given to Emanuel and his brother Naha Basiruta. The holy man sent Peter, their brother to Melitene to bring the parchment and Raban Emanuel [419] wrote 70 bound volumes of the Peshitta, the Septuagint and the Harkleian and volumes of the mimre of the three choirs and

⁶⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'to grant them his blessing.'

bestowed to the monastery of Qartmin books to which there is nothing comparable in the world.

After Mor Athanasius, Mor John Bar Abdon. He was born in Melitene and grew up in modesty. When he was eighteen years old [421] he wore the honourable monastic dress in the convent of Raḥta without the permission of his parents. Since he was much annoyed by them on this account he went up to the monastery of Mor Barsoum and from there he went to live on a crag on the Euphrates and God gave him the gift of working miracles and prodigies. When he saw that he had acquired fame there, he set off to the Black Mountain. After the completion of 40 years, Mor Athanasius of Salah died. The bishops gathered and with one spiritual consent they agreed that he should be (their) pastor. The blessed consented because he had seen in a vision that he had been called by the Lord. Since until then he had not even been ordained deacon because of his humility that made him afraid to (accept) any priestly office, he was ordained deacon on 4 July, priest the day after, and patriarch the day after in the year 1315 when he was 60 years old. Peter of Harran laid the hand on him. Since the blessed had been trained in the rightness of the holy canons he committed the management of the civil affairs in which he was not experienced⁶⁷ to the *synkellos*, a certain monk named David who committed many perversities in the churches and the dioceses. After that holy man had ruled for 27 years and had appointed 47 bishops, [423] Nikephoros the Greek metropolitan of Melitene who was a school fellow of the emperor Romanus⁶⁸ stirred up a trial against him. He went to Constantinople and he slandered the patriarch saying that he was deceiving also the Greeks (trying) to join them to his party. The emperor sent an envoy and a letter to the judge Chrysoberges to take the chief of the Jacobites and send him to Constantinople. The judge wanted to make the patriarch flee to the border of the Arabs but he did not succeed because he was staying in the monastery of Barid and especially because he was afraid of the emperor. Therefore he was compelled to go with the envoys and the armed attendants of the emperor because it is said that there were more than 1,000 monks standing there to impede them from passing. Thus they were all arranged like in a battle. They fell upon the monastery of Barid and when the patriarch saw the judge was astounded and the judge said gently: 'Do not be perturbed, holy man, because the holy and pacific emperor ordered you to [425] come to him.' Thus they took him, they entered in Melitene whose inhabitants were burning like a fire. Bribing the nobles they succeeded to set him free in the winter. When the Easter came and he was expected to leave, the citizens pressed him to ordain the young men (of the city) as

⁶⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Although this blessed patriarch set the most perfect example of obedience to the sacred canons, he had no experience of temporal matters.'

⁶⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'of the Roman emperor.' Rather, it likely refers to the emperor Romanos III Argyros (968-1034 A.D.).

deacons because it was a common opinion that there would not be another patriarch for them. The patriarch Mor John left Melitene with 6 bishops, 20 monks and priests and on the full moon of June 1340 they entered in Constantinople. That accursed Greek of Melitene pronounced in front of the public crier of the market place 'They do not acknowledge the Mother of God and they worship the goat.' Then there is no need to say how much the people spat on their face and cast on them dust and stones from the roads. When they were brought to the presence of their patriarch in their great church, the accursed Greek metropolitan of Melitene said to their patriarch: 'Do not dispute with them on their confession because they are much trained in disputation' but it was impossible to ask them nothing and when they asked: 'What do you profess?' they produced two scrolls written [427] in Greek and Syriac and when they opened the scrolls and (started) reading a bit of them they said: 'We (do not want) to learn the faith from you but we want to teach the faith to you. Profess with us two natures after the union' and the patriarch replied: 'We do not change the faith of the Fathers.' Then that accursed of Melitene stood up and said: 'The confession of the emperor despises you!' and slapped the patriarch. That blessed man turned the other (cheek) and many of the Greek nobles were moved and grieved (for the patriarch) and wept. They left mourning and they made go out also the patriarch and his companions to the convent of Mor Mennos and the day after to the convent of Gregory. Then they assembled again and called both the patriarch and the bishops. They made sit the patriarch and Elias of Symnadu and after many things they saw that they completely disagreed and said: 'You only do not put the oil in the bread, you do not make the sign of the cross with one finger but with two' planning to deceive them little by little but since they did not succumb they imprisoned both of them in a place [429] until October/November in great torment. That accursed Nikephoros sent (someone) to entice them one by one. Then the miserable Ignatius of Melitene, Moses of Hēsno and Isaac of 'Arqa were led astray and they gave a scroll by their own hand and Nikephoros delivered it to the emperor saying: 'If you are patient and you do not let them go immediately they will all agree.' Then the emperor sent to the patriarch: 'If you agree we will give you the seat of Antioch' and the patriarch replied: 'The apostolic seat is already mine on earth and heaven.' Then when he despaired (of convincing) him, the emperor ordered to send the patriarch to exile in the convent of Ganus on the border of the Bulgarians and there he stayed for four years. He died on 2 February 1344. He was buried by his disciple Jonah who had gone out to Syria and brought with him a roll that the blessed had written before his death (saying) that those who had apostatized could be accepted if they repented. [431] When the patriarch was sent into exile, they summoned the bishops to

the imperial palace and those three who had given the scroll of their own hand to Nikephoros were unfrocked⁶⁹ by the patriarch of the Greeks and newly baptized. They (then) became sport for the demons. One of them, Ignatius of Melitene, fell apart out of bitter remorse and died. The other two fled and went to Syria and ended their life in repentance. Mor Elias of Symnadu, an eloquent, elder, holy man after he had overcome them in the debate was stoned to death in front of the imperial palace. John of Hadet ended his life in prison and Dionysius of Tel Patriq at the death of the emperor went out and returned to his seat (firm) in the orthodox faith.

After Mor John Abdon, Dionysius of Halah. After the blessed Mor John Bar Abdon had died in exile, the bishops assembled [433] in Ṭamenin, a village of Claudia, and elected Hahe the archimandrite of the convent of Lazar in the region of Gubos where nowadays the Armenian monks live. He was proclaimed in Bazgunik above the village of Tangu and was ordained in the convent of Demet in the region of Claudia and he was called Dionysius and Mor Abraham Qalisura laid the hand on him. At this time in 1345 the old sanctuary of the monastery of Mor Barsoum was built. When the Chalcedonians of Melitene knew that a patriarch had been appointed for the Orthodox they informed Constantinople and decree arrived to capture him and sent him (there). The faithful nobles of Melitene hastily made the patriarch cross the border of the Arabs and he went to dwell in Amid. Since then Amid has been the seat and the residence of the patriarch. He dwelt in the monastery of Mor Ananias in Marde for his entire life. He died after he had led the church for 10 years and appointed 36 bishops. His body was placed in the Great Church of Amid on the northern side.

After Dionysius, John the son of Mor John Bar Abdon's sister. [435] When Mor Dionysius died, the church remained widowed and the bishops dared to pass from one seat to another, transgressing the canons. Then the other bishops were moved with zeal, they assembled in August 1360 and made the election. The monk Theodore was mentioned (during the synod). He came from the monastery of Bar Gagai in the province of Melitene who was son of the brother of the deceased Mor John Bar Abdon. When all the bishops and the sons of the church had agreed, he did not consent, fled and went to the region of Dolek. The bishops went there and from there again he went to hide in a defile. The bishops found him, captured him by force and ordained him in Farzmān. Elias of Zugma laid the hand on him and he was named John after the name of his uncle. When he dwelt in the city of Amid and his region, he corrected the bishops who had acted boldly and entirely deposed from the pastoral charge those who had gone too far with their boldness. He fulfilled the patriarchate for 8 years and 10 months and

⁶⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the patriarch of the Greeks absolved them.'

appointed 30 bishops and died in Amid. His body was placed in the holy Church of the Mother of God.

After John, Athanasius Ḥaye. After Mor John the patriarch had died in Amid [437] the western bishops gathered and elected Athanasius of Arsamosata Ḥaye who had left his diocese and established his residence in the monastery of Mor Aaron of Shigar, and appointed him patriarch in the convent of Pharis in the region of Ḥiṣn Manṣur in 1369. The easterners were offended because he was already bishop but actually because (he had been appointed) without their agreement. A small number of bishops gathered and forced Isho' the Scribe, *synkellos* and foster child of Mor John, an eloquent man, to be appointed patriarch in Amid. Then the church was filled with mocking discourses on the way the second consecration of Ḥaye (had been performed) because of which all the sons of the church were offended as it was unlawful. Ḥaye and his followers (on their side) used to revile with insults Bar Shushan because he consented to be ordained after the consecration of Ḥaye and they defended Ḥaye who was appointed patriarch while he was already bishop. Behold, Meletius of Sebastia, Elias of Apamea and John of Harran while being bishops were made patriarchs for Antioch; Proclus of Cyzicus [439] and Anthimus were also patriarchs of Constantinople and against these Bar Shushan said that also the apostles took wives and ate meat and performed the circumcision and observed (other) Jewish rites to gain the souls of the men as the times required but this does not mean that we are allowed to do the same.⁷⁰ The father of the Theologus handed down his diocese (to him) what is unlawful today and it is not right to imitate the ancients if it happens that they transgress the law e.g. kill one's own brother as Cain (did) or to marry one's own sister like Hamnon, one's own father as Absalom or one's own daughters as Lot or with the wife of one's own son as Judah Bar Jacob. When Bar Shushan saw that the party of Ḥaye wanted to present the matter to the rulers accepted to withdraw from the accusation. He lived in peace devoting himself to writing and Ḥaye was confirmed. He led the church for 5 years and half and appointed 20 bishops among whom Ignatius son of his sister who was appointed for Melitene. He was fluent in both the Greek and Syrian languages like Jacob of Edessa and Thomas of Ḥarqel and in the art of the eloquence and the grammar there was nobody like him in his generation. He was a simple, harmless and modest man to the degree that there was nothing in his cell. Then a persecution [441] was again stirred up by the Chalcedonians against the Orthodox, bitter and harsh like the one that had been appointed by the pagans in our times against the Christians. The patriarch Athanasius that is Ḥaye was captured and the bishops who were with him were imprisoned for 5 months in the convent of Mor Abdochus of the Greeks above Melitene and then they led them to Constantinople.

⁷⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'which it would be permitted for us too to preserve.'

When they had reached 'Arqa the patriarch Mor Athanasius died, was brought to the monastery of Mor Aaron of Sinjar and there he was buried. They led Ignatius of Melitene, son of the sister of the patriarch, to Constantinople and after they had asked him about (his) confession he replied: 'One of the Trinity, the word God was incarnated without alteration from the Virgin Mary mother of God. He is and is professed as one and the same as the Son, Lord Jesus the Messiah. He resembles the father in the divine substance. He resembles us the men in the humanity. One from the two: divinity and humanity. [443] As the Holy Fathers said: one nature of the incarnated word so as also one hypostasis. Also the difference of the substance of the things from which that one is composed is preserved, and it did not suffer changing or confusion. God forbid! And (thus) we do not accept those who teach the new precept of two natures, substances, operations and wills.' When they were debating on many things, he was suddenly condemned to exile in the Mountain of Gaius of Macedonia and stayed there in distress for three years, insulted and scornfully (sent to) work the fields and the vineyards until the death of the emperor Constantine Doukas (when) they set free the prisoners. He also went out and went to occupy his throne in Melitene.

[445] **After Athanasius Ḥaye, Mor John Bar Shushan.** When Athanasius Ḥaye died, the bishops gathered in the monastery of Mor Abhai on the banks of the Euphrates and with common consent they proclaimed to appoint as pastor of the Church Mor John that is the scribe Bar Shushan, a wise and holy man, practiced in the ecclesiastical and rhetoric disciplines, who was willingly proceeding in the pressing way of privation. When they elected him, he did not want to but confessed to have repented to have agreed at the beginning but he was forced by the holy hermits and also by the lawfully coercion of the bishops and consented. After they had enthroned him in the monastery of Mor Abhai he wrote 24 canons and established that they should be observed by him and by the bishops. After they had been read those men (out) of fear (of God) felt insulted (while) the pious ones rejoiced. He deposed 5 dissolute bishops and ordained at their place approved and acknowledged ones. He did not change his customs nor (did he stop) to repress his body with fasts and vigils; he used to travel on foot on the roads and when he was much worn down by the journey he used to take rest for just a moment on his donkey. [447] Otherwise he ordered to the monks who were with him to ride it whenever they were tired. That blessed man while walking with them never ceased to write in all his heart humility: whenever he was travelling, in the moment they were sitting to have rest, he used to write and fill the world with letters, scrolls and pleasant admonitions. Along with the plenty of books that he had written he endeavoured to gather the mimre of Mor Ephrem and Mor Isaac in one book of which he himself wrote an abridgement during his old age but before he could polish them, his life came to an end in the city of Amid. His body was placed in the church of the Mother of God in an urn of marble among the burial of the patriarch John who had fostered him, in the year

1384 of the Greeks. He fulfilled the patriarchate for 9 years and appointed 17 bishops, dwelling in the Arab territory because of the treachery of the Greeks.

[449] **After Mor John Shushan, Mor Basil.** After Mor John Bar Shushan had died, the bishops assembled in Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur to appoint a common pastor for them. Since there was no agreement on one (candidate) they ended up employing again the lots. They wrote down the name of a certain Abdon the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Gagai from the family of the patriarch Mor John Bar Abdon, trained and competent in the doctrine, and the name of Basil the manager monk of the monastery of Mor Barsoum. When the lot had fallen on Basil the bishops rejoiced since the majority of them was not pleased with Abdon because of his impudence, as it is written that ‘an impudent man is a terror in a village.’ Basil absolutely refused (the charge) to the degree that he cut his beard so that they would leave him (in peace) on account of this damage. He was avoiding the greatness of the ministry out of his humility, gentleness and simplicity of manners but the bishops did not dismiss him and even when he had cut his beard they appointed him by force. He was called Basil, in January of the year 1384, in Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur. Athanasius of Edessa laid the hand on him. [451] He fulfilled the patriarchate for one year and half and died in Maypherqaṭ and his body was placed there, in a church. He appointed John from the monastery of Qarṭmin as maphrian for Tagrit and 6 bishops among whom Abdon whose name had been included in the lots and who was appointed (later) Metropolitan for Simnadu.

After Mor Basil, John of Simnadu Abdon. After Mor Basil had died the bishops assembled to appoint a leader for them. Simeon of Kaysum and Athanasius of Samosata said to the rest of bishops that in that election made by lots (the name) of Abdon⁷¹ went out but the head of the synod denied it and hid his name. The bishops did not believe the word of these two because the chief of the synod who had made the election had died, therefore it seemed the word of liars. Since they had turned away from the longing (for the patriarchate) of Abdon they did not agree on him. Thus Abdon rejected the fear of God from his mind, bribed Philardus the Armenian general, captured 20 bishops from the region of Melitene and the neighbourhood and forced them to ordain him patriarch. Then each one of the bishop gave 100 dinars to Philardus to escape from his hands (of the patriarch). They also asked not to force them (to ordain) the illegitimate Abdon. Abdon lived under the time of four [453] patriarchates up to the days of Abu al-Faraj. He ordained four bishops among whom Kurizo who (later) converted to Islam in Amid. After that Abdon was ordained, also Dionysius was ordained. The bishops, after they had escaped from the hands of Philardus assembled in the monastery of Mor Barsoum and

⁷¹ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘Shem‘on of Kaishum and Athanasius of Samosata spoke for the other bishops at an election by lot.’

proclaimed Eleazar the archimandrite of that monastery, who absolutely declined (the offer) and cursed himself 40 times that he would have not accepted. The bishops, in order (to avoid) that Abdon ruled the Church tyrannically, accepted to bear the condemnation of the anathema and forced the archimandrite who was known to the rulers and to Philardus and ordained him patriarch on Friday at the end of the Great Fast and proclaimed him Dionysius. John maphrian of Tagrit laid the hand on him in the year 1388 and they asked him to consecrate the *myron* [455] on Thursday of the Sacraments but he could not because his hand was shrivelled. He lived one year and appointed no bishops. He died in Hışn Manşur on a Sunday in December and was buried in the Church of Mor Theodore.

After Dionysius, John. After Dionysius had died, the insolent Abdon started to strut around and plunder the Church for 7 years. All the pious bishops assembled and anathematize him like a heretic and in the same synod they ordained patriarch Mor John, the hermit from the cells of the region of Kharshana, in the Church of Mor George in Melitene, in the year 1391. Mor Ignatius of Melitene laid the hand on him. He led the Church for one year and half and ordained 5 bishops. He died in the year 1399 of the Greeks. His holy body was placed in the monastery of Barid. He was a very humble, gentle and of simple manner man.

[457] **After John, Dionysius.** When the patriarch Mor John had died, the insolent Abdon ruled. Some men were strengthening him saying that his election had been made by God because the (previous) patriarchs had died as soon as they had been elected and ordained. He wrote as follows: 'They left me who am fountain of life and they went to dig cisterns for themselves, broken cisterns which discover no fount of water.' Though being under deposition (he dared) to anathematize and ordain four bishops. The faithful were in intolerably distress and many came to desperation because the faith had been so weakened. Then the Church was again attacked through Mark the archimandrite of the convent of Barid who possessed (such a) wealth (that it could) infatuate (even) the wise men. When he saw that the ranks of the church had been confused by the attempt of Abdon, he attempted too to give to Philardus 3,000 dinars, 2,000 from himself and 1,000 from the convent. He seized by force two bishops who ordained him patriarch and he was called Dionysius. All the bishops and John the maphrian of Tagrit rejected Mark as (they did) with Abdon. After the church had been troubled for 6 years, the bishops assembled and elected the better from the two bad men. Thus they accepted [459] Mark so that Abdon could not rule, especially by request of the maphrian John to whom Nisibis had been assigned which henceforth was among the seats of the East. Dionysius fulfilled the patriarchate for one year and 7 months and ordained 10 bishops. He died on 1401 of the Greeks and was buried in the convent of Zarniqa in the province of Melitene who is in the possession of the Armenians nowadays.

After Dionysius, Athanasius Abu al-Faraj Bar Khamar. When Dionysius Mark had died Abdon arose to take the patriarchate by force but the bishops did not accept him. They

assembled in the citadel of Qaramis in the province of Melitene, they casted the lots and the lot of Abu al-Faraj came out, a monk of the monastery of Mor Barsoum, native of the city of Amid in Mesopotamia from the family of those who are called Khamare, who grew up and was trained in Melitene and spent his novitiate in the monastery. When he was proclaimed he did not want to consent because of the tumult which had occurred in the Church because of Abdon. The bishops put on him the suspension [461] and after he had been under interdictions for 9 months the bishops took him by force with the help of Gabriel the Greek hegemon of Melitene, and they ordained him in the church of Raḥta on the first Sunday of December 1402 and Timotheus of Tel Patriq laid the hand on him. Abdon again hastened to Gabriel and promised him 2,000 darics if he would remove Athanasius and appoint him. Gabriel, since he was expecting to see nothing less than that amount as a gift from Athanasius (precisely because) he had appointed him, he sent him away. When the patriarch did not do what he expected, because he did not want to be forced and he refused to bribe, Gabriel got angry. He sent for him from the monastery of Mor Barsoum by force and after he had reached the door of the court Gabriel went out to meet him and asked to be blessed by him. The patriarch, who was annoyed at him for having been summoned by force, did not want to bless him but said: 'You are Greek and we are Syrians!' Therefore Gabriel got angry and ordered the patriarch to be imprisoned in a brothel to dishonour him. The patriarch then ordered the churches to be closed and the semantrons to stop (playing). [463] When the faithful could not bear (anymore) the imprisonment of the patriarch, they collected 400 dinars of gold and gave (them) to Gabriel. The patriarch left and went to the monastery. On October 1406 Ignatius metropolitan of Melitene and writer died, and the patriarch proclaimed as new metropolitan Sa'id Bar Sabuni, competent in the sciences and skilled writer in both Greek and Syrian languages and ordained him in Qanqirat in the province of Amid in the convent of the prophet Elias and he was called John. In the same day in which he entered in Melitene the doors (of the city) were closed and Qilij Arslan the sultan of Iconium was besieging it. Since the governor Gabriel had the suspicion that the holy bishop wanted to deliver the city to the Turks, he raged at him, hit his head with a lance and killed him on a Friday of July of the same year. Since that cursed Gabriel feared (the reaction) of the people he brought [465] the bishop to a garden and hid him in the reeds. After two days he was conducted to the great church of Raḥta and buried there. The patriarch, since the rebel Abdon was against him, was forced to descend to Baghdad to receive the diploma from the caliph Abu Ja'far. After he had returned from Baghdad, after a while Abdon died in Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur and he ordered him to be buried in front of the door of the church so that he could be trampled by the people for he had injured the church of God. The patriarch then assembled the bishops, accompanied him (to the grave) and pardoned him. He said that even though he was overcome by the desire of the power he had died orthodox in the faith. After Sa'id Bar Sabuni who is John metropolitan of Melitene had been killed the city and his region was devastated by the

Turks, and it remained widowed for 7 years. The patriarch passed Dionysius of Gubos that is Bar Maudiana to Melitene and he renewed there the education since he was well trained in the reading of the Old and New Testament, the teaching of homilies and (the art of) writing. This Dionysius was a disciple of Bar Shushan and master of the patriarch Athanasius. When Gubos was devastated [467] he went up to the monastery of Mor Barsoum, taught (there) and institute there the service that was in the monastery of Bar Gagai. After these things the patriarch ordained as metropolitan of Edessa Abu Galeb Bar Sabuni the brother of the Saadi killed in Melitene. Both brothers were renowned in the ecclesiastical and secular sciences and skilled in both Greek and Syrian language. In one word they were the eye of the entire generation in the house of the Orthodox. However they were deprived of heart humility, origin of all the virtues. Saadi who had been ordained for Melitene and was called John, at the completion of forty days of his consecration was killed by Gabriel the governor of Melitene, while Abu Galeb his brother was ordained for Edessa and was called Basil. Before the completion of 40 days a dissension arose between him (and) the patriarch and the latter excommunicated him because of (this) reason: After the treasures of the patriarchate had fallen in the hands of the rebel Abdon, he pawned them in Edessa for some gold. Abu Galeb after having been ordained gave a scroll of his own hand (stating) that if he had not sent the treasures back he should not have been allowed to fulfil his office. However, when he went to Edessa he alleged that the nobles of Edessa did not want to give them back. Thus, the patriarch sent a decree of deposition to Bar Sabuni saying: 'As you have decreed and written by your hand [469] you will be deposed.' Bar Sabuni defended himself saying that he should not be deposed because he had reneged on his document unwillingly. The Edessenes thus were divided in two (parties): those (supporting) the patriarch were angry with the metropolitan, and those (supporting) the metropolitan strengthened him to the degree that he misbehaved by ordaining priests and deacons. The Frankish governor of Edessa helped the metropolitan and sent the Franks several times with the Edessene nobles to intercede with the patriarch about him but the patriarch did not accept. Also Mor Dionysius the Elder of Melitene and 70 excellent men of Melitene went to him, they prostrated at the feet of the patriarch saying: 'Our faces will not arise from the ground until you will bless the bishop of Edessa.' Not only he did not accept but he also deposed the elder Mor Dionysius Bar Maudiana from the office of Melitene because he had interceded for Bar Sabuni, after he had been there for 12 years and had enriched it with his knowledge. He ordained at his place Elisha the archimandrite of the convent of Barid who was called John. When he arrived at Melitene the governor asked him (some) gold and the city gave 100 dinars at his place. Thus he was accepted but eventually after he had been discovered [471] to be a lover of drinking wine he was despised and disdained by everybody. The patriarch made something else worth of wonder. When some Edessene priests went to him he ordained them for the second time because Bar Sabuni had ordained them. The patriarch did so with all those

who had been ordained by Abu Galeb, and without asking them about their office he ordained them priests. Afterwards when the enquiry took place they said that Bar Sabuni had ordained them also deacons, thus the patriarch was shocked and he could not ordain them deacons after the ordination as priests and if their deaconate was acceptable also their first priesthood was so but if it was abolished, also the second priesthood was invalid. Since he did not know what to do, he forbade them to administer the office without the presence of a deacon with them but it is evident that also this precept of dispensation makes a fool of the law: indeed, what can a deacon help another with? [473] When Bar Sabuni saw that the patriarch had gone to the convent of Dovair in the province of Antioch went to the patriarch of the Franks and accused the patriarch much evilly. He sent to bring Mor Athanasius forcibly and asked him to bless Bar Sabuni. The patriarch replied: 'He is guilty of many things.' Since he had not heard the word the interpreter said: 'He says: He owes much gold is due to me.' The patriarch of the Franks said: 'This is (proper of) Simeon and not of Peter.' Even though you are used (to take) gold for (giving) your consecration, pretend that today I have given 10,000 dinars to you to let go from the interdiction this man who has sought refuge in this church of ours' The patriarch could not resist to the request and he (the patriarch of the Franks) gave him a document to write the reconciliation with Bar Sabuni. He burst against Bar Sabuni saying: 'Abu Galeb you see where you have brought me' and that miserable did not keep silent but replied boldly: 'If I am Abu Galeb you are Abu al-Faraj.' This word made the patriarch lose his temper, he threw the document, offered his neck and said to the patriarch of the Franks: 'Even if [475] you cut my head I will not absolve him.' The Franks were angry and ordered Athanasius to be scourged. An elder Frankish bishop said to their patriarch: 'Even if this miserable deserves to be scourged it is not right to use scourges inside the church.' Thus God covered (him), patriarch Mor Athanasius left and went to the Church of the Mother of God of the Syrians where summoned his friend Abd Al-Masih, an Edessene Chalcedonian philosopher. He went to offer abundant gifts to Ragul the lord of Antioch to receive the permission for the patriarch to go to his convent because the patriarch of the Franks had ordered (to the guardians of) the gates of the city so that he would not be allowed to go out. When he went out, he went to dwell in the convent of Qanqrat in Amid. (There) a dissension arose between him and the deacon Isaac Bar Kraia about the courtyards, the vineyards and the fields (of the convent) and the patriarch deposed Isaac. Since Isaac was his friend, the governor sent several times for the patriarch to ask him to be conciliated with Isaac but when he refused the governor ordered that he could not go out from Amid and he stayed in Amid like in a prison. Since he was much afflicted he sent to Joselin the Lord of Edessa to intercede with the Lord of Amid. He (succeeded) with difficulty in leaving, he went out and went [477] to greet Joselin and from there he went up to the monastery of Mor Barsoum. He hardened the interdictions on Edessa and no service was held in the church because of Bar Sabuni. Henceforth the Edessenes accustomed themselves to be

baptized in the churches of the Franks. The Church of God was much damaged by the controversy of the patriarch with Bar Sabuni and with the three elder bishops: Maudiana whom he had interdicted from Melitene and who had fulfilled the priesthood for 50 years, the (bishop) of Qalisura and the (bishop) of the Tur Abdin whom both the patriarch had deposed because they disagreed with his decisions. When many people much pleaded with him but he refused and those bishops died without having being loosing from the interdiction,⁷² many despaired of their faith. When on the Sunday of Pentecost the patriarch started the offering in the monastery of Mor Barsoum and arrived at the invocation of the Holy Spirit he suddenly (started) trembling, changed expression in his face and lost consciousness. He was made to seat on his throne and the bishop of Gargar completed the offering. Afterwards he recovered his force and ordained the bishop for Segestan but after he had ruled for 7 days, the moment of his departure arrived and on Saturday 8 June 1440 at 3 o' clock he died. His body was conducted and [479] placed in the sanctuary of the same monastery. He fulfilled the patriarchate for 38 years and ordained the maphrian of Tagrit Dionysius who is Moses and 64 bishops. Since he had led the Church very harshly and who had been interdicted by him was hardly and late absolved, tremble and fear fell on the sons of the church. However, except for the inclination to ambition he was adorned with all the virtues and used to behave prudently. When the message of the death of the patriarch reached Edessa and, according to the law, the priests gathered to the funeral also Abu Galeb Bar Sabuni (went there) but while he was standing up in the service he was struck, fell and they carried him to his cell. Afterwards he recovered his strength and arose to go to the synod which had been convened in Kaysum but when reached Samosata fell from the horse. They brought him back to Edessa and he died without having being absolved from the suspension. In the time of the patriarch Mor Athanasius the building of the convent of Peskin began. The elder Plotinus the Great who came from the region of Kharshana and was hosted in the monastery of Mor Barsoum ordered Rabban David and his fellows excellent hermits who were hosted in the monastery of Mor Abhai to dwell in the cavern on the banks of the Euphrates [481] next to the ruined convent called of the Samosateans because he had a vision from the Lord that the cavern was going to be a monastery for the excellent hermits. They went up and dwelt in a hermit cell and they deserved (to receive) visions (and to perform) marvels and miracles. Dionysius of Melitene and Bar Sabuni wanted to excommunicate Plotinus and the monks of Peskin as they had converted to the heresy of the Messalians and the demons appeared to them (but) the patriarch did not consent. When Rabban David Rabban Habakkuk ruled as

⁷² WILMSHURST 2016: 'Many people pleaded fruitlessly with him time and again, and the bishops also vainly remonstrated with him: but he simply ignored their censures.'

archimandrite he built the sanctuary and observed the canons which had been set by Rabban David not to possess vineyard, fields or beehives.

After Athanasius Abu al-Faraj, John Moses. Then the maphrian and the bishops gathered, casted the lots and the choice fell on Maudiana the archimandrite of Dovair in the province of Antioch. In those days Dionysius of Kaysum who had been the chief of the synod died. All the bishops went with the maphrian to Tell Bashri at exhortation of Joselin who was their governor. [483] Maudiana was ordained and called Mor John on 17 February 1440. The maphrian Dionysius laid the hand on him in the Great Church of the Franks. Joselin and the nobles attended the service. After he was ordained he went to the monastery of Mor Barsoum and since when he passed through Mabbug Mor John Bar Andreas did not receive him, he gathered the bishops and deposed him. Everyone said that this cause was not worth of deposition but just of reprehension and correction. Bar Andreas was from the city of Farzmān and was a learned and eloquent man, fluent in our language and in that of the Armenians. Truly, for all his generation he was an example and an eloquent tongue against Franks and Armenians. However, since he despised the patriarch and could not be persuaded at all to ask pardon he was blamed by everyone. He hoped that after having gone out from the dioceses all the sons of the church and also the patriarch, both compelled by the people, would supplicate him to return to the charge. But the patriarch without inquiring, elected at his place Bar Turkaya who stayed in Mabbug for three years. When the patriarch saw (his) immoral conduct regretted. When Andreas saw that there was nobody who was concerned about him he regretted even more and asked pardon. [485] The patriarch much rejoiced, received him, absolved him and he returned to his seat. Basil Bar Shumana of Kaysum who after Andreas was deposed was scandalized that the ecclesiastical affairs had been administered unlawfully and resigned from the charge. He went to the convent of the hermits of Peskin and dwelt there in peace. The patriarch made Kaysum patriarchal seat at the place of Amid. Basil was ordained for Amid and when Bar Andreas returned to Mabbug the patriarch made return Bar Shumana also to Kaysum after he had been hosted five years in Peskin. At that time Gregory the catholicos of the Armenians composed a treatise where he blamed the Syrians because they made the sign of the cross with one finger, on account of the leaven bread and the blessing over the wine [487], honey and oil in which the mice falls⁷³ which they eat and drink. The treatise was

⁷³ A theological concern about the possibility of pollution of the sacrament during his conservation is dealt with in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae* (1225-1274 A.D.). 'Further, sometimes, too, it happens, owing to the priest's want of care, that Christ's blood is spilled, or that he vomits the sacrament received, or that the consecrated hosts are kept so long that they become corrupt, or that they are nibbled by mice, or lost in any manner whatsoever'. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Summa Theologiae*, 3a. 80, 3.

delivered to the convent of the Armenians in Cilicia called Trazareg and when Bar Andreas heard that in our time the Armenian monks read it and deride the Syrians, he was moved to wrath, changed his monastic dress and went to the convent of the Armenians. He stayed there as one of them and wrote secretly a refutation to the treatise and mocked the Armenians who lived after the manner of the Jews, he set it between their books and departed. After (some) days they found it and sent it to the catholicos to inform him about the way the Syrians had deceived them. The catholicos burned both treatises: the one of him and the one of Bar Andreas. At that time John of Melitene who is Elisha died. There was then Basil of Gihon, going frequently to the cell of the patriarch, a skilful man in the art of the writing and of the ecclesiastical demonstrations. [489] The patriarch due to his simplicity was induced by Basil' ambition to rule over Melitene to reject everyone whose name had been put forward and thus Melitene remained three years without a pastor. Then the citizens of Melitene wrote a universal agreement on Rabban Isho' deacon who was known as Bar Qutreh after (the name of) his city and sent (it) to the patriarch. The (bishop) of Gihon then was devoured by jealousy and made the patriarch to write harsh interdictions on Isho'. When the letter of interdictions was read on the ambon, the elder honourable Rabban Isho' deacon, who later became patriarch, approached and said that he would have accepted on him everything that had been ordered by the blessed. He went to stay in his house and when the patriarch heard of it extolled his humility and immediately wrote to thank him. The issue of Melitene persisted until the patriarch died in September 1448 in the convent of Duvair. His holy body was placed there. He fulfilled the patriarchate for 8 years and ordained 12 bishops.

After Mor John Maudiana, Athanasius Isho' Bar Qutreh. After our church of the Orthodox was left without a common chief for one year and three months, the elder bishops wrote to each other [491] urging a synod. Among the elders, there were also the bishop of Gargar, the one of Şemḥa, the one of Claudia and the one of Gihon who after the death of the patriarch wrote a decree and a seal with the impression of the patriarch to rule tyrannically on Melitene, and only these four casted the lots, as they said, and wrote the name of Raban Isho' the deacon of Qutreh and two others. When the name of Isho' came out they sent two bishops to bring him to the convent of Maqrana and they dressed him with the monastic dress. The news arrived to them that the maphrian had arrived in Amid and that the governor asked them to gather in his city. The bishops arose and took the elected one and went to the convent of Qanqrat and there the bishop of Gargar ordained him a priest. They entered in Amid and there his consecration took place on Sunday 4 December 1450. [493] The maphrian Mor Dionysius laid the hand on him, being with him 12 bishops. He was proclaimed Athanasius patriarch of Antioch. In that day Mujad al-Din Bar Nisan the governor of Amid made a banquet for the entire synod and after one day the patriarch ordered the bishop of Gihon to leave Melitene and to go to his dioceses and Basil to leave for Amid which had been assigned to him by

Qal'ah Jabar because Amid had remained the seat for the patriarch as it is in our time. Henceforth evil scandals came to light in the church. Basil of Gihon arose and said to the patriarch that he had not become patriarch through an election of correct lots but with evil treachery and said that he and the (bishop) of Gargar had deceived him and swore to him that he would not have left Melitene, they made injustice on this account and wrote one single name on the three cards. When this news came out everybody was scandalized. The bishops of the western Euphrates were not proclaiming the patriarch (adducing) that they were not present at the election and consecration but (actually because) they were going to appoint another one.⁷⁴ The patriarch left Amid, went to the monastery of Mor Barsoum [495] and ordained Theodore, the son of his sister, metropolitan of Melitene with the name of Ignatius and ordained for Jerusalem Romanus who was called from the convent of Jerusalem even though he spent his youth in Melitene and he was called also Ignatius. In the year 1457 the western bishops assembled with Bar Andreas and Bar Shumana and the rest (of the bishops) to Hışn Manşur, wrote a volume of canons and sent it to the patriarch (saying) that if he would observe it, they would accept him. When he consented to observe (the canons) they went to the monastery, gave their agreement on his *sustatikon*⁷⁵ and they were reconciled. The patriarch went to Melitene, met Malik Muhammad, sat in the church of Mor Mamas, blessed the *myron* in the Great Church, went to the monastery [497] of Mor Aaron of Sinjar and gave the authority to the bishop of Maypherqaṭ to govern Amid and to the bishop of Tarsus to govern Antioch. After one year the maphrian Dionysius died in Bagdad and his body was brought to Tagrit. On October 1454 Gazar from the convent of Sergisyeh who came from 'Ebra the citadel of Gubos, was ordained maphrian for Tagrit. He was instructed in Melitene, ordained in the monastery of Mor Aaron and called Ignatius. He was greatly renowned in the Church. After these things, some men went to the count Joselin⁷⁶ and said that this patriarch ruled unlawfully. Joselin, since the patriarch had not come to pay him his respects, ordered that he should not be proclaimed in his territory and passed Basil Shumana from Kaysum to Edessa, led Timotheus of Gargar to Samosata and discussed with him about how the election had been made. Some say that the bishop of Gangra said: 'Yes, what (the bishop) of Gihon (said) is true.' The bishop died in Samosata. The patriarch in order to gain the favour of Joselin attributed also Edessa to Shumana and subjected there the Edessenenes who were

⁷⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'The bishops of the districts to the west of the Euphrates, who had not been present at the election and consecration, refused to proclaim the patriarch and were ready to appoint another one.'

⁷⁵ 'Letter addressed to a newly appointed bishop in which the exact duties and powers of the new bishop were determined'. TEULE 1999:23.

⁷⁶ Joscelin I of Edessa (r. 1118–1131 A.D.). Ruler of the Crusader State of Edessa.

resisting against him. [499] He also ordained for Kaysum Elias the monk, the best teacher of his generation. He was called John (and was) renowned in the Church. At that time Basil of Laqabin was accused of fornication and was deposed but after a while the patriarch had compassion on him and assigned to him the convents of Zabar. He was expelled also from there for the same reason but again he (the patriarch) spared him and assigned to him the dioceses of Sibaberek. He stayed there three years and was expelled from there for the same reason. Some said that he was slandered. The truth is manifest (only) to God! At that time Mor John of Mardin was ordained by Mor Athanasius that is Abu al-Faraj in 1436. [501] He was endowed with holy manners, he used to instruct himself through labour, vigil and the reading of the Holy Scriptures and was known to kings and common people. He showed great generosity in ransoming of the Edessene prisoners who had been captured by Zengi.⁷⁷ The eyes of all the regions of the house of the Orthodox were fixed on him. Since in his youth he had not been trained on the Scriptures nor had he received (his) learning from the teachers, he thought that the punishments were not sent to men by God and he would also say openly to everyone that if the army of the Franks had been in Edessa, Zengi would not have seized it. He composed a tome and sent it for his part with examples based on the things of the nature, and he also gathered saying (presenting them as if they came) from the Holy Scriptures and explained them according to the opinion of his own mind. Then John of Kaysum and Bar Andreas composed each one a book of confutation against the word of the one of Mardin, and also the priest Saliba of Karigeh [503] who was likewise trained and renowned in his generation composed a book against the bishop. Mor Dionysius of Amid who is Jacob Bar Saliba composed a book on this subject and made a distinction between the plagues which had been sent by God and the damages which occurred because of the negligence of the men. In the year 1459 the patriarch Mor Athanasius went again to Amid and there he seated. John of Mabbug who is Bar Andreas, quarreled with Timotheus the bishop of Kharshana and replaced him with Bar Andreas who passed to Kharshana while Timotheus went to Mabbug. Bar Andreas according to his custom made a dispute with Philardus the governor of the region and left also Kharshana, went to Peskin and the bishop of Kharshana returned to his office. In the same year Joselin, the Frankish lord of Edessa, giving way to an abominable idea, gathered his soldiers and pretending to go to invade the region of the Turks, went to Harran and from there he went up to the White Mountain and waited there for three days until the people of the region recognized him and fled. Then he said to his nobles:

⁷⁷ Imad ad-Din Zengi (r.1127–1146 A.D.). Seljuk governor of Mosul and founder of the Zengid dynasty. He expanded his territory to Northern Syria and Iraq and conquered the Crusader State of Edessa in 1144 A.D.

‘Now that our way has been troubled let reach the monastery that is close to us, [505] let us pray and return.’ At dawn on Sunday 18 June he suddenly arrived and the monks rejoiced because they thought he had come to pray and with crosses and Gospels they met him at the southern gate. When he saw the cross he descended from the horse deceitfully and showed such humility that he (succeeded) in entering and in sitting (inside). Then he manifested his plot to some of his soldiers, followers of his wickedness, and sent them to the eye-sight of the citadel. The monks immediately recognised the treachery of this inspection but they could not avoid it. Five Franks went up and made the monk Hadbshabba and two watchmen go out. Joselin gathered all the monks and imprisoned them in the sanctuary, called the old men and started to accuse them: ‘You made flee the habitants of Claudia. Now give me the deposit you have from the Turkish regions⁷⁸.’ When the monks replied: ‘If we did let us never live in this place again.’ He raged, drove them from the sanctuary and imprisoned them in the prison called Kana and sent the Frankish priests [507] to enter in the sanctuary. They took everything they found there silver chalices, platters, glasses, crosses, thuribles, candlesticks, fans, evangelaries, books and parchments. They searched also the cells and gathered all the gold, silver, bronze, iron, clothing and carpets they found. After they had emptied them one by one for the entire Saturday, they took everything they could carry and at evening when Sunday was dawning they drove out the monks and all the people of the monastery and made them descend with him (Joselin). They spent the night in a vineyard called ‘of the paten’ on the banks of the river while a guard was left in the monastery, a few Franks and several Armenians, wicked men and plunderers. At the dawn of Sunday again he went up to the monastery sent some men to search the patriarchal cell for the second time, climbed up the rock and made the plunderers enter to the cells of the servants. They loaded the camels and the mules, broke one golden cross inside the monastery and divided it to the people. [509] He took also 12 mules (of the monastery) and carried 50 monks with him. On the second day he reached Gaktai, and in the night that they lodged there Barsoum appeared in a dream to three of his soldiers, saying: ‘Go and say to your king: I was angry with my monks and I delivered them to your hands so that you might grieve them and they might repent and convert. Now leave them to return to the monastery.’ When (each) soldier repeated his dream to the king his heart hardened like the Pharaoh and said: ‘Unless they pay for their freedom I will not let them go.’ Again some men of his family saw the shape of a sword of fire drawn out from the shrine where the right hand of the saint was saved and they heard a voice saying: ‘Joselin, I tell you that if you do not leave me and my monks, with this sword I will destroy you and your region.’ When they informed him he set a price

⁷⁸ WILMSHURST 2016 add. ‘I know you have hidden it here somewhere.’

for the monks of 5,000 dinars, released the elder David and Jacob and they went to the monastery in September/October of 1460 as soon as they provided the gold.⁷⁹ Then Joselin was surrounded by the Turkish armies in Tel Bashir and ordered the right hand of the holy to be brought out on the city wall and they lifted it up against the camp of the Turkish while all the people were baring their heads and weeping. Joselin made know that if the camp had been conquered he would have sent the hand to monastery and he would have returned everything [511] he had seized. In an hour the camp was raided and conquered. Joselin sent to the monastery and asked for forgiveness. The elder monks went to bring the saint in a procession to the monastery which they reached at the beginning of January on the feast of the Holy Doctors. At that time the patriarch went from Amid to Ḥesno d-Ziyad. The bishop there had died and the patriarch remained there for three years even though he had ordained his disciple Sergius called John. The maphrian Ignatius went to him to be helped for the union between the Tagritians and the people of Mosul but since the patriarch did not consent, the maphrian by his own wisdom with the time accomplished the union. From Ḥesno d-Ziyad the patriarch went up to the monastery and John of Mardin adversary [513] of Jacob the rhetorician who is Bar Saliba sent this message: ‘Which authority has a deacon to dismiss the word of a bishop?’⁸⁰ Then the patriarch assigned the honour to the bishop of Mardin and wrote a rebuke and a suspension for Jacob not out of justice but (just) to gratify the bishop. Then Jacob brought the writing he had composed in front of a synod and when he called the patriarch, not only he freed Jacob from the suspension but also ordained him bishop for Mar’ash; he was called Dionysius and was sent him to the bishop of Mardin and he pleased him. At that time the bishop of Mardin gathered a synod of bishops among him and the maphrian honoured the bishop by coming himself. The apostolic canons were renewed and confirmed. Also John of Kaysum went to the patriarch and urged him to assemble a synod to reform the ecclesiastical affairs which had fallen into desuetude. When they were (engaged) in such things the monks sent by the maphrian and the bishop of Mardin arrived with letters exhorting not to turn away from the uprightness.⁸¹ Since the patriarch had been annoyed by them and by the bishop of Kaysum he said: ‘If you wish to assemble among us there is no impediment.’ He said so because he did not think that they would gather. Then the bishop of Kaysum reached Mardin, brought the maphrian and the eastern bishops and all of them gathered with the bishop of Mardin and [515] the western bishops in the monastery of Mor Barsoum in January 1466. Forty canons were written but the patriarch and the

⁷⁹ WILMSHURST 2016 om. ‘as soon as they provided the gold’

⁸⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘Was it right,’ he said, ‘for a treatise by a bishop to deceive a deacon?’

⁸¹ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘to make reforms without delay.’

western bishops did not observe them but (kept) in the original custom of selling the priesthood as the Armenians do. For this reason, Bar Andreas in a vituperative poem under the name of Michael a monk his friend who had left the ascetic life and had gone to live in Akko, spitefully mocked the patriarch saying: 'Our chosen one is the best of the money-changers, he learned it and obtained this art since a long time, forge new silver coins, Simeon, and bring (it) with you! If it was rejected (one day) it will be loved!' Since the rulers and the bishop of Mardin supported the maphrian, also Mosul was merged with Tagrit. In this synod this decision was confirmed, the patriarch and all the eastern and western bishops subscribed it and also attributed the Tur Abdin to Bar Andreas and dismissed the elder bishop who was there. Ra'ban was given in addition to John of Kaysum and to Bar Salibi they gave Mabbug, in addition to Mar'ash.[517] They (also) added Sibaberek to Edessa and dismissed Basil back then was in Laqabin. Truly, they assembled this synod (only) to satisfy their own passions and for no other reason. After the synod had been dismissed, the maphrian and the bishop of Mardin brought Bar Andreas with them and when they reached the monastery of Mor Ananias, he showed there the richness of his doctrine. His fame spread among the people of Tur Abdin; monks, bishops and laymen came to salute him and he was welcomed as an angel of God from everyone. However (some) enemies of him came up, and they would criticise his behaviour, because (he was) proud and boastful. He was imprudent with words because he was too confident in the fullness of his doctrine. Therefore, as he died before having spent one whole year in the region yet, some people thought that he had been killed with poison. At that time some of the bishops of our church sinned manifestly. One (was) Aaron of Segestan whom the maphrian Ignatius had ordained bishop of Haditha. After he had fallen in fornication and he had been rejected by the faithful, he converted to Islam. After a while he repented and converted back (to Christianity) but, as he was not honoured with the rank of the episcopate he went to Constantinople and became Chalcedonian. Then he returned again to the patriarch who took pity on him and in a synod gave him the permission to burn the incense. The maphrian complained but [519] the patriarch accused him (in return) to have ordained him without an examination and to hold him back from the (divine) grace. However, eventually the (opinion of) the maphrian was confirmed because after the patriarch had pardoned Aaron, without any reason that miserable returned to the Arabs, went to Jerusalem and from there to the Maronites in the mount of Lebanon where he died. The patriarch Mor John ordained for Tel Bashir another one from Hesno d-Ziyad who was surnamed Bar Turkaya and from there he sent him to Symnadu. However, he was detected in fornication and driven out to Habora but also there he fell (in fornication) and was expelled. He went to the greater Armenia where he put off the monastic dress, took a wife and was reduced to serve a ruler. When he saw that the bread could not relieve the appetite of him and of the prostitute (he had married) he decided to wear a false monastic dress and started travelling and gathering alms in the names of the monks and the saints. When it was

discovered that he was an impostor and a fornicator some zealous Armenians killed him. [521] Another one was Gabriel from Mar'ash who was surnamed Shamabir or the injurer of the prayer. He was ordained by Mor Athanasius for Sarug but when he was detected in fornication he was expelled from his dioceses. He made a cross and travelled through the *curiae* of the Armenians, deceiving (the people) but when the governor of Melitene captured him, he took everything that was found with him and imprisoned him. His brother, a priest (named) Romanus went to Qilij Arslan,⁸² the son of the sultan Mas'ud, the lord of Mar'ash, set (a certain sum) of gold on the episcopate and for this he sent to deliver him from the prison. Then John of Kaysum spared the church to be introduced with a new bad habit⁸³ and soothed him to go to the patriarch who assigned him to Damascus so that his vices might be concealed in a foreign region.⁸⁴ Another one (named) Joseph, the sister's son of Mor Timotheus of Gargar during his deaconate persevered in wantonness and drunkenness and because of this that holy man could not escape from blame as Eli when he died.⁸⁵ Some of his family compelled the patriarch Mor Athanasius in the span of one night to dress Joseph with the monastic dress and to ordain him priest, and after a day bishop. Therefore according to what it is said [523] 'Everything that is accepted during the night is covered in the night', immediately Joseph returned to (his) bad habits: drunkenness, games of chance, fun, and prostitutes, generating sons from fornication. When he was accused, the patriarch blamed those who had pushed him (to ordain) Joseph but they threatened the patriarch saying: 'If you anathematize him he will apostatize.' For this reason when Abu Galeb a hermit who possessed (some) convents in that region was moved by zeal, gathered some witnesses and brought them to the patriarch so that they gave testimony on Joseph' laxity, the patriarch did not accept (the accusation) and also blamed Abu Galeb that his zeal was out of ambition to become bishop for that dioceses. Then the bishop of Mardin with great zeal compelled the patriarch to dismiss Joseph from the pastoral office and to send him to the convent of Maqrona. At that time the elder bishop Basil went to the patriarch and forced him to ordain the son of his brother, a child who had not yet discernment so that he might become bishop at his place. When the patriarch refused saying that it was unlawful, the old man said: 'You have already ordained Joseph of Gargar at the place of his uncle [525] giving in heritance his seat and also to the one of 'Arqa you have allowed

⁸² Qilij Arslan II (1156-1192 A.D.), sultan of the Sultanate of Rum, Seljuk state established in the part of Anatolia which had been conquered from Byzantine.

⁸³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'feared that he would return to his old bad habits'.

⁸⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'his vices might be corrected in a foreign district.'

⁸⁵ The biblical high priest Eli. In the book of Samuel Eli is remembered for indulging the immoral behaviour of his sons. As punishment Eli and all his male descendants die during the attack of the Philistines. 1 Sam. 2:12.

to inherit the seat of his uncle and you have ordained for Laqabin (a boy) without discernment. Me, I am just one of them and the first of all of them. Then the patriarch was compelled to ordain him for Gihon and immediately also the elder Dionysius of Gubos went to the patriarch and (brought) with him his brother's son whom (the patriarch) ordained at his place; this one named Abraham was called Timotheus and it was (thus) fulfilled what had been written: 'When a little pebble is pulled out the entire river dries out.' In the year 1474 when Michael the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Barsoum, who afterwards was appointed patriarch, took care to drain the water to the monastery because when many people used to gather to worship the saint, especially during his feast, were afflicted by thirst because they brought the water from afar on the back of a mule. Then our father Michael the archimandrite [527] summoned Mor John bishop of Mardin who with diligence calculated the measurement of the ground and (how) to direct easily the waters where he wanted. He came readily and after he had made the measurement and had shown that it was possible for the waters to enter the monastery, he started to dig the ground and to prepare what it was needed. However, since the winter was approaching the bishop returned to his dioceses in order to come back in April. Mor Michael says: 'I will be silent on how many afflictions I had to bear from the brothers. Satan who hates good things stirred up old and young men and they all wailed and wept at my lowliness. One said: 'The men of old were wiser and richer than us, if they had not known that on the peak of a mountain like this, crowded of stones and rocks, a canal cannot be formed, they would not have desisted from this work.' Another said: 'Even if it is possible to do it, why we should do it now that the Turks are surrounding us?' Another one complained about the expenses. All of them together cried out that it (the canal) would decay with the monastery and that it would be destroyed. While I was accepting willingly this bitter stinging the spring arrived and the holy bishop came as he had promised and everyone among the Arabs or the Christians who had listened (at him) lauded (him). The monks were encouraged and each one was anxious to incite (the others) and to be the first in the work. [529] especially because the saint had appeared to some of the monks and servants who were against, holding a fillet, measuring and indicating: 'I want the waters to be here.' Again, when the waters were close to the gate of the monastery, a very hard steep rock was standing there which (we) had not the force to break. Thus we were going to despair but the saint appeared to a foreign monk and said to him: 'Go and tell the bishop and the archimandrite 'Do not give up! Dig in a certain place and you will find a passage for the water.' When he reported (it) to us, none of us believed him because all the mountain was tough in that place but the monk by himself struck the point which had been shown to him and the mountain was discovered to stretch over 500 cubits. Thus God helped (them) thanks to the prayers of the saint and the work was accomplished on 4 August of the mentioned year. In the year 1475 the maphrian Mor Ignatius died on the road and he was brought to the monastery of Mor Ananias, to Mor John who inherited also the

treasure. In that year Saliba of Qarigeh died in Melitene. He was a priest and when he remained widowed he prospered in learning, surpassed everyone in his generation and acquired great fame. Even if eventually he was despised for drinking wine he became monk and [531] Bar Salibi composed some of his works for him. In the year 1476 the Easterners of Tagrit and Mosul, came to choose a maphrian for them and John the archimandrite of Mor Jacob of the Mountain of Edessa from the descendants of the nobles of Sarug was proclaimed and ordained. In the same year while he was going up from his monastery of Mor Ananias to the cave of Ardur to the anchorite Heheh, Mor John the blessed (bishop) of Mardin fell from the horse and died. All the valuables of the maphrian that he had inherited fell to wicked men who impiously squandered them and they also perished miserably. Some advised the patriarch to go to Mardin and to establish the seat there instead of Amid. He agreed but he was waiting to recover strength since he was afflicted from the illness of strangury but when the pain was increasing the elder realized that his end was coming and sent to summon Dionysius Bar Salibi from Melitene who was hosted there and assigned Amid to him. He did not accept but greeted back the patriarch. When the people of Mardin saw that the patriarch Michael could not go to them they wrote documents of consent on [533] Rabban Michael the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Barsoum but when the patriarch and the bishops gave their consent he refused. When these things were standing in this way, the end of the holy elder came in the vespers of Friday 14 July 1477. His body was placed in the treasury of the sanctuary in the grave where the other three patriarch named Athanasius (had been buried). He ruled the church for 17 years and 7 months and ordained two maphrians and 32 bishops. In that year John the pope of Alexandria died and also the catholicos of the Armenians. The Armenians had four catholicos at this time. One in Egypt, one in Qal'a Rumayta; [535] one in Akhtamar in the lake of Archestia and one in Agaban in the Greater Armenia.

After Mor Athanasius Isho' Bar Qutreh, Mor Michael the Great. When the blessed Mor Athanasius died the bishops heard that the Egyptians at the completions of 40 days after the death of Mor John ordained as their patriarch Mor Mark. They also solicitously assembled in the region of Gargar and since some bishops were fancying to be elected taking as example H̄aye, Abdon and (bishops) of the past, the others burned with zeal and wrote the name of three persons: the elder Rabban Abu Galeb, who had also been proposed in the election of Mor Athanasius, Rabban Sahda from the Mountain of Edessa, and Rabban Michael, the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Barsoum. They cast lots in the convent of Peskin on the Sunday of Pentecost after the offering and three services. The lot fell on Rabban Michael the archimandrite [537] who is Bar Elias, priest of the city of Melitene of the Qindasi family and they sent three bishops to bring him. He fled from the bishops and hid in a dark place because he was aware that a dissension (had arisen) between them. When those bishops who were not present at the election arrived they started quarrelling with those who had hastened (the election). Then the

maphrian and the Easterners came and silenced the dispute saying: 'We are ready to ordain him without lots.'⁸⁶ Also two letters arrived. One from the hermits living in the desert saying: 'If Michael is elected, we make know that we will proclaim him' and the other from the bishop of Jerusalem saying: 'I cannot come but I send my consent that if you ordain Michael of the monastery. Or I agree and accept also the archdeacon Denḥa of Edessa but if you (choose) out of these two men you will answer to God.' When those who had dissented said: 'We do seek no one but you'⁸⁷ but because you did not inform us that the election was ready we were offended.' When they had all agreed they went to the monastery and led him out the place where he had hidden. He did not consent until they imposed on themselves to proceed according to the force of the canons of the Holy Father that no one should make a chirotonia [539] for a bribe, or take an additional diocese and not to pass from a diocese to the other. However, some resisted saying: 'Do not ask exactness in this time but be indulgent with the weakness of (this) generation. They were ready to refuse the election until the bishop Mor Dionysius Bar Salibi burned with zeal and said them: 'For a long time me and the elder one who has passed away, have been tortured by the judgement of our conscience. Two synods took place for the correction of the errors and the old habits were not uprooted but now that the Lord has stirred up the zeal in the heart of this one who has been chosen as a leader for us and who honours nothing more than the correction of the canons, truly, whoever does not agree is a Satan!' Then everyone agreed and subscribed to (the election). When they performed the consecration there was a debate over the imposition of the hand because the maphrian used to say 'Me, I should impose the hand as my predecessor ordained two patriarchs' but the western bishops said: 'The senior bishop present who is the first [541] of the entire synod, should impose the hand.' After many things they decided that the maphrian should raise the hand and when he (was going) to impose the hand (the other) twelve would be with him, that the bishop of Edessa who was the chief of the synod performed the sacrifice, that the (bishop) of Melitene read the Gospel, that Bar Salibi (read) the other readings, that the (bishop of) Kaysum proclaimed the benediction and that the elder (bishop) of Gihon and the (bishop) of Gubos pronounced the prayers and so also the others who were a number of 32. They completed the service on Tuesday 18 October 1478 in the monastery of Mor Barsoum. Then the patriarch wrote a document setting on the definition of the Orthodox profession and sent it by three monks to the patriarchs of Alexandria as was custom in the Orthodox Churches. Also the patriarch of Alexandria, as soon as he was elected used to send it to the one of Antioch

⁸⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Saying that he had already decided to support Michael, and that they should ordain him without drawing lots.'

⁸⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'We have nothing against Michael'

to be proclaimed in Syria [453] as ours (was proclaimed) in Egypt. The patriarch went to the monastery of Mor Ananias and there he established 29 canons,⁸⁸ established the seat in Mardin instead of Amid and forced the bishop Mor Dionysius Bar Salibi to go to Amid which he governed capably for 5 years. At that time Ignatius of Melitene was arrested by the rulers who fined him 300 darics. The citizens of Melitene did not help him because they had long been angry at him. The patriarch decided to go to Antioch. He went to Edessa and travelled through all the convents of the Holy Mountain and two bishops accompanied him: Ignatius of Gargar and Basil of Caesarea. From there he passed the Euphrates but because of the war between the Lord of Aleppo and that of Antioch he could not proceed but returned to Kaysum and went to the monastery in Barid. A severe storm broke out and he waited there for days. When two bishops of Gihon, an elder and his nephew were caught up in various cases of fornication he excommunicated both of them. He went to Cilicia and from there to Antioch. He came to the palace of the *hegoumenos* and he was welcomed but he did not want to go in because the feast was approaching and he was in hurry to go to Jerusalem. He set off to Laodicea and from there to Tyre and on the Thursday [545] of the week of Hosannas he arrived in Jerusalem. He prayed on the Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. He celebrated the festivals of our Lord and the Holy Chrism in our monastery of the Magdalene. At the dawn of the Easter he met the patriarch of the Franks and he was honoured by him. From there he set forward to Antioch and first, in Qosair he went to the patriarch of the Franks who received him gladly and since he (the patriarch of the Franks) was offended with the patriarch of the Greeks who was in Antioch, he ordered to make enter our patriarch in a great procession to mock the Greeks. The remnant of our people (there) took consolation of this. After an entire year there he consecrated the *myron* and ordained three bishops. One of them was Athanasius for Anazarbus at the place of the elder Athanasius the uncle of the patriarch who departed to the Lord after fulfilling the office in Anazarbus in holiness and privation. From Antioch he returned to the monastery of Mor Barsoum and gathered a synod in the year 1480 in which John of Gihon [547] was dismissed from his charge and the hermit Abu Galeb was ordained at his place. He established a canon by decree of God that no bishop should be served by a woman neither if it was his sister or his mother and that he could not converse familiarly with a woman but that what had to be said to the women should be said through an elder priest and also that no monk (should admit) any woman in his cell, neither old nor young, nun or lay. At that time Athanasius of Maypherqaṭ died and Ignatius Abu Galeb was ordained at his place, the son of the brother of the deceased maphrian Mor Ignatius. He was called from the monastery of Mor Barsoum and was

⁸⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Nineteen canons.'

ordained there during the feast of the Cross. Basil of Edessa also [549] died and the archdeacon Athanasius Denḥa was ordained at his place. The patriarch summoned Ignatius of Melitene from the monastery of Mor Abhai but the citizens of Melitene went to the synod and dismissed the accusations against him and his brother, the priest Sergius⁸⁹ and he returned to his office. Since the patriarch had entered in Antioch, the Greeks had stirred up a disputation on the confession, the patriarch wrote a document exposing the definition of our confession and the Greeks sent the document to Constantinople. When it was read to the emperor Manuel, the emperor wrote to the patriarch through Christopher, an instructed man, as follows: ‘Manuel the believing emperor, born in the purple, powerful king in God the Messiah, *Autokrator*⁹⁰ of the Romans, Komnenos,⁹¹ to Mor Michael leader of the Jacobites, in the grace of God wishes you to know that Our Majesty much rejoiced of your writing which exposes the orthodox faith and the wise teaching, and Our Majesty much desires to meet you.’ Afterwards, a man named a certain Theorianus was sent [551] by the emperor Manuel to Nerses the catholicos of the Armenians and to the patriarch Mor Michael, in the year 1483. When he arrived in Qal’a Rumayta he sent to the patriarch, saying: ‘I have with me the august letter of the Majesty for you. Perhaps you could come to Syria since for many reasons we cannot cross Mesopotamia. [553] The patriarch did not go but sent John of Kaysum who engaged (in this business) and when Theorianus returned to Constantinople, he was sent a second time and sent to the patriarch a letter as follows: ‘To the holy Mor Michael catholicos of the Jacobites, Theorianus the servant of the emperor. We have a royal letter for Your Sanctity and we want to pass it from our hands to the hands of your Sanctity. Thus let us know when and where we (can) meet.’ Neither this time the patriarch went in person but sent the monk Theodore Bar Wahbun his disciple, to Qal’a Rumayta. When he arrived he found that before his arrival he (Theorianus) had behaved insolently with the Armenians by his profane knowledge, and had stupefied (them) with Aristotelian quotations. When Bar Wahbun asked whether the substance can be divided in corporeal and incorporeal, in substantial or accidental differences; the first of which relates to the composition of simple incorporeal, and the second to the ones that are equal in the substance be it corporeal or incorporeal.’ And when he asked him: ‘In how many ways the nature is professed among the philosophers? And these two natures that you profess in the Messiah, are they peculiar or ordinary?’ Then he (Theorianus) was broken like a piece of wood and said: ‘What has

⁸⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘and brought accusations against him and his brother the priest Sergius.’

⁹⁰ Official Greek translation of emperor. MCCORMICK, ‘Autokrator’, ODB: 235.

⁹¹ Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180 A.D.)

to do this with us and with the teaching of the pagan Aristotle?’⁹² When the catholicos of the Armenians saw [555] that he had been overcome, he blamed him saying: ‘As long as there was nobody among us who knew how to dismiss your trickery you have been behaving insolently with us and you have been injuring us (saying) that we knew nothing and now that these who overcome your knowledge have arrived, you give up’⁹³. Thus the catholicos turned his face from Theorianus and dismissed him saying: ‘I shall make a synod and I shall reply to the emperor.’ The catholicos wrote to inform the patriarch: ‘The emperor of the Greeks asked us ten issues. Five about the confession which are the following: to profess two natures together in the Messiah, two wills, two actions, to proclaim along with the three synods (also) the fourth, the fifth, the sixth and the seventh and that we should not say ‘Who was crucified for us’ The other five are about the rituals, which are the following: to celebrate the feast of the Nativity as the other confessions, to put wine in the host⁹⁴ and water in the chalice, to make the *myron* from the olive oil, to pray inside the church, to make the offering publicly. For sake of peace it was easy for me to reform the habits [557] and to assert two natures like the Theologus but I cannot remove the phrase ‘Who was crucified for us’ and anathematize the saints. With these things what you do, we will do the same.’ After Theorianus had gone, he sent the letter of the emperor to the patriarch, where it was written after many things: ‘We understand that Your Sanctity would like to come to meet Our Majesty in person and to speak with him but he fears that coercion might (be exerted) against him and that he would be forced to subscribe or proclaim something that he does not want. On that account, behold, Our God-given Majesty takes away this fear, and by the writing that we send via the liegeman⁹⁵ magister Theorianus, Your Excellence will obtain tranquillity. We write and say that you will be allowed to say whatever you wish and you will see no humiliation or deprivation whatsoever but you will be welcomed and honoured and you will return to the seat that pertains to you. If Your Sanctity does not agree with our confession he will remain in his own.’ Afterwards, three other letters arrived from the emperor via Caleone the Greek, carrying the same meaning. This was the reply of the patriarch: ‘We are most willing and we do not shy away from unity with whomever does not change the confession of the fathers [559] and professes with Athanasius and Cyril one nature of the incarnated Word.’ In the same year 1481 the eunuch Amin Aladdin who was ruling in Mardin, seized a palace of ours in Mardin and gave it to the Arabs who united it to their mosque and there was a great grief for the

⁹² WILMSHURST 2016: ‘What have we to do with the teachings of the pagan Aristotle?’

⁹³ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘You are exposed for all to see!’

⁹⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘That we should use leaven when we consecrate the host’

⁹⁵ ‘*حريم*’ from the Greek ‘*λίζιος*’. See BARTUSIS, ‘Lizios’, ODB:1243.

entire people. The day after, that plunderer fell from the horse and repented but he could not return the court because of fear of the Arabs. In the same year, the patriarch built the church of the convent of Abu Galeb in the region of Birta d-Gargar. John, the bishop of Kaysum, died in the monastery of Mor Barsoum on 24 September 1482. He had been trained in the science of the ecclesiastical books, respected for his eloquence and renowned in the Church. In November 1483 Dionysius Bar Salibi died, and his body was buried in the church of the Mother of God in Amid, at the southern side next to the tomb of the patriarchs Bar 'Abdon and Bar Shushan. A more painful mourning was added to the entire church.⁹⁶ He was an eloquent doctor and the star of his generation. He gathered and composed accurate commentaries on all the books of the Testaments, the Doctors (of the Church) [561] and the *Centuries* of Evagrius. (He wrote also) commentaries on the dialectic writings and many other books. In the same year, in July a certain Barsoum from Mardin was caught up in fornication with an Arab woman. After he had undergone many tortures all his possessions were confiscated. [563] And since he had renewed our Church of Mor Thomas in Mardin, that as well was counted among his possession and was taken by force by the Arabs. It became a mosque and it was a great grief for all the Christians. At that time Hasan Bar Kulib, a monk and priest of Mardin, after his brothers had strived with him over his laxity, left his faith and went to become Muslim. After a while, he felt remorse and fled to Jerusalem to return to Christianity but when the *hegoumenos*⁹⁷ heard (this) he imprisoned his brothers and other monks and inflicted sufferings on them. He also stiffened the yoke of all the Christians. In the same year, the renovation of the great church of Melitene which is called Raḥta began. Its vault had been damaged by the passing of the years and it was close to falling down but the pastors and the believers did not lay the hands on it because they were afraid that after having started they might discover that they could not finish (the work). The patriarch comforted them and gave 50 dinars of his own wealth and promised (to call for) other helpers. (Then) the archdeacon Abu' al-Hasan and the manager Romanus d-Awagan were involved (in the work). They destroyed the vault and the northern and southern doors and started the building. When some zealous men saw the southern doors being restored [565] they become eager to join and (thus) progressively they pulled down the entire great church, they rebuild and completed it when all the citizens had joined. The widows secretly gave their possessions to the believer Romanus. The building took six years, it was completed in 1488 and costed 2,000 dinars. The first Church had been built by bishop Ignatius Raḥta in 1280. The bishop died in 1302. At that time the patriarch went to Amid and freed the church from the yearly tribute of 100

⁹⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the whole Church grieved greatly on his account.'

⁹⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the governor.'

dinars due to the governor, which was asked by everyone who came to power and which had been set at the time of the tyrant Abu Sa'ar. He also built the church of the monastery of Qanqrat in stones and lime, because it was (made) of bricks and wood. At the same time John of Callinicus who is Denḥa, since the people of his dioceses was angry with him since the time of the patriarch Athanasius Isho, went to the synod that had been gathered in the monastery of Mor Ananias and accused him at the presence of acceptable witnesses. The synod decreed about him that he should reside in a convent of the province of Mardin until his affair would have been examined. But after he had stayed there for few days he transgressed the law [567] and went to some Nestorian lawyers to accuse falsely the patriarch and went also to the *hegoumenos* and bought him with a bribe to make his accusation accepted. The *hegoumenos* summoned the patriarch in great anger but by the help of God, with few words the blessed (succeeded) in defending himself, being nobody else with him, except for Abu Bashar the archdeacon of Mardin, and Denḥa was expelled. Then again Satan incited Denḥa to go to the lord of Mosul and to promise him 1,000 dinars if he would give to him the authority on the whole Mesopotamia and the governor sent soldiers, to bring the patriarch to Nisibis and bring him before the deputy of the emir Saif Aladdin. There again he made an apology and was absolved while Denḥa was found guilty. When the latter saw that he had been rejected he cried out: 'This old impostor has persecuted not only me but also forces Muslims to become Christians. Behold, I have a document on this affair.' He exhibited a letter that the patriarch had written to Bar Kulib before he became a Muslim, in which he reprimanded him for his lasciviousness. When the Arabs saw this letter, they got furious and took stones to lapidate him and the monks who were with him abandoned him and fled but in that moment God, praise to him, had mercy on his grace and some Arabs of Mardin were found (there) and when they realized the matter said: 'This Bar Kulib, whom all the business is about, was a monk and a priest, and his habits were not moral. [569] This elder man was angry with him while he was still a Christian and not after he had become a Muslim.' The governor was pleased and gave to the patriarch a document and sent him away in peace. Thence, having despaired Denḥa descended to Bagdad to lay an accusation (there) and the patriarch sent letters to the believers there to drive him out. Afterwards when the patriarch went to Antioch, he came to him. The patriarch sent him to the mountain of Edessa so that after he had gone to the monastery he might assign him a place but he died there before the arrival of the patriarch. In the year 1485 Ignatius of Hah⁹⁸ who had dismissed the fear of God from his mind and had inflicted many ills on his diocesans by his calumnies, at the dawn of Sunday left the service to go to the governor and lay an accusation against monks and priests. In the

⁹⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Ignatius Heheh.'

night the Kurds chanced upon him and those who were with him fled. Torturing him they penetrated his anus with a piece of wood and left him still alive. As soon as the sun arose, some men went to find him but [571] when they pulled out the wood he died. Since shortly before, faithful men, sons of Cyriacus, the priest Marzuq and Barsoum his brother and their sons had been killed on instigation of the wretched bishop when he was killed, it was said that he perished at the hands of those who were seeking vengeance of them. At that time since he came from that monastery, the patriarch Mor Michael wanted to bestow (his) grace to the monastery of Mor Barsoum and sent the decree that the bishops had written in that synod convened after the death of the patriarch Mor John Bar Shushan, (saying) that the patriarch should not have ruled over the monastery for some time.⁹⁹ They did so because when they were forced by the governors some patriarchs got their hands on the silver (of the monastery) to satisfy their needs while others took gold on loan but they did not pay it back. But the patriarchs who ruled afterwards did not confirm the decree and it remained void until this patriarch Michael confirmed it. Immediately, like a horse at full gallop, the monks incited a rebellion against the patriarch. He left them and went to the monastery of Mor Ananias. As he earnestly tried to correct (them) legitimately by means of a reed¹⁰⁰ but to no avail, he used the staff of the authority so that an ulcer would not end up in [573] a gangrene. Then the monks repented and sent the elder brothers after the patriarch. They had him brought to them and he blessed them after he had abolished the sentence cause of the division. At that time there was a dissension between the patriarch and the maphrian Mor John over the people of Ḥaṣṣāṣa, as shown in the (part dedicated to) eastern events. In Egypt, a certain blind teacher¹⁰¹ named Mark, son of Qonbar began to preach about the confession of the sins following the thought of the corrupted Messalians and the opinion of Lampetius, (namely) that we are in the body like the incorporeal beings and that whoever confesses his sins reaches impassibility. For this reason pope Mark of Alexandria started rejecting the confessorship altogether. This great schism interested the whole Egypt: some approved of Bar Qonbar and condemned the patriarch [575], others the other way round. Both sides wrote letters and sent them to the patriarch Michael when he was in Antioch. That blessed man wrote a long document to confute the heresy of the Messalians and to confirm the excommunication of Bar Qonbar as long as he remained in (that) opinion and wrote to the Pope: 'It is not right to reject the confessorship because of Bar Qonbar's error.' In the year 1491 after the patriarch had gone from Antioch to the monastery, he laid the foundation of the

⁹⁹ WILMSHURST 2016 om. 'for some time.'

¹⁰⁰  See PAYNE SMITH: 4339.

¹⁰¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'certain deluded doctor.'

new sanctuary he built in the monastery. Then through the jealousy of the Evil, the assault of Theodore Bar Wahbun, disciple and foster child of the patriarch, [577] whom the patriarch had welcomed since the baptism, began. Four bishops Simeon of Arzun, Isho' the Scribe of Ḥesno d-Ziyad, Abraham of Amid and a fourth man of Sibaberek, who had been reproved by the patriarch for various transgressions, went to Amid, and promised gold to the governor Abu' al-Qasim Bar Nisan to appoint a patriarch who resided in his city, gathering (the sum) from every place and giving it to him. They received from him a document of proclamation for Bar Wahbun. Abraham of Amid went to bring Bar Wahbun but in those days Abu al-Qasim the one who had given them the writing died, thus they approached his son and showed him the writing of his father. He gave them the permission to do whatever they wanted. The priests, the monks and the entire people clamoured against the governor saying: 'we will not allow our faith to be overthrown' and he replied to the people: 'If your patriarch come to us, we will expel this.' Then they went to the church and during the night, keeping the door (closed) ordained patriarch Bar Wahbun. [579] At dawn, they changed their monastic dress, went out through the city gate and went to Mosul (to see) the maphrian. When the patriarch heard what had happened, he was very upset, gathered the bishops and went to Amid to appease the governor and from there he went to the monastery of Mor Ananias. Even though there had been a dissension between him and the patriarch over the people of Ḥaṣṣāṣa, the maphrian did not agree at all with Bar Wahbun and his supporters but gathered his bishops and went to the patriarch. When the entire people of the East rebuked them, they (Bar Wahbun and his supporters) left Mosul and went to the city of Dara. The maphrian and some bishops and monks went to bring them in chains. Then when a synod was convened they defended themselves (in this way): 'We have not done this to govern the church at your place but we were inflamed by zeal because we understood from you that you were going to making the seat to be inherited by the son of your brother Isho' Seftana like a worldly ruler, and (so) we appointed this one so that he might fulfil the office after your death.' Since their word was not accepted, those (bishops) and Bar Wahbun were conducted by force by the patriarch and the maphrian to the monastery of Mor Barsoum. Bar Wahbun hid himself and escaped while they were carrying him. [581] Then the maphrian murmured against the patriarch that he had not tied him. After they had searched they found him, seized him and brought him with them to the monastery. Many bishops gathered and anathematized him. It is said that at the moment of the offering they stripped off his monastic habit, dressed him with lay clothes and put a felt cap on his head. Then they placed him next to the altar and everyone went there spitting on his face and then taking the Eucharist. The blessed Mor Michael did not mention this sort of degradation but we have heard from many elder trustworthy men that this happened. If it is true it is not fair! Afterwards, each bishop returned to his diocese bearing the writing of the anathema of Bar Wahbun. And Bar Wahbun remained in the monastery under guards even though he was given back the

monastic dress. The patriarch returned to Mardin. Then, some of the monks who had pity on Bar Wahbun during the night lowered him with ropes from the wall of the monastery and he fled to Damascus where he composed a book in Arabic because he was skilful and learned in the Arabic, Greek, Syriac, Armenian and Persian¹⁰² and indeed [583] there was no equal to him in his generation for learning and dialectic. However, he lacked the practical philosophy and he did not have virtuous morals¹⁰³ to avoid the error (in the Church). For this reason, the faithful lawyers did not allow him to prosper there among the governor Salah al-Din. Thus he left and went to Jerusalem where he was welcomed by the patriarch of the Franks and the Church was troubled there until the Arabs captured Jerusalem and Bar Wahbun was allowed to escape and went to the East. He had heard of the death of the maphrian Mor John and promised gold to the governor of Mardin and Mosul but he did not succeed there. Thus he went back to Qal'ah Rumayta to the catholicos of the Armenians who received him gladly and helped him going so far as to pay much gold, [585] supplies, great gifts to be sent to the governors of the Turks in Syria and Mesopotamia. He was incited to anathematize Mor Michael and appoint Bar Wahbun and took him to go to Cilicia to King Leo to impel him to accept him and ordered that Bar Wahbun should be proclaimed patriarch in his region. The patriarch gathered a synod in the monastery of Mor Barsoum and asked the bishops to dismiss him. He said 'It is because of my sins that the Lord allowed Bar Wahbun to slap his Church' but the bishops did not consent but said: 'We will go to battle with the catholicos in a public debate [587] and we will also have a hearing with king Leo and we will make a petition for our truth' but the patriarch replied them: 'No, come! I will take refuge to God and his saint, and whatever is good for the Lord let it be on me! It is written: 'Cursed be the man who puts his trust in man and makes his right arm who is made of flesh.' On the feast of the holy Barsoum, when his right hand was taken in procession, everyone was crying out, weeping and saying: 'My Lord, Christ, Messiah, through the intercession of Mor Barsoum have pity on your church and efface its agitator whoever he is!.' Then in that day the request of the church was accomplished: the catholicos of the Armenians fell from the horse in Cilicia and fractured the thumb of his foot. When they cut it, he died and after him also twelve Armenian bishops who had given their consent to Bar Wahbun, died unexpectedly, and seven Syrian monks, his disciples, were struck by a lightening. After 40 days Theodore Bar Wahbun died too. All these things terrified everyone and also king Leo fell in terror and sent gifts to the (monastery of) holy Mor Barsoum [589] and letters to the patriarch to ask for

¹⁰² ܡܕܢܗܐ lit. 'oriental.' In other passages it refers to Arabic. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part I: 275T-V, 369T-V, 581T-V; Part II: 469T-V, 477T-V.

¹⁰³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'nor did he enjoy the honest conversation.'

forgiveness. Mor Michael wrote these things in his Ecclesiastical History. The church was troubled for a period of three years. In the year 1492, the sultan Qilij Arslan went to Melitene enquired about the patriarch Mor Michael, and sent him a letter of friendship, a staff and twenty dinars of silver. In the following year the sultan again visited Melitene and sent to summon the patriarch. He ordered to meet him while he was out riding and the sultan went to ride on Thursday 8 July at very early morning and also the patriarch went. When he wanted to descend the sultan did not allow it but embraced him while he was still sitting on the horse and conversed with him through an interpreter lifting up a cross on the top of a spear above the head of the patriarch and it was a great comfort for the Christians. After he had conversed with him on many things and tempered his address with admonition so far that the sultan wept. The day after the sultan sent a diploma of [591] exemption from the tribute that had been was (imposed) on the monastery. On Sunday the Sultan sent to the patriarch a hand of pure gold encrusted with gems and pearls, and inside the bones of Saint Peter the head of the apostles. When the Turks plundered the camp of the Greeks this man fell into the sultan possession and he gave to the patriarch and thus (this is why) the hand is in the monastery. In the year 1493 Ignatius that is Abu Galeb of Maypherqaṭ, the son of the brother of the maphrian Ignatius, died, and the son of his brother Ignatius Gabriel, who was called from the monastery of Mor Barsoum, succeeded him. In the year 1493 the monastery of Mor Barsoum burned down for this reason: a monk named Denḥa, an old man, during the time of meditation went inside to cell, and forgot there a burning candle, then he went out to the vineyard. The fire raged, having burned the garments and the wooden vessels of the cell, and from there (it spread) to four or five monastic cells above the (old monk's) cell because not only the rafters but also the inner walls were made of wood. Then, on the third hour of Sunday 30 July of the same year, the flames raged and the shout of the monks rose to heaven. The patriarch ran to the shrine of the saint and pulled out the coffin which contained the right hand of Mor Barsoum. [593] Afterwards, the fury (of the flames) grew harsher because a strong wind was blowing, and with one blast it spread on the entire monastery, swiftly licked the cells of the monks and of the servants and the inner buildings. The old sanctuary, the books and the silver and brass goods caught fire. Even the iron gates of the monastery were melted, the stones were calcinated and started falling. Nothing escaped (the fire) except for the new church which was still under construction, the high tower of the monastery, the cave of the oven, and the so-called Gargar gate. Everything else became a pile of ashes. On Sunday the portico of the dungeon¹⁰⁴ fell and a young from the region of Gargar was suffocated in it. The patriarch and the monks stayed for one month on the

¹⁰⁴ ܡܠܐ See ABBELOOS-LAMY 1872-1877: 593 n.2.

top of the citadel on the tower and with them the right hand of the saint and the rest of the relics and the books which had been preserved, until the rage (of the fire) ceased. Then they began to rebuild and in three years the monastery was built better than before since they fastened the inferior bricks not to wooden planks but to vaults. The new church was completed at the end of twelve years and it was painted and decorated in two more years. [595] In the same year that the monastery caught fire Ignatius of Jerusalem died after having lead the high-priesthood for 45 years. Athanasius the brother of the patriarch was sent to secure the acceptance of the bishops there.¹⁰⁵ In the same year when the catholicos Cyriacus left Qal'ah Rumayta and went to Tarsus, the son of his sister named Shahinshah rebelled against him and wanted to deliver (the city) to the Turks. The catholicos gathered an army and went against Qal'ah but he could not take it, thus left and went to the convent of Tabush near Kaysum, and with promises and covenants which he presented through mighty oaths to the son of his sister, he softened him, brought him on his side and they were reconciled. In that year the church of Mor John in Edessa caught fire. 32 marble columns were there and they burned up as stubble and the entire (church) was reduced to ash. 15 great churches were destroyed at the time of the Arabs. At that time the patriarch was forced to ordain Maudiana of Edessa for the dioceses of Mardin because there was nobody consenting to be its pastor because of the charge imposed on the city by the governor. After a while he was discovered in disgraceful conduct and when he was expelled he wanted to become Muslim but when some Greek citizens of Melitene chanced upon him they cajoled him and sent him to Constantinople and he became [597] Chalcedonian and they assigned him to Maypherqaṭ. In the year 1500 the maphrian Mor John fell from the roof of the great church of the citadel of Beth Khudayda¹⁰⁶ and died. Gregory Jacob son of the brother of the patriarch Michael succeeded him. On 21 October 1504 at Antioch the bishop Athanasius of Jerusalem, the brother of the patriarch, died and was buried in the convent of Dovair. Ignatius Sahda, the monastery's archimandrite, was then ordained for Jerusalem. In December/January, Dionysius of Melitene died, and was replaced by John of Qalisura Bar Qanon. In the same year the patriarch assembled 35 bishops; and on the Sunday before Pentecost, on 15 May, when the crowds came to the feast of the saint, the new sanctuary built by the patriarch was consecrated. In the same year, in July, Cyriacus the catholicos of the Armenians died in Cilicia and a little boy named Dirasu succeeded him. In the same year Zumri [599], the patriarch of the Franks of Antioch, died at Qosair, and his body was brought to Antioch and buried in the great church. A great amount of personal possessions was found, and he was despised by many. In that

¹⁰⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: 'but the monks of that place refused to accept him.'

¹⁰⁶ i.e. Qaraqosh.

year John the pope of Egypt who had been recently appointed, sent the elder bishop Peter and with him an orthodox profession to be accepted and proclaimed in all our churches. In the year 1506 Leo of Cilicia went furtively to Qal'ah Rumayta and brought the young catholicos with him and after his affairs had been examined he was deposed and imprisoned in a citadel called Gubidara. When he tried to flee he fell from a rock and died. Baidar his cousin¹⁰⁷ on the father side was ordained catholicos for the Armenians. In the year 1508 there was a contention over the great feast of the Resurrection because it fell on the 14 of the Jews on Saturday 29 March. Therefore the Greeks celebrated the day after because they had kept (the habit of) the fast on 10 February. Syrians, Egyptians and Armenians of the entire world used to celebrate on the (first) Sunday [601] after this Sunday which is the 6 of April because they had fasted on 17 February. This disorder occurs in the *chronica* every 95 years. When the Iberians saw that the Armenians [603] did not celebrate (the Easter) with them, got angry and burned down an Armenian church. In that (fire) about four people burned up and (when) the Armenians of the regions heard (of this), around 40 thousand gathered to attack the Iberians. These gave to the Armenians 100 thousand dinars for the Church and 1,000 dinars for each man burned up and (so) they were reconciled. In (that) year these facts of our Church started to proceed disorderly. When the blessed Mor Michael grew old and aged, Isho' that is Seftana the son of his brother used to take aside each bishop who was visiting the elder patriarch¹⁰⁸ and ask him a document by his own hand (stating) that he would appoint him after his uncle. Because of this he was hated by bishops and archimandrite. Also the elder when he realized what he had done was angry with him. At the beginning of the year 1511 when the elder patriarch fell sick his nephew Isho'did not want to visit him until he got extremely ill and (only) then he went to him. During the night of Monday 7 November of that year the elder blessed departed from the world. [605] He was truly industrious (and) led the church for 33 years, ordained a maphrian for Tagrit and 54 bishops; he died at the age of 73 years and was buried in the new sanctuary that he had built in the monastery of Mor Barsoum, in the grave which he had built during his life in front of the northern altar. He was versed in the Scriptures, of high stature, beautiful appearance, and high and melodious voice. He was assiduous in writing night and day and left many excellent books to the church.

After Mor Michael the Great, Athanasius Saliba Qarha. After the death of the elder there was a great scandal in the church of the Orthodox. As soon as Mor Michael had been conducted in the *Beth qadishe*, his nephew Isho' left the monastery to go to Amid. When

¹⁰⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'nephew'

¹⁰⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Isho' Seftana persuaded a certain bishop to go to the patriarch and ask him for a letter granting him the right of succession to his uncle.'

the monks realized that he was going to throw the Church of God into confusion and trouble [607] Rabban Michael Qardas, one of the archimandrites of the monastery and a renowned citizen of Melitene, sought after him and found him in the convent of Abu Galeb and wanted to lead him by force to the monastery. When Isho' saw him defeated, dispatched one of his disciples to the hegemon of the nearby citadel of Gangar to say to him: 'I decided to go to the governor of Amid with gifts and tributes and this monk from the monastery caught me and would not let me go because he hates and opposes the lord of Amid. The hegemon, since he came from the province of Amid, sent (his men) to arrest Rabban Michael Qardas and imprisoned him. When Isho' Seftana passed by the gate of the prison and Michael Qardas saw him he gnashed his teeth and threatened him saying: 'You will see Isho' Seftana what you have done!' Isho' deriding him said: 'Remain in the temptation and be silent.' This saying is used in the church until now. The *hegoumenos* after having fined Rabban Michael 100 dinars, let him go and commanded him not to hinder Isho' from going to Amid. This episode made Isho' even more hated. Thus when Rabban Michael reached the monastery and repeated what had been done to him, the monks united and sent to gather 15 western bishops and promised them gifts and they all went together to the convent of Mdiq in the region of Claudia. [609] They casted the lots on three persons and the lot of Rabban Saliba archimandrite of the Monastery of Mor Barsoum came up. They ordained him on 19 December of the year the elder Michael had died and he was called Athanasius. He was weak in the ecclesiastical doctrine and rustic, he was much instructed in the civil affairs and rich. For this they were convinced that the vehemence of the nephews¹⁰⁹ of the elder could have been slain (through him). At that time the maphrian Gregory and three eastern bishops went to Amid and found his brother Isho' there. When he heard that Qarha had been ordained he was much grieved, went up to the governor of Amid and promised him 6,000 dinars if he had appointed his brother patriarch in that city. Mennas metropolitan of Amid arose against the maphrian, prevailed over him and had him and his brother expelled from Amid, after the bishop and the believers offered him the gold which they had started collecting to repay (him back) little by little.¹¹⁰ This Mennas was a chaste, holy man, much trained in the corporal holiness and virtuous. For this reason was much honoured by the kings and his word was welcomed to them. [611] After Athanasius who is Qarha had been ordained, also Michael the Younger Isho' Seftana had been ordained. After he had left Amid, the maphrian took his brother and the bishops who were with him, went to Mardin and offered gold to its lord. He ordained his brother patriarch in

¹⁰⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Nephew'.

¹¹⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Even though the bishop and the faithful had gathered together the gold, which they had gradually collected and handed over.'

the monastery of Mor Ananias on the eve of the Confessors (feast) and was proclaimed Michael after the name of his uncle, perhaps with the wish that he might be close to him. Mor Michael the Younger ordained three bishops. Then the people of the region of Mardin moved with zeal and approached the governor and offered him some gold to expel the new patriarch and the maphrian his brother from his region. While the maphrian went to Melitene, Isho‘went to the Tur Abdin and summoned the governor of Ḥesno d-Kifo. When he went up to give him gold but neither there he could find rest. All the people of the region turned away from him and because of this he was forced to leave and to go to Melitene where he stayed in the house of his parents.¹¹¹ In the year 1512 the people of the Tur Abdin demanded their governors to send to summon the patriarch Athanasius. He went and visited the entire region and was welcomed honourably [613] and led in procession by everyone. He arrived at the monastery of Qarṭmin and ordained there a bishop for Ḥesno d-Ziyad and from there he went to Mardin where he was welcomed much gladly by the governor and the people of the region. When he was there, he heard that Isho‘had given 6,000 dinars to Rukn al-Din, the lord of Melitene, and that he had brought up him to the monastery of Mor Barsoum¹¹² and resided there by force. When Malik Ashraf ibn Adel went to Mardin and captured it and went to Rishaina, the patriarch Athanasius accompanied him and renewed the church there. He wanted to build the convent of Sophocles which was above the city but there was no room, because the Egyptian lawyer Sadid al-Dawla Bar Nashu with Malik Ashraf sent a messenger to Rukan Al’adin lord of Melitene and the patriarch went with the messenger up to the convent of Abu Galeb and stayed there from January up to the beginning of July, until Rukan Aldin consented to drive out Isho‘ from the monastery and Athanasius Qraha went to occupy his see. Isho‘ returned again to Melitene [615] and remained in the house of his father. The maphrian Gregory left to return sadly to the East. He was slandered to the lord of Mosul as follows: ‘He is squandering to other governors everything he is gathering in your region and other regions’ and thus he was much hated and despised. The patriarch Athanasius after he had sat on the throne of the patriarchate for 7 years reached his end and died in 1518 in the monastery of Mor Barsoum. At that time, Simeon, competent physician and upright and just man, restored the convent of Mor Cyriacus of Zoniqrat in the region of Ḥesno d-Ziyad where the two rivers, Deba and Arsanias, flow into each other, and adorned it with regal furnishings of gold and silver. He gathered in it about 60 monks, and gave them fields, ploughs, many small cattles and beehives. They ate at the same table, according to the custom of the communities in Cilicia, and became famous for their illustrious

¹¹¹ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘uncles.’

¹¹² WILMSHURST 2016: ‘and that he had gone up to the monastery of Mar Bar Sawma with his backing.’

conduct; but they could not escape the envy of the devil, as that sacred place was eventually destroyed, as it will be illustrated in the appropriate place.

[617] **After Athanasius Qarha, Mor John Bar Shushan the scribe.** After Mor Athanasius Qarha had died in the monastery of Mor Barsoum, Mor Michael the young who is Isho‘Seftana offered some gold to the governor of Melitene called Montageb and granted him permission to go up to the monastery and to occupy his throne but when he went up and seated (there) the bishop Mennas of Amid, that of Edessa named Theodore Shuqir and Stephen of Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur from Tur ‘Abdin sent a message to him: ‘We are weary of the division, the scandal and the contention that were brought about in the church of God, thus we ask you, since we still owe 1,000 dinars to the Lord of Amid, that we pay a third, you pay another third and the monks another third, and you will be confirmed on the seat, the scandal shall end and there will be one flock and one pastor.’ Isho‘Seftana did not lower himself at all but persisted in his harshness and replied: ‘I have buried my adversary and I have retained my seat thus I am not compelled to pay any fine. Who offered gold shall pay gold.’ Then when the bishops heard such an answer, with bitter livor [619] invited each other to gather in the convent of Shiro with the other bishops of the Tur Abdin and immediately consulted to ordain Isho‘ the Roman scribe who was dwelling there as an ascetic. He was a holy man. When he heard that they were murmuring on him left them and fled to Nisibis. Also Seftana when realized that they had gathered to create a schism, trembled, quacked and his knees buckled. He hastened to send to Rabban Mubarak the archimandrite of the monastery, Rabban Michael Qardas, an agreeable and honorable man, to ask them not to create a schism but to come to him to the monastery so that everything he desired would be accomplished and even if they would have demanded of him all the gold of Amid he would have paid it¹¹³ without excuses or protest. When these archimandrites went to both the bishops, the faithful Mubarak advised them not to create a dispute in the Church (because) there had been already enough division. While with the tongue Rabban Michael was convincing (them), with the eyes he was winking the contrary.’ Also, he murmured them secretly: ‘Seftana only cares to frustrate your alliance. He is plotting to separate you from each other at once and scatter you. He will not help you not even with just one obolos of gold but he will take revenge on each one of you after he will have come to power, and he will bend you to his will.’ [621] The bishops were enflamed with rage and replied with harsh words to the archimandrites that had gone to reconcile them. When they departed from them the bishops sent two of them to Nisibis and with them a mitre and ordered them: ‘Whereever you find the proclaimed

¹¹³ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘if they were to give him all the gold in Amid, he would spend it without trickery and excuses.’

Rabban Isho, put the mitre on his head and bring him to us.' When they went and found him they did so and brought him by force to the convent of Shira and there they ordained him patriarch, in the year 1519 of the Greeks, and they named him John. They wanted to transfer him to Amid, Mardin and Tur Abdin, but he dissembled and promised to go another time. When they (tried to) compel him to go with them, they could not and they forced the oath from him that after some months they would come there to take him. When they left, that holy man went to Cilicia to flee from the bishops and when he arrived at the convent of Paqsimat in an ordinary manner, the archimandrite did not want to admit him to the monastery saying: 'Since you have the name of patriarch [623] I cannot accept you without the order of the king.' The patriarch Mor John accepted faithfully the word of the archimandrite and resided in the little cell at the gate outside the convent for one year where he was praying alone. Then the archimandrite of the monastery of Gawikat burned with indignation, took the patriarch with him and had him dwell in one of the cells of the convent as one of the monks. When Leo the king of Cilicia was in the city of Mopsuestia, nearby the convent of Gawikat, the archimandrite urged the patriarch and took him to the king and narrated him the story.¹¹⁴ When the king realized that he was a holy man, he told to the archimandrite: 'You know that I live in peace with the Sultan of Beth-Romaye¹¹⁵ and I am at his service thus I cannot order you to proclaim this man patriarch until he has not been proclaimed in the Beth-Romaye. But I want him to receive from myself the loan for a place appropriate for him and his disciples and I will let him pray for me and my kingdom. When the archimandrite reported to Mor John the words of the king, he prayed for him and said: 'This convent where I live is appropriate for me and I do not need another place.' Immediately the king [625] wrote a diploma for him as follows: 'The patriarch Mor John has authority on the convent of Gawikat, on its administration and on all that is inside.' This was cause of offence for the archimandrite, who started to paying less respect to the patriarch. Then the monks instigated the patriarch to dismiss the archimandrite from his charge and to appoint a certain monk named Shamania in his place. When the bishop of Amid and his companions heard that the Mor John had been honoured by king Leo and that even the convent had been given to him, they went to him and to the king to receive a written petition for sultan 'Azz al-Din concerning Mor John. Since the latter did not want to leave Cilicia they went to Caesarea of Cappadocia, and gave Leo's letter to sultan 'Azz al- Din. When the sultan read it, he realized that he was an holy man and wanted to meet him. Thus he ordered to bring

¹¹⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the archimandrite sent for the patriarch and introduced him to the king, to whom he told his story.'

¹¹⁵ The Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan (1030-1073 A.D.)

Mor John to him and he received him most honourably. When the patriarch offered to the sultan a little simple cloth he took it willingly like a blessing. The sultan gave the patriarch a fine white satine silk from which he made a priestly vestment, which he wore forever and never changed until he died. He wrote also a splendid diploma [627] that the patriarch only should be proclaimed in all his territory. The bishops took Mor John, left Caesarea and went to the monastery. When Mor Michael the young heard of this, he left the monastery, went to Melitene and also the bishops and the patriarch arrived at Melitene and all the people went out to meet them and made them enter in a great procession through the gate called of Mor Theodorus and made them pass nearby the house of Mor Michael. When they reached the gate of the room where Isho‘was sitting, the bishops stopped the city singers and Theodore of Edessa who had a clear and melodious voice started a *kathisma*:¹¹⁶ ‘Where are you today deceitful Juda? Come to see your companions’ etc. and they did not go away from there until everything was ended. There was with them a certain monk from Melitene from the family of Kishpeleg, fierce enemy of Seftana, who talked a lot, [629] and also a certain priest, an acquired relative of the family of Michael, who much hated them. For many years he had worn a blue tunic but in that day he was wearing a white one and went to Mor John saying ‘I have been chained up to see you’ and the rest. This was the bad fate of Seftana, even from his own relatives. Seftana heard and saw everything because he was staying in the room above the gate. While all these things were happening, the patriarch Mor John could not stop weeping because he was like a prisoner in the hands of the bishops who used him as an instrument to satisfy their ambitions and he was not acting as a shepherd. The bishops gathered a great sum in Melitene in the name of the patriarch so that all the women gave all their ornaments. The people knew that the bishops had taken many debts on account of the patriarch. The citizens of Melitene much hated Isho‘ even though he was their fellow citizen for his pride and immoderate avarice. However, except for these two odious defects there could not be found anyone beside him and his brother Gregory, the maphrian of the East, in their time that might equal them in knowledge, chastity and splendour of the figure and stature. [631] Thus they led Mor John from Melitene to the monastery and established him in his seat. Then they made him travel to Edessa and the citizens of Edessa received him as the citizens of Melitene and men as much as women gave him no less gold, to the point that girls, maidens and recently married women divested themselves of and donated their bracelets, necklaces, ankle chains, rings, saying: ‘Why should we be ornate while our father is pressed by taxes and governors?’ And from Edessa they went to Amid, Mardin and Tur Abdin and collected something to pay back the 1,000 dinars that they owed and much more was left over. I have heard

¹¹⁶ One of the twenty sections into which the Byzantine Psalter is divided.

from the elder bishop David of the monastery of Qartmin that when the bishops were carrying around the patriarch Mor John in the region of Tur Abdin and dressing him with his vestment he used to cry because he had been coerced, saying: 'Poor me! You made me a bear and you gather obols by me. Return to God!' When they had completed the journey, they brought the patriarch Mor John to the monastery, they left him immediately and departed. He fled again to Cilicia to dwell there quietly. After he had lived in the convent of Gawikat for a while, Seftana again bribed the governors of Melitene and went up to reside in the monastery and there came to him the rumour that his brother the maphrian Gregory, who had planned to come to visit him to the monastery [633] had reached Hiyyel, a citadel in the region of Shigar, had fallen ill and had died. He was brought to the monastery of Mor Matay and there he was buried in the year 1526 of the Greeks. Mor Michael was much grieved and fell into despair because his strong bulwark had been destroyed and torn down; he had been sustained by his brother as a city by its citadel, and thus 40 days after the death of his brother he died in the monastery of Mor Barsoum. It is said that one of the archimandrites went to Seftana while he was laid down and not knowing if he was alive or dead started crying and striking his face saying: 'Alas the church which has been deprived of you' and when he saw that (his heart) was not throbbing said: 'So he fell asleep and he will not rise anymore' and left. When the bishops heard (of this) they set off to go to the patriarch Mor John in Cilicia and brought him to the monastery of Mor Barsoum and he ordained Rabban David, monk and priest son of the priest Thomas from Kaysum, disciple of Rabban Barsoum, archimandrite of Mor Barsoum, called Tafshish, as maphrian for the East in the same year that Gregory died. [635] However, there was no rest for the patriarch in the monastery, because of a certain warlike and much impudent archimandrite named Simeon Tabakan from the region of Şemḥa. Therefore he left the monastery and went to build a cell for him in the convent of Modiq in the region of Claudia and dwelt there. When he had completed one year of his archimandrite, the insolent Simeon was succeeded by Rabban Michael Qardas as it is the custom at the beginning of the year. When Rabban Michael told the indoor servants to go to fetch wood from the mountain, the insolent Simeon met them, suspended the order of the archimandrite and sent them to drag dung in a field, which was unusual and useless. When Rabban Michael heard of this, he sent a complaint to the patriarch but the patriarch wrote to him: 'You have allowed (that) impudent to rule over you. Where is the elder Rabban Barsoum and Rabban Abu Al Faraj the leader of the choir and you Rabban Michael? Who is this foolish Simeon that he has authority in the monastery?' This letter fell in the hands of Simeon and when he read it, he wrote words of blasphemy, derision and despice under the name of the patriarch. Then the letter was taken by him and sent back to the patriarch. The patriarch read it and was shaken. [637] The elder Mor Dionysius of Claudia narrated to me: 'I was a novice at that time. I was reading the Gospel for the patriarch. When I entered to read and I had the Gospel under

my armpit, I saw him paling at the letter and his hands quivering. Also his entire body was trembling because he was of little stature, very thin body and emaciated by the constant fasting. After he had read it he gave it to Rabban Rabula, his disciple, who started threatening Simeon but the patriarch replied: 'No, because this affair is bigger than you and you are not adequate (to this).'¹¹⁷ He went to the small house where he used to dwell and write constantly, and wrote a letter of anathema and dismissal to the insolent Simeon and sent it to the monastery to Rabban Al Faraj Bar Elisha the leader of the choir, who used to recite all the *hudro*¹¹⁸ by heart and under threat of interdiction he (ordered) him to read it entirely, without omitting a point. However, Abu Al Faraj because he feared the impudence of Simeon, wanted to delay the reading until they had sent to calm down the patriarch. When Simeon heard (of this) he went to Abu Al Faraj and told him insolently: 'Why are you going to read the letter of Gandapal? — The supporters of Seftana used to call him with this odd name [639] (meaning) a false coin — and Abu al Faraj said: 'We are not going to read it but we are going to reconcile him with you' but Simeon replied: 'Every anathema falls on you if you do not read it completely.' When the brotherhood was assembled for the feast of the assumption of Mary the Mother of God, the leader of the choir read the letter. As soon as he had finished, the insolent Simeon dared to wear the priestly vestment and went to minister the eucharist even though it was four years that he had not approached the altar. After a few days, before the Feast of the Cross, Simeon got angry with a certain servant named Phuteg, and the latter seized his short stick and left the monastery in distress to go (back) to the village of his parents. They told it to Simeon, who rushed out of the northern gate of the monastery to follow him, and in the middle of the stair, he reached out his hand to grab the stick from the servant's hand, but the latter drew out a dagger that was within the stick and stabbed Simeon in the belly, causing his bowels to come out out, and Simeon died on the spot. Fear of the patriarch seized on all the monks, who brought him back to the monastery in honour and he sat there until he died in 1531 of the Greeks.

[641] **After Mor John the hermit, Ignatius Rabban David** who had been maphrian. After the death of Mor John the Scribe, the Church remained widowed for two years. Then Mennas, bishop of Amid, Theodore of Edessa and Kamis of Tur Abdin, elder and renowned in the Church, went together to the convent of Abu Galeb in the region of Birta d-Gargar and told Rabban Rubil the scribe of the deceased patriarch Mor John to go to the maphrian in Melitene and bring him to them so that they might agree on the election of a common father. Since Rabban Rubil was an astute and wise man, he told

¹¹⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'since this affair is more important than you think it is.'

¹¹⁸ Book of the yearly service.

them: 'The maphrian is too high in the church to come to you accompanied by a monk like me. Two bishops of yours should go to take him (here).' Since they hated the maphrian, they did not send bishops to the maphrian but they left and each one returned to his diocese. All three died in the same year: Mennas of Amid and Khamis of Tur 'Abdin died (of natural death), while a certain monk whom he had dismissed attacked Theodore of Edessa and killed him. Then the maphrian took Bar Qanon of Qalisura [643] the bishop of 'Arqa, and Eudoxius Bar Bitra of Laqabin, and they went to the convent of Modiq. Basil of Qolba, the bishop of Ḥesno d-Ziyad, and the other bishops in the neighborhood went to them and they conversed with each others for days. The maphrian immediately put up a tent on the roof of the convent so that they would stay away from the occupation of the monks. They went to dwell there for an entire day and began telling the maphrian: 'How long shall we stay unoccupied and we do not take care of the affairs about which we have assembled?'¹¹⁹ The maphrian replied: 'The agreement is up to you. Whatever you agree upon I will agree too.' Everyone agreed that Bar Qanon should speak first, and then that each one (might) say what he thought proper. Bar Qanon said: 'You know, oh fathers, the weakness of this time of ours and the weakness of the church which is slapped by schisms and quarrels. We have enough to help the patriarch to travel in the regions asking for alms for his sustenance, thus what we need today is nothing but a powerful man in speech and action, of material richness, who does not need us for filling his gaps and meeting his needs. This is my opinion.' Everyone replied: 'You said the truth, our father.' Then [645] the bishop of 'Arqa who was a very courageous man, opportune in the word and ready in the reply, told them freely: 'If this is your point, then none of us today suits (better) for this way and this time than our father the maphrian, who God embellished and adorned with all spiritual and material (qualities). Everyone said in unison: '(He is) worth and right!' When the maphrian refused and wanted to leave, he was sat down and they told him: 'We ask you to commit yourself to God and to his Church, to govern valiantly and lead it carefully.' They went up to the convent, they prepared the proclamation, they wrote their agreement to accept him and went to the monastery of Mor Barsoum. They made the enthronisation and read the oration of Clement, the one specific for the patriarchs, gave him the pastoral staff prescribed by the law and carried him in procession to the throne. The patriarch of Antioch and the entire Syria proclaimed him on the Sunday of Pentecost 1533 of the Greeks. After they had left him in the monastery, each went to his own dioceses. Since the governors of Melitene were used to be given gold by the earlier patriarchs [647] and added it to the others (tributes) as it was an impost,¹²⁰ they sent also

¹¹⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'since we care nothing for the business that has gathered us together?'

¹²⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'and would share it out among themselves as though it were tribute.'

to Mor Ignatius to ask him for a gift. After he had given them 200 dinars, he left the monastery and went to dwell in the convent of Zoniqrat on the border of Ḥesno d-Ziyad. He stayed there for a while and from there he crossed again the Euphrates and dwelt in the convent of Abu Galeb. When the sultan Aladdin Kaikobad came to Melitene, the archimandrites of the monastery sent for the patriarch to come to pay respect to the sultan (but) they did not wait for him to come but preceded him. When the patriarch arrived at the monastery and did not find the archimandrites, he got angry because they had not waited for him and immediately left to go to meet them on the way. They spent the night all together, without speaking to each other, but at dawn the patriarch went to lodge in the convent of Raḥta. When the people of Melitene heard that, they went out to (meet) him and filled his cell with local products and offered him fine clothes.¹²¹ The monks of Maqrona and Sergisyeh also brought many walnuts. Meanwhile the archimandrites went to dwell in the palace of a pious citizen of Melitene and sent a message to (some) renowned emirs to ask for admittance into the sultan's presence but the emirs replied [649] 'We heard that also the patriarch is coming, thus he should enter first and you after him as the appropriate order demands.' Then, when the designated day arrived, the patriarch went to the royal court the archimandrites went with him too, (but) the sultan ordered that only the patriarch should enter royal hall and with him the gifts of the monks. As for the presents of the patriarch, Basil Gerahah who was at the service of the sultan, held them back. He said that they should be offered to the sultan's son and to his tutor, the great eunuch, and he did it accordingly. The patriarch entered, was welcomed and expressed his greetings in a mixture of Arabic and Persian expressions. (Then) he went out and found at the gate the archimandrites mournful because their gifts had been taken (even though) they had not been allowed to enter. The patriarch comforted them, took them and they went to the monastery. He decorated (there) the cell of the patriarchs with beautiful paintings and covered with lead the roof of the vault of the new sanctuary which Mor Michael had built because the mud mortar could not restrain the moisture inside the sanctuary which was spoiling the wonderful paintings that were there. He also built the northern bulwark of the monastery with much expense and dug a ditch hewn in the hard rock which surrounded the citadel. At that time there was much resentment between him and the monks on the affair of [651] the supervisions because when its masters Rabban Barsoum and Rabban Michael Qardas died the archimandrites went to accuse him to the sultan and also the bishop of Melitene, Dionysius Bar Armaya, joined them. He had been ordained for Aleppo but when Mor Ignatius became patriarch he assigned him to Melitene honouring

¹²¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'and with precious loaves of bread.'

his brothers, renowned nobles of Melitene.¹²² Thus Basil of 'Arqa who was a friend and relative of the patriarch (also) betrayed him and went with the archimandrites. When the patriarch heard that they had left Melitene and were going to the royal court they hastened to take everything he possessed of gold and silver, sewed long and narrow wallets and filled three quarters of them with *zuze* and one quarter with dinars and went to come upon them while they were lodging in a tavern. They sat with them and said: 'Where are you going? Oh, to denounce me!' and took out those ten wallets and started emptying out them of each part of gold and said: 'I'll squander such a huge sum of money to make a spectacle to everybody. What have I robbed from you (to deserve) that you gathered and compacted against me?'¹²³ When the bishops and the archimandrites saw all that gold, their back was bent, stood up to embrace him, they reconciled with him and accepted him and went back all together to the monastery. [653] Then the patriarch decided to take revenge on Bar Armaya as he had suffered because of him more than the others. Since it was impossible to do something to him in Melitene because of his brothers he planned to go to Jerusalem, he lured Bar Armaya (into joining him) and took him with him. Also some of the archimandrites of the monastery, Arya of Ḥesno d-Shura and Saliba of Quphlida, and other bishops went with him. The patriarch went to Antioch where was received honourably and also in Tripolis: all the people of the city went out to meet him and had him enter (the city) with a procession, and likewise in Akko. When he arrived at Jerusalem the *Fratres Minores*,¹²⁴ the Frankish monks, went out to meet him and showed him great honour to the point that they carried him with their own hands because they saw that he was not able to walk because of the gout. When they entered to the gate called 'Of the column', through which the patriarchs and the kings use to proceed on foot, the patriarch and those who were with him entered and dwelt in the convent of Magdalene where there were at that time 70 monks of ours. After they had stayed there for some days [655] a certain Abyssinian monk named Thomas went to them. It was said about him that he came from a renowned family of the Abyssinians. He wanted to be ordained metropolitan for the region of the Blacks, an unlawful deed for two reasons: first, the province was under the jurisdiction of the seat of Alexandria, thus the right of the consecration was of that patriarch and not the patriarch of Antioch; second, since the time of the evangelisation of the Abyssinians no metropolitan had been ordained from their own people but it was right that an Egyptian was appointed as their leader [657] and thus they should be

¹²² WILMSHURST 2016: 'He had earlier been consecrated for Aleppo, but after he became patriarch Mar Ignatius awarded Melitene to him.'

¹²³ WILMSHURST 2016 om. 'What I have robbed from you that you gathered and compacted against me?'

¹²⁴ See PAYNE SMITH: 3226.

subject to him. This custom resembles a little bit the one of ours in the East because the Easterners do not allow a maphrian to be elected who is not from the West. However, (in this case) the spoken and written language is the same as the one of his diocesans. (By contrast) an Egyptian who goes to the Abyssinians is not able to speak or to write the same language. There was a dissension between the patriarch Ignatius and the patriarch of Alexandria Cyril Bar Laqlaq because Cyril had altered the border set by the first fathers called 'Arish, that was the border of the seats of Antioch and Alexandria and ordained [659] a metropolitan for Jerusalem. He was brought (to do so) because the glorious Egyptian lawyers who were numerous in Jerusalem and in the whole Syria called for help about Syrian bishops whom they did not considered fit because of their foreign language. On account of this they compelled him to ordain a pastor for them even though this motivation was not right for (allowing) the noble Cyril to transgress the (ecclesiastical) order but it would have been right to send the Egyptian to the patriarch of Antioch to be appointed according to the law. Thus for this reason the patriarch Mor Ignatius wanted 'to take out a pin with a pin'¹²⁵ and (to fix) an irregularity with the similar one, to fight back in an irregular manner, ordaining a metropolitan for the Abyssinians. At the same time he decided not to inform the *Fratres Minores*, that is the Frankish doctors, lest the Egyptian metropolitan in Jerusalem would make troubles. He therefore sent Mor Dionysius Saliba Harifa of Claudia to inform them on the affair but they replied: 'The law should not be transgressed so freely. The patriarch should hold in until we send one of ours to Cyril to revoke his authority from here and if he does not listen then we will lawfully help you on everything you want.' Since the will of the patriarch waged war on his reason [661], the patriarch at first agreed to do that but then he could not control his impulse and the day after he ordained the black man. The *Fratres Minores* heard that and got furious, they went to the Templars and the Hospitallers and instigated them; noble men from every faction gathered and went to the patriarch in great anger. They sat down without even paying him their respects, and the leader of the doctors *Fratres* started saying to the patriarch: 'I tell you: who are you that do not maintain this diocese with your estate nor rule with your sword. You have come as a guest and we, according to the order of the Messiah, received you with love and honoured you. When you asked us an advice on an unlawful act, we forbade you (but) you held us in contempt and transgressed our word. Tell us clearly why and how you have done this.'¹²⁶ The terror fell on the patriarch, he was struck dumb, his face grew pale, his lips became white and he did not know what to reply to them. But

¹²⁵ i.e. to retaliate in kind.

¹²⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Tell us now, without shilly-shallying, what you intend to do, and how you intend to set about it.'

Dionysius beckoned to the patriarch and told him in Syriac: ‘Make the fault falls on me. It is better that I am found guilty than you.’ Then the patriarch heartened and told them: ‘God forbid that I have transgressed your word! Nor I have been raised (in such a way) that I repay the honour I have received from you with an insult. Behold, the messenger whom I sent to you is alive. [663] He said that you told him to do whatever we wanted without any impediment. As to me, I acted according to your order.’ Then the leader of the Brothers turned to the bishop and said: ‘Saliba, did I tell you this?’ The bishop replied: ‘This is what I understood.’ The leader of the Brothers told: ‘The Messiah is between me and you.’ Then (one of) the excellent Franks said to the leader of the Brothers: ‘Actually, you do not know Arabic adequately, and neither this bishop.¹²⁷ He cannot be blamed if he did not understand you.’ Then they all started asking pardon to the patriarch for their inappropriate rage and went out. The patriarch much blessed the bishop and told him: ‘If I forget you, Harifa, let my right hand forget me! You craftily set me free from the accusation of these tyrants.’ Then, when the days of feast were over, the patriarch asked the bishops and the archimandrites who were with him to make a judgement (on the issues) between him and Bar Armaya, on how, after he had honoured him, had attributed him a major dioceses such as Melitene, and given him a seat at his right hand, the latter betrayed him¹²⁸ and joined the enemies. When Bar Armaya was found guilty and judged worthy to be deposed, the bishops asked the patriarch [665] to send him back to his former dioceses of Aleppo and the patriarch accepted their request. When he went from Jerusalem to Antioch, sent with Bar Armaya some of the bishops, who brought him and set him in the church of Aleppo. When the summer was passed he sat in Antioch. In autumn he went up to the monastery and since Melitene was without a pastor he sent there Dionysius Saliba Harifa. And there he was the deputy of the patriarch and celebrated the feasts of our Lord. Afterward he ordained for Melitene the brother’s son of the archimandrite Barsoum Bar Samuel, named Arius, an excellent young man but he died before he had completed one year in Melitene. The patriarch ordained at his place Rabban Aaron monk and priest, known as Angur, one of the disciples of Arius the archimandrite of Qoqaya while the patriarch himself was in the convent of Raḥta. On Sunday of Canaan he ordained him and called him Dionysius. At that time the patriarch started to build the catholic church in Qal’a Rumayta because the priest Isho’ told him that there were many faithful there, noble and wealthy, and since [667] there was not a church that suited us among the Armenians we were in sorrow. The patriarch sent some superintendents from his disciples with enough gold to

¹²⁷ WILMSHURST 2016 om. ‘and neither this bishop.’

¹²⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘For this man, although loaded honourably by him, had seized the principal diocese of Melitene, and although pretending to be his friend had betrayed him and joined himself to his enemies.’

complete in little time a glorious church for the pride of the Orthodox. Afterwards, he started building the comely Church of the Mother of God of the convent of Raḥta close to Melitene and he built also a hostelry in the neighbourhood of the convent. These things were realized with not little labour because besides the expenses for the construction he had to afford other expenses for the governors. Only with abundant gifts he could restrain the violent eagerness of the Arabs, their enemies. He also gave way to build a mosque in the hostelry (because of) the uproar of the Muslim people. After the sanctuary and the hostelry were completed the patriarch went to Antioch and there again he struck an alliance with the Franks by gifts and bought a wonderful garden in the upper city and built there a splendid sanctuary and a wonderful pavilion to seat and other cells and established there the eminent seat of the patriarchate. At that time, Saliba Bar Jacob Wagiah of Edessa and Abu al-Faraj Bar Aaron of Melitene were trained in rhetoric and medicine in Tripolis by Jacob, a certain Nestorian Rhetor, [669] when the patriarch summoned them to ordain the one for Akko and the other for Gubos. After Abu al-Faraj had come, he ordained him for Gubos at the feast of the Salvific Cross on 14 September 1557 but Saliba was overlooked because Athanasius of Laqabin Isho, disciple of the patriarch asked for (the seat of) Akko and obtained it. When the patriarch saw that Saliba was returning home heartbroken, he told him: 'Do not be sad, my son. In a few days Bar Armaya will die and I will ordain you in his place' and so happened: before Saliba could reach Tripolis the news of (Bar Armaya's) death arrived and he sent Saliba to return and ordained him for Aleppo. This seemed a marvel even though (it happened) by chance. After these things the patriarch started building the church of the Mother of God in Sis beside the great church of the Armenians and a very high church was erected. When the Egyptians burned down Sis in 1560, the great church of the Armenians was damaged and it collapsed. This church of ours was not damaged and likewise our other church of Mor Barsoum which Isa a Edessene doctor had rebuilt.¹²⁹ After the church had been completed the patriarch, decided [671] to build a bridge over the river Gadid on the border of Andria where many used to drown, especially in April. He advanced 1,000 silver coins in a (promissory) document for the construction except for food and drink which was sent by the convents. When it was nearly completed, a flood came and carried it away. He did not restart from the beginning but even though the work had perished, everyone who had laboured, fatigued or financed (the work) did not lose his wage. The patriarch built also another big bridge over the river which crosses the city of Mopsuestia and when the flood overthrew the stones of the fonts, his piers and wooden planks laid on the bridges did not move. Thus acting prudently, Mor Ignatius took care of the ecclesiastical doctrine and the profane

¹²⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'which was rebuilt later by 'Isa, a physician of Edessa.'

wisdom everywhere and appointed teachers and pupils everywhere at his expenses. Truly the church of God arose from its deathlike barrenness. In the charity and beneficence for the poor he was illustrious and ordained many bishops and two maphrians: Dionysius of Kfar Salta, the former bishop of Gazarta, and Mor John Bar Ma'dani, the former bishop of Mardin. He had no rest until the end of his days. Especially [673] because of that, he did not take residence in one place. Therefore he stayed in Antioch but saw that he was weakened by the gout which since a long time was consuming him. Also his sight was diminished and the strangury afflicted him. He obtained some refreshment from the healing of Basil of Aleppo, that is Saliba Bar Jacob Wagiah of Edessa, who mastered the art of the medicine. He decided to go to the monastery of Mor Barsoum where he was raised and which he had presided over, and there he dwelt until the end of his life. As soon as he took this decision, he immediately enacted it and ordered his disciples to take him and bring him out of Antioch to the region of Gumia. Thus in a few days they reached Samosata. They called the archimandrites of the monastery and informed the bishop of Melitene and the other bishops who all joined to go and meet the patriarch. When they met him in the neighbourhood of Gaktai, they prostrated on the ground and approached to embrace his feet and kissed them and his hands and rejoiced about him and he (rejoiced) of them. Since he could not endure riding, [675] they bound wooden planks with thick cords, laid soft rugs (on it) and made the patriarch sit on them; the bishops and the archimandrites carried him to the monastery on their shoulders for most of the journey. When they reached the monastery, the patriarch sat in his cell, blessed the bishops and uncovered his head, behaving in evangelic humility and said: 'My sons, I did wrong to have been distant from you all this time and now the Messiah deigned me to come to the temple of this saint and to you. I ask you to feed the flock of the Messiah with sincerity of heart and to give rest to my old age. Behold, the secular vessel has approached and the time to be released has arrived for me.' When the bishops heard these things, they wept, uncovered their head and felt on the ground before him and begged for a blessing. After he had blessed each of them separately he sent them back to their dioceses. These things took place some days before the Nativity and when the beginning of the Fast was approaching the patriarch summoned Dionysius of Melitene and the rest of the bishops to start the Fast (together) so that he might receive some comfort by them. When they were ready to leave, some sinful and slandering men approached the bishop of Melitene and told him: 'We know for sure that the archimandrite John, the patriarch's cousin¹³⁰ and the other disciples of (his) inner cell [677] are waiting for an occasion to kill you.' The bishop of Melitene got scared and did not want to go and also threatened the

¹³⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'nephew'

bishops around him not to go. They waited until the beginning of the Fast and then they went all together. For this reason the patriarch was offended. When the Fast started the bishop of Melitene took the bishop of Gubos and the bishop of Qalisura and went to Modiq to the bishop of Claudia and the four of them went to the monastery. When they had reached the monastery of the Martyrs close to the village of Amron, the bishop of Claudia told them: 'I know that the patriarch is much offended with us and will not allow us to enter. Thus, see how to come to peace with him.' The bishop of Melitene said: 'Stay here. I will go to the monastery. If I will be allowed to enter I will send for you to come. If not, I will remain with you. When he went but was not accepted, he returned in anger to the bishops, took them and went to Melitene threatening the patriarch (to denounce him) to the rulers. Then the bishop of Claudia sent a message to the patriarch with the bishop of Laqabin Aaron Tanzig: 'If you spend the night in the monastery, you will bring great shame upon yourself. The bishop of Melitene is ready to send guards to harass you because all your life you squandered the gold you gathered from the land of Beth-Romaye [679] for the kings of the Franks and the Armenians, building bridges in their regions. Now that you have come to their regions you cannot even address them a mere word of greeting.'¹³¹ When the patriarch heard this, he was struck by terror, called his disciples, gathered the archimandrites and said: 'Take me out of here immediately!' When they begged him strongly to wait until they had appeased the bishop of Melitene, he did not accept but obliged them (to do so). In the evening after the vespers they took him out of the monastery and travelled all the night until they crossed the border of the Beth-Romaye and entered the region of Cyrrhus under the jurisdiction of the Lord of Aleppo. The patriarch and those who were with him, went to stay in a village called Marde in the garden of a certain Syrian faithful. He sent to gather to him bishops from all the regions and those of Beth-Romaye, Syria and Palestine came there. He sent also the maphrian Mor John Bar Ma'dani to attend the synod with the eastern bishops, to make a judgement between him and the bishop of Melitene and to anathematize him or to release the patriarch and appoint another one whom they wanted. When the bishop Aaron Tanzig of Laqabin went to the maphrian, [681] he told him: 'The patriarch swears with solemn oaths that he is willing to resign and that you can appoint a patriarch while he is still alive only if you anathematize the bishop of Melitene (for) he (the patriarch) is growing old and weak.' The maphrian said: 'May God preserve him and keep him alive in his throne. I had enough with the shame he gave to me the other time in Antioch, proposing my name as he wanted to raise me to power and I was made contemptible at the eyes of everybody near and far. Now if the promise is true, let him send to me a

¹³¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'from now on, whenever you enter their territory, you will not even be allowed to pass the time of day with them.'

document of his own hand with the witnesses of the bishops so that I might go confidently to him and accomplish his order and his will.' When the bishop Aaron sent to the patriarch saying: 'The maphrian asks for a document of your hand where you appoint him at your place and then he will come.' The patriarch burnt with anger against both Bar Ma'dani and the bishop, dismissed the bishops who were gathered around him and sent each one to his dioceses. The deposition of the bishop of Melitene failed but a few bishops remained with the patriarch who were familiars and disciples of (his) cell such as Athanasius Isho' of Akko. He used to take too many liberties and confidence with the faithful owner of the garden where the patriarch was lodging, eating and drinking unceasingly. One day [683] the owner of the garden saw one of the disciples of the bishop of Akko talking with his wife who was making signs to him with her eyes. Then he burnt with jealousy, took an axe and struck his wife in the temples and killed her. A clamour aroused and consternation fell on the cell of the patriarch. He and the bishop of Akko quickly took the things that were there and hired some men of the village to make them pass the Euphrates whilst swimming. He fled to Syria and went to Phoenicia. When the *hegoumenos* of the citadel of Cyrrhus heard that there was anxiety (on this affair), sent to arrest the murderer, chained him up and imprisoned him. He asked for the bishop but since he did not find him, he decided to retain the patriarch until the responsible of the murder had come. After an altercation and a fine, the patriarch was barely allowed to leave for Edessa so that he could be ready at the request of the sultan. A horseman was appointed to him to bring him to Edessa. And with the patriarch there was also Jacob Bar Isho, priest of Qal'ah Rumayta. When the patriarch and his disciples crossed the Euphrates and went to Edessa, that priest left them and descended to the banks of the Euphrates where there was the market of Adel, provided a ship and returned to them. The patriarch ordered to give the horseman as much money as he asked for. He took it and turned towards a village on the roadside and remained there until [685] the disciples of the patriarch put him on the boat and sailed downstream on the river. Then the horseman went out and he had the inhabitants leave the village with him and hastened toward the patriarch pretending that he wanted to bring him back. When he could not, he returned to the hegemon of Cyrrhus and persuaded him that against his will the patriarch had escaped. The patriarch went to Qal'ah Rumayta and stayed in its church. Mor Constantine, catholicos of the Armenians much honoured him, descending all the time to see him. After the patriarch had settled in Qal'ah Rumayta a certain deacon named Samania who was there with him, raged on Saliba, and the patriarch wrote several letters of deposition and suspension to the bishop of Melitene and sent them to all priests and archimandrites separately but nobody dared to read them publicly. At that time Aaron of Laqabin left his dioceses and went to live a quiet life in Jerusalem. The patriarch transferred Gregory Abu al-Faraj Bar Aaron from Gubos to Laqabin and ordained for Gubos Barsoum, the nephew of Lazar who had been earlier bishop of Gubos. In those days [687] the bishop of

Habora, Daniel disciple of Bar Ma'dani, was offended by the maphrian and went to the patriarch to slander him. He was angry with him and the patriarch told him to write (a letter of) reprimand in his own name to Bar Ma'dani. However, he sat and wrote a letter of evil calumnies in Arabic on Bar Ma'dani as if from the mouth of the patriarch to the lord of Mardin: 'Several times I have sent to you gifts, a mule and clothes by the hands of Bar Ma'dani but I heard that he retained them and did not offer them to your majesty' and other charges. When the governor knew that it was a fraudulent disciple who had written the letter, he did not accept it. The patriarch heard what Daniel had done, did not accept his words but rebuked him and expelled him from his cell and he went to dwell in Aleppo where he was trained in rhetoric by Negem Nakshwani, a certain great scribe of the Arabs and eventually he was converted by him to Islam. At that time the catholicos of the Armenians asked the patriarch for a place for an altar for the Armenians in the church of Harran. Because the patriarch had taken pain to increase the churches or because he was ashamed to be disrespectful with the catholicos publicly, he was forced to hold out his hand to him publicly but to withdraw it secretly, to write to the bishop Ephrem and the faithful to give (their consent) [689] meaning actually that they should not to do it. When they continued to strive without giving up, in the heart he used to praise them (but) with the tongue he used to curse them. In writing he (threatened) them with depositions and suspensions if they had not opposed (the request of the catholicos). (Those) blessed disputers valiantly arose and won and neither gave way to unfold the patriarch's secret (plan). When Hayton, the king of the Armenians, heard that the Syrians were not giving the Armenians a place for praying, got angry and wrote to the patriarch saying: 'If you refuse our people a small place, why should we give great fields¹³² to your convents? Henceforward, let each of us keep what is his!' The patriarch took courage and wrote a letter to the king and began his speech as follows: 'Since I speak rightly to the king I will not be ashamed. It is not just that you take away the gifts of the just and merciful kings, your predecessors, and nor it is lawful that the Cilicians are struck because of the transgression of others. If you act evilly against the few remnant Syrians of your territory, perhaps there will be found in the rest of our people, who is small but in the salt (of which) all the kingdoms are seasoned,¹³³ [691] someone who might act evilly against the Armenians everywhere. Moreover the holy catholicos testifies how much I have laboured with those stubborn men but they could not be softened. I despaired to subdue them. For this reason they are still under suspension.' The words of the patriarch pleased the king and he was

¹³² WILMSHURST 2016: 'treasures'

¹³³ The expression is obscure. It may refer to the biblical figure of the salt. The expression 'covenant of salt' in Lev. 2:13, Num. 18:19, 2 Chron. 13:5 means the everlasting nature of a pact.

calmed down. In the same year, the patriarch, according to his custom, wanted to build in Qal'a Rumayta a convent for the Syrians because the Armenians in their cupidity built a convent there named after the holy Mor Barsoum and were gathering as many alms as they could among the people. Since the sons of the priest Isho' possessed a garden on the river Farzmān, suitable for a convent, the patriarch asked to obtain a bill of sale from them so that later they could not have any authority on the monks dwelling in the convent and annoy them. When they discussed this but did not want to give (it), the patriarch got offended with them and went out in anger. He went to stay in a diocese on the banks of the Euphrates and when the catholicos of the Armenians heard of this, he came to take him away from there and brought him to one of his gardens. There he fell sick and entered in affliction. The catholicos sent to bring him up to the citadel and lodged him in the guest house close to the great Church of the Armenians. The catholicos came to him [693] and interceded with him for the sons of the priest Isho', they came and after he had blessed them and everyone who was under suspension, he departed to the Lord on 14 June 1563. He was carried out by the catholicos and many bishops and was buried in the eastern outer side of the church of the Armenians. Of our people only two bishops were with the patriarch when he died: Gregory of Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur and Basil of Ra'ban, and many monks and priests. The catholicos inherited his possessions except for (some) specified objects, which he had written in his testament and which were destined to the monastery of Mor Barsoum: a great golden cross, a pair of silver fans, a complete set of canonicals, a book of Chronicle and a book of pandect. For his successor in the patriarchal seat, a silver jar for the Myron, three complete sets of canonicals, satin priestly vestments, fine stoles, and solemn mitre. Gregory of Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur received the golden knob of the pastoral staff but he could not keep it because when Dionysius became patriarch, he took it away from him but did not keep it for himself but gave it to the priest [695] and doctor Simeon when he went to the Ordu. The bishop of Ra'ban received another silver knob; the sons of Isho' received the great book of episcopal consecrations written by Mor Michael. 200 dinars and a mule were sent to the king of Cilicia while the catholicos received 100 (dinars) and a mule. 100 alms were divided among the priests.

After Mor Ignatius, Dionysius Angur. When the patriarch Ignatius, of pious memory, died in Qal'a Rumayta, Dionysius Angur of Melitene coveted to become patriarch because he saw that around him there was no bishop that could challenge him. However, when he was reproved by his counsellors as follows: 'Even though those close to you and that fears you consent to you, the maphrian Bar Ma'dani, unique in his time, Basil Saliba of Aleppo, eloquent and familiar with the kings, the bishop of Amid and the one of Ḥesno d-Ziyad are elder and renowned erudite men, and so also those of Tur 'Abdin, and the bishops of Palestine, Athanasius of 'Akko and the others. How will they consent to your election?' He told them: 'Even though I will rule only in Beth-Romaye, it will suffice me.' He was clingy to the vain hope that when they had heard that one had been

appointed [697] they would not appoint another one. And that the one appointed first would be considered legitimate and accepted. He was also confident that he would be able to divide (his) enemies from each other with gifts. He hurriedly gathered the few neighbouring bishops: the ones of Claudia, Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur, Laqabin, Qalisura and Gubos. The elder Basil Damian of Caesarea was also present, who had come with Rabban Salomon, the *synkellos* of the deceased patriarch, to conduct the funeral. When he arrived in Melitene, and heard the news of his death, he could not go back but went up to the monastery of Mor Barsoum with the bishops. When the bishop of Melitene was hastening them to ordain him, they replied: 'We cannot do anything without informing the maphrian and the other bishops.' Then they wrote a letter to send to Bar Ma'dani saying, after words of consolation for the death of the elder: 'Behold, we feeble men have gathered in the monastery of Mor Barsoum that is nowadays the renowned seat of our people and the most suitable place for an assembly, thus we ask your Greatness to stoop down to coming to us so as to choose a common guide and appoint a leader suitable for the time and the way.' The elder Mor Dionysius of Claudia wrote a letter separately to the maphrian [699] saying: 'Your wisdom will acknowledge that in this time there is no place but this monastery where to subscribe the election of a patriarch and the bishop of Melitene is the one who knows better the governors here and is familiar with them, and without him nobody would have been able to sit here.' And he also confided (to him) in his letter: 'You are more suitable for the East for the affinity of the dialect and the knowledge of Arabic¹³⁴ and if you want to receive more dioceses there will be no objection.'¹³⁵ The bishops wrote letters to Basil of Aleppo¹³⁶ with the intention of making him come to them and a messenger was sent to the monk Abu Galeb, the disciple of the archimandrite Abu Salem. The bishop of Melitene (also) sent to him: 'After these foreign bishops had chosen me and agreed upon me, how much more it is right that you who are my spiritual son whom I raised and instructed in my cell, take care of me joyfully.' When the bishop of Aleppo heard this thing replied: 'Without the maphrian and all the bishops I cannot consent to anyone.' He sent back the messenger empty hand. He went to the vizir of Aleppo and received an order that all the bishops of Syria and Mesopotamia had to consent to the one the bishop of Aleppo had agreed upon and to nobody else. When Bar Ma'dani read the letters of the northern bishops, he was much upset of the fact that another one had been chosen in his place [701] but he could not reply roughly to them, lest they (in turn) would do something out of anger, but he planned to let them wait for a while, until he had gathered a big

¹³⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'since you speak its language and can read Arabic.'

¹³⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: 'if you want the dioceses closest to you, nobody will object to their transfer.'

¹³⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Dionysius of Aleppo.'

assembly of bishops of the East, the Tur 'Abdin and inner and outer Syria who had all stood up against the bishop of Melitene. Thus wrote to them reproving gently their hurry and said also: 'I do not want your divine assembly to be dismissed but wait for me until the feast of the Cross so that I can obtain the permission of the governor to come to you. The one you have proclaimed be ready so that when we will come, the matter will be concluded with the help of God without delay.' When the bishops had waited for him from July to the fifteenth of September and he had not come they were urged by Dionysius to appoint him on the day of the feast of the Cross in 1563. (It was) a second consecration as the one of Ḥaye in our times, reprehensible just as a second baptism. For a bishop who is chosen for the patriarchate, only the enthronisation should be done and his hand should be raised above all the others during the consecration with the *myron*.¹³⁷ [703] After he had become patriarch, Dionysius made Gregory of Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur translate to Melitene and Rabban Barsoum was ordained for Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur. The deacon, son of the priest Habibi, disciple and kinsman of the deceased patriarch Ignatius, and was called Ignatius the Reader and Writer. When the maphrian heard (of this), he was moved (with anger), gathered all the bishops of the East and Tur Abdin, came to Qal'a Rumayta, sent his affection to the catholicos and went to Edessa. The bishop of Aleppo came to him. When Dionysius who had been elected patriarch and the northern bishops heard that the maphrian had come to Edessa, they wrote letters of apology to him saying: 'We did what we have done according to your order because you wrote to us 'Wait for me just until the feast of the Cross and the one you have proclaimed be ready' etc. Thus, we ask Your Greatness not to depart from Edessa until we all together with the man whom we have appointed patriarch shall remain at your service [705] and do whatever God manifests to you and pleases the community.' They sent the letter with Gregory Bar Aaron of Laqabin and Dionysius sent a verbal message to Bar Ma'dani along with gifts: 'If you are not pleased with me, I will sit in one of the convents and you will appoint whomever the community wants. Just, do not create a schism in the church.' But when Gregory had gone to Edessa, he did not find them there because Basil of Aleppo had come and taken the maphrian and the bishops who were with him and they all went to Aleppo to appoint the maphrian Bar Ma'dani patriarch. Since then the Edessenes started reviling Bar Ma'dani because though being great, excellent and wise man in the church, for ambition he delivered himself to the young vainglorious bishop of Aleppo. The Edessenes much hated the bishop of Aleppo, even though he was their fellow-citizen because he had magnified himself beyond measure and had behaved insolently, though nobody of his family was renown. The day after the bishop of Laqabin had entered Edessa, the elder John Saliba of Amid came to and John of Maypherqaṭ his disciple

¹³⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'when he is given the staff.'

(came) with him. The Edessenes asked him to go up to the monastery and not to follow those who had gone to Aleppo but the elder bishop told them: 'It is right that I go hastily to Aleppo [707] not to allow them to create a schism in the Church.' Then the elder, excellent bishop of Amid started rebuking rightly both parties: these ones because they had hurriedly appointed a leader without their brothers and the others because they had gone to appoint another one before removing the other one. Thus while the bishop of Amid and his disciple were going to Aleppo, the one of Laqabin went up to the monastery sending the letter which he had with him by the servant Joseph nephew of Angur. He also wrote another letter with the supplication not to create a schism but to wait until the northern bishops come to them and to listen to their will. After the ordination of Dionysius, Mor John Bar Ma'dani was ordained. When the bishop of Amid went to Aleppo, he discovered that Bar Ma'dani had been ordained patriarch two days before on the feast of Mor Barbara in the church of Aleppo on 4 December 1564. The bishop of Amid was offended with them and did not want to go in to meet them but eventually they forcibly brought him in and he quarrelled with them in vain. When they forced him to give his consent to the bill (of proclamation) he said: 'I am under the jurisdiction of the Beth-Romaye and I can only proclaim someone who is accepted by the sultan'. He left them and returned to his diocese. [709] Bar Ma'dani, a few days after he had been ordained, ordained Basil of Aleppo maphrian of the East and he was called Ignatius. Many were offended by this change of name (and were angry) not only at the one who was named but even more at the one who named. Immediately Mor John wanted to enter in Antioch and sit in the great seat of Severus as if the name and the reality exercise of the patriarchate would have confirmed him. When he went there, there came to them Athanasius Isho' of 'Akko, and Isho' of Tripolis, that is Bar Parson of Edessa, because of a dispute between the one of Akko and Bar Parson and they asked Mor John to help the bishop of Akko. Bar Parson went to the chiefs of the great church of the Franks and accused Mor John as follows: 'He came to power unjustly; another legitimate one had been elected before him on the seat of the Jacobites, that is the one from the monastery of Mor Barsoum, munificent and dear to the kings, who is ready to come and bring magnificent gifts to your church, so before he had come do not accept this man.' When the Franks heard this thing, Bar Ma'dani was lessened in their eyes and they said: 'We do not accept him until they summon his rival and both of them will be judged.' The one who will be justified will sit on the throne.' The affair remained suspended for three months and after he had paid many expenses and gifts to the Franks, [711] he excused himself saying: 'I summoned my rival but he did not want to come' and they barely allowed him to enter their great Church¹³⁸ and sat on the throne

¹³⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'he was reluctantly to enter their great church'

according to the custom. The bishop of Aleppo who became maphrian did not travel with them to Antioch, nor did he go to the East, but he set off first to Damascus, and Mukhlis, the archdeacon of Aleppo accompanied him. They offered a banquet to the sultan and the governors and received the diploma for Bar Ma'dani. When he returned from there he went to the East and assigned the dioceses of Aleppo to Dionysius of Matay of Gumia, the disciple of the deceased Mor Ignatius. There the Egyptian lawyers wanted to appoint as pastor Daniel of Habora, because he was versed in the profane writings and he was able to confute the Arabic dialecticians but Mor John did not want to entrust him the dioceses because of his wiliness. For this reason the unlucky Daniel was offended and falling into despair renounced his faith and became Muslim. Great sorrow and scorn (fell) on the believers everywhere but God, may His grace be praised, [713] quickly consoled his afflicted people and removed the scorn of the redeemed, the redeemed of the Lord. After a few months, that miserable one died wickedly in a hospital and (also) his name perished, for he was removed and the place (of his burial) was unknown. After leaving Antioch Bar Ma'dani went to Aleppo and from there he went to sit in Mardin and all the Edessenes, priests, deacons and the people promised to take care of the affair of the bishop of Aleppo, that is, the maphrian and a deacon of them named Phargani, that was used to come and go from the court of the rulers and he went to Damascus to promise gold to the sultan. He received a letter of proclamation for Dionysius so that he might go and be honoured. When the deacon came and brought the letter, Dionysius did not dare to go. He feared the Egyptian lawyers who had much influence on Bar Ma'dani, so he said: 'It would be good for me to go to the lord of Beth-Romaye first, because I am in his territory, and then to the others.' He got ready to go to Iconium to the sultan 'Izz al-Din,¹³⁹ with the bishops of Claudia and Caesarea, and produced a royal *mansur* and another letter to Malik al-Nasr,¹⁴⁰ the lord [715] of Aleppo to accept and honour him. When he returned from Iconium the bishop Thomas of Hah arrived from the Tur Abdin and said: 'Bar Ma'dani agreed to give money to the sultan and was proclaimed in our region. Now he has his seat in Mardin and does not ask for (money) while the governor forces us and asks us gold. Thus we ask you to come to our region and collect the double of that gold and pay the sultan and you will be proclaimed in the whole Tur Abdin.' Dionysius did not want to go (and) sent the bishop of Laqabin Gregory Bar Aaron and 'Abdiel, his brother's son. They went and were respectfully received by the governors of the region. They travelled through convents and villages and gathered a huge amount of silver coins and paid the ruler. They received the *mansur*, Dionysius was proclaimed and they returned to the monastery. Then the

¹³⁹ Kaykaus II (r. 1246-1257 A.D.) Seljuk Sultan of Rum.

¹⁴⁰ An-Nasir Yusuf (r.1250 – 1260 A.D.) Ayyubid Emir of Syria.

Edessenenes sent Phargani to Damascus who said: 'The patriarch of Beth-Romaye will not come unless an excellent man will go to him.' The sultan ordered to send a horseman from the great servants of his father who came to the monastery, took Dionysius and some bishops and archimandrites and they went to Damascus. They lodged them in our church of the Syrians and they remained there all the 40 days of the fast. Every day a meal from the royal palace was offered to them as long as they remained there. [717] When the occasion was found to be received by the sultan, he took the bishops that were there: the bishops of Caesarea, Damascus, Mabbug and Laqabin, and also Sem'an, the archimandrite of the monastery. The sultan came near the patriarch and embraced him and gave hand to the bishops. They were sat in front of him and he asked the patriarch: 'Are you tired for the journey? Is there something you need in your guest house?' and the patriarch paid him his respects. The bishop of Laqabin was the interpreter between the sultan and the patriarch. The patriarch pulled out the document of the sultan 'Izz al-Din and stretched it out to the one standing in front of Malik al-Nasr. He opened it, read it and said: 'Soothe your heart. You will not see anything but honour from me.' Then he pulled out also the writing of Baichu Noyan,¹⁴¹ the general of the army of the Tartars that the physician Khair Michael Bar Gabra of Melitene had received for him. When the sultan saw the document his expression changed but he did not dare to say anything, either good or bad; those who were standing around the sultan said to the patriarch: 'Get up. That's enough.' The patriarch and the bishops went out, grieved and [719] sad that they had shown the document of that Tartar. While this stay in Damascus continued without receiving a reply nor giving, the leader of the lawyers, a certain Egyptian named Makhin Bar 'Amid, approached the patriarch and said to him: 'Honestly, Father, we are not pleased of your arrival because we are much reviled by the Arabs, whose rulers abhor us saying, 'Behold, the chiefs of your confession, whose contempt for worldly (affairs) and austerity you praise, reject one another (relying on) the worldly governance.'¹⁴² Thus we would not benefit from your departure at dawn without fulfilling the aim for which you came because we would be even more humiliated.¹⁴³ So now that you have offended this young sultan you cannot please him but by paying a profusion of gold because he much loves money.' The patriarch told the elder Makhin: 'I commit this matter to God and to you. Lead (the

¹⁴¹ Noyan, pl. Noyad. Honorific originally signifying people not of the ruling lineage, holding high ranks and offices. The title then ended up in the connotation of 'commander'. 'Noyan', EME: 412.

¹⁴² WILMSHURST 2016: 'Behold the chiefs of your religion, whose contempt and disdain for worldly affairs you praise so much, are removed one after another at the worldly pleasure of princes.'

¹⁴³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'And so nothing would delight us more than that you should leave this place with your tail between your legs, unsuccessful in your mission, or we will be ground down even more.'

affair) as you think most wise and do not ask me anything.’ Then Makhin went to please the sultan with 27,000 *hure* that the patriarch paid back little by little in Aleppo, and Malik al-Nasr accepted him and wrote a splendid *mansur* for Dionysius [721] so that he might be accepted and proclaimed in all the regions. He went out from Damascus and came to Aleppo. From Aleppo he went to Qal’a Rumayta and he was honoured (there) by the catholicos of the Armenians but the sons of the priest Isho’ did not proclaim him. They said: ‘We gave our word to Bar Ma’dani’ and the catholicos did not force them to proclaim Dionysius. When the patriarch Dionysius arrived in Qal’ah Rumayta, the vizir of Aleppo sent the guards after him so that he came to pay him the gold (he owed him) and for this reason he was lessened at the eyes of the catholicos and the Armenians. When he came to Aleppo, he attributed the dioceses of Aleppo to Gregory Bar Aaron of Laqabin. (There) he was approached by the bishop of Aleppo, the bishop of Damascus and the deacon Phargani of Edessa, who all refused to pay the gold.¹⁴⁴ Dionysius left and went to Edessa and from there he went up to the monastery. After Gregory had stayed some time in Aleppo, the maphrian Saliba came from the East and remained for the winter in Aleppo. (Then) he got ready to go to Damascus, offered as much gold as Dionysius had offered to receive a diploma to render (the proclamation of) Dionysius void. Mor John Bar Ma’dani was proclaimed; he returned to Aleppo and stayed in the church there. Gregory dwelt in the house of his father who had just arrived from Melitene and dwelt [723] in Aleppo. After a while he went up to the monastery to the patriarch. The maphrian summoned Bar Ma’dani to come to Syria and pay the gold to be appointed there. Mor John refused to come and to pay the gold and neither thanked the maphrian for what he had done. When he was urged by the requests he sent (again) Mor John to come to pay or he would ratify (the election of) Dionysius and he would consent to him. The maphrian went in person to tell these things to Bar Ma’dani and to hear his reply. When the maphrian reached the city of Balash close to the Euphrates, he met there Bar Ma’dani who had come to Syria and returned with him to Aleppo. Mor John prepared the gold (who had obtained) on loan by a friend of him, an Ethiopian merchant named Mitkael. At this time the convent of Mor Cyriacus of Zoniqratt which had been restored¹⁴⁵ by the deceased bishop Simeon of Ḥesno, was devastated. It had a evil and spendthrift son named Michael, who much oppressed the monks with his requests. When they got irked of him and turned their faces away from him he went to the sultan Rukn al-Din¹⁴⁶ and became a Muslim. He received the permission to expel the monks

¹⁴⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘and these three men promised that they would all pay the gold at the same time’

¹⁴⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘built’

¹⁴⁶ Rukn al-Din Khurshah (d.1256 A.D.). He ruled over the Nizari Ismaili state, a nexus of castles in Persia and Syria, which ended with the cession of the Alamut Fortress to the Mongols.

from the convent [725] of his father and installed fakirs¹⁴⁷ at their place. When he came to Ḥesno, he assembled bands of seditious Arabs and went to occupy the monastery on the Friday which ends the 40 days of Sacraments fast. He led out the monks naked and barefoot. He plundered all the possessions of the convent and the precious goods of the sanctuary: crosses, chalices, patens, urns and magnificent books and returned to Ḥesno d-Ziyad but the holy bishop of Ḥesno Dionysius bought the books from that impure. The same bishop bestowed the holy church of Tabriz of the illuminated Gospel of Rabban Zebina. In the same year that polluted man committed these things i.e. the year 1568 of the Greeks, when the divine justice could not bear him anymore, it paid him back badly. During the summer when Sharaf al-Din ibn Shaikh ‘Ad came to assist the sultan ‘Izz al-Din, the citizens of Ḥesno because they had sworn an oath to Rukhn al-Din went out to fight with him. The polluted Michael who had converted to Islam was (also) present at the battle and was killed. Thus shortly later, his end came to ruin and his remembrance to curse. At the same time, an envoy of the Tartars, a certain Nestorian named Amin al-Din [727] Mubarak came to the Beth-Romaye. When he went to Syria, he passed through the monastery of Mor Barsoum where he met Dionysius and promised him that he would go to Malik al-Nasr and transact his business. Bar Ma’dani heard (of this) and renounced to establish his seat in Syria in order to avoid that the violent hand of the Tartars rule over him. Thus he went to Cilicia where he was honourably received by the king Hayton who gave him a village and resided in a little convent near Sis. The envoy went to Malik al-Nasr, but was unable to void the proclamation of Bar Ma’dani, and (thus) he left. One year later the doctor Khayr Michael Bar Gabras, came to Harran and sent a message to Dionysius: ‘I am coming as envoy to Malik al-Nasr; thus send one of your bishops to come with me to take care of your business.’ When Dionysius heard this, he sent Gregory of Aleppo, who after he had received his dioceses had come to the monastery. The bishop met the bishop envoy on his way and went with him to Damascus. Khayr Michael received a new *mansur* for Dionysius, handed it to Gregory who took it and came to Aleppo. He went to sit in the church and exercised his power in the dioceses. The maphrian Ignatius as soon as he heard that the affair of Dionysius had been stabilised, left Aleppo to go to Tripolis and spread the rumour that he was not ready again to fulfil the high priesthood neither in the East [729] nor in the West but to live from (his) medicine. When he began to devote himself (entirely) to the sick and was near to abhor the monastic dress, God released him of his temporal life by a fulminant illness and after fourth days¹⁴⁸ he died. He was accompanied honourably by monks and priests of the Franks and of ours and was buried in the Church of Mor Behnam. He was a

¹⁴⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘lunatics’.

¹⁴⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘Wednesday’.

profound scholar of medicine and versed in the philosophical writings, a fine rhetor, beloved to everybody but he was blamed by everybody for the schism he had created, especially because he had repaid with bitter torments Dionysius who had brought him out in his cell and taught him from his tender youth. Thus though the proclamation of Dionysius was stabilised in the entire Syria and Beth-Romaye God did not want to give him rest because he did not stand stainless before him. The archimandrite Saliba, his cousin on his mother's side, created hindrances to him. He asked him to attribute him unlawfully the archimandrite charge for 10 years but when he refused, he left him and went to the gate of the kingdom of the sultan and accused Dionysius very harshly. He charged him with murders, plundering, highway robbery and other obscenities that the tongue is ashamed to pollute the mouth with and the hearing listening to them. At this time, destruction, famine and pestilence ruled, especially in the region [731] of Melitene which was plundered by the Hagarene Turkmans to the point that the whole Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt was filled with Christian slaves and handmaiden. An opportunity came to the young slaves of the monastery to take vengeance on the evil Kurds their neighbours. The angriest of them used to rob in Hagarene dress, not only the strangers but also their own relatives. Two rich and renowned brothers from Melitene, Aphnad and Joseph, went out from the monastery to go for a business affair, one to Gawikat and the other to Cyrrhus. They followed them and killed them. Others strangled other men inside the monastery. Saliba the archimandrite attributed all these crimes to Dionysius and received the order to go to capture him. When Dionysius heard that Saliba had arrived at Melitene, he hurriedly went to take refuge among the Tartars in June 1570. When he arrived at the little fortified town of Mazgarad, the guards who had been sent from Melitene to take him back came upon him. [733] Dionysius sent a message to a certain Armenian bishop of Erzingan named Darsarkis, who had been placed by the Tartars in charge there,¹⁴⁹ who sent to rescue him from the hands of those who pursued him. He entered at the presence of the king of the kings Hulagu who received him most honourably and gave him a *firman*¹⁵⁰ for the monastery that the governors of the Beth-Romaye should not have any authority over it. When he came to the city of Tabriz, he discovered that his cousin Saliba had come to accuse him to the Tartars and sent after him bishops and archimandrites to prostrate to him, promise him many benefits and be reconciled with him. He took him to come to the monastery of Mor Barsoum and after few days when he was entering in to salute Dionysius according to the custom, the servants, his disciples, attacked him, stroke him and killed him with the sword in the cell in front of him and

¹⁴⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the city of Erzingan'.

¹⁵⁰ Middle Persian *framān* 'decree'.

threw him in the lower portico. They went out, went to the cell of Saliba and killed also his brother Abu al-Faraj. Dionysius remained in the monastery shaking and trembling because the governors of the city around him. He went to meet the king of the kings so that perhaps by showing himself in front of him and returning, [735] his fear could depart from him. When he went (there) he found the priest and physician Simeon son of the priest Isho' of Qal'a Rumayta who had been summoned again at the presence of the king of the kings. When Simeon saw Dionysius, he threatened him and assaulted him. When Dionysius was allowed to enter at the presence of the King of the Kings, immediately the priest Simeon approached the chiefs of the camp and said: 'It is not right that this patriarch sees the face of the king of the kings! This man is a murderer!' The nobles believed his word and expelled Dionysius from the Ordu and he went to stay afar.¹⁵¹ He sent (a message) to reconcile with Simeon offering him the knob of the pastoral staff of Mor Ignatius which he had received from the bishop Simeon and wrote a document of his hand that as soon as he had arrived, he would have sent to him the volumes of the yearly *hudre* that Mor John had written for the convent of the Pilgrims on the Mountain of Edessa and Simeon succumbed (to the offer). Dionysius sent many gifts to the nobles but he barely considered him worthy to enter in at the presence of the king of the kings and when he was told: 'You killed a monk!' he replied: 'Yes, but I killed him because he was not obedient to the royal edict.' Since they had been bribed they did not investigate more accurately regarding him. [737] He came to the monastery of Mor Barsoum and (started) to behave insolently, making light of deference and those whom he had earlier chastised with whips he started to chastise with scourges. He used to say: 'My little finger is thicker than my toe.' Then three young men, inhabitants of the monastery, a monk named Sergius of Sebaste, a deacon (named) Basil brother of the archimandrite Simeon and a layman Abraham, nephew of the archimandrite Barsoum Bar Samuel burned with zeal and attacked him in the sanctuary during the evening pray at the dawn of the Saturday of completion of the week of Fast of Nineveh on 18 February in the year 1572. When one of the monks was reciting the *sedra*,¹⁵² they jumped on Dionysius at the back and dismembered him in front of the altar on the basement, left his corpse there on the ground [739] and went to plunder his cell. They seized his disciple, the one who had killed the brother of the archimandrite Saliba and threw down from a precipice. They threatened also the bishop of Melitene but when he bribed them they released him. They summoned a certain servant named Hannis, who had been in charge of 100 men before Dionysius and who was angry with him who had expelled him

¹⁵¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'He left as fast as he could, and only paused for breath when he was a long way distant.'

¹⁵² A chant having verses in alphabetical order.

from the monastery. He came and ruled over the place. They sent some servants to the captains of the sultan of the Beth-Romaye to tell them: 'This one became patriarch without your authorization and sought refuge among the Tartars and was not subject to you and thus we attacked and killed him. We ask you to be our protectors.' But the nobles looked at them as impertinent and insolent for having gone (there), they expelled them from their presence saying: 'You'll see what it will happen to you from the Tartars.' They returned ashamed and conceived another trick: they sent a certain Tagritian bishop who is John Shuhaitaleh and other to the Ordu to say: 'Some Kurdish bandits of the neighbourhood attacked and killed the patriarch. Now we ask you to impose your authority on this place.' When these had gone away [741] also the fellow monk Isho' called Shankit came to them who had been visitor of the region of the Iberians. They all gathered with the priest and physician Simeon and they advised each other as follows: 'The patriarch's murderers are in the monastery. Let us ask for a courageous man to come to arrest and kill them.' After they had said this, it was decreed that Tai Kutlug, a Christian Hun, should go and kill the murderers and the monk Isho' that was brother of the physician Simeon of Qal'a Rumayta should rule there because (Simeon) the priest physician had said: 'This is my brother.' When Tai Kutlug arrived, he arrested the murderers. He killed some of them while the others hung themselves in prison. He harshly whipped Bar Samuel¹⁵³ on his buttocks with seven scourges and expelled him from the monastery. He went to die in the village of Amron because he confessed that those murderers told him: 'We want to interrogate you' but he replied: 'I will not say anything but do whatever you want!' This was the troubled departing of Dionysius Angur. [743] Mor John Bar Ma'dani sent a message to the Sultan of Beth-Romaye in Iconium to receive a *mansur* for the monastery of Mor Barsoum and the entire Beth-Romaye and he was proclaimed in Melitene and the other places. He did not want to go to the monastery of Mor Barsoum but remained in Cilicia where he was honoured by the king and his chiefs. In the year 1574 during the Great Fast the patriarch Mor John Bar Ma'dani fell ill and died. He was buried in the convent of Paqsimat, and was buried in his sanctuary. Bar Ma'dani had a disciple, a deacon named Razi, from Mardin. When the blessed died, this disciple unceasingly pounded his head on the walls¹⁵⁴ to the point that he too died of disease seven days later even though he was like a lion.

After Mor John Bar Ma'dani, Mor Ignatius Isho' archimandrite of Gawikat. When Mor John Bar Ma'dani died, [745] the bishops gathered in the convent of Gawikat close to Mopsuestia a city of Cilicia: the elder Dionysius of Claudia, Athanasius of Tarsus,

¹⁵³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Barsawma'

¹⁵⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'he ceaselessly cut off the hair on his head and wept.'

Dionysius of Sis, Gregory of Melitene, Athanasius of Mabbug, Athanasius of Jerusalem, John of Damascus, Dionysius of Gumia, Athanasius of Cyprus and Basil the Tagritian of Karma to appoint a common pastor. They wrote to the foreign bishops to be present, that the region was the most suitable for an assembly because of the prosperity and peace there and the assistance of the faithful king, friend of our people. Then Theodore of Quphlida, one of the archimandrites of Mor Barsoum, who at the time of Dionysius Angur had left the monastery and settled in Cilicia in visitation and who, when Bar Ma'dani was alive, had received from him the assignment of the archimandrite charge and whom several people had testified that he was the legitimate archimandrite, went to the gate of the kingdom to receive the governance of the monastery. When he was on his way he heard that Mor John Bar Ma'dani had died, he was moved by a worldly ambition and altered the writing 'archimandrite' to 'patriarchate.' He arrived [747] at the Ordu and promised generous gifts to the priest and physician Simeon if he had helped him to become patriarch. Gregory of Aleppo found himself there because he had been hired with other physicians at the service of the king of the kingdom. He delayed the incautious intention of Theodore saying to him: 'It is not appropriate that you call yourself to the patriarchate without the election and proclamation of the bishops. You will be abhorred by everyone. You should assure yourself (the support) of the physician Simeon and I will give a document of my hand in which I consent to whatever he wants.' Thus he departed from the Ordu and went to the monastery, in the hope of receiving the agreement of the bishops by gifts. When he was far off the physician told the bishop of Aleppo: 'I have heard that this Theodore has not preserved his monastic dress stainless, thus go to Cilicia and see the man of established reputation the bishops want and let me know.' Thus when the bishop of Aleppo went to Cilicia he found that the people of the believers had gathered because as soon as Theodore had arrived to the monastery, he had sent to the king of Cilicia and his nobles the priest Gunir and the monk Theodore Smaqryo, a native of Sis to promise the amount of 12,000 silver coins so that they go to the bishops gathered in Cilicia. [749] He also soothed the elder bishop of Claudia and brought him on his side. Gregory of Aleppo joined the bishops in Cilicia and when they saw that the people zealously desired virtue and rejected malice, they (the bishops) sent for the election and proclamation of Rabban Isho' archimandrite of Gawikat,¹⁵⁵ a modest man of attested reputation, friend of the kings and the nobles, and ordained him on the day of the feast of the lights in the year 1575 in the same convent and he was called Ignatius. Shortly later also the excellent elder Basil Damian of Caesarea came to him and consented to the election in the spirit. After the ordination of

¹⁵⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: 'seeing the people zealous for virtue and detesting the fraud, elected and proclaimed Rabban Isho', the archimandrite of Gawikath.'

the patriarch was completed, the patriarch and the bishops were anxious to appoint a maphrian for the East, of which it had been deprived for a long time. They knew that the deceased Bar Ma'dani had previously chosen Gregory of Aleppo maphrian, had informed the easterners on this account (In many of his letters he called him the proclaimed one for the East) and had sent their agreement but its dispatch was delayed because Assyria was troubled by the Mongol armies. Thus, they did not change the proclamation but they entrusted him with the governorship of the East. The patriarch came with the bishops to Sis and [751] also the king Hayton, his sons and his nobles, some Armenian bishops and doctors and many people were present. Gregory was proclaimed maphrian of the East. In that day the new maphrian gave a speech on the high-priesthood starting from (the verse) 'You formed me and you put your hand on me and Theodore Smaqryo translated it into Armenian. It was a famous day. Theodore of Quphlida, who could no longer bear to dwell in the monastery, hastened to Qal'a Rumayta, prostrated to the priests sons of Isho' and promised them that he would have belonged to them in death and life. The priest Isho' was compelled to go to Cilicia because of him and when he came he discovered that the patriarch had been already appointed. He voided the affair of Theodore and told the patriarch: 'We all and the foreign bishops agree on you but the bishops are complaining against your brother Gregory of Melitene and Rabban Salomon, the *synkellos* of the deceased Mor Ignatius. Thus, abandon them, go to the monastery and establish your residence there.' When the patriarch refused to separate himself from his brother and Rabban Salomon, the priest was offended and went [753] to his house to take Theodore, the elder bishop of Claudia, Dioscorus of Ḥesno d-Ziyad, Athanasius of Laqabin, Ignatius of Ḥiṣn Maṣṣur and Ignatius of Tella of Arsaniyas and they set off to go to the Ordu to accuse those who had appointed a patriarch in Cilicia without them. The patriarch and the maphrian also left for the Ordu with their bishops, by another route, and when they reached the city of Arzangan the maphrian went ahead, because he was travelling on the official horses of the public treasury in which he stored the roots, medicaments and salves which he needed for his service. When he arrived at the Ordu he found that the other bishops had not been admitted to the audience with the king of kings. This must have been the divine providence, because if they had been admitted, there would have been a great schism in the Church of God, and both factions would have been in great peril. Since the bishops who were outside (the king's tent) accused the Cilicians of having appointed a patriarch without their consent, while the Cilicians blamed the peripheral bishops to want to constitute an inadequate and faulty candidate. But God spared both the local and the foreign bishops.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, the bishops were not admitted for the following reason: [755]

¹⁵⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'But God had mercy on both the kingmakers and the outlying bishops.'

a certain Armenian monk had been caught stealing and had been sentenced to death for his transgression. An order had then gone out that no monk could enter in the Ordu. But the guards of the routes did not surround the maphrian, because he was bringing medicines and proceeding via the route of the physicians. Therefore, on the same day that he entered the camp, he was given an audience with the king of kings Hulagu. He reported him also the news that the king of the Armenians had gone to seize the city of Sarmin from the Egyptians and took a big loot: victims, slaves and house-maidens and his envoys were coming to bring the portion of the Ordu. (That) eagle much rejoiced and the maphrian reported the affair of the new patriarch that had been appointed: a holy man, who was coming to offer the first (of many) prayers at his service. He ordered to the guards of the way not to hinder him and those who were with him. The patriarch and his bishops came but only the patriarch and the maphrian wore their official vestments and they entered all together. They were placed on their thrones and sat down after saluting. Their dress pleased the king of the kings and they conversed long placidly with the patriarch: 'Holy men from your people came to our father Genghis Khan our first king and taught him the fear of God [757] and the right laws.' After many things the patriarch and those who were with him went out and an edict was produced that a *yarlyk*¹⁵⁷ should be written for the patriarch and another for the maphrian. The bishop of Caesarea also demanded another *yarlyk* to be written for him and a finest garment was given to each bishop. They departed from the Ordu and the patriarch went to Tur Abdin and from there to Mardin. The maphrian went to the Assyria where he was welcomed both by his own people and the outsiders. The other bishops who had returned from the Ordu without meeting the king of the kings went to the monastery and spread the untrustworthy rumours that an edict was decreed to make another patriarch and another maphrian and to appoint another pastor for Melitene at the place of his brother who had been ordained (by) the patriarch in Cilicia. They started first to proclaim maphrian the bishop of Ḥesno d-Ziyad and to carry him in procession to the throne. A strange action because it had never happened that a maphrian was appointed in the West by the western bishops without the patriarch and the consent of easterners. As to the patriarchate, they saw that all the people turned their face from the bishop of Quphlida, they counselled to appoint the bishop of Claudia and spread the rumour that they had cast the lots and the lot (of him) came (out). They took him and went to Melitene where they proclaimed him but when the news grew frequent that the patriarch was arriving [759] they only hurriedly proclaimed Al-Faraj of Laqabin metropolitan of the city. Indeed the bishop of Ḥesno d-Ziyad, who had been appointed

¹⁵⁷ Mongolian 'jarliq' a decree conferring immunity from taxation. Here used as equivalent of 'sigillion' i.e. 'diploma'. 'Jarliq', EME: 264.

maphrian, left and returned to his diocese and the others returned to the monastery. After few days, when the bishop of Ḥesno d-Ziyad heard that the patriarch was close he sent a message to the bishop of Claudia to decide a course of action but when the patriarch had arrived they had no other option than to go out to meet him and show submission and obedience and excused themselves that Simeon and his brothers had forced them to do what they had done. The patriarch accepted them and went from there to Melitene where was honourably and solemnly received and it was a great consolation for the believers there because they were lamenting about the schism that the others were going to do. From Melitene he went up to the monastery and was confirmed in his throne and he took away the monastery from the hand of the followers of Simeon. The year following, when the king Hulagu departed from this word and his son the king of the kings Abaqa succeeded him, the patriarch went [761] to worship him and he was given another *yarlyk* for both the patriarchate and the monastery. After he had received it he returned to stay in the monastery, the priest Simeon struggled to obtain also a *yarlyk* for the monastery because he asserted that the monastery had been given to him by his father. Thus the physician came to the monastery to rule over it and set an archimandrite of him. The patriarch thus led only the ecclesiastical affairs of bishops and dioceses while he was staying in the monastery. At that time Gregory Simeon, the bishop of Melitene, brother of the patriarch, died. His priests asked the patriarch to ordain for Melitene Nemrud, the son of their brother, a young boy without discernment, but the patriarch did not ordain him alleging his young age but attributed Melitene to the bishop of Qalisura because there was much tension between the patriarch and the priests. The brother of the patriarch had advised him not to appoint Faraj at his place because he had already unlawfully exercised authority over Melitene, but the patriarch in the intent on frustrating the hope of the priests of Melitene appointed Faraj.¹⁵⁸ Theodore of Quphlida had (formerly) supported these priests in the hope that they made him patriarch, (but) when his plan failed, he went back to support the patriarch. [763] However he did not let the time to pass and he did not remain quiet until the Lord made an end to the temptation but he stirred up a revolt and gather an assembly of bishops and monks to go to the royal court to set the monastery free from the hands of the priests of Qal'ah Rumayta. The patriarch did as follows: he took as many bishops and monks as he could and they all went to Persia to a place called Siahkuh or the black mountain. At great expense and labour they succeeded to show that they were right and to bring the physician Simeon in a judgement. A second *yarlyk* on the monastery was given to the patriarch and he ordered to give to the physician the vineyard and the plough field of the monastery to fulfil the edict of the *yarlyk* on the

¹⁵⁸ WILMSHURST 2016 add. 'who was unwilling to accept the appointment.'

monastery that he had with him. The patriarchs, the bishops and the monks went out in great joy and came to the monastery while the supporters of Simeon left. The patriarch dwelt in the monastery for a while but the physician resisted to what had been done in Siahkuh with great expense and labour, and he was given a *yarlyk* with 18 red signs. He took it and went in person to the monastery¹⁵⁹ accompanied by Mongol envoys and again ruled over it. The patriarch was reconciled with him. It is said that he swore on the communion altar that he would not have strived over the monastery. [765] After all this labour and expense was revealed to be vain and things remained in this way, Leo the son of the king Hayton of Cilicia went to meet the king of the kings and asked him to write a *yarlyk* for the patriarch which was written for the fourth time. The son of the king sent it with a certain Mongol named Kurdaka, hegemon of Cilicia, and others of him; they took the *yarlyk*, arrived swiftly at the monastery and chanced upon the physician, his two brothers and all his sons in the monastery.¹⁶⁰ Kurdaka told the physician: 'The king of the kings is a friend of the patriarch and accorded again the monastery to him on request of Leo the son of the king and ordered to hand back to the patriarch the *yarlyk* you have.' After a serious altercation had taken place between them, the physician took his brothers and sons and went out from the monastery. He sent some of them to Qal'a Rumayta and some came with him to the Ordu where he started to turn every stone to overthrow what the son of the king had built. These things occurred during the summer. In the autumn a certain Greek physician of Melitene named Imad Barpapa came and spread the news that the physician Simeon had obtained again a *yarlyk* but [767] actually he had not yet obtained one but they promised to give it to him. When the patriarch heard that Simeon was ready to come to power again, he did not persist in staying in the monastery but hurriedly set off to Cilicia and stayed there all the winter and spring. In summer the physician took again the *yarlyk* and the Mongol messenger and sent him with his brother to the monastery when Theodore of Quplida was in Cilicia with the patriarch. After a while had passed and they saw that nobody had come, it seemed to them that the news of that Greek physician was false and thus the patriarch attributed the archimandrite to Theodore and sent him to the monastery. In the day Theodore arrived at the monastery, at the very moment he sat down and the tray with the meal was brought, the followers of Simeon arrived and with them the Mongolian envoy. When they were seen in the island in front of the monastery Theodore and his followers escaped through the lower gate and fled to the

¹⁵⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Shem'on again brought a lawsuit against him, but after expending great efforts and heavy expense in Siakuh, he returned empty-handed. For a diploma with eighteen red signs had been granted to him, and after he received it, he came in person to the monastery.'

¹⁶⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Then the doctor himself, his two brothers and all their sons followed them into the monastery.'

convent of Abu Galeb. Also the bishop Ignatius of Ḥiṣn Mansur who had agreed with them went out with them. After two days the party of Simeon summoned the bishop to the monastery and Theodore went to dwell in the convent of Shira on the banks of the Euphrates up to nowadays. The patriarch dwelt in Cilicia when he was honoured and treated as a friend by the king and the nobles of the place. [769] After the patriarch had stayed in Cilicia for three years and the followers of Simeon had seen that the visitors of the monastery were not received gladly by the faithful nowhere and that also the patriarch started to write here and there not to accept them, they were forced to send Ignatius of Ḥiṣn Manşur to the patriarch be reconciled with them, to come to dwell in the monastery, to be a father for them and to be subject to him. The patriarch assented to the peace, wrote a letter of blessing to them and sent it to Melitene to be read on the ambon. After these things, when the priest Jacob was called by the king for a certain affair, he went to the patriarch, (a pact of) friendship was (established) between them and the patriarch promised to come to the monastery. The priest went to the Ordu and met his brother and came also to the maphrian in the city of Maraga and forced him to accompany him to the monastery of Mor Barsoum. The patriarch heard (of this) and sent letters of friendship to the maphrian and an ecumenical letter to all the bishops of that region that the maphrian was the substitute of the patriarch and since it was summer he stayed in the monastery for two months and in September he departed to Cilicia and Ignatius of Ḥiṣn Manşur, Andreas of Qalisura and the deacon Nemrud, the nephew of Rabban Simeon, went with him. They were conversing with the patriarch and the patriarch showed to the maphrian the letters of charge of the citizens of Melitene against the bishop Athanasius Faraj [771] who in our time (is bishop) of Laqabin and with his consent he dismissed Faraj from (the seat of) Melitene and ordained the metropolitan Nemrud for Melitene in the convent of Gawikat on Sunday 1 October 1585 of the Greeks and named him Philoxenus. The maphrian brought him to Melitene and enthroned him. The people of Melitene rejoiced of him because of their hate against Faraj. In this year the elder Dionysius Saliba Harifa of Claudia died after he had been (struck) by paralysis. In 1588 when Bonduqdar the lord of Egypt¹⁶¹ entered Beth-Romaye, the Muslims raised their heads everywhere against the Christians and they were looking for a little sign from the Egyptian to slay the followers of the Messiah. To this end the sons of Rashid al-Din, the governors of Melitene, sent a message to the Egyptian (to ask him for) the order to plunder the Christians and send to him a help in return. However, he sent a message saying: 'As to me, I have not entered to the Beth-Romaye for looting but to set free Islam from the slavery of the Tartars. Do not harm anybody or you will see!' And thus in the magnanimity which he showed, he curbed

¹⁶¹ Baybars al-'Alā'ī al-Bunduqdārī (1260-1277 A.D.) Mamluk Sultan of Egypt and Syria.

their evil impetuosity. [773] Thus when the Egyptian went out from the Beth-Romaye and the news of the arrival of the Tartars went forth those insolents trembled and were ready to flee to Syria. In those days Rabban Jacob, the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Barsoum, fearing his brother's son Philoxenus of Melitene, sent some armed servants to Melitene to bring the bishop back. When they arrived, they lodged in the convent of Raḥta, the bishop and the lawyer went out from one of the gardens to depart during the night. When the sons of Rashid al-Din heard that armed men had come from the monastery, they thought they had been sent to capture those who had fled from the city and to deliver (them) in chains to the Tartars; thus they armed many Turks and went out to subdue the servants in the monastery of Raḥta. When the servants realized (it), they took the possessions they had with them and left the convent but they met the Turks; eight of the servants who did not want to leave (their) possessions and flee were killed while the others fled and went to the monastery. When the Turks entered the city, they looked out carefully for the bishop but they did not find him because some workmen dressed him with their clothes, [775] put a mallet on his shoulder and made him enter in the city without anybody recognising him. He remained in great distress hiding himself and fleeing from house to house, to the point that hid himself in the canal of the city walls. When the sons of Rashid al-Din fled, the Arabs who had remained in the city fearing for their lives, looked for the bishop, prostrated themselves to him and pretended that they did not approve the action of the sons of Rashid. They demanded an oath from him and they swore too that they would have stayed together in life and death. The bishop consented, took some of them, and went together to the king of the kings and the bishop said: 'The wicked men of unjust intention have fled. Those who remain are good men.' He was gladly given a *yarlyk* and they returned to Melitene in grace. In the year 1592 the governors of Melitene accused Rabban Jacob, the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Barsoum to the chief of the Tartars of Beth-Romaye of nourishing, strengthening and giving weapons to the plunderers who came from Syria and were lying in ambush in the mountains around the monastery. During the judgement the governors were disclosed as calumniators and found guilty while the archimandrite was absolved and he returned to the monastery in pleasantness of heart. [777] In the summer of the year 1593 of the Greeks the patriarch Mor Ignatius contracted a dropsy and all his body was swollen and when he despaired of the earthly life, he sent letters to Tabriz to the maphrian and told him: 'I am closer to death than to life, thus if you can come and manage me and the throne, your arrival would help greatly the church and my spirit is waiting for you.' But since the winter was approaching and the roads were troubled the maphrian could not go and shortly later the disease prevailed over the patriarch and he departed from life on Tuesday 17 November 1594 of the Greeks in the convent of Paqsimat in Cilicia and was buried in his sanctuary.

After Ignatius, Philoxenus Nemrud. After Mor Ignatius Isho‘ died, many arrogantly raised their head to reach the highest (rank of the Church). Barsoum the archimandrite of the convent of Gawikat expected to gather among him the bishops and to be chosen in the same way as Ignatius was elected when he was archimandrite of Gawikat; Jacob Bar Manil Rahia from Melitene, the bishop of Caesarea, who did not come from (a family) of old high-priests [779] and on whom, since his young age, it was not said anything good, without shame nor judgement of conscience promised 20,000 *ḥure* to the governors to make him patriarch. When winter was very hard, few days after the death of the patriarch, the priest Jacob of Qal‘a Rumayta summoned to the monastery of Mor Barsoum three bishops whose dioceses had long ago been devastated, the ones of Gubos, Qalisura and Gargar, and forced them to ordain as patriarch the son of his brother Philoxenus Nemrud of Melitene in the year 1594 of the Greeks in the day of the presentation of our Lord to the Temple. He accompanied him to Samagarnuin, who was in the neighbourhood and instructed him on the rest as he wanted. They received from him a messenger and he came to Altaq to the king of the kings, a diploma of patriarchate and he returned to sit in the monastery of Mor Barsoum. In the winter of the year 1596 of the Greeks there was a strong earthquake in Melitene and its region. The vaults of the church of the city fell and many buildings in the monastery of Mor Barsoum were destroyed [781] and almost the entire monastery was going to fall off the precipice. This great chastisement came from God, praise to his mercy, for our transgressions.

Book of the Ecclesiastical History

Second part of the Chronicle

Second section of the Ecclesiastical History

On the Eastern High-priesthood

[1] With the help of God we write the second section of the book of the Ecclesiastical History on the eastern ecclesiastical affairs, which has been composed by the blessed Mor Gregory, praiseworthy maphrian, light of East and West, Abu al-Faraj Bar Aaron, excellent physician of Melitene, called Bar 'Ebroyo. God help me!

After the first section of the second part of this Chronicle has been completed, as (I) promised, henceforward in the same manner I start the second section from the apostolic leaders.

[3] **Thomas, the apostolic high-priest of the East.** The book of the teaching of the holy apostles teaches us that initially the divine apostle Thomas announced the Gospel of the Messiah in the eastern region in the second year of the Ascension of our Lord. When he passed there to go to India he preached to several people: the Parthians, the Medes, the Persians, the Carmanians, [5] the Bactrians, the Margians and the Indians. In his way to India he passed also through the garrison which the king Ardashir known as the Black had established in Tagrit. He found in that garrison unworthy men who were enslaving it to Magianism and he preached to them the word of the Gospel. Some of them became believers. The first of them (was) Barḥadbshabba, the son of Mihrfiruz,¹ with all of his family. It is said that after the Holy Spirit had told to Thomas to go to preach in India, he was reluctant and refused to go to a barbarian people. While he was anxiously thinking (about what to do) he was told that the merchant of the king of India named Haban had come for a trade business. Thomas went to discuss with him on the habits of the region. When he went, our Lord appeared to him in the guise of a merchant, took him and brought him to the merchant saying: 'This is my servant. He is a workman and an excellent carpenter. If you need him, buy him!' [7] Haban replied: 'I have come here to

¹ Maybe the name of an eponymous ancestor of an East Syrian family. The name is indicative of the mixed cultural environment of Sasanian Persia and Mesopotamia. See e.g. RICHTER-BERNBURG, 'Boḳtīšū', EIR. For the name see JUSTI 1895: 206.

settle a price'. Our Lord took (the money) and delivered Thomas to him, then he gave the money to Thomas and charged him to announce (the Gospel) without fear. When they went to India, Haban informed the king about Thomas and introduced him in his presence. (The king) asked him about the construction of a royal palace and Thomas pretended to be perfectly able (to do so), thus the king ordered his treasurers to give Thomas everything he asked for. He was going to leave for one of the regions of his reign and ordered Thomas to take care of the building, so that after he had returned he would find the palace completed. Thomas received much gold but distributed it to poor and unlucky men. When the king returned, he asked him about the building but when he heard that not even the foundation had been laid, he got angry with Thomas, asked him the reason of the delay and what he had done with the gold he had received. Thomas replied: 'I have spent the gold on the foundation. I want some more to spend on the walls and the roof. The king got furious and said: 'Truly, this is mad' and ordered to imprison him. [9] Shortly later, the brother of the king fell sick and was going to die but after he recovered he told the king: 'When I was laying in the peril of the sickness I saw a man coming to me, he held my hand and showed me a splendid palace whose foundation (was) on the earth while the top reached the heaven. I asked him 'what is this?' and he told me 'The Hebrew servant of the king, your brother, made it (for) him.' Thus I ask you to release him from the prison so that I (may) give him the gold to build for me a palace like yours.' The king released Thomas and he, his brother and many nobles became believers. He baptized them and started preaching publicly. When he went up to the mountain of India where he also announced the Gospel of God, a pagan stabbed him in the right side and killed him. The king heard (of this) and sent to bring his holy body to Calamina and buried him there. After some time [11] he was brought to Edessa and placed in the big church which was built under his name as the illustrious Qusta ibn Luqa relates. Thomas came from the tribe of Judah, but according to others, (he came) from the tribe of Issachar. He was called first Judas, and then Thomas, because he was born with a twin brother. He dwelt in Palestine, and then was sent to India.

After the apostle Thomas, Addai one of the seventy apostles. In the year 30 of our Lord's Ascension which is the 15th (year) of Tiberius Caesar, Addai came [13] to Edessa where there was the king Abgar waiting for the kingdom of God and (waiting) to be healed from leprosy because of which he was called 'the Black' in antiphrasis since his body was shining and whitening for the leprosy. Thus when he heard of the arrival of Addai he greatly rejoiced, summoned him, became a believer, was baptized and healed from his disease. Addai built churches in Edessa at expenses of the king Abgar. Addai came from Edessa to the East with two disciples Aggai and Mari. They preached the message of the faith and returned to Edessa where they discovered that the faithful king Abgar had died and his son, a pagan enemy of the Christians, had succeeded him. He killed the apostle Addai on 30 July, who was buried in the church which he had built in Edessa.

[15] **After Addai the preacher, his disciple Aggai.** He weaved silk clothes² for the king and after his teacher Addai was killed he fled to the East and started preaching in Persia, Assyria, Armenia, Media, Babylonia, Khuzestan and Beth Gelayē up to the borders of the regions of the Indians. Then he returned again to Edessa because he feared that the city might be emptied of the faith because of the paganism of the king Abgar's son. When he came to Edessa Abgar's son demanded him to weave (some) clothes for him as he used to do for his father but Aggai told him: 'When my teacher was feeding the flock of the Messiah, I used to work for your father. But now the pastoral charge has been committed to me, and I cannot engage in another business.' The pagan got furious with him and broke his legs and killed him.

After Aggai, Mari another disciple of Addai. When his companion Aggai was killed, [17] Mari could not remain in Edessa, thus he went to the East and preached in Assyria and in the entire land of Shinar. It is said that 360 churches were built in his days in the East. First, he taught to the people of Beth Garmai, after he had been put to test by them many times; then he came to Seleucia, the imperial city of the Persians, which king Seleucus, one of the vassals of Alexander the Great, had built. Then another city was built on its side, called Ctesiphon. When Mari entered there he found that Magianism was flourishing there. In the days of his arrival, one of the nobles of the city fell ill with a severe illness. Mari went to him, made the sign of the living cross on him [19] and the sick man opened his eyes and told his men: 'I have seen this stranger descend from the heaven, take me with (his) hands and made me sit. When I opened my eyes I saw him sitting beside me.' Mari was welcomed like an angel of God by all the people of that city. He taught to and baptized many of them and started building churches there. He remained there for 15 years, strengthening them in the faith. (Then) he left (the city) and travelled in all the regions, performing miracles and marvels. After 33 years of preaching, he departed to the Lord in the village called Badrana, and was buried in the church which he had built there.

After Mari, his disciple Abris. His teacher Mari had sent him to Antioch to meet the brothers there and to bring back their news. When the blessed Mari died, the eastern faithful sent a message to Antioch to ask for a high priest for them. Those disciples laid the hand [21] on Abris and sent him to rule at his master's place. After he came and had ruled as chief of the believers for sixteen years³ he died and was buried in the church of Seleucia. Some say that (the location of) his burial is not known and it is said that this Abris descends from Joseph the carpenter, father of Jacob and Jesus.

² WILMSHURST 2016: 'Chinese clothes'

³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'seventeen years.'

After Abris, Abraham. He also (came from) the lineage of Jacob, brother of our Lord. He was ordained in Antioch and sent to the East. At that time, the Christians were persecuted by the Persians. The son of the king of the Persians suffered of epilepsy and (the king) was told that Mor Abraham the chief of the followers of the Messiah knew how to heal him. When they called him and made him enter at his presence he found him emaciated and sorrowful and asked him the reason of his grief. Abraham disclosed to him the evils that he and his followers were suffering from the Persians. The king promised that if he had healed his son he would have ceased the persecution of the Christians. The holy man prayed, laid the hand on the king's son, who was healed. Then there was peace for the faithful. After fulfilling the office for 12 years he died in peace.

[23] **After Abraham, Jacob.** He too came from the house of Joseph the carpenter. He was elected and ordained in Jerusalem and sent to the East. (He lived) a poor and ascetic life. After fulfilling the office for 18 years he died and was buried in Seleucia. At his time there lived Porphyry the Sicilian, who composed a refutation of the Gospel.⁴

After Jacob, Ahadabui. He was called with this name because of the striking resemblance with his father. When he was going to die Jacob ordered his two disciples, Ahadabui and Qamisho' to go to Antioch and to ordain and send back the one of them whom the patriarch of Antioch chose. After they did so and they both went to Antioch, they lodged in the house of a certain believer but they were immediately denounced to the lord of Antioch to have come from the region of Persians as spies, and they were imprisoned in the same house where they were lodging. [25] Ahadabui fled to Jerusalem while Qamisho' was captured with the owner of the house and they were crucified as spies. When the patriarch of Antioch heard that Ahadabui was in Jerusalem he wrote letters to the bishops saying to lay the hand on him and to send him back to the East. They did so and sent him to Seleucia. From this time on the western bishops permitted the eastern bishops to lay the hand on the one they chose after their leader had died, and that they no longer needed to go to Antioch. They also wrote a *sustatikon* on this account, and that the great metropolitan of the East should be called catholicos or patriarch, even though this displeased the patriarch of Antioch. After fulfilling the office for 15 years Ahadabui departed to the Lord and was buried in the church of Seleucia.

After Ahadabui, Shalufa. He came from Kashar. When Ahadabui died the eastern bishops gathered, elected him and ordained him. He was the first catholicos to be ordained by the eastern bishops. After fulfilling the office for 20 years he died in Seleucia.

After Shalufa, Papa. He came from the country of the Persians and was skilled in both Syrian and Persian languages. There was a schism between the bishops about his election. The party supporting him prevailed, and David metropolitan of Maishan laid

⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'who attacked the truth of the Gospels.'

the hand upon him in the year 577 of the Greeks. The catholicos Papa was present [29] at the synod of the 318 gathered in Nicaea in the year 636 of the Greeks, 59 years⁵ after his ordination. Some say that he was ordained at the synod but it is not exact. Others say that he did not go to the synod but he sent his disciple Simeon Bar Šab'e (at his place). Nine years after the synod of Nicaea the eastern bishops gathered, several leaders of the synod accused Papa of the disorders which had affected the ecclesiastical affairs for his negligence and denounced him of odious crimes. Since he could not defend himself from what he had been accused of, he raised his hand and beat the divine Gospel which had been put on his seat, saying: 'Speak if you have something to say, because I am not able to speak'⁶ and in an hour his right hand was shriveled up. Some say that when the bishops saw what had happened, they deposed him because it proved the accusation. Other say that he was not deposed because the bishops said that the divine chastisement fallen upon him was enough. [31] There are (some)⁷ letters of consolations from Mor Jacob of Nisibis and also from Mor Ephrem to this Papa about the loss of his right hand and of reproof to the bishops who had accused him. However, some say that it was Joseph himself to have composed these letters when he was deposed. One year after this chastisement he died. He fulfilled the office for 69 years and died in extreme old age. Other say that he died 12 years after his right hand had shriveled up but it is not exact. [33] At this time flourished the Persian sage named Aphrahat. He (is the author) of a book of exhortations in Syriac and 22 epistles on the letters of the alphabet.

After Papa, Simeon Bar Šab'e his disciple. It is said that this Simeon was ordained while Papa was still alive, by the bishops who had turned their face from Papa. This Simeon was a just, virtuous man who cared for the poor and loved the pilgrims. He instituted that two choirs should pray in the eastern churches as it was instituted in the West since the time of Ignatius the Fiery, the disciple of the evangelist John Bar Zabdai.⁸ He also imposed the clerics to sing by heart the Psalms of David during the services. At that time Shapur son of Hormizd, king of the Persians, started a severe persecution against the Christians, (during which) the catholicos, [35] four bishops and 99 priests, deacons and (simple) believers were captured and imprisoned all together. The Persians tortured them harshly and bitterly but they valiantly (refused) to remiss. Shapur ordered to kill all of them in front of the catholicos and (only) afterwards to kill him. When the guards started to execute them, this holy man of God kissed each man between the eyes, comforted them, strengthened their faith and exhorted them to deserve the crown of the martyrdom. After all these men, he himself was killed on the Friday of the Easter

⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: '50 years.' For these datations see section 3.2.1 and BURGESS 1999: 259-261.

⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'for nobody will believe a word they hear from me!'

⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'are said to have sent letters.'

⁸ Two alternating choirs chanting mass hymns.

Week. Because of this that day was called Friday of the confessors. Simeon fulfilled the office for 13 years and deserved the crown of the martyrdom.

[37] **After Simeon Šab'e, Shahdost.** This is a Persian name which is translated 'Friend of the king' and the Greeks call Sadok. He was the archdeacon of Simeon Bar Šab'e and son of his sister from Beth Garmai. He was chosen and ordained secretly in Seleucia three months after the killing of his teacher. Two years later he had a vision of a fire rising from the ground to the heaven and of Simeon Bar Šab'e calling (him) and saying: 'Shahdost, my brother, enter into the joy of your Lord.' The rumor of the vision was transmitted to the wicked Shapur, and the catholicos was captured along with 118 priests, believers and monks and two brothers of his and they were all killed for professing the Messiah. It is said that Shahdost was brought at the presence of Shapur who told him: 'I killed Simeon the chief of the Christians and several bishops with him. Why have you become chief of the people I hate?' [39] The holy man replied: 'God is the chief of the Christians and he appoints for them whomever he wants. As the sea does not run out its water, thus also Christianity will not vanish from the earth.' Shapur got furious and ordered him and those who were with him to be killed.

After Shahdost, Barb'ashmin. This is a Chaldean name whose meaning is 'Four names.' He came from Beth Garmai. He too was a son of the sister of Simeon Bar Šab'e. He was chosen and ordained secretly in Seleucia in the house of a believer. He continually exhorted the clerics, the sons of the covenant⁹ and the bishops to change their clothes and to wear white clothes like the laymen to escape from the harsh persecution of the wicked Shapur. After (several) years, when the persecution ceased and the Nestorianism entered in the East, the change of cloth was followed by the change of faith in those who apostatized and did not give in to return to the first holy habit, to the degree of being separated from all the peoples of the Messiah [41] the monks of whom are adorned with the Antonian habit. When Barb'ashmin had fulfilled the office secretly for seven years, the news reached Shapur and he captured him and 16 priests and faithful and imprisoned them for eleven months. He seduced them in many ways to convert to Magianism but when they refused he killed them in Karka d-Ledan in Khuzestan, on 9 January.¹⁰ The bishops delayed appointing (another) leader for them because (whomever) had been appointed was killed.

After Barb'ashmin, Tamuza. It is a Chaldean name, which is translated in Greek as Ares. (It is) the name of one of the wandering stars (planets). [43] When the impious Julian descended to Persia to fight against Shapur, he was struck with an arrow on his side and died. Shapur had not doubt that this had happened by (the will of) God because he had

⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'priests.'

¹⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'November.'

wickedly persecuted the Christians. Thus he turned away from his wicked confession and reconciled with Jovian, the general of Julian. He ordered to rebuild the churches which had been demolished in Persia and the bishops to be gathered, choose this Tamuza and ordain him catholicos. He was a virtuous, holy man who took care of the completion of the churches (and the restoring of) the ruins occurred during the persecution. He compelled the believers to unite in lawful marriages and prohibited the young men to wear the monastic dress but (allowed it) only to decrepit men because the number of believers had diminished because of the persecution and many had apostatized. After fulfilling the office for 8 years he died and was buried in Seleucia.

[45] **After Tamuza, Qayoma.** After Tamuza had died, one of the bishops proposed himself as leader of the Christians because Shapur had died and his son Bahram, an enemy of the Christians succeeded him. Thus Qayoma committed himself to God and his Church and they ordained him two years after the death of Tamuza. Five years after his consecration peace was made between Arcadius the king of the Greeks and Yezdegerd the king of Persians who also had persecuted the Christians. [47] Marutha the bishop of Maypherqaṭ, a wise man and an admirable doctor was sent in an embassy and at his arrival there was peace for the Christians. Qayoma gathered all the eastern bishops at the request of Marutha and asked them to dismiss him because of his weakness saying: 'I offered myself out of necessity because none of you agreed on being appointed. Now that God had pity on his Church (giving it) peace, it is not right that an unlearned, weak man like me, inadequate for sailing the ship of the Church as it is due, should rule as his leader.' However since the bishops did not agree on dismissing him, he made them swear in front of God to do it and also asked Marutha to force them. Thus they reluctantly assented to dismiss him and ordained (another) one named Isaac.

After Qayoma, Isaac. He came from Kashkar. He was a virtuous, reknown man from the kinsmen of the catholicos Tamuza. [49] When the bishops ordained him, they agreed that he be subordinate to the elder Qayoma and that he could not do anything without his advice or order, and Isaac did so. He fulfilled the office and relieved Qayoma until he died (after which) he remained the only one to rule. In the year 661 of the Greeks¹¹ in the days of Theodosius the Great a synod of 150 bishops was gathered in Constantinople, to depose Macedonius bishop of Constantinople who had blasphemed the Holy Spirit saying that it was a creature. Marutha was sent for a second time in an embassy to Yazdegerd in his year 11th year (of his reign), to inform the catholicos Isaac on the reason of the synod. Isaac gathered 40 bishops of him who as firm followers consented on the deposition of Macedonius. Marutha decreed for them 80 admirable canons to

¹¹ WILMSHURST 2016: '671 of the Greeks.'

teach the Easterners all the doctrine. [51] After fulfilling the office for 11 years Isaac died and was buried in Seleucia.

After Isaac, Aḥai. This name derives from ‘brotherhood.’ He was called in this way because he often repeated this word in his homilies and exhortations to the people. In the same way, today when they preach they say ‘my beloved’ and others ‘my brothers’ in the plural. This Aḥai used to say ‘my brother’ in the singular. The Greeks call him Acacius. He was a virtuous man, a teacher, given to fast, pray and the (care of) pilgrims and he (continued) to lead this monastic life even during the catholicate. After fulfilling the office for 7 years he departed to his Lord and was buried in Seleucia.

[53] **After Aḥai, Yahballaha** which means ‘gift of God’. He was a holy man and a doctor. He was ordained in the 16th year of Yazdegerd king of the Persians. He is said to have revived a dead man. He was held in great honour by the Persians. After fulfilling the office for five years he knew in his spirit that the king was going to return to his former madness and to stir up again a persecution against the Christians, thus he prayed God to (be allowed to) depart to him.

After Yahballaha, Magna. It is a Persian name. He was with Barsoum, Narsai and Acacius in the School [55] of the Persians in Edessa and translated the Commentaries of Theodore from Greek to Syriac. They were expelled from Edessa on initiative of Philoxenus of Mabbug i.e. Aksenaya, who was also Persian by race. When it was discovered that the fellows of the school had been infected by the doctrine of Theodore and Diodorus, Philoxenus demonstrated them (to be heretics), and they were expelled and came to Nisibis. Their school in Edessa was uprooted and so also all the books of Theodore and Diodorus which were there. Bishop Rabbula of Edessa set them on fire. When the fame of the learning of Magna, who used to translate books from Greek to Syriac, spread, he was elected and ordained for Persia. After Yahballaha died, he was proclaimed [57] and ordained catholicos. Shortly afterwards he vomited his (poisonous) teaching, but when the easterners saw that this Magna was teaching and asserting the (doctrine) of Nestorius, since at that time were not yet divided from the westerners, they turned their face away from him, assembled, deposed him and cursed whomever had named him catholicos during his lifetime or after his death.

After Magna, Marabokht. It is a Persian name. When Magna was anathematised, he offered some gold to the king Bahram, son of Yazdegerd and compelled the bishops to ordain him by force. Then the bishops took refuge among the chiefs [59] of the kingdom and they found an opportunity to depose Marabokht. They rejected him completely and excommunicated him.

After Marabokht, Dadisho’. It is a Chaldean name that is translated as ‘the beloved of the Saviour.’ This was a just and holy man. The bishops assembled and proclaimed him by invocation of the (Holy) Spirit and ordained him as usual in Seleucia. Shortly afterwards they accused him to the king and he was imprisoned for some time until an envoy of Theodosius the king of the Greeks came to intercede with the king of the Persians to set

him free. He urged the bishops to release him but he could not convince them: they bowed down to him and supplicated him not to abandon the rule of the church. He consented and led the Church until he died.

After Dadisho', Babowai. He was a Magician by race but he loved [61] the Christian faith, became a Christian and was baptized. He had some proficiency in the reading of the Holy Scriptures. When the king of Persians came to know that he had rejected Magianism and embraced the Christian faith, he got furious with him and imprisoned him for seven years torturing him to (make him) renounce to Messiah but his fortitude was not overcome. When the peace was established between Greeks and Persians, he left prison. When the bishops saw the greatness of his faith they chose him and ordained him catholicos. At that time lived Barsoum, the metropolitan [63] of Nisibis, Magna who had been deposed from the catholicate and who had seized again by force the province of Fars, his first diocese, and also Narsai, the doctor who had been appointed for the church of Nisibis. These three men were openly preaching and asserting the heresy of Nestorius and allowing the bishops to take concubines living (with them) and also Barsoum had a concubine with him in his cell and he shamelessly used to call her a legitimate wife. He used to say publicly that it was better to take a woman than to burn with desire. When the western bishops heard of the heresy of Nestorius which was advancing in the East (and) of the concubines of the bishops, they sent letters to the catholicos Babowai and blamed his negligence. He replied defending himself in this way: 'Since we are under an impious kingdom we cannot punish these evil-doers. [65] This is why many faults passed on us and on the canons.' He sent his letter of reply with two monks who when passing through Nisibis were convinced by Barsoum to give it to him. He handed the letter over to Firuz the king of the Persians and accused the catholicos: 'He is a spy of the Greeks and an enemy of the magi. Here is the letter he sent to the Greeks!' Firuz ordered to bring a Syrian man to read (the letter). The reader attempted to change the word 'impious' with the word 'great' but he could not (make it). Firuz got furious and sentenced the catholicos to death. It is said that they hung him up by his toe and they scourged him to death. Barsoum of Nisibis told the king Firuz: 'Unless you change the confession of the Christians in your region from the confession of the Christians in the regions of the Greeks, they will not set their heart and their mind aright with you.' Firuz believed to his word and ordered to be made what he wanted. [67] Barsoum said again to Firuz: 'Unless you change the confession of the Christians in your region from the confession of the Christians in the regions of the Greeks, they will not set their heart and their mind aright with you.' Firuz believed his word and ordered to be done whatever he wanted. Barsoum said again to Firuz: 'There was a patriarch of the Greeks, a wise man, a doctor called Nestorius, naturally inclined towards the Persians, who continually advised Greeks saying: "If you are Christians proceed in the path of the Messiah. Show humility and submission to all your enemies and pray for those who curse you" and for this reason the Greeks hated him and dismissed him from

his seat. If you give me an army, I will make all the Christians of your region followers of the doctrine of that man so that being hated by the Greeks they will hate them (in return).’ (The idea) pleased Firuz and Barsoum took the lead of the Persian soldiers, went out of Seleucia and passed through Beth Garmai and he shed much blood of the faithful there. He tried to enter to Tagrit but the Tagritians opposed him and threatened him (saying) that they would go to the king Firuz to unmask and expel him. Since he was terrified he left them and came to Arbil. The metropolitan of Arbil fled to the convent of Kochta which is the monastery of Mor Matay in the mountain of Aleppo. Barsoum came to the monastery and the monks fled from him and hid [69] in the clefts of the caves in the mountain. Bar Sahde, the metropolitan of the monastery was not able to flee,¹² thus Barsoum bound him along with twelve monks, his disciples, sent them to Nisibis and imprisoned them in the house of a certain Jew. He went down to Nineveh and killed 90 priests in the convent of Bizonita. In those villages he killed many men who did not adhere to his doctrine. From there he came to the region of the Mesopotamia and tried to go up to the hermit cell of Mor Samuel but through the prayer of the holy man his beast could not walk.¹³ He returned to a village named ‘Edray, assembled the bishops and established corrupting canons (allowing) the bishops and the catholicos to take wives if they wanted to. It is said that the number of the people killed by the tyrant Barsoum of Nisibis amounted to 7700. He summoned afterwards [71] two assemblies: one in Seleucia and the other in Karka d-Beth Slokh in the house of the tax-gatherer, where he established canons to accommodate his purpose¹⁴ which Aksenaya confuted in two great books. After he had travelled through the entire region of Mesopotamia, the Satraps of Armenians heard that he was ready to enter their region and sent him a message threatening him under oaths that if they would meet him they would shed his blood. In this way he was restrained from going to Armenia and they escaped from the heresy though being subject to Persians. Thus he returned to Nisibis and killed Bar Sahde the metropolitan of Nineveh and the monks who were with him because they refused to adhere to his doctrine. Since the Jewish owner of the house where the holy man was imprisoned, had converted to the Christian faith and was baptized along with his entire family, he took the corpse of the holy man, embalmed it, put it in a coffin, brought it to the convent of Bizonita and buried it there as the holy man had commanded him. Then the bishops who had fled from Barsoum, assembled in Seleucia and ordained catholicos a certain Acacius. [73] When Barsoum of Nisibis and Magna of Fars heard of it they sent a threatening message to Acacius (saying) that if he

¹² WILMSHURST 2016: ‘scorned to flee.’

¹³ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘his wagon was turned back from the road.’

¹⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘suited to his character.’

did not adhere to their doctrine they would kill him as the one who had preceded him. Since he was terrified he adhered to them, especially for the old affection he had for them. He was a fellow of Barsoum, Magna and Narsai in the School of Edessa and fled with them and for this reason he easily adhered to them. He gathered a synod where he ratified the confession of Nestorius and since then Nestorianism dominated the entire East. Fornication increased among bishops, priests, deacons and laymen to the point that like spread out nets, the children of the Christians were exposed on dung-hills and on the streetsides [75] and were eaten by dogs. Thus Acacius was forced to create a palace to accommodate these illegitimate children and to give maintenance to the women who were bringing up the seeds of abomination. Barsoum and Narsai quarrelled among themselves about a prostitute,¹⁵ Barsoum expelled Narsai from Nisibis and he went to the regions of the Kurds. Since he could not find rest, he composed a poem whose beginning (was) 'Poors for a time' where he exhibited (his) torment to Barsoum who had made him come back to his office. This was the inauspicious beginning of the strengthening of the Nestorianism in the East. At this time Acacius was sent as ambassador by the king of the Persians to the king of the Romans. The western bishops gathered for him and told him: 'We heard that one of your bishops unjustly killed the catholicos who preceded you,¹⁶ that he set immoral canons (permitting) fornication and that you have not reproved him. Thus we tell you to depose him when you return to your region or we will depose you along with him.' Acacius promised them to do it and when he was asked about the heresy of Nestorius he denied any knowledge of Nestorius and his heresy and that their enemy Aksenaya besmeared them with this name. When Acacius came to the East he discovered that Barsoum had died. Some [77] say that the nuns¹⁷ of the Tur Abdin came together to him and killed him with the key of his cell. Others declare that his tomb is in the church of Mor Jacob. Shortly afterwards, Narsai died after having governed the School of Nisibis for 50 years and before those he had governed (the School) of Edessa for 20 years. Joseph of Khuzestan, his disciple took his place in Nisibis. He replaced the Edessene way of reading with the Eastern one which the Nestorians now employ, but throughout the entire time of Narsai, they used to read as the Westerners do. Barsoum was succeeded in Nisibis by the metropolitan Hosea, follower of the same doctrine. In the year 797, the king Firuz who had given the tyrannical power to Barsoum died and Balash, his son, ruled after him for four years. His brother Kavadh succeeded him in the year 801 of the Greeks. [79] After nine years the

¹⁵ i.e. Barsoum's wife Mamai who apparently played a role in troubling the relationship between Narsai and Barsoum. See GERO 1985: 68.

¹⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'that the catholicos who preceded you was unjustly put to death by a certain person on account of your letters.'

¹⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the monks.'

monks gathered in the monastery of Mor Matay and established 22 canons¹⁸ which are still preserved nowadays in an old writing. The catholicos Acacius died, the bishops assembled and ordained catholicos a certain Babai, an old layman who had a woman and sons and lacked knowledge of reading and understanding of the Scriptures. He held a synod and abolished the impediments for all the catholicoi and bishops after him to take a legitimate wife¹⁹ and allowed priests to marry again if their wife had died. Since they were separated in the confession from the other Christians, they used to do whatever they wanted to satisfy their passions [81] shamelessly and confidently. After fulfilling the office for five years Babai died. After him ruled Shila, a Hebrew name which comes from the term 'question'. He was married and had sons and daughters. He was a boastful, luxurious and avid man, subject to the will of his wife. He gave his daughter in marriage to a certain bishop named Elisha and ordered that his son-in-law Elisha should be catholicos after him but the priest Mari opposed him. After Shila had fulfilled the office for some time, a schism arose among the bishops. Some of them wanted (to appoint) Elisha, the son-in-law of Shila and ordained him catholicos in the church of Ctesiphon while others (wanted to appoint) a man named Narsai and ordained him catholicos in the great Church of Seleucia. Both of them started to ordain bishops for the widowed dioceses but the king confirmed Elisha and imprisoned Narsai. After a while Narsai died and Elisha expected that henceforward his leadership would have been stable but the bishops assembled and deposed him. At that time Jamasp, the son of Firuz revolted against his brother Kavadh, son of Firuz, and expelled him [83] from the kingdom after he had reigned for 11 years after his brother Balash. Then Kavadh went to the country of the Greeks, made them (his) allies and came (back) to sit on (his) throne for 46 years, minus the two year his brother Jamasp had reigned. There he learned of the affairs of the Christians and the Nestorians in his region, and that none of the other faithful peoples agreed with them, but that they accepted everything that all the others rejected and despised. He also learned how his father Firuz had given power to Barsoum, who by force made the faithful change the common confession of the Western fathers. Thus he hated them violently, especially (because) he had seen their fathers, catholicoi and bishops, [85] compromise themselves with women, and thinking nothing but fornication. At that time there was a certain priest, named Simeon, from the village of Beth Arsham, near Seleucia, an Orthodox man. When he was informed of the intention of the king Kavadh he went to him and he received the order to travel through the

¹⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'twenty canons.'

¹⁹ محنتلار 'legitimate wife'. Term used to point out the difference with the status of concubine (نقا) previous to the formal legalization of clerical marriage.

entire land of Shinar²⁰ and the country Persia to exhort Orthodox to make their gatherings confidently and curb the violence of Nestorians and he did so. Everywhere he passed he took signed documents from Greeks, Armenians and Syrians that they were strangers to the faith of Nestorius. He brought the writings to the king and he sent them with his royal diplomas. They were called *Books of the Confession*²¹ and they were placed in Tagrit, the only one which escaped from the corruption of Barsoum. In the year 843 of the Greeks Kavadh son of Firuz, king of the Persians died and his son Khosrow Anushirwan ruled after him. After eight years he went up to Antioch, burned it and took away its inhabitants as captives. He built Mahoza²² for them and he called it [87] Antioch, and made them live there. After four years, in the year 855 he went up to Edessa but he was not able to capture it but brought away as captives the inhabitants of the region and made them dwell in the country of the Persians. The Orthodox increased in the East but they did not have high-priests beside Qaris, bishop of Sinjar and the Orthodox used to go to him from everywhere receiving the ordination. At that time Mor Christopher was the catholicos of the Armenians. He was a holy man and a Syrian by race. When he heard that the monks had again assembled in the monastery of Mor Matay, he came to the monastery and chose among them a certain chaste man named Garmai and ordained him metropolitan of the monastery at the place of the father and martyr Bar Sahde. (Then) he left and returned to his region. After they had deposed their catholicos Elisha who was the son-in-law of the catholicos Shila, the Nestorians [89] chose a certain Paul, archdeacon of the church of Seleucia who was married and had sons and daughters, and ordained him catholicos. After fulfilling the office for one year he died and a certain Aba ruled after him. He was formerly a magus but afterwards he converted, was baptized and went to Nisibis where he learned the Syriac language. In the Ecclesiastical History of the Nestorians we found that this Aba, after having learned Syriac, wanted to learn also the Greek language and went to Edessa where he was instructed by a certain Thomas, a Jacobite who was competent in the Greek language, and he went with him to Alexandria and with his knowledge translated the Scriptures from Greek to Syriac. These clues point to the bishop Thomas of Ḥarqel, who corrected the first version of the New Testament that Mor Philoxenus of Mabbug had translated.²³

²⁰ Term used in the Hebrew Bible for the region of Mesopotamia. 'A plain in Babylonia, where the tower of Babel was supposed to have been built (Gen. 11: 2).' 'Shinar' in ODBIB.

²¹ ܩܒܠܐ hapax. 'Confession' according to Assemani. See PAYNE SMITH 1879-1901: 1475. These are likely the acts of the synod of Dvin (506 A.D) where a common Armenian and Syrian Orthodox profession of faith against Nestorianism was produced. See GARSOÏAN 1999: 438-446. Cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, IX.11: 261-264T-165-167V. Most likely, Bar 'Ebroyo had direct access to the acts. See III.2.1.

²² Al-Mada'in 'the cities' i.e. Seleucia-Ctesiphon. See MORONY, 'Madā'en', EIR.

²³ Cf. Part I: 267.

But the year in which Aba was consecrated is the sixth year of Khosrow Anushirwan, 78 years before the year in which the Scriptures were emended [91] by Thomas in (the monastery) of Anton in Alexandria that is in the year 927 of the Greeks. So perhaps there was another doctor named Thomas, before Thomas of Ḥarqel. The Nestorians also say that Aba conversed with John the Grammarian, the Thriteist, and surpassed him²⁴ and that Khosrow Anushirwan the wise king called the catholicos Aba and debated with him about the confession, saying: 'Number me the peoples that call Mary 'Mother of God', and that accept Cyril and those (peoples) that don't and that accept Nestorius.' The catholicos was struck dumb because he could not lie without being confuted by the evidence of the facts and since he was obliged, he replied: 'The Christian peoples pronounce that expression and accept Cyril; we only do not and accept Nestorius.' The king rebuked him saying: 'So then, everybody lies and you only are right?' The truth is that you are distant in your confession and your habits from the Christians.' Where is heard that a catholicos or a bishop takes a woman [93] living with him as you? Or that when the wife of a cleric dies, he takes another one, and after that another one, as your clerics do?' The catholicos replied: 'Since God the Word did not originate from Mary,²⁵ we do not say 'Mother of God'; (as to the) matter of the wives: me, I do not have a wife and I never had; those who preceded me received from the Apostles the divine permission saying: 'It is better to take a wife than to burn with desire.'²⁶ The clerics take many wives (but) one after another because of what Paul said: 'A priest should have only one wife',²⁷ that is he forbids taking two (wives) at the same time but not one after another.' The king replied: all these reasons are empty. Paul says that he was an apostle 'not from men but by a man but by Jesus the Messiah',²⁸ and our fathers the Magi, if they had not known that God borne from a virgin in Bethlehem, they would not have gone to worship him from the East and offered him gifts. As to 'it is better to marry' [95] the apostle was speaking to laymen who were overcome by lust. Whoever rises to the apostolic rank should burn with love for God and not with luxury. As to 'a priest should have one wife', unless he had permitted to laymen to take two wives at the same time, it is not credible that he was forbidding it to priests. Thus I advise you, catholicos Aba: turn back from this path, adhere to the other Christian peoples and you will be honoured by me and by them.' Since he did not consent, he expelled him from Seleucia and he went to stay in Azerbaijan. The Great Church of the Nestorians in the royal palace was destroyed and a church was built for the Orthodox. The catholicos Aba, after

²⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'and profited from him.'

²⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: 'since God did not assume the Word from Mary.'

²⁶ 1 Cor. 7:8-9.

²⁷ 1 Tim. 3:12.

²⁸ Gal. 1:1.

remaining in Azerbaijan for some time, hoped that the king Khosrow had forgotten him and returned to Seleucia. The king heard of this, chained him up, imprisoned him and he ended his life in prison. Joseph, the doctor of king Khosrow succeeded him in the year 863 of the Greeks.²⁹ [97] He proved himself an arrogant, avid man. When a common or unlearned man went to meet him, he used to order his deacons to bind him in a manger and to put a forage bag on his head as if he was a donkey. The bishops gathered and deposed him but for fear of the king, they did not ordain another one at his place until he died, three years after his deposition. He was succeeded by Ezekiel, a disciple of the catholicos Aba and son-in-law³⁰ of Paul, that is, the husband of his daughter. He was a friend of the king and he was puffed him up (to the point that) he used to call his bishops 'blind guides of the blinds' but he himself got blind the end of his life. At this time Paul the Persian flourished in the ecclesiastical doctrine and the profane philosophy and he composed an admirable introduction to the *Rhetoric*. He expected to become metropolitan of Fars but when the people did not consent him he joined the magi and became one of them. At this time Jacob, known as Baradaeus because of the plainness [99] of his dress,³¹ was ordained universal metropolitan for all the Orthodox in the East and the West by the persecuted patriarchs who were imprisoned in the royal city,³² and he ordained Mor Aḥudemmeḥ metropolitan for the East. After the persecution of the Orthodox in the East, Aḥudemmeḥ ruled as metropolitan of the East. He was ordained by Jacob in the year 870 of the Greeks. It is said that Christopher the catholicos of the Armenians ordained him bishop of Beth 'Arbaye, and Jacob bestowed upon him the charge of metropolitan of the East. Mor Aḥudemmeḥ went to the Arab nomad peoples (tribes) and taught many of them. God performed through him wonders and miracles and multiplied priests and monks. He built for them a convent called [101] 'Ain Qena and another convent close to Tagrit called Ga'tani. In Tagrit he taught many magi and also a certain young man from the Persian royal family, baptized him and called him George.³³ When the king heard of this he sent to decapitate Mor Aḥudemmeḥ on Friday 2 August³⁴ 886 of the Greeks. The believers asked for his corpse, enshrouded it and buried in the church of Mahoza.

After Aḥudemmeḥ, Qamisho'. When the father and martyr Aḥudemmeḥ was crowned with martyrdom, the Orthodox remained three years without a leader, until Khosrow Anushirwan, who had killed Mor Aḥudemmeḥ, died in the year 889 and his son Hormizd

²⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: '663 of the Greeks.'

³⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'nephew.'

³¹ During the imperial persecutions he used to travel in disguise. سرجه 'saddle-cloth'.

³² WILMSHURST 2016: 'who was lying low in the imperial city on account of the persecution.'

³³ Wilmshurst: 'Gregory'.

³⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'on 6 August'.

succeeded him. In the first year of Hormizd, the believers assembled and appointed their common father a certain man who was the teacher of the new church that had been built for the Orthodox in the royal palace. He ordained bishops for the places that lacked them [103] because the Orthodox were few at that time. When the metropolitan of the monastery of Mor Matay, the one who had been ordained by the catholicos of the Armenians died, a certain Tubono succeeded him. (Garmai) ordained him while he was still alive and also Tubono when was approaching death, ordained his disciple named Isho'zka. After Isho'zka, Sahdo. After Sahdo, Simeon. After Simeon, Christopher, who lived at the time of Marutha of Tagrit, as we are going to show. At the time of Hormizd the son of son of Khosrow, the catholicos Ezekiel who had called the bishops 'blind', got blind and after he had remained blind for two years he died. [105] Isho'yahb bishop of Arzun succeeded him. After fulfilling the office for 15 years he went to meet Nu'man³⁵ the Christian king of the Arabs to plead our cause but he did not succeed (to change) his mind. He died in the tends of the Ma'adaye and was buried in the convent of Hind, the daughter of Nu'man, who wore the monastic dress.³⁶ During his days, two convents were built: the one of Sa'id close to Mosul and the one of Mansur in the region of Nineveh. After Hormizd had ruled for 12 years, the Persians attacked him and killed him and his son Khosrow who is known as Aparvez³⁷ succeeded him in the year 901. He ruled for 38³⁸ years. In his days the catholicos Isho'yahb died and [107] Sabrisho' from the region of Garmai, from a village called Firuzabad succeeded him. In the year 915, when Khosrow Aparvez heard that the Romans had killed his father in law Maurice, he dissolved the peace (pact) and went to besiege Dara for 9 month and conquered it. The catholicos Sabrisho' was with him and there he died, 8 years after he had started ruling. A certain Gregory, teacher of the church of Seleucia succeeded him. He proved himself avaricious and lascivious. He had disciples of bad reputation and was reviled because of them, not only [109] by his own people but also by the Persian chiefs. After fulfilling the office for four years he died and was buried in Seleucia. The Persians tortured his disciples until they showed all the silver coins their master had amassed. At the same time, a certain Orthodox named Gabriel, from the city of Sinjar, was the doctor of the king Khosrow Aparvez. Since he was held in great honour by the king, they called him Airir of Dastaba.³⁹ He was a violent hater of the Nestorians, a slanderer and informer on their high-priests. After Gregory, the Nestorians remained without a leader for eighteen

³⁵ al-Nu'man III ibn al-Mundhir (r. ca. 580-602 A.D.). The last Lahmid king of Al-Hirah and vassal of the Sassanids. Shahid, 'al-Nu'man (iii) b. al-Mundhir', EIS.

³⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'who dressed him in a monk's robe.'

³⁷ I.e. the 'victorious'. Khosrow II (r. 590-628 A.D.)

³⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: '18'.

³⁹ Region of the Isfahan. LE STRANGE 1905: 220, SMITH 1994: 20 n.103.

years. The metropolitan Qamisho' died in advanced old age in the year 920 of the Greeks, after fulfilling the office for 31 years.

After Qamisho', Samuel. When Qamisho' died, the Orthodox remained without a leader for five years, before appointing for them Mor Samuel, a virtuous man, in the year 925. [111] In the days of this man, the monk Marutha, renowned for (his) virtues lived. He came from Mesopotamia, from a village called Shurzaq. He stayed in the convent of Nardos where he became monk and priest. From there he set off to Callinicus, and dwelt for 20 years in the convent of Mor Zacchaeus, and was thoroughly instructed in the divine scriptures. From there he went to stay in the Mountain of Edessa where learned the scribal art. Then he came to the monastery of Mor Matay and established there excellent liturgical orders and rules. When royal seditions started to arise and at the death of Gabriel the doctor of the king, those of ours who lived at the royal court of the Persians were slain, he went to dwell in the hermit cell of Rabba Shabour in 'Aqula that is Kufah. Mor Samuel wanted to ordain him metropolitan of the East but he refused. After Mor Samuel had fulfilled the office for ten years he departed to his Lord in the year 935. After him our church remained widowed for 5 years. The Nestorians [113] after eighteen years of widowhood of their church after Gregory, ordained Isho'yahb II catholicos in Seleucia in the year 937 of the Greeks, that is, the seventh year of the rise of the kingdom of the Arabs in Yathrib, that is, Medina, which was built under the name of Medan, the fourth son of the patriarch Abraham, begot by his concubine Keturah.⁴⁰ This catholicos was very concerned about education. He restored the schools that had fallen in disuse and ordained excellent bishops. He was sent as ambassador to the king of the Greeks from the king of the Persians and when he was asked about (his) confession, he pretended to profess as the Greeks and he was welcomed. (When) the people of his dioceses heard of it, they were offended and revoked his proclamation. When [115] he returned, he defended himself (saying) that he had not adhered to the Greeks and since the king was his ally, they could not oppose him and thus they accepted him and proclaimed him again. The king also compelled him to take a wife, like the other catholicoi, and he sent to bring the woman of his youth, and just pretending to sleep with her, he made her live with him because of the (king's) order. Barsoum, a certain doctor, bishop of Susa put him to shame with a humiliating letter, saying: 'Unless you anathematize the tree lights of the church, Diodorus, Theodore and Nestorius, you accept Cyril and pronounce the expression 'Mary the mother of God' the Greeks will never allow you to make offerings at their altar. Which excuse do you have for those on whom you rule and on whose throne you sit?' At that time, Muhammad the prophet of the Arabs flourished. At the same time, there was a noble of the believers of

⁴⁰ Gen. 25: 1-4.

Najran of the desert, named Said. He took gifts and presents, went to Isho' their bishop, and went to offer (them) to Muhammad and received from him a stupendous diploma (establishing) that [117] all the Arabs should guard Christians from injuries and not force them to fight along with them or to change their habits and rules, and that when they want to restore an old church, the Arabs should help them with the construction. (Moreover it established) that the poll-tax should be only four *zuze* for the poor who were not priests or monks and twelve *zuze* for the merchants and the wealthy people.⁴¹ And when a woman was (at the service) in the house of a Muslim, he should not force her to abandon her confession nor forbid her to fast, pray or learn her faith and other things like these.

After Samuel, Marutha the first maphrian who sat in Tagrit. In the year 939, Khosrow Aparvez, the king of the Persians was killed, his son Kavadh reigned for one year and (then) died. His son Ardashir ruled after him. One of the nobles, named Shahriah revolted against him, killed him [119] and reigned. He made peace with the Romans and gave them all the cities that had been taken from them up to Dara at the border (between their reigns). In the year 940, when the peace was established, the patriarch Athanasius, called Gamala, sent his disciple, the deacon John from the village of Beth 'Ellaya to the king of the Persians about (some) domestic affairs. When John arrived, he entered the monastery of Mor Matay, (which was) under the guidance of Christopher, the metropolitan of the monastery and Addai the archimandrite. When he saw there the chaste and holy monks, he asked them to unite with the patriarch and with the westerners and they all consented. He gathered the metropolitan Mor Cristopher and the bishops who were close to him: George of Shigar, Daniel of Mesopotamia, Gregory of Beth Ramman and Yazdpanah of Shahrzul, and the five of them went with John to the patriarch. They brought with them renowned men from the monastery who deserved the (episcopal) proclamation: Marutha whom we have mentioned above, Aitalaha and Aha. When they had arrived to the patriarch and they had united with him, they asked him [121] to ordain bishops for the East but the patriarch did not consent because a precept had been established at the synod of Nicaea that when the great metropolitan of the East had died the eastern bishops had to ordain a leader and a common father for themselves. Thus the bishops chose Marutha and ordained him great metropolitan for Tagrit and committed to him the authority on the entire church of the Orthodox in the East and (the authority) to ordain a metropolitan for the monastery of Mor Matay, and (established that) the throne should be conferred to the metropolitan of the monastery who had been ordained by the hand of maphrian of Tagrit, above all the bishops but

⁴¹ WILMSHURST 2016 om.

below the one of the maphrian.⁴² Aitalaha was ordained there for Gumal, one of the big villages in the country of the region of Marga [123] to the northeast of Mount of Alpap; and Aha for Firuz Shapur. The maphrian returned with the metropolitan of the monastery and the 6 bishops to the monastery of Mor Matay. Other bishops who were found gathered there set 12 dioceses under the authority of the maphrian of Tagrit. The first for Beth 'Arbaye, the second for Shigar, the third for Ma'altana, the fourth for Arzun, the fifth for Gumal, the sixth for Beth Raman, that is, Beth Waziq, the seventh for Karma, the eighth for Gazarta d-Qardu, the ninth for Beth Nuhadra, the tenth for Firuz Shapur, the eleventh for Shahrzul, and the twelfth for the Taghlibite Christian nomad Arabs, and to the metropolitan of the monastery only the dioceses of Nineveh. When these things were done, Marutha went to Tagrit and decorated and adorned it by building there convents and churches. In those days Persia passed to the dominion of the Arabs, [125] and he wisely (decided) to open to them the citadel of Tagrit and no one was hurt there. In the same period, the orthodox increased in Persia and a renowned assembly of Edessenenes, who had been led captives by the Persians went to dwell in Segestan and Khorasan and sent a message to the maphrian Marutha to ask a high-priest for them. He ordained three bishops: one for Segestan, another [127] for Herat and a third one for Azerbaijan, and sent them (there). Thus the Orthodoxy spread out and became prevalent in the entire East. At that time Isho'yahb II the catholicos of the Nestorians died and Maremmeh succeeded to him. He came from Arzun and was brought up at the School of Nisibis, and was ordained in Seleucia. After fulfilling the office for three years he died and Isho' III who had been previously metropolitan of Mosul succeeded to him. This opposed the Orthodox who wanted to build a church in Mosul and spent much money to bribe the judges and to block the building. Marutha of Tagrit, after fulfilling the office for 20 years, died on Saturday 2 May 960 of the Greeks⁴³ and was buried in the great church which he himself had built in the citadel.⁴⁴

[129] **After Marutha, Denḥa.** In the same year in which the maphrian Marutha died, also the patriarch John who had succeeded his master Athanasius died, and the patriarch Theodore succeeded him. This one was eager to ordain a maphrian for the East as the patriarch of Alexandria used to ordain the metropolitan for the Abyssinians and sent letters to bishops and nobles to unite with them. The easterners agreed after they had

⁴² WILMSHURST 2016: 'and that the metropolitan of the monastery who had been consecrated by the maphrian of Tagrit should be placed on a throne to the right of the maphrian, above all the other bishops but below the maphrian.' Actually it is referred to the ordination procedure. Cf. BAR 'EBROYO, *Nomocanon*: 41V

⁴³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Sunday 2 May in the year 907.'

⁴⁴ The citadel of Tagrit. See ANONYMOUS, *Life of Marutha*: 93T-V. The citadel is mentioned as the burial place of other maphrians. See BAR 'EBROYO, *Ecclesiastical History*, Part II: 133T-V, 135T-V.

established the following agreement through *sustatikon* and testimonies of the western high-priests: when a patriarch died, the maphrian should lay the hand on the successor and that a maphrian should not start to rule without a patriarch, and neither a patriarch without a maphrian. Then the Tagritians chose Denḥa, the disciple of Mor Marutha and brought him to the patriarch Theodore who appointed him maphrian for Tagrit and the entire East and he came to occupy his seat. At that time, Isho'yahb III, the catholicos of the Nestorians died and [131] George his disciple succeeded him in Seleucia. He was travelling in the regions to correct earnestly the ecclesiastical matters but some enemies accused him to the emir of the Arabs of collecting money around the regions. The emir demanded him the gold but when he refused to give it even under tortures and imprisonment, he got furious and destroyed many churches in Seleucia and in the entire region of Ḥirta. In his days, the doctor John, bishop of Beth Waziq cut off his member when he was accused of fornication but then he was even more condemned and deposed. The maphrian Denḥa after fulfilling the office for 10 years died on 3 November, and was buried with Mor Marutha in the church of Ḥesno.

After Denḥa, Bar Isho'. He was ordained by the patriarch Mor Severus known as Bar Mashqo [133] in the year 980 after Tagrit had remained widowed for 10 years. At the days of Bar Isho' a splendid church was built in Tagrit dedicated to the illustrious Sergius and Bacchus.

At his days the catholicos George died and John Bar Marta succeeded him in the second year of Yazid son of Mu'awiya, the king of the Arabs who ruled in Palestine. John was already in old age and the sicknesses dominated him. He died after fulfilling the office for two years and Henanisho' the Great succeeded him. In the same year that is the year 995 Bar Isho' died on 17 December and was buried in the church of the citadel of Tagrit, after fulfilling the office for fifteen years.

After Bar Isho', Abraham. He was ordained by the hands of the patriarch Athanasius of Balad. Shortly later he fell asleep and was buried in the citadel of Tagrit. [135] Henanisho', who succeeded John Bar Marta as catholicos, was ordained at Seleucia in the year 67 of the Arabs. John the metropolitan of Nisibis, called Garba (The Leper), was offended by him for the following reason. When 'Abd al-Malik son of Marwan, king of the Arabs, arrived in the land of Shinar, Henanisho' went to meet him and to pay his respect according to the custom. (The king) asked him: 'What do you think, catholicos, of the religion of the Arabs?' Since he was used to give sharp answers, he said: 'It is a kingdom founded on the sword, not a faith confirmed through divine signs as the one of the Messiah and the old one through Moses.' The king was furious and ordered his tongue to be cut. Some men interceded for him and (the king) released him but ordered him not to be admitted at his presence again. This was the occasion for John, the emir of the region, to fulfil his ambition. He bribed the nobles to receive a document from the king Bashir Bar Malka, the governor of 'Aqla. John went to him, offering him gifts [137] and the document of his father. He (Bashir Bar Malka) summoned Henanisho', stripped

him of his clothes, gave his mitre and his pastoral staff to John and sent the latter to Seleucia where they ordained him by force. John imprisoned Henanisho' for a while, then he released him and sent him with two of his disciples to one of the mountain convents. They made him climb to the summit of the mountain and threw him down. They thought he had died but shepherds came and found him. Since he was still alive, they carried him and delivered him to their house and took care of him. He departed to the convent of John in the region of Mosul and stayed there. Since John owed much gold to the governor, when the gold was asked back and he (could) not pay it back, he was imprisoned and there he died. Henanisho' took again the control and [139] after fulfilling the office for fourteen years, he died. At his days Simeon of Taibutheh lived. He was an excellent doctor, lover of the monastic rule. He composed a work on monasticism and he was called after the title of his book.⁴⁵ At that time, the fasting of the Virgins which the easterners observe three days after the Epiphany was restored.⁴⁶ It is said that when 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan was told of the beauty of the women of Ḥirta, he sent to the governor of that place to choose all the virgins suitable for men and to send them to him. When the edict arrived, the governor started gathering them and all the Christians gathered in the church and fasted and prayed, prostrating to the Lord that this anger would pass away from them by. Then, in the third day when their bishop John was reading the gospel, he had a vision in the spirit of the death of [141] 'Abd al-Malik, which he announced to the people. After some days, the news was confirmed and the faithful started observing this fast. Other say that it was Khosrow Aparvez who (wanted) to violate the virgins, and in his days this fast was restored in the East.

After Abraham, David. When the maphrian Abraham died and the patriarch also died, the Eastern bishops did not wait until a patriarch was ordained, but assembled and ordained maphrian for Tagrit and the East a certain man named David. Six months after he was ordained, he was called by the Western bishops to go with them to the election of a patriarch. He went but died there. Tagrit thus remained without a pastor for six years. Mor John Saba, a holy man, was the metropolitan of the monastery of Mor Matay, and the monks of Mor Matay urged him to ordain bishops for the Eastern dioceses which were widowed of their pastors. However the holy man did not follow to their advice, saying: 'I have no legal authority to do this because this authority is given to the maphrian of Tagrit. When he will be appointed [143] he will ordain the bishops for the dioceses.' The monks were offended with him, and sent to the new patriarch, saying to him: 'It is a long that our metropolitan Mor John is getting old, and he abstains from the government of the Church. Thus, we ask you to send us another metropolitan in his

⁴⁵ i.e. ܡܚܠܐ 'grace'

⁴⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'established'.

place.’ Now the patriarch, believing to the innocence of their words, sent them a certain metropolitan of him. When he came and went up to the monastery, the monks went out to meet him and to make him enter with hymns. But when Mor John Saba heard the clamour and the sound of the chants, he asked his disciple: ‘What is this tumult that I hear?’ The disciple replied: ‘Another metropolitan has come to your place.’ When the old man heard this, he left the monastery, and went to live in the convent of Beth ‘Urba near Tagrit. At his departure a plague fell on the monastery and eighty monks died in one week. When the new metropolitan saw that marvel he did not remain to live in the monastery and returned rapidly to the patriarch. Then the monks went to the elder, fell at his feet, begged for his pardon [145] and asked him to return with them to the monastery. He blessed them but he did not return.

After David, John the elder. After these things, six bishops assembled in Tagrit and led the elder Mor John of the monastery to Tagrit. They agreed to ordain him maphrian for Tagrit and the entire East. After fulfilling the office for one year and six months and ordaining three bishops he departed to his Lord on Monday 14 January and was buried in the Catholic Church of Sergius and Bacchus. It is said that this Mor John, by the power of God, changed water into wine.

After John the elder, Denḥa II. After the death of the elder Mor John, the bishops assembled in Tagrit and ordained maphrian a certain man named Denḥa, on 13 March, in the year 999 of the Greeks. They did not go to the patriarch [147] because he had sent a metropolitan to the monastery without their consent, only on the word of ambitious monks. Denḥa built the new church of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ in Tagrit and made it the third catholic (church). The patriarch Julian sent continuously letters of love to the bishops and the honourable men of Tagrit, to reunite them again with the seat of Antioch. The maphrian Denḥa made all his effort against the union. (Thus) some of the bishops and the Tagritians were offended with the maphrian. He reluctantly went to the patriarch, accompanied by the hostile bishops who accused him in front of the patriarch and forbade him to returning to the East, and he went to stay in the convent of Qenneshre. The synod decided that Bacchus, bishop of ‘Aqla should lead his diocese. [149] After Denḥa had stayed two years in the convent, conciliated some of the Tagritians with letters. As soon as the patriarch Julian had died and Elias of Gubba Barraya had succeeded him, he made the maphrian return to Tagrit. Also the patriarch went in person to Tagrit, reconciled the maphrian with the faithful, and returned to his own seat. The catholicos Henanisho’ was succeeded by Sliba-zkha who was consecrated in Seleucia. He was from Karka d-Firuz, which is today called Karkani, in the Tirhan region. He removed the name of John Garba from the diptychs, ordained again the bishops ordained by Garba, and placed the oppressed name of Henanisho’ along with the rest of

the catholicoi. He died after fulfilling the office for 14 years. The maphrian Denḥa also, after fulfilling his pastoral office for 40 years, fell asleep on 19 October in the year 1039, and was buried in the new church which he had built in Tagrit.⁴⁷

[151] **After Denḥa II, Paul.** After Mor Denḥa died, Paul the priest and archimandrite of the monastery of Knushia in the territory of Sinjar was chosen, and was ordained by the patriarch Mor Athanasius, who had been the archimandrite of the convent of Gubba Barraya. This Paul reconciled the divided parties in Tagrit and established excellent rules in the city.

Sliba-zkha was succeeded by Pethion, bishop of Tirhan. He was from Beth Garmai. He was ordained in Seleucia while he was still a young man. He was considered always diligent and careful for the school. He increased the rations for the students and also new clothes every year, and presents in the feast days and weeks.⁴⁸ It is said that the number of students increased to 400 in his school. He was revered by his bishops and his followers on account of his purity. After fulfilling the office for eleven years, he died in the year 123 of the Arabs⁴⁹ and was succeeded [153] by Aba Bar Brikh Bsbyaneh from Kashkar. This man was trained in the ecclesiastical writings and the rhetoric, he wrote a commentary on the Theologus and he was occupied all the time in the reading of books. The clerics ruled over the school and its resources and removed it from the authority of the catholicos. He felt vexed on this account, left Seleucia, and went to stay in a convent near Kashkar. Then those (clerics) suppressed his proclamation, but after he conciliated them with letters, he returned to them and they received him. In his days, in the year 129 of the Arabs,⁵⁰ the caliphate of the Arabs of Palestine ceased and the caliphate of the ‘Abbasids began in the East. They were friendlier with the Christians than the Damascenes. After fulfilling the office for ten years the catholicos Aba died at the age of 110 years [155] and was buried in Seleucia. He was succeeded by a certain Surin from Seleucia, a man of ambiguous morals who had been metropolitan of Nisibis after he had been transferred to Hulwan. He was deposed in the same year he was ordained catholicos. Then Jacob succeeded (him) and was ordained in Seleucia, after the bishops received a document of his own hand that he would neither transgress the law nor violate the canons. In his days a church for the Nestorians was built in Tagrit on the initiative of Sliba-zkha, bishop of Tirhan. He had been chained up along with the catholicos Jacob, and when he was released he began restoring his churches in Tirhan. He went to the maphrian Paul in Tagrit and asked him to allow the Nestorians to build a church in Tagrit. The maphrian said: as for me, this does not damage me but [157] I am

⁴⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘and was buried in the new church which had been built by the people of Tagrit.’

⁴⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘once a week and on feast days.’

⁴⁹ 740-741 A.D.

⁵⁰ 746-747 A.D.

afraid of the patriarch and the Tagritians. I suggest you to go to Nisibis and aske the Nestorians there: 'Return the Jacobite churches that you took by force from them' and then the Tagritians will consent that you build a church for you among them.' And so Sliba-zkha went to Nisibis, and he supplicated the elder metropolitan Cyprian and the Nestorians of Nisibis, and they returned the celebrated church of Mor Demet to our people. Ten of the Jacobite merchants who lived in Nisibis descended to Tagrit and asked for a church to be built there for the Nestorians. Sliba-zkha also went to the patriarch George, who was still imprisoned in Baghdad, and they both wrote to the Tagritians on this account. When some zealous young men objected, the elders did not listen them but gave the place to the Nestorians on the outer side of the city wall by the Tigris. There they built a small church, where they still administer the service nowadays. They began to build it in the year 150 of the Arabs. [159] After fulfilling the office for twenty-nine years, the maphrian Paul died on 25 March in the year 1068 of the Greeks and was buried in the church of the citadel. During his lifetime, the patriarch Athanasius and the patriarch John died, and two years after his death the patriarch George was ordained.

After Paul, John Kionaya. After the death of the maphrian Paul, a synod of eastern bishops assembled in the monastery of Knushia in the territory of Shigar, about Jona, bishop of Gulmarga, who had been accused by his diocesans and did not want to be judged by a synod of the Easterners but in front of the patriarch. The bishops suspended Jona and chose in his place John Kionaya, from the monastery of Mor Matay. They sent him to the patriarch George who ordained him maphrian for Tagrit and he arrived and condemned Jona. In his time our patriarch George was reported [161] to the caliph, and imprisoned in Baghdad. Theodore, the patriarch of the Greeks, and Jacob, the catholicos of the Nestorians, were also imprisoned. A certain doctor named 'Isa hoped to receive bribe from all the bishops, and wrote a letter to Cyprian, the metropolitan of Nisibis, as follows: 'The caliph has heard that there are many coins, vessels and silver in the church of Nisibis, and has ordered you to send them to him so that (he can) inspect (them) and decide which ones of them he wants to keep', and also advised: 'if you acknowledge me the honour I deserve, I can make this ruin by you. You know that the spirit of this kingdom lies in my hands and I (can) turn it as I want.' When this letter reached Cyprian of Nisibis, he immediately descended to Baghdad and took refuge with a nobleman named Rabia', who introduced him to the caliph Mansur. He accused the doctor 'Isa to him and showed also the letter that he had written. The caliph was furious with 'Isa, confiscated [163] all his possessions and cast him out. He released the catholicos from the prison after he had been chained up for 9 years. Also the two patriarchs, the one of ours and the one of the Greeks, were free. After fulfilling the office for nineteen years the catholicos Jacob died and Henanisho' II the bishop of Daquqa succeeded him. He was ordained in Seleucia on initiative of 'Isa the perfumer, and died after fulfilling the office for four years. It is said of this 'Isa the perfumer that one day while he was sitting in his

booth a woman came from the caliph's court with an ampoule of urine. Thinking that he was a doctor, she showed it and asked him: 'See which kind of illness (suffers) this urine's owner.' He examined the urine and said, without any knowledge and out of any skill but by supposition and the method of [165] physiognomic.⁵¹ 'This is not the water of a sick man but of a woman who (carries) in her belly a male child who will rule.' The woman was the maiden of Kaizaran, the concubine of the caliph Mahdi. She hastened to her mistress and told her what she had just heard. Her mistress told her: 'Return to that man and tell him: if your word is accomplished, you will come into my service and I will make you rich.' Isa started to take refuge in churches and convents, in holy men, alms, fasting and praying, until his word came true. He (then) received great honour at the court. Timotheus I, bishop of Bagash, [167] one of the dioceses of the mountain [167] of Erbil, succeeded Henanisho' II. When Henanisho' died, a division arose between the bishops and the people. Some of them supported Ephrem, the metropolitan of Gundeshapur, others Timotheus, bishop of Kashkar, and a few this Timotheus. Then Timotheus devised to fill (some) bags with brass obols, sealed them and brought them with him. He summoned the scholars secretly by night and told them: 'I have gathered all this amount of zuze and dinars for you and I want that you spend it for the school. Thus, help me and you will profit of this.' Being deceived, they believed to his word and went out to oppose all those who did not consent on Timotheus. They forced the bishops to accept Timotheus, led him to Seleucia and proclaimed him catholicos. Once he had come to power, they could not [169] cast him out, also (because) they were ashamed to display their cupidity. But the metropolitan Thomas opposed him, and assembled thirteen bishops, who went to Baghdad, dwelt in the convent of Mor Pethion and anathematized Timotheus on the third Sunday of the Great Fast. Timotheus also gathered other (bishops), who deposed Thomas. Then the chiefs of the faithful mediated between them but Thomas did not agree, until he had ordained again Timotheus,⁵² and had recited the sacramental pray on him. When they had begun,⁵³ Thomas recited the psalm: 'God of my praise, don't be silent. Speak to him' over him, because of the curses that it contains: 'Let there be an end to their perdition and let their name be effaced from the next generation,' etc. When Timotheus heard it, he said: 'If this is true, the verses at the beginning of the psalm suffice for me: 'The mouth of the impious one and the mouth of the deceitful are open over me' etc. And also those (verses) at the end. 'Those who look awry at me shall be clothed in shame' etc. It is said that until the time of this Timotheus the bishops of the region of Fars used to wear white clothes [171] like

⁵¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'with downcast eyes.'

⁵² WILMSHURST 2016: 'because he had consecrated Timothy more than once.'

⁵³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'While they were eating.'

the priests and the laymen, used to eat meat and to take wives. They did not obey the catholicos of Seleucia saying: 'We are the disciple(s) of the Apostle Thomas, and we have no part in the seat of Mari.' Timotheus reconciled and united with them, and ordained a metropolitan for them named Simeon, and forbade them to eat meat, to marry, and to wear white garments unless (they were made of) wool. He gave him (the metropolitan) the permission to confirm the bishops after he had ordained them, without the necessity for them to go to the catholicos to be confirmed as the other bishops of the other provinces and this habit still exists nowadays. At this time Joseph, when the Nestorian metropolitan of Merv was caught in sodomy and was publicly exposed (for his crime), came to Baghdad and, by a certain noble, was converted to Islam. (This noble) introduced him to the caliph who gave him many gifts. That accursed then slandered the Christians, saying: 'They all pray night and day for the victory of the kingdom of the Romans.' When the caliph threatened [173] to kill the Christians, his doctor 'Isa Bar Quraysh told him: 'How can this be true? The Romans hate us more than the Jews.' There was a prisoner, a certain Roman patrician, an honourable man. The caliph sent to ask him: 'how are the Romans considered by you?' The patrician, because he had heard the calumnation of the curser Joseph, wanted to confute him, and replied saying: 'For us the Nestorians are not Christians; and if any of them is found in our regions, we do not let him enter any of our churches. Truly, they are closer to the Arabs than to us.' The anger of the caliph was calmed. But the curser Joseph added another evil to the first, and wrote a letter in the name of the catholicos Timotheus to the king of the Romans: 'The Arabs are feeble now, thus I suggest you to go out (to war) and you will win.' Then Joseph said to the caliph: 'I have been confirmed by one of the counsellors of the catholicos that he has written a letter to the king of the Romans. If you order (to) send a certain eunuch with me, and we fall upon his cell, maybe we will find the letter.' The caliph ordered to take whoever he wanted and to proceed. When he had received an eunuch, he promised him an amount of gold, and gave him the letter which he himself had written [175] and told him: 'When we enter the cell and open his chest, put it there and then take it again in front of the Christians, as though you have just found it.' But when they departed, willing to accomplish the treachery, God exposed their stratagem which could not arrive to the end. They were covered with shame and the caliph knew that everything had been said about the Christians by evil men was not true. Our patriarch George, after he went out from the prison of Baghdad, came to Tagrit where he was received with great honour. The maphrian John Kionaya was accused to the patriarch by the Tagritians. The crime was confirmed and he was deposed.

After John Kionaya, Joseph. The patriarch George ordained this man in Tagrit. Shortly later the deposed John Kionaya died, and Joseph and also the patriarch George died soon afterwards. Joseph succeeded the patriarch for one year and (then) he died, and the patriarch Cyriacus succeeded him. The Tagritians sent him to come in person and reconcile them with the monks of Mor Matay who had separated from them.

[177] **After Joseph, Sharbil.** The patriarch Cyriacus, since he was from a Tagritian family, when was called by the Tagritians did not refuse to come to Mosul but arrived in person and reconciled the sides of the Tagritians and of the monks of Mor Matay with each other. He chose Sharbil, the bishop of Narsaybād, an illustrious man, and ordained him maphrian for them. After he had sat on his throne for some years and had ordained many bishops, he was accused by the bishop of Karma, who reviled him saying: he abandoned the poverty and Narsaybād and sat on the royal throne of Tagrit.' Being offended, the maphrian arose during the night, noticed only by his disciple, and went to stay in a tower which he had built Narsaybād. The patriarch much pleaded him and also the Tagritians asked him to return but he did not.

After Sharbil, Simeon. As the maphrian Sharbil refused to return and to sit on his throne, and he even sent a document of abdication in his own hand, the patriarch [179] ordained his disciple Simeon, from the village of Badiah, maphrian for Tagrit. When this man arrived, he was received honourably. But shortly later he was accused by Philoxenus, bishop of Nisibis, and the party of the Tagritians was divided because of him, since some supported him and others not. The first times, when the Tagritians, opponents of Simeon, accused him to the patriarch, he did not listen at them; they began to revile him saying that he was taking his side because he had been his disciple. When they (succeeded) to prevail over the patriarch, he dismissed Simeon and revoked (his proclamation). Then, the supporters of Simeon, started to revile the patriarch because he had expelled him. Thus, the blessed man was reviled from both sides. The schism lasted until Simeon died. At the same time, Timotheus the catholicos of the Nestorians, died in the year 204 of the Arabs.⁵⁴ He had survived five Arab rulers, one after the other: Mahdi, Hadi, Rashid, Amin and Ma'mun. He composed many books and *mimre* for the Sacraments of the entire liturgical year, an interpretation of the Theologus, a book on the planets and a book of disputation which he held [181] with our patriarch George. In his time the philosopher Job of Edessa, who adhered to the Nestorian sect, lived. Isho' Bar Nun of Beth Gabbare, a village in the region of Nineveh succeeded Timotheus. He stayed 38 years in the convent of Sa'id close to Mosul. He was versed in doctrine. He wrote a confutation of the writings of the catholicos Timotheus and contradicted everything was (written) there, calling him Tolemateos, that is, the one who is opposed to God. When Timotheus died, Gabriel Bar Bokhtisho' and Michael, the physicians of Ma'mun, inclined to this Isho' Bar Nun, and ordained him in Seleucia in the year 205 of the Arabs.⁵⁵ It is said in our time that when Timotheus was dying and they asked him whom he suggested [183] to appoint after him, he replied: 'Isho' Bar

⁵⁴ 819-820 A.D.

⁵⁵ 820-821 A.D.

Nun' even though he opposed me and insulted me through my entire governance, I cannot hide the truth now that you have asked me.' Basil succeeded the maphrian of Tagrit Simeon who was disciple of the patriarch Mor Cyriacus, after he was deposed.

After Simeon, Basil Bar Beladya. He was a wise man, who possessed (the gift) of authoritative speech with both rulers and ordinary people. After fulfilling the office for ten years the Muslims of Tagrit started to fight him. They went to accuse him to the judge of Baghdad, that one of his people, a named 'Abidani, had reviled the prophet of the Arabs. When 'Abidani was arrested he was brought to Baghdad, where he was asked to apostatize. He refused and was killed. The maphrian was terrified, fled to the city of Balad and stayed in the house of his parents. At this time, Isho' Bar Nun the catholicos of the Nestorians had a discussion with Papa, a priest of us, [185] over the phrase: 'The word was (made) flesh' and told him: 'Tell me, in his own nature did the Word have a prepuce to be cut or (it is) not in his own nature? And if it is in his own nature, then does the Father and the Spirit also have prepuces, since they share the same nature? But if it is not in his own nature, then (there are) two natures! ' Papa replied: 'Human infirmities adhere to the incarnate Word, but they do not (adhere) to the not incarnate (Word), as Paul said: 'He was (made) in the likeness of men, and obeyed until the death, the death of the cross.'⁵⁶ It is evident that the Father and the Spirit were not made in the likeness of men, and for this reason they do not have prepuces, nor any other human (element).' Papa started quoting the book of the Theologus 'When you hear of the birth of God, and of the Virgin, of swaddling clothes and everything else corporeal, do not feel ashamed.' When the catholicos noticed that the words of Papa pleased more the listeners, because they came from the Holy Scriptures and were not his own sophisms, said: 'But God himself said: 'I am me, and I do not change'⁵⁷ but you Jacobites say that he has changed.' Papa replied: 'It is true that the divine nature [187] is immutable, as I said before, but since he became Man, the Apostles and the Fathers have given human names to him.' When the catholicos saw that he had been cornered, cut the discussion. After fulfilling the office for four years, Isho' Bar Nun fell asleep and was buried in the convent of Klilisho'. He was succeeded by George, native of Marga, who married when he was young. He later became the archimandrite of the monastery of Beth 'Abe, and then metropolitan. The doctors Gabriel and Michael chose him, and he was ordained catholicos in Seleucia in the year 210 of the Arabs.⁵⁸ He was an old man, about 100 years old and uncultivated but he possessed an excellent discipline. He died after fulfilling the office for 40 years. [189] Sabrisho' who had been bishop of Harran and then

⁵⁶ Phil. 2:7.

⁵⁷ Mal. 3:6.

⁵⁸ 825-826 A.D.

metropolitan of Damascus succeeded him. He was ordained catholicos in Seleucia in the year 217 of the Arabs, and died after fulfilling the office for four years. Abraham II, from the monastery of Beth 'Abe, succeeded him. He was a man pure and chaste in body but since he was unlearned, he failed in the governance of the church. Ephrem, his sister's son, and a cousin of him⁵⁹ guided (the church) secretly (at his place).⁶⁰ During his days, the Christians were in great distress: the Arabs demolished five⁶¹ churches in Basra. In the same time, Cyriacus, the patriarch of the Orthodox died and Dionysius of Tell Maḥre succeeded (him) in the year 1129 of the Greeks. The maphrian Basil was present at his ordination, and since it was the right of the maphrian to lay the hands on him, the Tagritians meanly said: 'We will not allow him to celebrate the ordination because he is not a Tagritian. [191] But we will allow Theodosius of Callinicus, that is Barsoum, from the family of Cyriacus, who is from Tagrit.' The Western bishops agreed to this proposal, and so they did. In the year 1141, when the patriarch Mor Dionysius came to Baghdad to the caliph Ma'mun, he returned to Tagrit and from there to Mosul. The maphrian Basil died in the monastery of 'Aniqe outside Balad. The patriarch ordained Daniel new maphrian, left and went to Syria.

After Basil Bar Baladaya, Daniel from the convent of Birqum. He was a hermit and was ordained by the patriarch Dionysius when he returned from Baghdad. His pastoral office lasted for four years. He died in the city of Nisibis and his body was taken to Tagrit and buried in the church of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ. Also the catholicos Abraham died, after fulfilling the office for 13 years, and he was succeeded by Theodosius of Beth Garmai. He was ordained in Seleucia on the second Sunday of the Great Fast, in the year 238 of the Arabs.⁶² In his time the caliph Mutawakkil⁶³ got angry with his doctor Bokhtisho', [193] imprisoned him and plundered all his possessions. The catholicos was also imprisoned with him, and remained in chains for three years. At that time there was a certain Arian named Sergius, the doctor of the caliph Mutawakkil, who accused the catholicos of many crimes, saying that he constantly sent letters to the regions of the Romans, reporting them news. When the catholicos was asked to swear on (his innocence), he replied: 'Our law forbids us the oaths, and I cannot transgress this law even if I (risk) to die.' And the caliph ordered to imprison him again.

After Daniel, Thomas of Tagrit. This man used to live in the convent of Mor Severus on the Mountain of Edessa. He was ordained by the patriarch Dionysius of Tell Maḥre.

⁵⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'and another son by a concubine.'

⁶⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'operated a perverse regime.'

⁶¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'several.'

⁶² 852-3 A.D.

⁶³ Abu'l-Faḍl Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Mu'taṣim bi'llāh, known by his regnal name al-Mutawakkil 'Alā 'llāh. Abbasid caliph (r. 847-861 A.D.).

When he came to Tagrit, he deposed George bishop of Bahrin, who eventually apostatized. The reason of his deposition was that he had unlawfully ruled the diocese of Karma. The maphrian suffered many troubles by this George and by the people of Karma, to the point that [195] they delivered him to the governor and he was imprisoned for eight months. Then he was pardoned and released. He died after fulfilling the office for thirteen years, on 8 May, in the year 1158.

After Thomas, Basil II La'zar the Stylite. He used to live on the column of Beth Botin in Harran. He was ordained by the patriarch John, who had succeeded Dionysius of Tell Maḥre, in the church of Mor Thomas of the Tagritians in Kfartuto, on 23 September in the year 1159. After he led his pastoral office for around ten years, a great schism arose between him and Mor John. Then the Tagritians of the East revoked the proclamation of the patriarch in the churches and Basil ordained bishops for them -I mean for Harran, Callinicus and Resh'ayna- removed and deposed the bishops (ordained by) the patriarch. The patriarch assembled a synod and deposed the maphrian, and the maphrian in turn deposed the patriarch. The issue reached the caliph Mutawakkil, and they both went to his presence and accused at one another. The patriarch prevailed, and came to Tagrit, willing to ordain another maphrian in opposition to [197] Basil. But since there were many supporters of the maphrian in Tagrit, the patriarch could not do this publicly, but he ordained secretly a certain Melchisedek.

After Basil, in opposition to him, Melchisedek. This man was from Ephraemia, a village in the territory of Tel Aphaḥ, and was ordained secretly by the patriarch in the new church of Tagrit. When Basil saw that he had aggravated the schism in Tagrit, he left and went to live in Nisibis.

After Theodosius, the catholicos of the Nestorians, had left prison, he lived another two years and (then) died, and was buried in the convent of Klilisho' on 6 October⁶⁴ in the year 1170 of the Greeks. Sergius, the metropolitan of Nisibis, succeeded him. He was ordained in Seleucia on 21 August of the following year. At that time lived the doctor Ḥunayn Bar Ishaq, the translator of books of medicine. [199] He was an adversary of Israel, the doctor of Tifur, and accused him to the caliph Mutawakkil, saying: 'Israel worships an image and an idol in his house, and is a Christian only by name.' The caliph then sent to break into Israel's house, and they found an icon of the Mother of God which they brought to the caliph. Ḥunayn said: 'This is the idol I was talking about' and Israel said: 'If it is an idol, spit on it.' But Ḥunayn was ashamed to spit on the icon. The caliph summoned the catholicos, and asked him about the icon. He asked whether he recognised it or not; and if he did, what punishment was to be inflicted to anyone who spat on it. The catholicos replied: this is not an idol but the image of our Lord's mother.

⁶⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: '7 October.'

Any Christian who despises it, should be excommunicated.' And so, at the order of the caliph, the catholicos anathematized and excommunicated Hunayn. At the same time, the doctor Sergius, an Arian heretic, confiscated one of the churches of the Nestorians, where (his) followers used to debate. [201] The caliph asked (him) to debate with the catholicos at his presence, and the catholicos Sergius was called to debate with the Arian doctor. Since the catholicos was weak both in knowledge and eloquence, the Christians were afraid that they would have been overcome at the presence of the caliph. When both of them were present, the Arian said: 'We are true Christians, but we do not profess that the Son is consubstantial of God, but that the Messiah is a creature of God, as the other creatures.' The catholicos grew strong and said to the Arab notaries who were present: 'What does your Book say about Christians? That God has a son, or not?' They answered: 'Our Qur'an witnesses that the confession of the Christians is that the Messiah is the son of God.' Then the catholicos said: 'Then judge us fairly. If a man does not profess this, is he a Christian or not?' They all said: 'Sergius utters a stranger profession, which is not mentioned in our Book, and (thus) he is condemned to become a Muslim.' Thus the catholicos emerged victorious, and not only the Nestorians but especially our people rejoiced, because the Arian was the enemy of everybody. Since the caliph was friend of the Arian, he did not force him to become Muslim, but afterwards he became a Muslim (anyway). [203] The maphrian Basil lived in resentment with the patriarch for eleven years and died in Nisibis on Sunday 17 October in the year 1180. All the years of his pastoral office (are) twenty years and one month. Also his rival Melchisedek died 40 days after his death. Basil was ready to go the West to ordain another patriarch against the patriarch John, with the help of the Western bishops opposed to the patriarch. For this reason the patriarch summoned Melchisedek to give him another place, so that he (could) reconcile himself with Basil. But God himself accomplished the peace through the death of both men who died at the same time. In the same year, in February, the patriarch assembled a synod of the Western and Eastern bishops in the city of Kfartuto, and they established eight canons for the patriarch and the maphrian of Tagrit (establishing) that the maphrian, whenever present, should sit to the right of the patriarch above all the Western priests, and likewise at the service altar; and that the maphrian should lay his hands on the elected patriarch. They absolved [205] the maphrian Basil and his fellows, and other dioceses were given to the bishops whom he had ordained for Callinicus, Harran and Resh'ayna.

After Melchisedek, Sergius. He was a monk in the convent of 'Aluk, an excellent man of simplicity of habit. He was ordained in the church of Mor Thomas of the Tagritians in Callinicus, in the year 1183.

At the same time, in the third year of the caliph Mu'tamid, Sergius the catholicos of the Nestorians died, after fulfilling the office for twelve years, and their church remained widowed for four years. Enosh the metropolitan of Mosul succeeded him. A schism arose among the people, with some supporting Enosh and others Israel, bishop of Kashkar.

When a man met his friend, used to ask: ‘Are you for Enosh or for Israel?’ If the other man replied against his opinion, he dashed him to the ground and beat him as much as he could. The royal lawyers and doctors [207] supported Enosh, and removed Israel. Enosh was ordained in Seleucia after the feast of Epiphany (in) the year 263.⁶⁵ In the year 1189, four bishops were present at the synod convened for the consecration of the patriarch Ignatius. But the maphrian Sergius did not go because his proclamation had been suppressed in Tagrit. The reason was that he had assigned dioceses to Elisha’ and Barḥadbshabba, who had been ordained unlawfully by the bishops of the monastery of Mor Matay, who were under the suspension of the patriarch John and the maphrian Basil. And indeed the maphrian Melchisedek had ordained other bishops in their place, since they were staying aside like reprobates, and they were suspended for a period of 30 years. Since the maphrian Sergius was not present at the consecration of the patriarch and was not honoured with an invitation by the Westerners,⁶⁶ he suppressed the patriarch’s proclamation in the entire East. There was a big scandal between the Tagritians and the Syrians which persisted until the patriarch and the bishops were imprisoned and fined with 2,000 dinars. The Tagritians [209] of Syria payed the governors not to proclaim a patriarch until he had died. Sergius, after fulfilling the office for 11 years, died on 11 November. Also Enosh, after fulfilling the office for seven years, died on 1 June in the year 270 of the Arabs.⁶⁷ John Bar Narsai of Beth Garmai succeeded him. Since the agreement of the bishops fell both on him and on another monk named Shubalisho’, their names were written on a rag and put in a clay bowl below the altar. After they had fasted and prayed, the name of John Bar Narsai went out, and he was ordained in Seleucia in the year 271 of the Arabs.⁶⁸ Seven months after his consecration some Arab bandits pillaged the convent of Klilisho’, they burned all its possessions, plundered the cell of the catholicos, burrowed into the tomb of the catholicos Enosh, [211] cut off his head, put it on the point of a lance and paraded it around the streets. The cause of all this evil was the avarice of the catholicos. He had the habit of donating something from the cell to an old Arab man who used to call to the prayer in one of the mosques close to the cell. After Bar Narsai was appointed, the old man came as usual to ask for alms, but the patriarch said (to his disciples): ‘Do not accustom him to this thing, or he will covet (for recompense) and will give us no rest.’ When they sent him back empty-handed, he took counsel with others fellows of him, and on a certain day, when the Arabs were carrying a dead man to the tomb, one of the companions of the old man threw a stone to the bier of the dead man, from a lurking

⁶⁵ (of the Arabs) i.e. 876-877 A.D.

⁶⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘and whose election had not been recognised by the Westerners.’

⁶⁷ 883-884 A.D.

⁶⁸ 884-885 A.D.

place. The Arabs were upset (and asked) who threw the stone. Others approached, and said: 'We saw that the stone has slipped out from the convent.' Thus after they had gone to bury the dead man, they returned and did those atrocities in the convent and the cell. [213] **After Sergius, Athanasius.** He was also Sergius by name, but he was called Athanasius. He was Tagritian, from the convent of Mor Severus on the Mountain of Edessa. He was elected and ordained in the city of Amid on Wednesday 8 February (in) the year 1198, by the hands of the patriarch Theodosius, that is Romanus the Doctor,⁶⁹ on the fourth day of his own ordination. It was a great joy for the Christians. Also the governor of Amid, Ahmad Bar 'Isa, put royal clothes on the patriarch and the maphrian. In the days of this maphrian, the people of Ḥaṣṣāša brought a certain Sabinus, a disciple of the patriarch John, who had adhered to the people of Gubba. They had been anathematised by Cyriacus, Dionysius and John on account of the expression 'We break the heavenly bread', and they made Sabinus their patriarch, because they noticed that he was a learned man and able to elevate their heresy. [215] Then Sabinus ordained a certain Per'o metropolitan for the people of Ḥaṣṣāša, and Per'o ordained as bishop of Mosul a certain Bar Nsiha the Rhetor, who had been a disciple of the venerable Moses Bar-Kepha, bishop of Beth Ramman, then left him and adhered to the people of Ḥaṣṣāša, with the ambition to receive gratifications. Starting to stir up tumults Sabinus went to the door of the vizir, to seize the church of Tagrit. The maphrian also went with his bishops to the vizir, and he was honourably received. Sabinus, on the other hand, was despicably rejected. At this time there flourished in the ecclesiastical doctrine and the profane philosophy the pious Moses Bar-Kepha, bishop of Beth Ramman, who expounded all the text of both the Old and New Testaments and also many works of rhetoric, with a wide and admirable discourse, along with other works. In the time of the catholicos Bar Narsai, the vizir Isma'il seized the villages of the seat of the catholicos, and the catholicos went to the caliph to obtain an edict to have the villages back. When the catholicos came to the vizir, the vizir asked him [217] about his faith, and the catholicos replied 'Dispense me from this sort of things, because I am not skilled at debate.' The vizir rebuked him, saying: 'That being the case, why did a man like you, inferior to the others, arose (to power)?' The catholicos said: 'I told them that I was not worthy, but they did not listen to me.' The vizir pressed him by all means to tell him what (it means) to believe in the Messiah,⁷⁰ and when he was forced he said: 'I say the same as Paul: the Messiah is the mediator between God and men.' The catholicos John died in the year 279 of the Arabs, after fulfilling the office for 8 years. On 12 February of the year 1214 the venerable Moses Bar-Kepha died, and was buried in the monastery of

⁶⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the Roman doctor.'

⁷⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'what profit he derived from Christ.'

Mor Sergius on the Mountain Zahia, that is called Mu'allaq. In the following year, on Monday 27 December the maphrian Athanasius died, and was buried in the church of Mor Sergius and Mor Bacchus in Tagrit. The East remained without a common father for 8 years. The catholicos John Bar Narsai was succeeded by John son of the brother of the catholicos Theodosius. [219] This man was a bishop, and was present with the other bishops who had been convened for the election of the catholicos in the days of Pentecost, and they asked him to give an homily to the people on Sunday. He recited the homily of the holy Gregory Theologus on the Holy Spirit, which begins: 'We shall do little philosophy on the feast', without neither adding to it nor subtracting from it. This pleased all the people who loved him and agreed that he should be elected catholicos. He was ordained in Seleucia in the year 280. John was versed in the ecclesiastical doctrine, gifted with a perfect and handsome figure, but he was also gluttonous and avid. He assigned the diocese of Mosul to John Bar Bokhtisho', the bishop of Ma'altaya, hoping that he would set apart a large amount of gold for him. But John, trusting in his intelligence and his power, neglected (on his word), and did not even offer an obol to the catholicos. Although the catholicos [221] attempted several times to extort something from him, he did not obtain anything. After fulfilling the office for five years he got sick and during his sickness he lost his mind. The believers came seeking for his possessions and sealed them. After a while he regained consciousness and his disciple informed him of what the believers had done. He called them, furiously (reproached) them and loosed the seals. His disciples Michael, Marutha and Salomon ruled over his goods and made business with them.⁷¹ Shortly later, the catholicos died, in the year 286 of the Arabs. Then the people were divided between those who (supported) John Bar 'Isa, known as Bar Hegira, and those who (supported) Theodore, the metropolitan of Gundeshapur, and after a long dispute [223] both parties agreed to draw lots. When the lots were drawn John's name came out, and everybody accepted it. But shortly later John Bar Bokhtisho' the metropolitan of Mosul arrived, and refused (to accept the verdict), saying that a fraud had been done on the lots. He wrote to the caliph, asking him to cancel the bill of the medical service received by his parents. The caliph ordered the chief eunuch Badr to convene them to him and to look into the issue. When they were assembled Badr, told them: 'The order of His Highness is that you reject wrath and polemic and with a right eye you look for the truth and adhere to it.' Then one of the bishops replied, saying: 'May the emir of the faithful live for ever! It is to him to order,

⁷¹ WILMSHURST 2016 om. 'After fulfilling the office for 5 years he got sick and during his sickness he lost his mind. The believers came seeking for his possessions and sealed them. After a while he regained consciousness and his disciple informed him of what the believers had done. He called them, furiously (reproached) them and loosed the seals. His disciples Michael, Marutha and Salomon ruled over his goods and made business with them.'

and we are his submitted servants. If he chooses someone on his own, who shall force (him)? But if he leaves the election to us, according to our law, thus we have chosen this John Bar 'Isa to be our catholicos, because we know that he is suitable. We do not support this metropolitan of Mosul who struggles obstinately to obtain the leadership, nor do we willingly consent to him.' Badr turned to John Bar Bokhtisho', and said: 'What do you say?' John said: 'It is the law of the Christians that all the bishops should assemble to choose a catholicos. Only these two persons [225] chose this one, and because of this we do not accept him. Moreover, he is not suitable for this rank.' Then the doctor David Bar Dailam attacked him saying: 'It is to the people of Baghdad to choose whoever they wish. The bishops are (only) the instrument for accomplishing the will.' After a long altercation, Badr started to press them to accept John Bar Bokhtisho' But his rivals replied: 'We will never accept that someone who sports with hounds and monkeys is the chief of our confession'. Badr replied that this happened when John was at the service of the king, and henceforward he would not have returned to (this) vanity. When they were pressed (to accept him), his adversaries said: 'From the very beginning we said that he was unsuitable; and since we are a nation that does not expose its defects, we decided not to show everything in public, but now that the necessity arises, we (have to) say that he is an illegitimate son of his father's concubine, and for this reason (he is) unsuitable for any rank in the Church. The previous catholicos were obliged to treat him alike, out of fear.' When Badr saw that they would never accept him, he told John Bar Bokhtisho': 'It is not right that you strive for something that flees from you. Even if they had supported you, it would have been right that you had shown your magnanimity by refusing, especially now that they do not support you, it would be convenient to refuse'. [227] The caliph produced a decree that the bishops should not be forced to appoint anyone but the one they wished for. Thus John Bar 'Isa was ordained in Seleucia on a Thursday, of the year 287 of the Arabs. He was an excellent man for his knowledge and continence. In his days Theodore the metropolitan of Beth Garmai was caught in fornication and anathematized. The maphrian Athanasius, after fulfilling the office for 17 years, died on Monday 27 December 1215, and was buried in the church of Mor Sergius and Mor Bacchus in Tagrit. The catholicos John, after fulfilling the office for about 5 years, [229] died in the year 292. It is said that he never married since his ordination, and lived in poverty. When he was dying he said to his disciple: 'Behold, I have 260 *zuze* of silver in a certain place, which arrived to me by my relatives. Take (them), and spend them on my funeral.' He was succeeded by Abraham of Beth Garmai, the bishop of Marga. He was in Baghdad when the catholicos John died. At that time lived the lawyer 'Abdallah, son of Simeon, renowned at the court. When he received a signed document from Abraham (saying) that he would not have accepted the petition of the excommunicated Theodore (who became Muslim when he was caught in fornication with an Arab woman, and took her as wife), he increased the honour to Simeon's son, and raised him to a higher rank than his fellow. Abraham

received the royal edict and went to Seleucia. He was ordained on 10 January 293 of the Arabs, on the eleventh day of the third month. He was firmly competent in the ecclesiastical service, [231] but he was very avid and wrathful. He obtained the catholicate with money. It is said that when the catholicos John died, John Bar Bokhtisho' the metropolitan of Mosul wrote to this Abraham about his affair, but Abraham wrote him back to wait and not to come hastily to Baghdad, so as (to avoid) that happened to him what had happened when the catholicos John died, but to stay (there) until he had received a consensus, and then he would send for him to come and be received honourably. Bar Bokhtisho' believed Abraham's word, and remained (there) waiting to be called. But deceiving him, Abraham obtained the leadership for himself. When John heard of this, he was raged and hastily went down to Baghdad, but his contest was of no help to him. After a big altercation between the two men, John quietly stayed in a cell close to the convent of Mor Pethion and dwelt in peace (there). He was told: 'The catholicos Abraham has come to you to humble himself before you.' John swore on the Gospel: 'If he comes, I shall make him sit on the seat of the bishops, his former place.' After some days, the catholicos suddenly went to him. When John saw him [233] he could not wait but went to meet him, and made him sit above him. Abraham told him: 'Father, you are worthier than me, and the catholicate should be yours, rather than mine. Therefore I ask to hand over the office to you, and ask only that you count me as your vicar and your disciple.' John thanked him, left with him and participated in the service of the Sacraments. On the same day Abraham gave to John all the rights of reading the gospel and praying, and honoured him. Afterwards John's friends blamed him for doing the opposite he had sworn, and he replied: 'Believe (me), I had decided to treat him with contempt but when I saw him, my reason did not agree with my will to transgress the law and not honour him according to his rank.' It is said of John Bar Bokhtisho' that when he used to ride in Mosul to travel through his diocese, many Roman and Nubian servants in royal garments and silk belts used to ride with him, and that his food provisions were loaded on six camels and the rest of his furnishing on mules. After he had remained in Baghdad for some time, [235] he died there, and a canopy of ebony was built on his tomb in the church of Asbag. After our church of Tagrit had remained widowed for 8 years after the death of the maphrian Athanasius, Thomas succeeded (him).⁷²

After Athanasius, Thomas the Stylite. This one had lived on the Mountain of Edessa, and was ordained by the patriarch John Qurzahli in the year 298 of the Arabs. After fulfilling the office for four months, he died in Tagrit in the same year and was buried in the

⁷² WILMSHURST 2016: om. 'After our church of Tagrit had remained widow for 8 years after the death of the maphrian Athanasius, Thomas succeeded (him).'

church of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ. The church remained widowed for two years. At this time there were many Greeks in Baghdad. Some renowned lawyers, doctors and common people sent a message to Elias, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, asking for a metropolitan. A certain Yani was sent to them. After he came and settled in one of the Greek churches of Baghdad, he was opposed by Abraham, the catholicos of the Nestorians, who brought him before the vizir, saying: 'We Nestorians are the friends of the Islam, [237] and pray for its victory. How can this foreigner, rival of the Islam, have the same honours as me?' The vizir replied: 'You Christians are exactly equal for us. You hate us, but (only) in appearance you are our friends!' The catholicos was struck dumb, and could not (even) whisper (a word). But he promised 1,000 dinars to one of the great scribes of the Arabs, who was sitting next to him, to help him. He said: 'God forbid that, for the vizir, the Nestorians, who have no other king except the Arabs, are equal to the Greeks, whose kings never desist from moving war against the Arabs. We are separated from them as friends from enemies.' The Arabs who were present approved the scribe's word but it was not sufficient. According to what it is said, the catholicos Abraham (paid) 30.000 gold dinars to bring Elias, the patriarch of the Greeks, to Baghdad in the year 300 of the Arabs, where he obtained a signed document from him that no (Greek) catholicos or metropolitan would have the power to reside permanently in Baghdad, but that from time to time he would send a prelate to visit the Greeks there and to fix a problem of them, and that he would return again to his region.

[239] **After Thomas the Stylite, Denḥa.** This man was a secular priest, and was ordained by the patriarch John Qurzahli in October in the year 300 of the Arabs, two years after the death of Thomas the Stylite. He led the maphrianate a long time and ordained many bishops. At this time the Christians of Baghdad were living in great distress, because of the hatred of the vizir 'Ali Bar 'Isa against the catholicos Abraham. For this reason, the vizir subverted his judgements, abolishing his grants and turning his favourable judgements to unfavourable ones. One day when the catholicos was in the presence of the vizir, (the vizir) asked him: 'Tell me, catholicos, which one of the Christian mother churches give the communion to the people with a spoon during the Sacraments?' [241] The catholicos, who was used to giving a hasty answer, said without a proof: 'You know well that the Nestorians do not give the communion with a spoon.' Then the vizir, because his ancestors⁷³ were Christians, felt embarrassed with those who were present for what he said: 'You know well' as (it meant) 'You yourself are not extraneous to the Sacraments of the Christians which you wish to learn from me.' Thus his aversion for the catholicos grew and got stronger in his heart. The catholicos was also hated by his own people, because the vizir detested them on his account. They also hated him on

⁷³ WILMSHURST 2016: assessors.

account of his immoderate avidity. In one year he ordained three metropolitans of Nisibis. The first, from whom he had 100,000 *zuze*, died at Baghdad. He (then) received 100,000 *zuze* from another to assign Nisibis to him, but when this man set off for Nisibis he died at Mosul before he arrived to Nisibis, and received from another 70.000 *zuze* to assign Nisibis to him. One day the renowned Christian lawyer Abu Sahaq Bar 'Awan went to him, and found the catholicos piling up piles of *zuze* and dinars, and told him: '(This is) the seat of Simeon Peter, but (these are) the acts of Simeon (Magus)! I no longer recognise you as an ecclesiastical leader!' [243] and he left. Sulayman Bar Gamala who was also a renowned lawyer, made all efforts possible to pacify Abu Sahaq with the catholicos, but he did not succeed. The maphrian Denḥa, after fulfilling the office for twenty years and having ordained seventeen bishops, fell asleep on 18 July in the year 320 of the Arabs, and was buried in the church of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ in Tagrit.

After Denḥa, Basil II. This man was a layman, a deacon from the city of Nisibis. He was elected and ordained at the end of November 325 of the Arabs, and led the maphrianate. In the same year the catholicos Abraham died, fulfilling the office for 32 years. Up to his days the Nestorians used to make the offering all the days of the weeks and the Sunday of the Great Fast, on the third hour, [245] as the other Christian people,⁷⁴ and each man used to go home and to have supper. But when the catholicos was told that some people, after they had taken the Eucharist on Sunday used to go out in the garden, organize a banquet, eat and drink, he forbade the Eucharist to be held during the week and during the Great Fast, only in the evening. He wrote to all the regions about these prohibitions, and this new custom was established, which the Nestorians keep until this day. When the catholicos Abraham died, the bishops assembled and conspired not to ordain as catholicos a monk but one of them, whoever it might be. Then Abu al-Hasan, the lawyer of the caliph Radi, sent to summon a certain monk named Emmanuel, from the monastery of Abba Joseph in the city of Balad, and forced the bishops to abandon their pact. They unwillingly ordained Emmanuel catholicos in Seleucia in the year 326. Emmanuel was [247] a chaste and greatly continent man, strong and intimidating with those who were under his power, (gifted with) a tall stature and a handsome figure; but he was much avaricious, morose,⁷⁵ and of an afflicted disposition.⁷⁶ The catholicos Emmanuel fulfilled the office for 23 years and died on 4 April 349 of the Arabs. In the same year also the maphrian Basil died, on Sunday 11 August, and was buried in the church of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ in Tagrit. He had ordained 12 bishops.

⁷⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'Up to his time the Nestorians had kept Sundays and the days of the Lenten Fast like all the other Christian peoples. They used to offer sacrifice at the third hour, then each man would go home and break his fast indoors.'

⁷⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: 'proud'.

⁷⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'had a sharp tongue'.

After Basil II, Cyriacus. This man was a priest of the church of the Tagritians in Nisibis, and his name was Horan. He was ordained by the patriarch Abraham in the city of Aleppo at the end of August in 351 of the Arabs, and was called Cyriacus. During his days Philoxenus, bishop of Azerbaijan, after he was caught in fornication with an Arab woman, converted to Islam. [249] The year before, that is in the year 350 of the Arabs, Israel was ordained catholicos after Emmanuel. He had been bishop of Kashkar and after the catholicos Emmanuel had died, some people wanted Gabriel, the metropolitan of Fars (to be appointed), but the bishops did not consent to it, saying: 'He is the brother of the one who had converted to Islam and apostatized. It would be insulting for us to appoint as our leader the brother of man like that.' Thus everybody agreed on Israel, and thus ordained him catholicos in Seleucia. He was a quite old, virtuous, continent man. He died 106 days later, at the age of 90. Then a certain doctor, a secular priest, named Pethion, approached to the governor, and promised him 300.000 silver (coins) if he appointed him catholicos. The bishops heard (of this), fled and hid, so as not to be forced (to appoint him). [251] Then the lawyers interceded between the bishops and the governor, and offered them to pay 130.000 *zuze* from the amount of the catholicos' cell to establish who was suitable and whom they wished. It is said that 70.000 golden dinars *zuze* and 6,000 silver *zuze* were found in the cell, when Emmanuel died. But the nobles did not want to disclose publicly this amount,⁷⁷ but took the treasures of the churches, the gold and silver vessels, broke them and sold them so that they could repay the governor. (Then), they agreed to cast the lots and wrote the names of four of them, and the name of 'Abdisho' bishop of Ma'alaya went out and was accepted by everyone. Given his absolute reluctance, they conducted him by force and ordained him in the year 352. He was versed in the ecclesiastical doctrine and was trained in rhetoric by Bar Nasiha, the disciple of the venerable Moses Bar-Kepha, one of ours. Up to the time of this catholicos, during the Eucharist [253] those who are at the altar recited the sentence from the Creed, and those in the sanctuary another sentence. Likewise (they used to do) with the prayer 'Our Father, who are in Heaven.' He established that everybody should recite at the same time, as we do. The maphrian Cyriacus, after fulfilling the office for 18 years and ordaining 14 bishops, died, after he had suffered of an obstinate disease, in Tagrit on Friday 27 February 369 of the Arabs. He was buried in the church of Mor Sergius and Mor Bacchus.

After Cyriacus, John of Damascus. He was one of the Tagritians who lived in Damascus, and his name was Dinro Bar Isho'. He was elected from the grade of deacon, and (then) was ordained priest and maphrian by the patriarch John of Sarigtah,⁷⁸ in the city of

⁷⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'But the lawyers did not know that such a sum of money had come to light.'

⁷⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: om. 'by the patriarch John of Sarigtah.'

Germanicia which is Mar'ash, on 7 August 371 of the Arabs. [255] The catholicos 'Abdisho' died after fulfilling the office for 26 years, on 2 June in the year 376 of the Arabs, when he was 88, and ordaining 124⁷⁹ bishops. He was succeeded by Mari Bar Tuba, a lawyer of Mosul, at the order of the caliph, against the will of the bishops, who wrote the consensus on him by force after being dashed with spears. They ordained him in Seleucia, according to the custom, on the sixth Sunday of the Great Fast, (in the) year 377 of the Arabs. He read the gospel after he had been ordained, but he did not expound it, and in the same day he celebrated the Eucharist but he did not give an homily at the entrance of the altar,⁸⁰ as his predecessors. He was the first to whom a diploma had been written by the caliph, and (since then) exists the practice that a diploma was written to everyone elected, otherwise his leadership was not confirmed. Mari was very weak, uncultivated in the ecclesiastical doctrine and services, but he was an excellent man, experienced in the worldly affairs, [257] and showed much mercy and justice. It is said that when he sat on the throne he did not find one *zuza* in the treasury of the cell, but he took care to gather a sum (of money), and bought several properties, (like) villages etc. for the seat, and built magnificent buildings in the sanctuary and the cell. The maphrian, fulfilling his office for six years and six months, died in the city of Baghdad on 18 April 1299 of the Greeks. His body was brought to Tagrit, and buried in the church of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ. After him, the church remained widowed for about three years.

After John of Damascus, Ignatius Bar Qiqi. He was Mark the archdeacon of the church of the Tagritians of Mosul, from the family of Beth Qiqi. He was ordained by the patriarch Athanasius of Salah in the monastery of Barid on 19 February 1302 of the Greeks. At this time two evil Arabs began to provoke the Christians, and forced them to wear contemptible clothes to differentiate them from the Arabs. They captured [259] a certain Christian astronomer, and insulted him because he refused to change his clothes. But that man went to the governor, at whose service he was, and the governor sent for the two Arabs who were importuning the Christians and imprisoned them. Then the Arab people revolted, and bands of them gathered, and burst forth the church of the district, the Nestorian church of the Mother of God, and the convent of Klilisho'. They destroyed everything and plundered the properties of the Nestorians.⁸¹ They would have assailed also the Palace of the Romans and the other churches, if the catholicos Mari had not put an end to their ferocity, (paying) a bribe. For a long time the Christians did not dare to appear in the streets of Baghdad, and this calamity was followed by another. The governor of the city of Daquqa sent a message to Baghdad to

⁷⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: '104'.

⁸⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'but stationed no man by the entrance to the altar.'

⁸¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'destroyed their roofs.'

inform that the head of a hog, thrown by a Christian, had been found in a mosque. Thus, the Arabs grew even fiercer, and the Christians lost any hope of their lives unless God shortened those days. The leader of the rebellion was discovered and retained, and troops were sent against him. He was captured and imprisoned, and deprived of provisions until he died. The catholicos Mari after fulfilling the office for 14 years, died in the year 390 of the Arabs, in the first month that is 28 December [261] of the year 1311. He was succeeded by John II, the metropolitan of Fars. This man, when he heard that Mari had died, came to Shiraz, to the governor Baha al-Dawla, and gained his support, and he ordered that he should be appointed catholicos. When the notables of Baghdad heard what he had done and that without a choice and election, he had gone to the court of the governor to obtain the leadership uncanonically, they were very indignant, but they could not oppose the edict. He was ordained catholicos against the will of his flock, in the year 392 of the Arabs 5th of the 12th month of the Arabs.⁸² In the year 392 of the Arabs, on the Monday of the second week of the Great Fast, Arab people set fire to our church, next to the Qṭi'o d-Qamḥo⁸³ [263] in Baghdad, and plundered the possessions⁸⁴ of Nestorian churches. This (happened) because a certain Hanbali⁸⁵ Arab wanted to seize a plot of land between our church and Qṭi'o but Basil Bazaza Bar Taher, one of the faithful of that church, opposed him and did not allow the Arab to take it. (For this reason) wrath took possession of his heart. In those days a certain Nestorian lawyer named Abu Mansur, was accused by the Arabs of fornication with the wife of a certain Arab miller,⁸⁶ and shortly later the miller, husband of the Arab woman was found murdered lying at his door. And this was an occasion for the Hanbali to 'empty his bile.' He made some jesters carry the dead man around the streets of Baghdad, crying out: 'Behold, the Arab who was killed by the Christians of the Jacobite church of Qṭi'o!' Then the Arabs, seized with indignation, gathered impetuously, went to the church and began to plunder it and they destroyed the ambon. One of them carried a column and came bring it out, but he could not because the passage between of the nave to the outer court was too narrow, [265] thus, he left it there, and returned to the destruction. Others took the tablets, others baskets with books and ecclesiastical objects, and others pints of unguent; but because they were crowded together in the narrow pathway, they threw their burdens and returned to their destruction. There a dome was there, made of acacias planks, above one of the tombs. When one of the plunderers, named Quzaibath

⁸² 10 October 1002 A.D.

⁸³ Name of a district in Bagdad. See PAYNE SMITH: 3583.

⁸⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'smashed in the roofs.'

⁸⁵ One of the four Sunni Islamic schools of jurisprudence whose origin is attributed to Ahmad ibn Hanbal (9th cent.)

⁸⁶ ^{نصار} hapax. 'miller' after the Arabic ^{خبز} according to AbbeLoos-Lamy. See ABBELOOS-LAMY 1877: 263.

the Hashemite, wanted to take a broom set on the summit of a cane to move more close by the lampstand of the entrance of the church's gate, (the broom) caught fire, and the sparks fell on the baskets filled with oil; the baskets, the column and the ladders that led up to the upper floors were kindled and the fire smouldered the upper walls of the nave and the columns. The whole nave, including the upper floors, from one side to another, was filled with plunderers and nobody was able to escape unless by the roof. Thus they decided to get out by climbing up. When a shouting arose, [267] groups of people gathered to take them out but they could not. They made a breach in the wall of the church next to the garden with great difficulty because it was thirteen bricks thick and they found only ten young men who had not been entirely burned to death and who were still breathing. All the others, around 50 people, died in the fire. No son of the church was among them. Also some horsemen of the Ma'adaye came (to participate) in the plundering, but when they saw the blaze they fled. During their flight, three Arab women who had come to see the revolt, were trampled under the hooves of their horses, and died. Other Arabs had gone to the Nestorian court church, and to the church of the people of Kashkar, (which was also) Nestorian, while others went to the Jacobite nunnery, and were plundering it. But when they heard what had happened in the church of the Qṭi'o, they left the churches and went away. After the fire was quenched, [269] a Gospel was found in that church, whose cover and margins had been burned, but whose text remained intact. Then the Arabs rejected their confession, saying: 'Unless the Christian confession was true, a great marvel like this would never have been done on their account.' Their scribes, being afflicted (by that), tried to persuade them, saying: 'God chastised them (the Arabs) not because the Christians' confession is true, but because the Arabs dishonoured the pact their Prophet established with the Christians, (namely) that they would not harass them.' When the Arabs were silent, the Nestorians started to say: 'It is undeniable that the confession of the Jacobites is truly orthodox.' But some of their *scholastikoi* 'gluing potsherds together', would say: 'Just as God saved Isaac from death with a lamb, so with the fire of the church of the Jacobites he saved our own churches from burning'. In this way, the Arabs together with the Nestorians were hoping to 'put a lamp under a basket'.⁸⁷ [271] Two years later, that is the year 394 of the Arabs, the maphrian Ignatius went down from Tagrit to Baghdad to take care of the restoration of the church that had been burned. He was greatly honoured by the scribes and the elder nobles of the Arabs and by the lawyers of the Nestorians. They wanted to visit him every day and send him food offerings and gifts, firstly on account of the marvel which God (praise to his grace!) had performed in his church, and secondly because they held in honour his uncle, Thomas Bazaza, son of Peter Bar Qiqi, and also on

⁸⁷ Matthew 5: 14–15, Mark 4: 21–25, Luke 8:16–18.

account of the maphrian's learning and scholarship. Thus the catholicos John was smitten with envy against him, and began forbidding the Nestorian lawyers to go to him or send him gifts. When the doctors of the Arabs, friends of the maphrian, learned this, they went to Abu al-Hasan Ali Bar 'Abd al-'Aziz, the notary of the caliph Qadir, and informed him on the account. They emanated an edict that the catholicos John should go immediately in person to visit the maphrian, accusing himself (to him). He was much pressed (to do so) but he refused to go, and (since) he was afraid to be deposed, he fled to a certain Arab nobleman and bribed him with a huge sum, and (the noble) made a petition to the notary Abu al-Hasan [273] to let the catholicos in peace. Then the catholicos John began to lay snares for the maphrian Ignatius and to bribe the nobles of the Arabs, to accuse the maphrian, the vicar of the patriarch, of staying in the region the Romans, the enemies of the Arabs, and that (his ordination) was not perfected until he had prayed for the victory of the kingdom of the Greeks and the overthrow of the Arabs. This accusation was brought to the ears of the caliph. Since he was a just man, he did not want to pronounce directly a sentence, but assembled the experts of law and notaries of the Arabs and ordered them to write what they thought of this affair. The oldest and greatest of them wrote: 'Even though this metropolitan of Tagrit was appointed by someone who lives in the region of the Romans, he is extraneous to the Romans, (so) he should not be forbidden to govern his faithful.' Another wrote: 'I have been confirmed that this metropolitan was appointed in the region of the Romans, and so even though he shows to be extraneous to the Romans, he should not be believed.' Another wrote: 'The catholicos of the Nestorians has accused with a deposition that the metropolitan of the Jacobites is a friend of the Romans, and his accusation should be accepted.' Another one wrote: 'Even though this metropolitan was appointed in the region of the Romans, [275] I have been confirmed that both he and his patriarch who appointed him are enemies of the Romans, especially because they had been persecuted and envied by the Romans.' Another man wrote: 'The diploma which was written by the caliph Muqtadir to the catholicos Abraham should be kept unchanged.' They brought these documents to the caliph, he examined them, and ordered that only the catholicos of the Nestorians should sit permanently in Baghdad, that the metropolitan of the Jacobites should sit in Tagrit, and that whenever there was a call to come to Baghdad to visit his faithful, he should return to his seat. The judgment was emitted in this way and the dispute resolved. It is said that the catholicos John made great efforts to seize our church of Karka, but he could not. Many of the Nestorians were offended with John because of his stubbornness and his love for disputing. These were such that a certain renown man, 'Ali Bar 'Isa, an excellent doctor, [277] went away from him, joined the

Greeks, became one of them, and for the rest of his life he never entered in a Nestorian church. He used to speak ill of the catholicos and his disciples and revile them with shameful insults. He also used to write on rags, which he gave to young boys to throw them in the Nestorian churches. Several times the catholicos went to the ambon⁸⁸ when all the people were gathered and wept loudly over the scorns hurled at him by ‘Ali Bar ‘Isa. He was the one who composed the book on ophthalmology called *Tadhkirat al-Kahhalin*. In the year 398 of the Arabs, on the nineteenth day of the eighth month died ‘Isa Bar Zawra‘a, the son of Isaac, the son of Mark, a Jacobite philosopher from Baghdad. He wrote five books, and translated very thoroughly six books of rhetoric and medicine from Syriac into Arabic. He was born in Baghdad in the eleventh month of the year 331⁸⁹ of the Arabs. [279] At that time ‘Abdisho‘, metropolitan of Merv, one of the cities of Khorasan, sent to inform the catholicos: ‘When the king of the people called Keraites, that is the inner Turks of the northeast, was hunting in one of the high mountains of his region, he fell into a snow storm, and (started) wandering pathless. And when he had lost any hope for his life, a saint appeared to him in a vision and told him: ‘If you will believe in the Messiah, I will be your guide so that you don’t die here.’ When he had promised him to be a lamb in the flock of the Messiah, he led him out to the path. When he had returned safely to his encampments, he summoned to him the Christian merchants who were present there, and asked them about (their) faith, and they told him that a man cannot be perfected except through baptism. He took a gospel from them, which he worships every day. Now he has asked me to go to him, or send to him a priest to baptize him. He also asked me about fasting, [281] saying, ‘Except for flesh and milk we have no other food: how can we fast?’ He also said that the number of those who believed with him amounts to two thousand.’ Then the catholicos wrote to the metropolitan saying that he should send two persons, a priest and a deacon, and with them the furniture for an altar, and that they go and baptize all those who have believed, and teach them the Christian customs, and that during the Fast they were forbidden to eat meat but permitted to drink milk only, if food (suitable for) fasting were not found in that country, as they said. In the year 400 of the Arabs in the days after Epiphany the catholicos John died suddenly. Many of his people rejoiced at his death, because they were much offended with him because he had not rebuked his disciple Sabur, who was caught in fornication and other abominations. Instead, he had deposed Nestorius the metropolitan of Beth Garmai, after he had fulfilled the priestly office for 40 years, as soon as he was accused of fornication [283] by his diocesans, and he did the same to the bishop of Damascus for the same reason. Since he was intimate

⁸⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘into the cathedral.’

⁸⁹ July-August 943 A.D.

friend and companion of his disciple, John was accused and hated by everyone. At this time there flourished for (their) doctrine and the commentaries on ecclesiastical and rhetorical books the Nestorian Abu 'Ali Hasan Bar Sahel and the priest Abu al-Faraj 'Abdallah Ibn al-Tayyib. After the death of John a schism arose among the bishops over the one who should have succeed (him). After a dispute they cast lots for three persons, the name of John Bar Nazul bishop of Ḥirta went out, and everybody agreed. They ordained him in Seleucia in the fifth month of the year 403⁹⁰ of the Arabs. He blessed the deposed bishops and changed others from one seat to another, not for necessity but only for bribe(s). He fulfilled the office for around eight years, and died on Sunday [285] 23 July 411 of the Arabs. Isho'yahb, the son of Ezekiel, bishop of Qasr succeeded him. He was ordained in the same year, on the third Sunday of the Annunciation, after he had given a bribe of 5,000 dinars to the governor, and the ruler ordered that all those who did not agree, should be drowned. The bishop of Anbar read the gospel for him, and when he arrived to the verse 'When they had dined',⁹¹ he read omitting the letter 'T' alluding to the demission and deposition of the one who was ruling tyrannically.⁹² Many bishops did not proclaim him. He fulfilled the office for four years and six months, he was an old man and died in the fourth month of the Arabs in the year 416.⁹³ Elias I who had been bishop of Tirhan, an elder man and skilled teacher, succeeded him. [287] He instituted the rite⁹⁴ of the holy Sunday of Pentecost, which the Nestorians previously did not observe. At the end of his days he was paralysed and confined to bed. He was ordained on the third Sunday of the Apostles, on the seventh of the third month of the Arabs, year 419⁹⁵ in the Palace of the Romans. His election happened by (casting) lots. After fulfilling the office for 21 years, he died and was buried in the Palace of the Romans on the Sunday after Ascension, 6 May 440 of the Arabs. The maphrian Ignatius, after fulfilling the office for 25 years and ordaining 14 bishops, fell like Satan from heaven and died a spiritual death, through the separation from God, even though (it was) not bodily (death) which is the separation of the body from the soul. He fell in fornication, and after he had been several times rebuked by the notables of Tagrit, and he was not convicted of his sin, they turned away from him and abhorred him. [289] Then Satan made him descend to Baghdad and convert to Islam. He was stripped of his honour, and henceforward he was hated by the Arab notables, and those notaries, his friends, who always wanted to visit him, when they saw him, used to turn away from

⁹⁰ November-December 1012 A.D.

⁹¹ John 21,15.

⁹² Wordplay between ܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ 'they dined' and ܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ 'they dismissed (him)'.

⁹³ June-July 1025 A.D.

⁹⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the rite of genuflection.'

⁹⁵ 5 April 1028 A.D.

him, and they did not even accept his greetings. He was reduced to extreme misery. Secretly he used to go to the Christians, and teach their children the manner of speech, and they had pity on him. He used to walk around in the streets, asking for alms. For his malignity, he ended his life in advanced old age as a beggar. He composed a poem of lamentation on himself after he had fallen (into sin), which begins ‘Satan has cunningly made a banquet of iniquity. He induces and calls generation with stories’, and there he said: ‘Alas to me that I renounced to the truth and the right and I have fancied a dream. The dream has ceased, but the right persists and condemns me. The sun of justice has set from my intentions, and the night of the obscenities has concealed me with its shadows.’ In another he says: [291] ‘Lord, rejoice with me the glorious heavenly companies, who all rejoice of one single sinner who returns to you.’

After Ignatius Bar Qiqi, Athanasius of Edessa. After the fall of Bar Qiqi, the Easterners sent two bishops to the West, and gave them instruction to choose a suitable man, ordain him and bring him back. When they went to Melitene, they found a certain Edessene deacon, named ‘Abd al-Masih, a virtuous man of proven morals, learned and pious, and they brought him to the patriarch Mor John Bar ‘Abdon, before being taken to Constantinople for the inquiry on the confession. (The patriarch) ordained him priest, and (then) maphrian of Tagrit and the East, and named him Athanasius. He was honourably received by everybody. The patriarch Dionysius Ḥaye came to this maphrian in ordinary dress, he ministered with the maphrian and reconciled with him who was offended (with the patriarch) and had not proclaimed him because he had been ordained without his consent and presence. (Indeed) the Westerners, out of fear of the Greeks, could not inform [293] the maphrian, and the maphrian who thought that they did it out of arrogance against him, did not consent to the proclamation. Then, after the patriarch, who was a holy and humble man, had fled from the region of the Greeks and had come to Amid, wore ordinary clothes and like an anchorite came to Tur Abdin and from there to Mosul; from Mosul he arrived at Tagrit, he went to the church and lived for a while there. The maphrian came to him and asked him who he was and where he came from. He pretended to be an anchorite from the region of Gihon, who wanted to see the churches and convents of the East. He lived there for one month, (reciting) psalms and ministering. The maphrian loved him as himself when he knew his quietness, humility, and the spiritual grace that flowed into him. As the diocese of Bet Arbaye was widowed, he wanted to ordain him bishop for that diocese; but he refused, and did not give in even after being asked insistently. (The maphrian) imposed on him a suspension which could be revoked (only) if he had consented (to his will). The patriarch, since he could not bear to annoy (so much) the maphrian, disclosed himself saying: ‘I am Ḥaye your disciple, whom the Westerners have appointed their leader without your consent. Behold, I have come [295] (to ask you) to pray over me and I will do whatever you will say to me.’ When the maphrian heard this, he was stupefied, and remained shocked for one hour. But when he was confirmed of the truth of his words

and recognised him, he lifted up his voice weeping, fell at the feet of the patriarch, grabbed his right hand, kissing it, and asked for his pardon. Then he took care to prepare horses for the patriarch, dressed him conveniently and came to the service in the monastery of Mor Gabriel of Qartmin, to Mor John of Tur 'Abdin, who was the chief of the synod at that time, and who also had not proclaimed the patriarch, because the bishops had not called him to the patriarch's ordination. So this pious man was also reconciled with the patriarch and proclaimed him. From there the maphrian returned to Tagrit; the patriarch went to Amid, and sat there. The maphrian Athanasius, after fulfilling the office for 14 years and ordaining 9 bishops, died in advanced age in the year 1352.

[297] **After Athanasius of Edessa, Basil of Tagrit.** After the maphrian Athanasius had died, the patriarch Dionysius also died, and both the East and the West remained widowed. Then the eastern bishops assembled and ordained maphrian Basil Bar Qubad of Tagrit, in the year 1357. Afterwards, the Westerners ordained patriarch Mor John, that is Theodore, the son of the brother of the deceased Bar 'Abdon, but the Westerners did not want to call the Easterners to their synod, as they were complaining with them because they had not waited that the patriarch came to ordain the maphrian but they ordained him by themselves. The hate was exacerbated between the Easterners and the Westerners. Then the patriarch smoothed down the maphrian with messengers and writings. The maphrian was conquered by (his) love, went in person at the service of the patriarch. When he arrived in the city of Gazarta, the patriarch heard (of this) because he was living in Amid and went to meet the maphrian at Gazarta. And there they met each other and they became one single flock. [299] All the eastern and western faithful rejoiced and established between them precepts on confirmations, suspensions and depositions, (establishing) that no patriarch again should be appointed without a maphrian, and no maphrian without a patriarch. Then the patriarch returned to Amid, and the maphrian to Assyria. After Elias I, John Bar Targhal bishop of Qasr was ordained catholicos of the Nestorians at Baghdad, on the third Sunday of the Annunciation, in the eighth month of the Arabs in the year 441.⁹⁶ Since in the days of his predecessor the palace of the Romans had been plundered and the cell had been destroyed, he started to build a cell at his own expense and with the help of the faithful. But six years and half later armies of Khorasan came to Baghdad, and laid waste the East, the Palace of the Romans and the cell of the catholicos. He went to dwell in the convent of Qanye, but (later) he returned again to Baghdad. He died in the year 449 of the Arabs. [301] Sabrisho' Zanzur, who was the bishop of Nishapur succeeded him. His election happened forcedly through Abu Sa'id the tax-collector of Ispahan, who extorted to the

⁹⁶ December 1049-January 1050 A.D.

bishops their consent. He restored the custom that the metropolitan of Nisibis attends the election of the catholicos, to please Abdisho' the metropolitan of Nisibis. He was ordained on Sunday 3 August 1372 of the Greeks. Shortly later he fell ill and became paralyzed. He fulfilled the office for 10 years and died on 3 April 1383. 'Abdisho', the metropolitan of Nisibis, that is Bar al-'Arid of Mosul succeeded him after he took part in the election of the catholicos according to the decree of his predecessor, he was elected and ordained in the third month of the Arabs⁹⁷ of the year 1386. The maphrian Basil, after fulfilling the office for 23 years, died in the year 1380.

[303] **After Basil of Tagrit, John Saliba.** After the death of the maphrian Basil, the Eastern Church remained widowed for 6 years, until Basil, who had been the manager of the monastery of Mor Barsoum, became patriarch. The Tagritians heard of his goodness and the patriarch won them over with reconciling letters. A delegation went to him with many supplies for the monastery of Qarṭmin, and the patriarch received them joyfully, and chose for them someone from the monastery of Mor Gabriel, Saliba⁹⁸ from the village of Beth Sbirina, a virtuous man, and he ordained him maphrian for them in the year 1386 and called him John. He added the city of Nisibis as a supplement to the East, and confirmed the pacts that the Westerners should not dare to appoint a patriarch without the readiness and agreement of the maphrian. The following day the patriarch for Hah and the maphrian for Mosul left the monastery of Qarṭmin; and in the same night the Turks seized the goods⁹⁹ of the sanctuary of the monastery. [305] The maphrian came to Mosul, and was joyfully received (there). He went up to the monastery of Mor Matay and ordained Timotheus, that is Sogdi, metropolitan of the monastery. He set off to Tagrit, and the Tagritians went to meet him out, and brought him in a procession.¹⁰⁰ But when the Arabs became jealous of him, they cast stones at him. He barely escaped from them, and entered in the sanctuary of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ. Shortly later the faithful of Baghdad sent to ask for him, and he went to them. On the first Sunday, when he was ministering the Eucharist in the great sanctuary, thieves entered and plundered the sanctuary. The maphrian returned to Tagrit, and started selling the possessions of the churches, and delighted himself in noble robes, and making banquets for the Arab nobles; the faithful much murmured against him. In his days all that was pleasing in Tagrit perished, and the ruler of Tagrit destroyed the church of the holy Mor Sergius and Bacchus on the summit (of the city). The patriarch Dionysius Mark, the archimandrite of Barid, came to this maphrian. The maphrian John

⁹⁷ October-November.

⁹⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'and chose for them a monk from that monastery, Mar Gabriel Saliba from the village of Beth Sbirina.'

⁹⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'destroyed the roof.'

¹⁰⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'dressed in his robes'.

set off with him and went up to Melitene, with many bishops, removed the illegitimate patriarch 'Abdon and confirmed Dionysius, who dwelt in the convent of Zarnuqa on the Arid River near Melitene until his death. [307] When Athanasius Abu al-Faraj Bar Khamara was appointed patriarch, it was necessary to him, (to) take care to go down to Baghdad to receive a diploma from the caliph, because of the rebel Bar 'Abdon. When he came to Mosul, he expected that the monks of Mor Matay would come to give him the honour to go to the monastery. However, not only they did not come, but they also said ignorantly: 'It is not the custom that the patriarch would enter our monastery, and we (do not want to) change our rules.' The patriarch was offended, he went to Tagrit to the maphrian John, and the maphrian descended with him to Baghdad. (There) a diploma was given to the patriarch Athanasius by the caliph, so that all the kings of the Arabs receive him honourably. From Bagdad the patriarch returned to Tagrit, and the Tagritians notables gave him many expensive gifts. From Tagrit he came to Mosul, and the monks of Mor Matay went to ask him to go to their monastery. But the patriarch, because they had earlier offended him, refused and threatened them to suppress their businesses. However, because of his respect for the holy (Mor Matay), he did not accomplish his threat. The patriarch then left and went to the monastery of Mor Barsoum. [309] In the year 1400 of the Greeks, the Arabs seized¹⁰¹ the catholic church of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ, known as Carattha, in Tagrit, and all its goods and fields. The several banquets which the maphrian had organized for the elders of the Arabs were useless. The faithful of Tagrit were scattered through the regions, and also the maphrian, distressed, left Tagrit and went to live in Mosul. In the year 1401 of the Greeks, on Wednesday 2 January, the Nestorian catholicos 'Abdisho' Bar 'Ariṣ died. Their Church remained widowed for around 20 years. Then Makkikha Bar Salomon was appointed in Bagdad. The maphrian John, after sitting in the church of the Tagritians called after the name of the illustrious Mor Zena for seventeen years, died on Friday 2 March in the year 1417 [311] and was buried in the same church. He fulfilled the office for 31 years. In the year 504 of the Arabs, in the tenth month,¹⁰² Makkikha Bar Salomon, a virtuous, chaste man,¹⁰³ native of Bagdad, was ordained catholicos for the Nestorians. A dispute arose between him and the people of Bagdad over the prayer 'Our Father'.

After John Saliba, Dionysius Moses. After the famous church of Mor Aḥudemmeḥ was seized by the Arabs and Tagrit was brought to bankruptcy because the nobles were

¹⁰¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'destroyed'.

¹⁰² April-May 1111 A.D. Bar 'Ebroyo mixes up the date of ordination of Makkikha I with the date of his death. This is likely due to an oversight in the copying of the date from his source, for the rest of the dating as well as the chronological sequence of the events is correct.

¹⁰³ ^{٤٠٠} 'unmarried'. Probably means that unlike his predecessors Makkikha was not married.

dispersed in the regions,¹⁰⁴ the few people who remained in Tagrit despaired and they did not appoint a leader for them, and the East remained widowed for seven years. At that time there was a doctor of the governor of Mosul, whose name was Abu al Faraj, who conspired with Sogdi, the metropolitan of the monastery. They wrote to the patriarch Mor Athanasius Bar Khamara, asking him to ordain as maphrian the priest Abu Shakhir of Tagrit, who had fled from Mosul to the western regions because of some ignominy [313], and to send (him) to them. When they learned of this, the Ninevites immediately wrote to the patriarch, to warn him not to impose the hand on Abu Shakhir, because he was unworthy; and the bishop of Baghdad wrote the same. The patriarch was at that time in Kaysum, called Abu Shakhir and examined him, saw that he was not suitable and turned him away. He chose a certain monk, a virtuous man named Moses, from a certain convent in the region of Mar'ash, and dressed him in noble vestments, in order to ordain him maphrian on the following morning. But that virtuous monk, when he rose for the nightly prayer, divested himself of his vestment and fled, and the ordination of the maphrian was suspended. Then the patriarch called another monk, also called Moses, and spoke to him about that matter. He consented, although earlier he had been asked several times to be ordained for other places and he (never) accepted. Then, on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the year 1423 of the Greeks, he was ordained maphrian of Tagrit and the entire East, and was called Dionysius. He was the first to write a confession of faith¹⁰⁵ to the patriarch, because [315] none of the previous maphrians had ever written it. The patriarch honoured him, gave him a set of canonicals, two pastoral staffs and two mules, and sent him back to the East. When he arrived at Mosul, the priest Abu al-Faraj and Sodgi, the metropolitan of the monastery, were displeased. Sogdi refused to come to the maphrian until he had been given twelve dinars, then he came to him, he wrote his consent, took it and went up to the monastery of Mor Matay. There he forced the maphrian to write canons which suited his will. It was the custom in the region of Nineveh that the first village where the maphrian entered should offer him a mule, but Sogdi abolished this custom out of hatred. The maphrian was offended, went to Nisibis, and from there he went to Gazarta, where he ordained the priest Abu Mansur, from the citadel of Hiyal, bishop of Nisibis. From there, the monks of Mor Matay asked him to go and ordain a bishop for the people of Beth Nuhadra. But when he went there and stood up to perform the ordination, the bishop of Gazarta proclaimed Tagrit metropolis of the East, according to the canons. The

¹⁰⁵ **الموالات** ὁμολογία ‘agreement, assent, concession’.

monks of Mor Matay took up the pastoral staff and went to the maphrian at the altar to strike him and did not desist until they had suppressed the proclamation. [317] The maphrian was offended, left the monastery and went to Tagrit. He decided that even if only five houses had remained there, he would have never abandoned (the city). But when he entered, God showed his piety to him: the emir had dismissed the one who had acted evilly against the Christians of Tagrit and was hateful to them, and the caliph assigned to Tagrit a certain emir, an eunuch named Mughad al-Din, Armenian by race. The maphrian conversed with him, and when he (the emir), discovered that they spoke the same language, he loved him, and took him with him to Baghdad. The maphrian obtained a diploma from the caliph, returned to Tagrit and began to build and restore the churches. He wrote to the faithful of Tagrit who were scattered through the regions and reassembled them again. He suspended the poll tax for those who had left long time ago, and (thus) they all returned. He wrote books, appointed teachers, and adorned the city and its citizens. He went up to Mosul, so that he could assign the dioceses there according to the custom, and when he entered he dwelled in the church of Gadna. The priest Abu al-Faraj sent two Turks to him, [319] who drew him out from Mosul. Then the Tagritians of Mosul, moved with indignation, gave gifts to the governor and expelled the priest and doctor Abu al-Faraj from the great church of the Tagritians called after the famous Mor Zena; and the maphrian was made to sit there. At that time Sogdi, the metropolitan of the monastery, died. He had suppressed the proclamation of the maphrian in all the region of Nineveh except for Beth Khudayda, which from beginning to the end never denied its friendship to the maphrian. The monks of Mor Matay, after Sogdi had died, brought the canons written by Sogdi for the maphrian, and told him that they would have proclaimed him only if he received them. When the maphrian refused, they wrote (a letter) of accusations against him to the patriarch, and delivered him up to the governor. They imprisoned him and fined him with 150 dinars. The people of Khudayda helped the maphrian with much gold. But the maphrian, weary of (these) dissensions, went to the patriarch to resign and take rest. The Tagritians of Mosul sent a messenger with letters to the patriarch, saying: 'Make our maphrian return to us immediately, and make an appropriate judgement about those arrogant men who dared to accuse him.' Then the monks of Mor Matay [321] feared that the patriarch would reprehend them, sent some monks and other laymen from Bartella and Beth Saḥraye to the patriarch, to ask to be reconciled with the maphrian. The patriarch reconciled the maphrian with them, and sent them together to the East. When the maphrian came to Mosul, he was reconciled with the priest and doctor Abu al-Faraj, and ordained his sons deacons. He went to the region, and was welcomed by the people of Bartella and Beth Saḥraye, who had earlier spited him, and it was a great joy for the people of Beth Khudayda, who were loyal to him. He went up to the monastery, and ordained priests and deacons there. When the patriarch Mor Athanasius died, the Westerners sent for the maphrian Dionysius; he went to them and ordained the patriarch Mor John

Maudiana. He also went to Jerusalem, and there was a big scandal and clamour between him and the (bishop) of Mardin. He came to Gazarta d-Qardu, and stayed there for about one year, and ordained bishop a certain monk of Tur 'Abdin. (Then) he came to Nineveh, and went up to the monastery, to ordain a bishop there. [323] Bar Kutela, the archimandrite of the monastery, disputed with him, and brought him in front of a judge in Mosul (saying): 'The maphrian should have offered a mule to you but he did not.' So the judge sent to take the mule of the maphrian which was in Beth Khudayda, and suspended his proclamation until he was given forty dinars by the maphrian. At the same time Zacchaeus, bishop of Arzun, came to Nineveh, and bribed the governor of Mosul with 200 dinars to rule over Nineveh. He obtained the consent of the people of the region by force, and (then) he went to the patriarch so that he raised him to the power legitimately. But the patriarch sent back to Nineveh with him two of his disciples, to examine his matter. When they set off, they bumped into Turkish bands that killed Zacchaeus, his elder brother Thomas and the two disciples of the patriarch. Then Bar Kutela, the archimandrite of the monastery, bribed the governor who forced the maphrian to ordain Bar Kutela metropolitan for the monastery. This man, as soon as he was ordained, dared to take a document [325] from the governor (stating) that neither the patriarch nor the maphrian had authority over him. When the maphrian suspended him, he did not accept the suspension but even scoffed (it) and consecrated the chrism (all the same). In those days, at the feast of the Resurrection, God sent a violent hailstorm, locusts and locust grubs on Nineveh, and not even so did it repent and obey to the order of the maphrian. But God, be his grace praised, shortly later manifested his justice. On a certain night Bar Kutela was drinking on the roof of the cell of the great church of Bartella with a certain friend of him, teacher and priest in charge of the evening service.¹⁰⁶ The teacher became drunk and fell from the roof of the cell into the court of the church, and died. Shortly later the rebellious Bar Kutela also died, while he was still suspended. At the time of this maphrian Dionysius also the patriarch Maudiana died and the people of Amid sent to ask the maphrian to come to them. When he went, the Westerners chose Rabban Isho' Bar Qutreh, and they took him with them and came to Amid to the maphrian, and ordained him patriarch. [327] After the maphrian laid the hand on him, he came to Mosul and from there he descended to Tagrit. In the year 528 of the Arabs, on Sunday 4 August¹⁰⁷ Barsoum was ordained catholicos of the Nestorians after Makkikha Bar Salomon. This Barsoum spent his life in bitterness, because of the heavy exactions imposed on him, and begged constantly for a short life and a quick death, and so it happened. He fulfilled the office for only one year and five months, and

¹⁰⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'visiting priest'.

¹⁰⁷ 1134 A.D.

died on 11 December in the year 530 of the Arabs. ‘Abdisho’ Bar Mo‘ala succeeded him. He was an old man, of beautiful figure, native of Mosul. When he was chosen, he was summoned to the court of the caliph. A mitre was laid on him, he sat on a mule, and one of the nobles of the court came with him up to the church of the third quarter, and there he dismounted. He ruled laudably for 9 years, (and then) was struck by a paralysis. He was ordained on Sunday 13 November of the year 533 of the Arabs, and died on 3 November in the year 541 of the Arabs. [329] Then the catholicos Isho‘yahb ruled. (He was) an old and chaste man from Balad, who had been bishop of Ḥirta. A certain famous doctor named Abu Mansur, son of a wise scribe, chose him. He was ordained on the second Sunday of the Consecration of the Church,¹⁰⁸ in the year 542, and when he had fulfilled the office for 28 years, he died on the night of the second Sunday after Ascension, on 25 May of the year 570 of the Arabs. Elias Abu Halim succeeded him. In the year 1451 of the Greeks there died Khosrun, a priest and monk of the convent of Mor Behnam of Beth Gubba, on Sunday 17 December, and he was buried in front of the southern door of the internal sanctuary. He was an Edessene by race, and he had been brought in captivity by the Persians who were laying waste Syria. He came to live in the city of Maragha, and adorned our church there with books, because he was an expert scribe. Indeed, his books are still preserved [331] in Nineveh to this day. Later, when the assembly of the faithful of Maragha was reduced to poverty, and he lost his sight from his constant writing, he came to live in the convent where he ended his life there. In the year 1453 the maphrian went to Baghdad, and reconciliation was made between him and the ‘Abdisho’ the catholicos of the Nestorians. The catholicos organized a banquet for him, and offered him a priestly vestment, a mitre and a pastoral staff, according to the custom. He went to stay in our church of Muḥul close to Karka. He fell sick, and died in a few days, on Tuesday 17 June of the same year 1453 of the Greeks. His body was placed in a coffin and brought to Tagrit. He was buried in the church of Mor George, in the sanctuary which had been built by Mor Barsoum. He had ordained two patriarchs and nine bishops, and had fulfilled the office for 30 years.

[333] **After Dionysius Moses, Ignatius La‘zar.** After the death of the maphrian Dionysius, the Tagritians took great care to bring a maphrian to Tagrit, in the time of the good emir Mughad al-Din. Thus they sent a priest, a deacon and two believers to the patriarch Athanasius Bar Qutreh, to choose and ordain as maphrian for them a virtuous and learned man, who could be able to repair the ruins of hard times. When the envoys had stayed for forty days with the patriarch in the convent of Mor Aaron of Shigar, the patriarch was told that the monk La‘zar of the convent of Sergisyeh, the son of the priest Hasan, from the citadel of ‘Ebra in the region of Gubos, was suitable. When he

¹⁰⁸ Feast held on the 8th Sunday before Christmas.

called him, he found that he was adorned with all the graces of the spirit, learning, natural capacity, purity and holiness; and manifested before him the action of the (Holy) Spirit. But the virtuous man declined firmly, alleging his ignorance of the language of the region, and that he was not able to speak a single word of Arabic and how could he go to a people [335] who knew nothing but Arabic? But the patriarch said: 'The deceased Dionysius lived in that region for thirty years, without knowing Arabic and he learned (there) a little bit.' The people of Tagrit also said: 'The good emir Mughad al-Din is an Armenian, and he much loves the inhabitants of this region. When he will meet you, you will be held in great honour by him.' In this way the patriarch convinced him, and imposed an impediment on him until he consented. He ordained him in the same convent of Shigar, in the year 1454. The Tagritians took him and came to Melitene, where he made the offering in the church of the citadel. From there they went to the convent, and prepared himself. They set off to Amid, where he (the patriarch) was honoured by the noble Bar Nisan. He then came to Mosul, where the Tagritians welcomed him joyfully. He did not enter Nineveh, nor did he go up to the monastery of Mor Matay, because of the evils that they had inflicted on his predecessor, the maphrian Dionysius, but he went down to Tagrit, and after staying (there) for only three days, he went down to Baghdad to the emir Mughad al-Din. The emir much rejoiced (of this). [337] The maphrian went to 'Abdisho', the catholicos of the Nestorians, who greatly honoured him and offered him a priestly vestment, a mitre and a pastoral staff, according to the custom. He came to the church of Mor Thomas in Muḥul, and ordained as deacons the two sons of Abu Tahir, the son of Thomas, and his cousin (on the father side). He returned to Tagrit, and took care of the construction of the churches, adorned his diocese with all the necessary, and in a short time he learned a fluent Arabic. After he had been at Tagrit for ten years, the metropolitan of the monastery of Mor Matay died. The maphrian wanted to make one diocese from the two of Tagrit and Nineveh, so as not to ordain a specific metropolitan for the monastery and one for Nineveh. Since the time of the patriarch Cyriacus the custom was kept in the East that the maphrian of Tagrit ordained a metropolitan for the monastery, for Nineveh, and for all the churches of Mosul, except for the two churches of the Tagritians of Mosul, namely the old one of Gadna and the new one of Mor Zena, and that after the ordination he should be exactly equal to the maphrian, and not subordinate to him [339] like the rest of the eastern leaders, and for this reason dissensions had always arisen. In the year 1463, the maphrian Ignatius came to the patriarch Athanasius, who was staying in Ḥesno d-Ziyad, and asked him to help him in uniting Nineveh with Tagrit. But the patriarch did not agree, because the Tagritians wrote to accuse the maphrian, that he wanted to leave Tagrit and made Nineveh his residence and his seat, and asked the patriarch not to give him this chance. When the patriarch turned away from the accomplishment of this proposal, the maphrian left him and went to stay in his convent. When the patriarch went up to the monastery, the maphrian went to see him, and remained with him for all

the summer, (trying) to convince him in this regard. But the patriarch did not assent. Thus the maphrian left, and returned sad to Tagrit in the autumn. When Mor John, the famous (bishop) of Mardin, assembled a synod of bishops in the year 1464, the maphrian came to him in person and realized whatever he wanted. But also Mor John of Mardin realized the intention of the maphrian [341] and reported the maphrian to Husam al-Din Timur Tash, the lord of Mardin. The governor wrote to the governor of Mosul, asking him to give the maphrian the jurisdiction of his region and to honour him as it was due. The maphrian received the document from the lord of Mardin, and came to the governor of Mosul, who received him honourably and called the monks and some Ninevites, and spoke with them about the maphrian. The chiefs of Nineveh replied: 'It is not provided for by our law to accept a metropolitan except from our monastery of Mor Matay.' The governor asked them: 'These metropolitans whom you accept, were they born in the monastery?' the chiefs replied 'No, but they are admitted in the monastery as monks, and then they are ordained.' The governor continued to ask them: 'How are they admitted in the monastery?' The chiefs replied: 'For the admission they pay an amount of gold, and then they are admitted.' The governor ordered: 'Also the maphrian has to pay the customary fee of admission, and then he will be your leader. Whoever will object will be killed.' The monks and the Ninevites were struck dumb [343] they took the maphrian and left Mosul. While they were going up to the monastery, they passed by Bartella, but they did not enter, to avoid the maphrian to be received there before he was received in the monastery, but they went down to the church of the village of Beth Kallita, and they had a meal (there). They went up to the monastery and when they reached the stairs, they forbade the maphrian (to go up), saying: 'According to the order of the governor, you must pay first the fee of admission and then to enter the monastery.' They quarrelled there for about two hours, until the maphrian gave them his mule and also (some) dinars. Then they let him enter to the monastery and they enthroned him. Since the monks had insisted on taking the mule he was riding, some believers from the upper village of Beth Daniel, who were present in the monastery, offered to the maphrian one of their mules. They sat him on it, and conducted him in honour to them. After three days the people of Beth Khudayda went to him and said: 'You should live with us, our Father, because our assembly is the wealthiest and our churches are many.' The maphrian thanked them [345] and went with them. When the people of Bartella heard of this, they were afraid that he would have established the throne in Beth Khudayda, and it would become equal to Tagrit. They immediately went to Beth Khudayda, took the maphrian and brought him to Bartella, where he resided in the great church. Since then it started the custom that every new maphrian is first received in the monastery, then goes down to upper Beth Daniel, where he is offered a mule, he comes to Beth Khudayda, and then to Bartella. In the year 1466 of the Greeks a tower of the Arabs was built to the northeast of the oratory of our church in the town of Qardu, because of the negligence of the believers.

The doctors of the Arabs expected a bribe from them, but they despised them and did not give them anything. For this they were enflamed with anger and built that minaret, that they sought to build it almost in the middle of the oratory. As soon as the maphrian took residence in Bartella, he took care to rebuild the oratory of the great church, because in our time it was very small and narrow, and to build a cell to which (it was possible to go up) from the court of the church. When the Ninevites saw [347] his temperance, learning and carefulness, loved him much, and proclaimed him as the builder of the church, and they still proclaim him nowadays. Also the oratory of the church of Mor Thomas in Baghdad was built thanks to his initiative. The governors and the chiefs of the Arabs greatly loved and honoured him, and for this reason he was envied by the scribes of the Arabs. In the year 1470, when the emperor of the Greeks invaded Antioch, and all the kings of the Arabs and their armies gathered at Beroea, there was an opportunity for the Arabs of Mosul to let off their anger. Their instrument was a certain accursed priest named Abraham, who was the doctor of the governor. He wanted to leave his old wife and marry another one, but the maphrian suspended him from the priesthood. When this man saw that the Arabs were eager to destroy the maphrian, went to them and denounced him. They told him: 'Find a reason (to accuse him), and (then) inform us.' In those days the priests of Tel Li'afar sent a letter to the maphrian to ask him: 'Among us (there is) a Christian who time ago became a Muslim. He has a wife [349] and two daughters, who were born while he was still a Christian. One of them has grown up, and her mother wants to marry her to a young Christian. What do you order? Should the blessing be given in the church or not?' The maphrian replied: 'If the girl has not converted to Islam, she should be given the blessing.' The writing of the maphrian fell into the hands of the accursed Abraham, who handed it on to the doctors of the Arabs, saying: 'Behold, he has ordered a daughter of a Muslim to be married to a Christian!' The Arabs gathered in bands and grasped the stones to lapidate the maphrian, and the *hegoumenos* and the guards were barely able to deliver him from them. They led him to the judge on the Sunday of Cana, and the judge ordered: 'If that girl professes to be a Muslim, the maphrian will be killed.' After they had brought her in the midst they asked her through cunning: 'Whose daughter are you? (Are you not the daughter) of a certain Muslim?' But she cried out valiantly with high voice: 'I am a Christian, I was brought up by my mother! I never knew my father!' They (tried to) cajole her with gifts, but she did not remiss. They drew their sword on her but she did not change her witness. Thus they put her under guard and also the maphrian was imprisoned for forty days. [351] The Arabs marvelled at him, as he stood in prayer always, day and night. Every two days he used to receive one particle as provision. But in those days in which the maphrian was imprisoned, a harsh disease struck that miserable priest Abraham who after being tormented for three days perished. His sudden death terrified many people. When the girl heard of it, she was encouraged, and when they brought her three times to the judge and threatened to throw her in a river

or in a fire, she was not afraid. Then the blessed Ninevites gave 300 dinars to the judge and the other governors, to release the maphrian. The girl was also released, and went to Jerusalem, where she wore the monastic habit. The patriarch Mor Michael the Great composed an admirable *mimro* on this subject in the metre of Mor Balai, and the pious Jacob Bar Salibi (composed) two *mimre*, one in the metre of Mor Ephrem and the other in that of Mor Jacob. [353] In those times the King George of Iberia laid waste violently the regions of the Arabs, and many Arabs were brought in chains to him. The vizir of Mosul named Jamal al-Din, a just and very merciful man, who had built hospitals for the sick in many cities of the region of Assyria and Persia, up to India, and had abundantly stocked them with all the necessary, wanted to set free the Arab prisoners from the hands of the Iberians, and since he knew that the maphrian was an able man in word and action, he chose him and sent him with other Arabs of his to go in an embassy to George in the year 1472. When they had arrived in interior Iberia, the king was told that envoys had come from Assyria: the archbishop of that land, two bishops, and some Arabs. The king marvelled at this novelty, and went out in person to meet the maphrian and the ones who were with him, introduced them into his palace and honoured them. He installed an enclosure around their lodging and churches where to minister the offering and celebrate the feasts, because [355] they arrived there in the days of the Epiphany. The king accomplished the request of the maphrian and set free many Arab prisoners, while the envoys paid (to set free) the others. (Then) the king George sent back with them his envoys, with gifts for the governor of Mosul. They returned with great joy to Mosul, the envoys of the Iberians carrying their crosses on the top of their spears. This was a comfort to all the Christians. After these things the maphrian fell sick for (he was) of bad constitution and suffered for a long time. When he saw that the illness was getting worse, he wanted to go to the monastery of Mor Barsoum, to take his books, his possessions and his disciples to leave for the West; but when he reached Anchil, a village in the *curia* of Nisibis, he was greatly weakened, and urged his disciples to bring him immediately to the monastery of Qartmin; during the night, when they were carrying him to the monastery, he died. His disciples, since they were afraid of the governors of the region of Tur 'Abdin, did not go to the monastery of Mor Gabriel but set off for the monastery of Mor Hananiah, to Mor John of Mardin. There, his holy body was placed in a marble urn and laid to rest in the *Beth Qadishe* of the same monastery. He died on Thursday 14 June in the year 1475. He fulfilled the office competently, with a good and renowned fame, [357] for 21 years. John of Mardin inherited his valuables.¹⁰⁹

After Ignatius La'zar, John of Sarug. When the maphrian Ignatius died, the Ninevites sent to the Tagritians, to ask them to join to appoint a leader for them. At the beginning

¹⁰⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'was chosen to receive his coffin'.

the Ninevites shunned and they did not want the maphrian live among them, but when they saw how much (they profited) from the fact that Ignatius stayed¹¹⁰ among them, and for the prestige of the Christian confession, they got eager and zealous not to hinder the common leader and father of the entire East from staying among them. Thus some men Tagritians, accompanied by others men from Bartella, Beth Khudayda and Beth Saḥraye went to the famous John of Mardin. They took him and then went up to the monastery of Barsoum to the patriarch Mor Athanasius Qutreh, so that he ordained a maphrian for them. Rabban Michael, the archimandrite of that monastery, who later was appointed patriarch, was called but he refused. [359] They called John, the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Jacob on the Mountain of Edessa. Even though he was weak in learning, and was even barely able to write his name, he came from a noble and rich family of Sarug. After he had left his family he loved the yoke of the monastic life. He was an exceptionally pious man, who took care of the convent of Mor Jacob on the Mountain of Edessa which had long been devastated and completely deserted, but he ably populated it with holy monks and servants, and it soon grew in reputation. When he was called and (his will) was overcome, he was ordained on Friday 6 November 1476, and was proclaimed catholicos of Tagrit, Mosul and Nineveh. However, the Tagritians were offended because he was proclaimed in Nineveh, and arose a dispute because they did not (want to) accept him. This (happened) on account of an old ferment of hate between the Tagritians and the monks of Mor Matay. When the maphrian arrived he was welcomed in the monastery of Mor Matay, and he was proclaimed in Mosul and Nineveh. The Tagritians, who had not been appeased, also proclaimed him. When the patriarch Mor Athanasius Qutreh died, the maphrian Mor John gathered some of his bishops and went up to the monastery of Mor Barsoum. [361] When the election and ordination of the patriarch Mor Michael took place in the year 1478, the Western bishops dared to deprive the maphrian of the dignity due to his rank because of his weakness in the doctrine and the want of learning, and said that the leader of the synod¹¹¹ should impose the hand on the patriarch to be ordained. Then Timotheus, the bishop of Beth 'Arbaye, since he was a learned and holy man, who opposed the Western bishops and restrained their impetus, drew near the maphrian, and laid the hand on him, and moved (the hand to ordain him). When the maphrian and the bishops returned to the East, Timotheus of Beth 'Arbaye died. It is said that the Kurds entered to his cell and killed him. All the people agreed on a certain monk, named Abu Yasir, a virtuous and learned man, but the maphrian disregarded him and ordained

¹¹⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'from the commemoration of Ignatius'.

¹¹¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'asserting that the right of laying on hands to consecrate a patriarch lay with the supreme synod.'

Rawad, a monk disciple of this Abu Yasir, and called him Mor John. All the people resisted (to this decision) and did not accept him. When their affair ended in to the governor, the maphrian was forced to ordain [363] Abu Yasir, to whom he assigned Tel Li'afar, Abu Mareh and Maraq. Rawad remained in Beth 'Arbaye, Balad and the convent of Mu'allaq. In the year 1482, when Nur al-Din, the son of Zengi, had besieged Mosul, the accursed Kurds who lived around the monastery of Mor Matay crowded together to steal from it by night; but since the monks were watchfully guarded and broke several times their ladders, stroke down and killed some of them, a large crowd of Kurds gathered to attack the monastery during the day. The inhabitants of the region of Nineveh heard of this and precipitated there to fight the Kurds and the inhabitants of the village of Beth Saḥraye received the crowns of victory. From then on it was granted to them that, when the inhabitants of the region were taken to the monastery for the baptism, the children of Beth Saḥraye went down first to the font; and when the myron was consecrated in the monastery, the priests and deacons of Beth Saḥraye were always placed in the middle of the group, and they their order should not be changed every year like for the people of Bartella and Beth Khudayda. The monks, since were afraid of the ferocity of the Kurds, gave them [365] 300 dinars and asked peace from them. These, after taking the money, gathered in the number of 1500 armoured men and attacked suddenly the monastery. They moved one of the big stone of the summit of the mountain which slid down violently, and it stroke the wall where the waters flow into the cistern, and breached the wall. The monks gathered to repair the breach with stones and but they could not because they were transfixed with sharp arrows by the accursed Kurds. When they (the monks) were exhausted, the Kurds cried out violently, drew out the swords and burst forth into the monastery. They killed the monk Matay, the recluse Denḥa and a few others. The rest fled to the upper citadel of the monastery and the Kurds loaded their horses with the booty which the inhabitants of the region had put in safety in the convent because he feared the troops of Nur al-Din lord of Damascus. When the Kurds left, the monks came down from the upper citadel, took the books and what remained of the valuables, entered in Mosul, and left the monastery deserted. The inhabitants of the region were afraid that the Kurds would destroy the buildings, and they hired guards for 30 darics a month, and placed surveillance in the monastery. [367] But when the governors of Mosul saw what the Kurds had done, he sent an army against them. They put the weak ones to the sword, (while) the strong ones fled, went far in the mountain, and attacked forty villages of the Nestorians. They led away the women, killed the boys and the men, and burned the houses. In the year 1483 (of the Greeks) the Arabs seized our convent near Gazarta, the city of Qardu, with fraudulent documents. Basil Bar Qinaya, the bishop of Gazarta was imprisoned in Mosul until the faithful of Gazarta went to Baghdad and rescued the convent by a big ransom, and led the bishop out of prison. In the year 1485 of the Greeks, when the patriarch Mor Michael the Great was in the monastery of Mor Hananiah in Mardin, the maphrian Mor John went to him

with the archimandrites of the monastery of Mor Matay. The patriarch put in writing for them twelve canons, and also confirmed that the archimandrite should be appointed by order of the maphrian and that they should demonstrate complete submission to the maphrian in everything. He confirmed also another 24 old canons for them. In the year 572 of the Arabs,¹¹² in the Sunday of 'Come to be adored', [369] which is the third Sunday after Epiphany, Elias Abu Halim was ordained catholicos of the Nestorians. He composed Arabic homilies for the Sacraments feasts in a polished and admirable language. He was a man of perfect stature, middle-aged, liberal, rich in ecclesiastical knowledge, and singularly versed in the language of the Saracens, as it is testified by the style (of the hymns) with which he adorned the Jacobite and Nestorian feasts of the East.¹¹³ He came from the city of Maypherqaṭ, and was first ordained bishop, then metropolitan of Nisibis, and then catholicos. He restored the ruins of the cell and populated it (again). He fulfilled the office for 15 years and died on the night of Friday 3 April of the year 586 of the Arabs, and was buried in the church of the third quarter of Bagdad. Yahballaha Bar Qayoma from the people of Mosul who had been first bishop of Maypherqaṭ and then metropolitan of Nisibis succeeded him. [371] He was extremely stubborn. When he came to Baghdad after the death of the catholicos Elias Abu Halim and saw that neither the bishops nor the people of Baghdad consented to him, he offered 7,000 gold dinars to the governor to force the bishops to ordain him. When he came from Seleucia and saw the cell in the Palace of the Romans, he did not want it, even though it was an admirable one, but he kept it closed and went to live in the church of the third quarter. He died on Monday,¹¹⁴ 16th of the eleventh month of the year 618 of the Arabs,¹¹⁵ and was buried on the eastern side of the church of the blessed Mary, Mother of God. Sabrisho' Bar Qayoma, son of his brother, succeeded him thanks to the gold which he gave to the governor by the hand of the glorious Amin al-Dawla Abu al-Karim, son of Thomas, namely 7,000 dinars. He died on Monday,¹¹⁶ 8th of the sixth month of the year 622 of the Arabs,¹¹⁷ and was buried next to his uncle. Sabrisho' Bar Masih succeeded him. [373] In the year 1489 of the Greeks a resentment arose between the patriarch Mor Michael and the maphrian Mor John because of the people of Ḥaṣṣāṣa of the region of Tagrit, who had separated from the church since the days of the patriarch Cyriacus because of the

¹¹² 1176-7 A.D.

¹¹³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'as is testified by his commentary in which he beautifully describes both the Jacobite and Nestorian feasts celebrated in the East.'

¹¹⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'the second Sunday of the month.'

¹¹⁵ 1 January 1222 A.D.

¹¹⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'on the second Sunday of the month.'

¹¹⁷ 17 June 1225 A.D.

formula 'heavenly bread', and now wanted¹¹⁸ to be reunited. Neglecting the maphrian, they went to the patriarch to ordain a bishop for them. The patriarch received them lovingly, and told them: 'We will tell the maphrian to make the ordination, because he is the archbishop of the East. It is not fair you to be cut off from your brothers there.' (However) they, (taken) by human passions, refused and said: 'You ordain a bishop for us, and afterwards we will accept him to be subject to the maphrian.' But the patriarch refused also to this and said to them: 'Maybe it can happen with the consent of the maphrian.' And with this covenant he dismissed them. When the maphrian saw that the people of Ḥaṣṣāṣa had misbehaved with him and had gone to the patriarch, he was very indignant, and began to proclaim an anathema in all the dioceses against the people of Ḥaṣṣāṣa and anyone who received them. When the patriarch heard of this, he was offended, and sent two virtuous monks to the maphrian, and admonished him lovingly [375] saying: 'It is not right that you do this, because the holy fathers Cyriacus and Dionysius of Tel Maḥre bore many labours and troubles to unite with the people of Ḥaṣṣāṣa but they could not. Now that they themselves want to make the union, why do you slam the door in their face?' But maphrian persisted in his stubbornness. He refused the envoys of the patriarch, treated them dishonourably, replied in an inappropriate way and sent them back insolently. He began to conceive mentally a rebellion and a schism. When the envoys left him, he was censured for his conduct by his diocesans. He regretted and went to the patriarch. But the patriarch refused to meet him, and said that a synod should have examined this affair. The maphrian returned to his diocese, and stayed (there) until the synod was assembled in the monastery of Mor Barsoum. Then the maphrian gathered his bishops, went to the synod and asked for pardon. He wrote and acknowledged his legitimate subordination, and he was reconciled with the patriarch. He returned to stay in his dioceses until the year 1499 of the Greeks. Then he could not do what he wanted in the East, and went to the patriarch, and asked him to leave his diocese and go away to live in peace. The patriarch much (tried) to convince him [377] not to resign, but he did not succeed. (The maphrian) resigned and went to live in his convent in the Mountain of Edessa. Shortly later he regretted (of his decision), and came to the patriarch from whom received the letters (of proclamation) and he went back to Nineveh. One night, when he had fallen asleep on the roof of the great church of Beth Khudayda, he fell from the roof and died. He was brought to the monastery of Mor Matay and buried there in August of the same year 1499 of the Greeks, which is the year 584 of the Arabs. He fulfilled the office for 24 years.

After John of Sarug, Gregory Jacob. When maphrian John of Sarug died, the archimandrites and monks of the monastery of Mor Matay agreed with the chiefs of the

¹¹⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'did not wish.'

Ninevites, the Tagritians of Mosul and, among the bishops, Ignatius of Urmia, the city of Azerbaijan, who is Gabriel, son of John, [379] from India, John of Beth 'Arbaye, who is Rawad Marqaya, Saliba, bishop of the monastery and Basil of Baghdad, who is Matay son of Shwayak from the lower Beth Daniel; and they chose Karim who is Bar Masih, a monk of the monastery of Mor Matay, one of the Tagritians who lived in Mosul, from the family of the sons of Gabr. They gave their consent and brought him to the patriarch, so that he ordained him maphrian. But the priest Abu Mansur, son of Taibon, because they had made this agreement without (his) advice¹¹⁹, and because of the hatred between him and the Tagritians of Mosul, associated themselves with a certain monk named Jacob of the monastery of Mor Matay and another from Beth Khudayda named Shamtah. Those three wrote to the patriarch, saying to him: 'Here there is a certain insolent monk, Bar Masih, [381] who has formed a band¹²⁰ and wants to come to you and bring the consent of the people of the region to be ordained maphrian. We have heard about Rabban Jacob, the son of your brother, a gracious and capable man, suitable to be the leader of the bishops of the East. Thus ordain him quickly, and send him to come here, so that their intention might be thwarted.' As soon as the letter of those three persons reached the patriarch, he did not resist but hastened to ordain Jacob, the son of his brother, maphrian of the East without the consent of the Easterners, on the Sunday of Cana, of the year 1500 of the Greeks. He was proclaimed as Gregory, and came to Mosul. But without the edict of the governor, he could not enter the city but lodged in the Nestorian convent of Michael close to the gate of Mosul until he was allowed to enter. Then the bishops, monks and people of Nineveh approached the governor and said: 'We will give the double of what this foreigner has with him and we will appoint as leader one of us who is from your own region, but we will not stay under the authority of a foreigner.' Gregory was asked how much he offered to the governor, and he said the amount of 1,000 golden dinars. The bishops, monks and people of the region said: 'We will give 2,000 dinars.' Instead, we found [383] written that Masih's supporters gave 3,000 dinars. The governor received them and allowed them to do whatever they wanted. After Gregory had remained for two months in the convent of Mor Michael, he left and went to Sinjar and Habora. The four bishops and the people went up to the monastery of Mor Matay and ordained Bar Masih maphrian on the Saturday of the Resurrection of Lazar before the Sunday of the Palms, in the year 1500 of the Greeks that is 585 of the Arabs, and called him Dionysius. Gregory left and went to stay in Nisibis, where he paid 1,000 dinars. He was proclaimed at Shigar, Habora and Nisibis, without

¹¹⁹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'presence'.

¹²⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'has become so bold'.

being accepted by the people of Gazarta.¹²¹ The affair remained (unsolved) for one year. When Gregory paid another 2,000 dinars, the amount that the supporters of Masih had given, the governor accepted (him), removed Bar Masih, and imprisoned him on Monday 10th of the sixth month of the Arabs, in the year 586.¹²² [385] The governor was contented with having received the amount they had given. When Bar Masih had been imprisoned Gregory came to Mosul, and entered there on Tuesday, 4th of the seventh month of the Arabs.¹²³ He led Bar Masih out of prison and brought him to the church of the Tagritians, where he stripped him of the monastic vestment. Then some rough and plebeian men, enemies of Bar Masih, approached him, spat on his face and scoffed at him. After they had left him, he went to live in the region of Maypherqaṭ and Hattakh. Gregory then went to the region of Nineveh, and there was a cruel schism among the people, where father was divided from son and brother from brother. Some were called 'the ones of the patriarch, the other 'the ones of Masih.' (My) tongue cannot relate the insults and derisions cast against Gregory by the people of Bartella and the ones who supported Bar Masih; he used to hear all (these insults) with his own ears, but he used to carry on and pass over. When he had stayed in Nineveh for five years, he went to see the elderly patriarch, his uncle. The friends of Bar Masih again approached the governor, and promised him gold to summon Bar Masih. But his friends informed Gregory and he arrived immediately and offered him a bribe, [387] to delay the arrival of that one (Bar Masih).¹²⁴ Then the East remained in this bad schism for the entire lifetime of Bar Masih, until he died on the vespers of the feast of the Nativity of our Saviour, on 24 December in the year 1515 of the Greeks and 600 of the Arabs. He was buried in the catholic church of Maypherqaṭ, the city of martyrs. Before escaping adversities and anxieties by the death of his adversary, another trial came upon Gregory even worse and harsher. After his uncle the patriarch Mor Michael the Elder had died and Bar Masih was still alive, he wanted to appoint his brother Isho' Seftana by force with the help of money. But when he appointed him, he did not have rest, as we have said in the first section of this Ecclesiastical History. He remained for all his life in labour and agitation, until he died in the citadel of Hiyyel on the mountain of Shigar, on 12 October of the year 1526 of the Greeks. His body was brought to the monastery of Mor Matay and buried there. This Gregory built the cell of the maphrianate [389] in the great church of Bartella because earlier the maphrian used to reside in a small cell, to which he used to go up from the oratory through the steps.

¹²¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'and the people of Gazarta also received him.'

¹²² 15 July 1190 A.D.

¹²³ 7 August A.D.

¹²⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: 'carrying it off before the other man arrived.'

After Gregory Jacob, Ignatius David. After the maphrian Gregory died, his brother Michael the Young also died. The patriarchate was restored to the scribe Mor John, who ordained the monk David, a disciple of Rabban Barsoum known as Tafshish, the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Barsoum, maphrian of the East in the year 1526 of the Greeks. He came to Mosul, and entered there on 27 July. He was welcomed by great and small, because he was a renowned man in learning, naturally quick-witted, generous in money and spirit. After he lived in Nineveh for three years, he yearned to see the city of Tagrit, because it was the throne of the East,¹²⁵ where the maphrians used to reside. When he arrived there, all the Tagritians came out to meet him, and brought him into Tagrit in a great procession, carrying crosses and Gospels, and singing before him [391] in Syriac and Arabic. The Arabs of Tagrit were smitten with envy, and went down to Baghdad to accuse the Christians saying: 'The Christians sang before their father the song which the inhabitants of Yathrib sang when their Prophet returned to them from Mecca, and lifted up crosses on the tips of lances in the streets of Tagrit.' A decree was promulgated by the caliph that nobody should speak to that maphrian who had recently come, because he was a foreigner who did not know the customs of our region; otherwise the property of the Christians should be seized, and that they should be derided and scorned, as they had misbehaved against the law of the Arabs. When this decree reached Tagrit, the nobles took counsel among themselves, saying: 'If we start plundering them, they will not show any gold. But if we torment them, we will get troubles. It is better that we agree with them on a certain sum. They agreed with the Christians that they should pay 20,000 golden dinars, shave the beards of three Christian ordinary men, and imprison the maphrian, their leader, until they had prepared the gold. These true believers gladly gave whatever they possessed and never murmured, annoyed the maphrian [393] or refused him their offerings. Rather, the men spurred themselves (to give) money, while the women prepared meals, and sent them to the maphrian in prison. They were sending him in prison not only food, but also purses (full) of money and supplies. For this reason God - praise to his Grace - blessed their support since at the time before this trial the people of Tagrit used to be paid very little wages.¹²⁶ Thenceforward, they travelled through the regions with great riches and extraordinary wealth, and no one of them complained about (his) poverty.¹²⁷ When God helped and recompensed with the sum of 20,000 dinars, the maphrian still remained imprisoned because they (the Arabs) expected something also from him. Thus, the

¹²⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: 'which had formerly been the throne of the East.'

¹²⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'cared for little except enriching themselves.'

¹²⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'kept anything back because of his poverty.'

nobles of Tagrit who lived in Mosul,¹²⁸ went to the emir Badr al-Din Lu'lu,¹²⁹ who at that time was the regent of the kingdom of the Atabegs¹³⁰ in Mosul, and asked him to send to release the maphrian from prison. [395] He sent an emir to the governors of Tagrit, and made a petition about him. They accepted his request and set free the maphrian. He went out and came to Nineveh, where shortly later he was pricked by Simeon, the chief of Bartella. He left Nineveh and fled secretly to Habora, and from there went up to the monastery of Mor Barsoum. But he did not find the patriarch Mor John there, because he had retired in the convent of Modiq. The maphrian went to see him, and when he reached a village called Sangis, close to the convent of Modiq, he expected the patriarch to come out to meet him. But after he had waited for a while there and the patriarch did not come, the maphrian was angry and decided to come back. But those who were with him did not leave him (to do so), saying: 'The patriarch should not come to a village but when we come close to the convent he will come out.' He was persuaded and went to the gardens and the outer cells of the convent but the patriarch did not come out even then. The maphrian got angry and did not enter the monastery, but again went back in rage and went to dwell in the village of Zar'atha. When the patriarch heard that the maphrian was offended, he set off in person with his disciples, and they came to the maphrian to that village. It was evening and the maphrian was informed [397] and went out to meet him. The patriarch did not leave the maphrian until he had provided horses for him and those who were with him, and they arrived all together in the convent of Modiq. At that time Melitene was without a shepherd, because the bishop John Bar Qanon, who was there, had been accused to the governor of the city of receiving a bribe to separate a woman from her husband. The governor was furious at him and expelled him from Melitene, and swore to kill him if he were to enter there again. The bishop went to stay in the convent of Mor Aaron on the Blessed Mountain, the patriarch assigned him ten villages from the diocese of Qalisura. He lived there until his death. Then the patriarch asked the maphrian to accept the diocese of Melitene and to go to reside there, if he had not the intention to return to the East, because there was not a seat like that in the entire West.¹³¹ The maphrian accepted and went to reside in Melitene for around two years, until the patriarch Mor John died and the maphrian succeeded him in the year 1533 of the Greeks as we have mentioned in the narrations of the westerners. He was the first maphrian to become patriarch because from the Apostolic times up to the nowadays, no one of [399] of the high-priests of the East has

¹²⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'went to Mosul.'

¹²⁹ Zengid ruler (d. 1259 A.D.)

¹³⁰ Turkic Honorific title (ata, 'ancestor', beg 'leader') used by the Seljuk dynasties.

¹³¹ WILMSHURST 2016: 'East'.

ever sat on the throne of the West. Mor Ignatius as soon as went to the West,¹³² sent an anathema against Simeon who had annoyed him and made him to flee. In the letter of anathema, he said: 'I trust in the Messiah that the cross of Simeon will be admitted at his gate.' And it happened he had said, and terror fell to everyone. At the time when Mozaffar al-Din, the lord of Erbil, captured the region of Nineveh and went there, Simeon wrote him a deceitful letter against Badr al-Din Lu'lu, the lord of Mosul. Badr al-Din heard of this and sent to crucify him at his gate in the daytime, while the sun was in the dome of heaven, in September of the year 616 of the Arabs, which is the year 1531 of the Greeks, the year in which al-Din was defeated by Mozaffar al-Din, the lord of Erbil, in the region of Nineveh. Badr al-Din crucified another Nestorian in Mosul for the same reason. In the year 623 of the Arabs, on the 20th of the fourth month, [401] the Sunday after Easter, Sabrisho' Bar Masih who had been metropolitan of Daquqa, was ordained catholicos, without¹³³ offering money to the caliph Tahir because he was honoured by the caliph's brothers, respected and excellent physicians. He too was a virtuous and pious man, friend of the pilgrims, humble, of simple and ordinary manners and for this he was loved by everybody. He died on Sunday 23th of the fourth month of the year 654 of the Arabs.¹³⁴ He fulfilled the office for 31 years, and was buried at the ambon of the church of Mor Sergius and Mor Bacchus in Karka. Makkikha metropolitan of Nisibis succeeded him.

After Ignatius David, Dionysius Saliba of Kfar Salta. When this Mor Ignatius from the maphrianate [403] was chosen and elected to the patriarchate, he sent to the easterners to know if they were willing to ordain for them Dionysius of Kfar Salta, the bishop of Gazarta.¹³⁵ The Easterners agreed on him, because he was of high moral standing, and the tones of his voice in the churches were much sweet, he excellently fulfilled the priestly office, and he was also experienced in the copy of books. However he had a low understanding of the Holy Scripture and the doctrine.¹³⁶ The patriarch called him, ordained him, and sent him into the East, where he was welcomed by everyone but he did not enter Tagrit, because of the trial that had happened there to the Christians at the time of Mor Ignatius.¹³⁷ When he lived in constraints for 8 years in Nineveh, because in all those years the famine was dominating in the East and the failure of the crops

¹³² WILMSHURST 2016: 'East'.

¹³³ WILMSHURST 2016: 'because.'

¹³⁴ 20 May 1256 A.D.

¹³⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: 'he appointed Dionysius of Kfar Salta, the bishop of Gazarta, his visitor to the Easterners, in order to consecrate him for them if they agreed.'

¹³⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: 'He also had an enviable understanding of both sacred and profane knowledge.'

¹³⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: 'on account of the disputes which at that time were dividing the Christians of Mar Ignatius.'

everywhere he did not take it ill but he boasted and considered himself equal to the patriarch in rank. When the patriarch rebuked him in a veiled way, he went to his region as he was going to visit his relatives because his old father was still alive, and had worn the monastic dress and was living as a solitary and the sister of the maphrian, who after [405] she had worn the nunnery dress, was living with her brother in the cell of Bartella. Then, in the same year that the maphrian went to Tur 'Abdin, namely 1542, the Tartars pursued the Khwarazmians up to Amid, and the regions were in tumult. The Kurds of Tur 'Abdin raised up their head against the Christians, and came to Kfar Salta to lay it waste. The maphrian, since he was a mighty and strong man, mounted a horse, took the spears and went out to fight the Kurds but he was struck by an arrow, and died in September of the same year. All the inhabitants of East and West mourned him. His aged father ended his oldness descended in bitterness. Also his sister lived as a nun for a long after him, never ceasing from weeping for all her life.

After Dionysius of Kfar Salta, Mor John Bar Ma'dani. After Dionysius of Kfar Salta was killed [407] the people of Mosul and Nineveh sent a message to the patriarch Mor Ignatius to ask him to ordain a maphrian for them. The patriarch urged his syncellus Rabbān Salomon to be ordained, but he refused, and told him that Mor John Aaron Bar Ma'dani, who had recently been ordained metropolitan of Mardin, was fit for the East. The patriarch summoned him and proclaimed him catholicos of Tagrit and the entire East in the year 1543. When he came to Mosul and Nineveh, the faithful did not rejoice of him, because he was not endowed with the perfect stature of his predecessor and he was not able at all to deliver a homily in the church. Thus after he stayed for around five years in Nineveh, he left and went down to Baghdad in the year 1548, and after he had been there one year he composed a panegyric poem on Mor Aaron in the metre of Mor Jacob. After he had been there for a while, the three brothers Shams al-Dawla, Fakhr al-Dawla and Taj al-Dawla, the laudable archieters sons of Thomas, who were at the service of the caliph directing all the administration of the royal palace, noticed his virtue, recognised his learning, and were astonished by the discipline of his habits, his intellect, [409] culture, and perseverance to the cell, of which he never he never saw the threshold during the seven years he lived among them. Because of this they reserved a great honour to him, and enriched him with generous gifts and honours. At that time Athanasius Simeon Bar Summaneh, was the bishop of Baghdad. When those archieters saw that he was guilty of not reserving to the maphrian the honour he deserved, they hated him, they turned their face from him to the point that he was forced to leave and go to stay in the small city of Haditha. At this time Jacob, bishop in the monastery of Mor Matay, that is Severus Bar Shakko, flourished. He was a clever man, who excelled in the reading of the Scriptures. He learned not only the grammar but also the first book of the dialectic by Bar Zo'bi, a certain Nestorian monk from the convent of Beth Qoqe [411] in the region of Erbil. He was instructed in the Arabic books of rhetoric and philosophy by Kamal al-Din Bar Yunus, a singularly esteemed philosopher of Mosul at his time. He

composed a book named *Dialogues*, in which he partly spoke about different disciplines. When the elder patriarch Mor Ignatius heard of his fame, he desired to meet him, and sent to summon him. But when he set off, he fell sick on the way and returned to Mosul, where he died. He was brought to the monastery of Mor Matay, where he was buried in the year 1552 of the Greeks. He had many books, which were all received in the public treasury of the governor of Mosul. The maphrian took care (to study) the Arabic language in Baghdad, summoning an excellent doctor of the Arabs, who trained him competently, and achieved a linguistic style that astonished everyone. [413] For this his honour increased among the kings of the Arabs and their governors. In Bagdad he also ordained Joseph, a monk of Mardin, bishop of Gazarta d-Qardu, and called him Gregory, on 23 August in the year 1554 of the Greeks. When the Ninevites saw that the maphrian whom they had neglected was honoured by all the notables of Baghdad but he did not boast of himself, they were ashamed of their conduct. They were sorry that the maphrian had left for so long, had moved (also) his seat there and did not intend to return to them. Thus they took a letter from Badr al-Din, the lord of Mosul, to the maphrian, to soothe him to return to his flock and be honoured by everybody. They sent the letter by Abu al-Hasan Bar Shamma', the archimandrite of the monastery of Mor Matay. When the archimandrite went (there), the maphrian let him depend on the empty hope that he would have returned with him to Nineveh, but (then) postponed (the departure) day after day for five months. Then the maphrian wrote a splendid letter to Badr al-Din, pretending to have accepted his decree and that he would have left Baghdad, but since he had made the vow to worship in Jerusalem, he would have gone (first) to worship and (then) he should have come at his service. [415] He gave the letter to the archimandrite, and with a troop of Ma'adaye horsemen he departed to Jerusalem on the desert road. From Jerusalem he came to Antioch to the patriarch, who was residing there at that time, and from the patriarch he came to Mosul, without entering in Mardin.¹³⁸ He was welcomed by Badr al-Din. The Ninevites also loved and honoured him more when they knew him and his grace, virtue, beautiful manners and discipline were manifested (to them). His name was great and illustrious in the East. After he had held the maphrianate for 20 years, the old patriarch Mor Ignatius died, and 'Angur was appointed. Bar Ma'dani went to Syria, and was appointed against him, in the year 1564 and a big schism occurred in the Church, as we have shown in the Western affairs.

[417] **After Mor John Bar Ma'dani, Ignatius Saliba the Edessene of Aleppo.** In the first section of this Ecclesiastical History, we showed how Saliba Bar Jacob Wagiah, bishop of Aleppo, opposed Dionysius of Melitene, and appointed Bar Ma'dani against him. Thus when Mor John was appointed, he repaid the bishop of Aleppo and proclaimed him

¹³⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: 'intending to go on to Mardin.'

maphrian of the East. Since formerly he was called Basil, he asked to be called Ignatius during his maphrianate, but this childish opinion was considered ignorance by everybody. Then the new maphrian prepared horses, valuables and gifts for the lord of Mosul, partly from his own expenses and partly from his friends, the lawyers. He came to Mosul on Palms Sunday of the year 1564 and was honourably received by Badr al-Din. He was a man of very beautiful appearance, a pleasant conversationalist and a powerful orator, practised in Arabic language, instructed and practiced in eloquence, and was also a competent physician. [419] Thus in eloquence, erudition and tone for the ecclesiastical oration, there was no equal to him in his generation. However, he was a little weak in the reading and understanding of the Holy Scriptures and he was better in the profane affairs than in the ecclesiastical ones. After Badr al-Din dressed him in royal garments, he went up to the monastery of Mor Matay, according to custom that the enthronisation should be done first there and that he then should be proclaimed in the region. When he arrived at the gate of the monastery, a discord arose between him and the monks of Mor Matay over the illegitimate habits which these monks had kept from the ancient times, when they used to contend with the maphrians of Tagrit who were coming to govern them. They used to descend to (meet) the new maphrian who came to them, (and) when he was halfway the stairs, they would make him kiss a certain stone, and they did not allow him to enter until he had first given an offer, and they did not even wait until he had entered before they made him pay. Sometimes they ignorantly added: 'Kiss the threshold of the monastery, and then you (can) enter.' It is evident that all these things are contrary to the true love that is due to a pilgrim who comes, even more to a high-priest who holds [421] the rank of the holy Apostles and (such) customs are against the love for humanity. After the dispute had been solved outside the gate of the monastery, the maphrian entered the monastery and the monks assembled to enthrone him. Then the archimandrite Abu al-Hasan Bar Shamma' was upset and left to his cell, saying that (the maphrian) should not sit on the throne until he had shown the diploma of Badr al-Din. (Indeed) a diploma had already been ordered for him but there had been no time for copying it out. The maphrian remained until midnight in the church of the monastery, upset and displeased to death that he had been dishonoured by the monks. Especially his brother, the monk Denḥa, was consoling him, whispering to him in Armenian: 'Let it go. Do not grieve yourself for these barking dogs!' Some of the monks understood this and informed his companions. Then they all grew furious against the maphrian, and convulsively insulted him. When he decided to leave them and to leave the monastery without being enthroned, they calmed down, they went to take the archimandrite Abu al-Hasan, accompanied the maphrian in procession and proclaimed

him. When he began to read the passage of the Gospel on the good shepherd, and pronounced the phrase [423] ‘Anyone who does not enter the sheep pen by the gate’,¹³⁹ one of the solitary monks stuck out his head from the window of his cell towards the altar, and said: ‘(Exactly) as you have gone up by another side and not by the upper gate!’ The maphrian heard also this but let it go. He left the monastery by night, biting his fingers in rage and grief. He then travelled around the whole region and was comforted by the love of the people. They all helped him with the tax imposed on him (to obtain) the right to rule, especially the people of Beth Khudayda. While he was blessing them, he was weeping and said: ‘You have deprived yourselves (for me), but I have gained nothing, because everything has been collected in the treasury of the governor.’ In the same year in which the Nestorian catholicos Sabrisho‘ Bar Masih died, that is the year 654 of the Arabs, the bishops gathered in Baghdad, and a dispute arose between the people of Baghdad and the bishops over the election of the catholicos. Some men supported Elias, metropolitan of ‘Ilam, others Makkikha, metropolitan of Nisibis, and others Denḥa, metropolitan of Erbil. After the dispute among them lasted for six months, they began to increase (the offering of) gold to the caliph, as far as the sum rose to 45,000 gold dinars. [425] They were then told that whoever had found and paid (this sum) would be appointed. When Mor Denḥa of Erbil found 4,000 gold dinars of the total amount and delivered them, was accused by his enemies: ‘This is a friend of the Tartar kings, and anything you accept from him will be taken back from you twofold.’ The collaborators of the caliph believed to this word, and summoned these three metropolitans to the palace of the caliph, and an edict was promulgated that the old (metropolitan) of Nisibis should be appointed and not the younger (metropolitan) of Erbil. The diploma was given to Makkikha, they put a mitre on his head, they made him ride a mule, and two nobles came with him carrying the diploma above his head. He went down to the church of the third quarter, and then the fathers went with him to Seleucia and ordained him on the fifth Sunday of the Great Fast. They gave his gold back to Mor Denḥa. At the same time the Tartars arrived in Baghdad who exempted the catholicos Makkikha from (paying back) the money. The physician Abu al-‘Izz Bar Duqiq was (a cause of) nuisance to the newly ordained maphrian Saliba, he very much begrudged the maphrian, accused him in front of the governor and damaged him [427] with vile words. Thus, after a year and a half in Nineveh and Assyria, living a life of constant grief, he left the East and fled to Syria. He came to Aleppo and stayed in a palace outside the church to live in, visiting the sick. Gregory Bar Aaron, who had been bishop of Gubos, was occupying the seat of Aleppo. After the maphrian had been in Aleppo for one year, he went to Damascus, gathered the gold (necessary to get) the

¹³⁹ John 10:1.

power, came to occupy the throne of Aleppo and revoked the proclamation of the patriarch Dionysius ‘Angur’¹⁴⁰ both there and in the whole of Syria. Shortly afterwards Gregory went to Damascus with an envoy of the Tartars, and restored¹⁴¹ the proclamation of Dionysius. When the maphrian heard it he left Aleppo and went to Tripolis, where shortly later he fell acutely sick. He departed from this life for this illness on Wednesday 12 June in the year 1569 of the Greeks. He made a covenant that the 600 gold dinars that had come with him from the East, should be distributed to our own churches and convents and to those of the Franks. Then the clerics and monks of the Franks all gathered and honourably followed him to the grave in a procession.¹⁴² [429] In the year 1573, when the city of Mosul was captured by the armies of the Mongols, most of our people of Nineveh fled to the city of Erbil. Since they had no place to pray, the nobles asked Mor Makkikha, the catholicos of the Nestorians, who was then in Erbil, to allow them to build a church for themselves. But (the idea) did not please him, who told them: ‘We will give you a pavilion¹⁴³ in our church, in which you can pray and also celebrate the Sacraments.’ But our people refused, and took succours to Mor Denḥa, metropolitan of Erbil, who later became catholicos, and the faithful emir Taj al-Din Bar Mukhtas; and they gave the permission to the chiefs of our people to buy a land and build a church as they wanted, even though the catholicos was against it. Then they started: first they bought a small courtyard, and set the communion altar there. They set up a wooden altar, and made the offerings in the days of the Great Lent. An uncountable number of persons participated,¹⁴⁴ and rejoiced greatly. Since they were poor refugees,¹⁴⁵ they only got sustenance from the labour of their hands, and they gladly gave the rest for the construction of the church, and until today they never stopped (working) [431] to complete it. They built also an episcopal cell in it, and a lodging inn for the monks and the visitors of the illustrious Mor Behnam. The Orthodox faith was spread in the city and its region, where there was no memory of it.

After Ignatius Saliba Bar Jacob, Gregory Abu al-Faraj Bar Aaron. At the time when the maphrian Ignatius died, the regions were troubled, Baghdad was devastated, and after that also Aleppo, all Syria and Mesopotamia. Afterwards the Arabs of Assyria and Nineveh attacked the Christians of those places and annihilated them. Shortly later the Tartars arrived and killed the Arabs, and a universal ruin fell on everybody. The afflicted Church of the East remained widowed for six years. Also for (another) three years before

¹⁴⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘proclaiming the patriarch Dionysius ‘Angur.’

¹⁴¹ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘again resisted.’

¹⁴² WILMSHURST 2016: ‘celebrated his obsequies in state and honour.’

¹⁴³ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘a part.’

¹⁴⁴ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘lent their aid.’

¹⁴⁵ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘Even though they were poor exiles.’

the death of the maphrian Saliba, it was deprived of a common Father. When the synod of the holy bishops assembled in Cilicia and ordained the patriarch Mor Ignatius Rabban Isho', archimandrite of Gawikat, they elected also the maphrian. Few days after the consecration of the patriarch [433] the bishops assembled with him in Sis of Cilicia, and elected Gregory Abu al-Faraj Bar Aaron, and proclaimed him maphrian of Tagrit and the East, on Sunday 19 January¹⁴⁶ in the year 1575 of the Greeks because also the patriarch Mor John Bar Ma'dani wanted to proclaim him, and he informed the Easterners that he was fit to rule them, but that the trouble that had struck the regions had delayed the ordination. In that day the king of Cilicia, his sons and his brothers, the rest of his nobles, and other Armenian bishops were present at the consecration of the maphrian together in the Church of the Mother of God in Sis. Then the patriarch and the maphrian with the rest of the bishops got ready and went to meet the king of kings, and one diploma was written for the patriarch, and another for the maphrian. When the patriarch set off to the Beth-Romaye, the maphrian came to Mosul, and the officials of the palace and all the Christians went to him, and made him enter with chants and psalms. From there he went up to the monastery, and was lovingly received by the monks and the inhabitants of the regions. He ordained bishop of Beth Nuhadra the monk Behnam known as Bar Summane in the upper church of Beth Daniel, [435] on the Wednesday of the middle of the Great Fast in the year 1576. He also went down to Baghdad, and the archdeacon and the other notables came out to meet him. When Mor Makkikha, the catholicos of the Nestorians, knew (of his arrival), he sent the son of his brother, the son of his sister and other ones of Baghdad to meet him, and they introduced him honourably to the catholicos. When he left the cell of the catholicos to go to his church which is at the gate of Muḥul, he sent with him those who had gone to meet him, and with them was a white satin priestly vestment. They came to dress the maphrian, and left. In those days it was Easter¹⁴⁷ and the maphrian sent to him honourable gifts, and the faithful much rejoiced of the maphrian. Crowds of Nestorians also gathered every day in our church, and they prepared the holy *myron*, and saw a prodigious sign: even though the *myron* was insufficient to fill four fingers of the ointment-box, after the consecration was completed it overflowed and it would flown out had it not been drained away with a small amphora. When some Nestorians heard that the Jacobites were proclaiming the maphrian catholicos [437] in the diptychs, they went to inform catholicos, who was devoured by jealousy and machinated for finding an opportunity to stir up a dispute. Then God -glory to His grace- restrained him from insulting anyone and in the days after the festival was seized with an illness of the colon

¹⁴⁶ WILMSHURST 2016: '16 January.'

¹⁴⁷ WILMSHURST 2016: om. 'In those days it was Easter.'

at the ninth hour of the Friday, and died on the morning of the Saturday¹⁴⁸ after the Saturday of the Easter, on 18 April 1576, and was buried in the new church which he had built. The maphrian was staying in Baghdad for all the summer, where he ordained many deacons and also ordained a bishop of Baghdad Isho‘ a monk of the monastery of Mor Hananiah, who was called Timotheus. He also ordained for Azerbaijan Denḥa Bar Hamza, from the monastery of Mor Matay, who was called John. This one, after having been ordained, left to go to his dioceses, arrived at Beth Şayyade, a village in the region of Erbil and died there. He was buried in the new church which had been built in the village. In the autumn the maphrian returned to Nineveh, and in the year 1577 he ordained as bishop of Gazarta d-Qardu Wahab, a monk of the monastery of Mor Matay, [439] who was called John. In the same days he also ordained as bishop for Azerbaijan Isho‘, a monk of the same monastery, who was called Severus. In this same year of 1577 Mor Denḥa, the metropolitan of Erbil, was ordained catholicos. He was the first to go to the camp of the king of kings but it happened that when the catholicos Makkikha died, Hulagu had also died. It was told to the believing queen Doquz Khatun¹⁴⁹ that Denḥa was fit to become catholicos since the very beginning but Makkikha overcome him by bribes and slanders.’ The queen ordered a *yarlyk* to be given to him. He came to Erbil, assembled the bishops and descended to Baghdad. He was ordained in Seleucia in November, on the third Sunday of the consecration of the church. In the year 1579 the maphrian went to the West, to see his people. On the road he met the patriarch in the city of Argish, which is on Lake Arcesti, who was going to lay a charge against the priest and physician Simeon over the affair of the monastery of Mor Barsoum. The maphrian did not want to meet the patriarch, because he had advised him that it was not right for the matter [441] to be brought in judgement before the barbarous Huns and for us to become contemptible in their eyes, and that we should have solved our affair with the priest among ourselves. But the patriarch did not welcome his advice and he suspected that the maphrian was supporting the priest. When the patriarch saw that the maphrian did not want to meet him, he sent three of the bishops who were with him to ask him to meet him. The maphrian condescended to them and went to see the patriarch where he was lodging, (Then) he left and went to Cilicia. The patriarch went to the king of kings, led his affair, and returned to the monastery. At the same time the maphrian fell sick of a serious dysentery in Sis of Cilicia. He reached the door of the death, but God had pity of him and he recovered. When the patriarch heard of his recovery, he sent him a loving letter, in which he thanked God for his help. When the maphrian recovered, he went to

¹⁴⁸ WILMSHURST 2016: ‘Sunday’.

¹⁴⁹ The wife of Hulagu, the first Il-Khan, and patroness of Christians in the Middle East. ‘Toghus Khatun’, EME: 541.

the patriarch in the monastery of Mor Barsoum. In those days the priest Simeon also came, and brought an edict which abrogated the one of the patriarch, and what the maphrian had said came into effect. The maphrian then left and went to Tabriz, and from there to Maragha, and he stayed [443] in the new convent where he exposed the book of Euclid. Then in autumn he went to Nineveh. In the winter of 1583 the bishop Basil of Tabriz died. He had restored the church in that city for our people with the help of (some) blessed merchants. When some monks from the monastery of Mor Matay approached the maphrian, and offered him a sum to ordain them to that diocese, he did not consent because they lacked learning and they had the manners of young men. Instead, he assigned (the diocese) to Severus of the same monastery,¹⁵⁰ who was welcomed when he went there in the days of the great feast of the Resurrection. Severus began to take care of the completion of the buildings of the new church in Tabriz. In the summer the maphrian went to Maragha for a second time, where he built a cell and an oratory in the new church. When he had stayed there for a year and had exposed the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, the priest Jacob, the brother of the priest and doctor Simeon, came to him after the feast of the Resurrection in the year 1584, and asked him to go with him to the monastery of Mor Barsoum to give them peace with the patriarch. The maphrian obeyed him, went up with him to the monastery, and from there he went to Cilicia to the patriarch, and brought [445] with him the deacon Nemrud, the son of the brother of the priests. He ordained him a priest and metropolitan of Melitene to confirm the peace (between them). Then the maphrian returned to Melitene, and from there to Nineveh. In the year 1585 the church of our people in the city of Baghdad, in the neighbourhood of the palace of the caliph, was restored with the help of the chief of the lawyers, Safi al-Dawla Sulayman Bar Gamala. In the year 1588 the bishop Severus of Tabriz died and the faithful much mourned his death, and by common consent (they elected) the monk Joseph, son of his sister. He came and was ordained by the maphrian in the monastery of Mor Matay in the days of the Great Fast, and went to sit in the church of Tabriz, and was called Dionysius. In the same year, in the days of the feast of the Resurrection, the maphrian went down to Baghdad and celebrated the feast there. He ordained as deacon Shams al-Dawla Mari, the son of 'Amin al-Dawla Thomas, and with him sons of the notables. He also consecrated the *myron* in the catholic church of Mor Thomas the Apostle at the gate of Muḥul, and ordained also other deacons in the other church of the Mother of God, in Baghdad. [447] Before the maphrian entered in Baghdad he send about his arrival to the archdeacon Thomas, who informed the catholicos Mor Denḥa, who sent the bishops and many notables of Bagdad to meet the maphrian. He encountered him on the roadside, and welcomed him with great honour. He returned to

¹⁵⁰ WILMSHURST 2016: 'he assigned the monastery to Severus.'

the large crowd of Jacobites and Nestorians and said to them: 'Blessed is the people for whom it has happened!' After he had stayed there all the summer, he went up to Tagrit in the autumn of the year 1589 and dwelt in its renowned churches. All the Tagritian notables everywhere rejoiced of it, because no maphrian had entered the city for the sixty years, since the patriarch Ignatius had left it. After he had remained there for about two months, he returned to Nineveh and ordained three bishops: Michael Mukhlas for Beth Ramman, Basil for the monastery of Mor Matay in the diocese of Beth Takshur, and Denḥa John for the convent of Mu'allaq. On the first Saturday of the great fast in the year 1590, when the maphrian was in the city of Maragha, [449] the bishop Athanasius Bar Summane of Beth Nuhadra, a competent and virtuous man, died at Bartella, and was brought to the monastery of Mor Matay. And in the same year when Simeon, known as Bar Qaligh, who was bishop of Tus, a city of Khorasan, and whom the catholicos Mor Denḥa had ordained metropolitan for the Chinese, began to behave arrogantly with the catholicos before he went to China, he (the catholicos) summoned him to Ushnuh, a city of Azerbaijan, and confiscated everything he possessed, and imprisoned him in the convent of Mor Behnam in the city of Luqeh. When he fled from there to the mountain, several inhabitants of the mountain captured him and brought him to the catholicos, who imprisoned him in his cell. Few days later he died, and also the bishops and monks who were with him. There are many different suppositions on how (it happened). In the year 1591 of the Greeks, on the Wednesday of Passion Week, John, bishop of Gazarta d-Qardu, died. Before (dying) he distributed everything he had, because he had been ill long ago. He rescued a prisoner and sent to the monastery and to the maphrian everything he could and he did not leave even a single obol. [451] In the year 1592 of the Greeks, when the catholicos Mor Denḥa set off to descend to Baghdad, he fell ill on the way, and after he had arrived, he remained ill for days. Thereupon, on the night of the Monday towards the dawn of the Great Fast, on 24 February of the same year, he departed from this life. When Mor Denḥa was still alive, two Uighur monks came from China on the order of the great Kublai Khan to go to worship in Jerusalem. And when they arrived to these regions they did not find a way nor a region through which to journey, and they were forced to stay with Mor Denḥa. Mor Denḥa, to avoid that his enemy Bar Qaligh could go to China, ordained one of these two Uighur or Turkish monks metropolitan of China, and named him Yahballaha. While they were ready to return to their region, Mor Denḥa died. Then the emir Ashmut who was of the same race as them, said to the king of kings that the Christians wanted Yahballaha to be their catholicos, and also that all the people of Baghdad wanted him because, for his closeness to the Mongols by race and language, he could help them. On account of this, a royal edict was promulgated that he should be catholicos. [453] He gathered 24 bishops, who descended to Seleucia-Ctesiphon and ordained him catholicos. Even though this Mor Yahballaha was weak in the doctrine and in (the knowledge) of the Syriac language, he was a man of good nature, and the fear of God was found in him; and he showed great

love to us and to our people. In the spring of the year 1593 of the Greeks, the maphrian decided to set off for the city of Tabriz, to complete the building of a new church there, because many things remained incomplete in its oratory. When he left and joined the cohort of the daughter of the Mongol king, so that he could journey with her, the news of the death of the king of kings Abaqa arrived. Therefore left the road to Tabriz and went to Taq, where a new king was going to be elected. When he arrived there, the illustrious Ahmad was elected and enthroned, and the nobles introduced the maphrian at his presence. He gave his greetings and blessings according to the custom, and (the king) ordered splendid diploma to be written for the churches of Azerbaijan, [455] Assyria and Mesopotamia. (Then) he left and came to stay in the church of Tabriz. He completed its oratory, and built a gate of cut stones (at its entrance). He also built cells above the oratory for travellers and a mortuary chapel because except for an ice cellar under the nave there was no place for the accommodation of the bishop. He built a summer porch and a winter residence with a fireplace. He did all that he could, but in fact his brother Barsoum Safi took care of all these things. When at the beginning of the year 1594 of the Greeks, the patriarch Mor Ignatius died, messengers came from the monastery with letters of submission and apology for the haste with which they had appointed the new patriarch; but the maphrian did not accept them. Shortly afterwards the physician Rabban Simeon came in person to see the maphrian, and cajoled him in many ways to accept the son of his brother; but he refused to be seduced, and replied: 'From the ancient times the Holy Fathers prescribed that no maphrian was to be appointed without a patriarch, nor [457] a patriarch without a maphrian. Since these men have transgressed the law and the canons of the Fathers, I will have nothing to do with them, nor will I participate in their transgression of the law.' The physician left offended and the maphrian set off with the cohort of the king's daughter, to come to Nineveh. Taj al-Dawlat the son of Rabban Simeon came to meet him on the road, on account of this affair; and because the maphrian had raised him up and instructed him, and loved him as a son, he accepted him and his gifts. (Then) the maphrian wrote to give his consent to Philoxenus, saying: 'Why do you think that I was indignant about this (affair) because I wanted to be appointed (as patriarch)? God, who observes (men's) hearts, knows that there is not a single limb of my body that desire this, for many reasons. One is that it is almost 40 years since I received the rank of high-priest, twenty in the West and twenty in the East, and I have had enough of this office. So now I long for quiet, tranquillity and a serene life, and the good conclusion and ending that is reserved for men of peace. Another reason is that I have been, by the grace of God, in great tranquillity in this Eastern community of mine, [459] and it is not that I lack something here so that I should flee from this community and move to another one, like my deceased predecessors. Even though ours is a time of restraints, in no other place is the peace I have in the East to be found. Third, even if I desired the patriarchate, like the others, since the dioceses of the West have long been devastated, what desire remains to

me? Should I desire Antioch, where there are only lamentations and tears? Or the sacred diocese of Gumal, where nobody remains to burn (incense) on a wall? Or Berua, Mabbug, Callinicus, Edessa, Harran, all deserted? Or the seven dioceses around Melitene: Laqabin, 'Arqa, Qalisura, Gubos, Şemḥa, Claudia and Gargar, where there is no one left? From these things it is clear that the cause of my resentment is the fact that your behaviour was reprehensible and blameworthy and that you did what you did without the agreement of Westerners and Easterners. Now you and your Lord know that there is no dissimulation towards him.' At this time the maphrian transferred two physicians, his disciples, in the city of Tabriz, because Abu al-Khair had taken a wife in Tabriz, and [461] John in Maragha. He came to Nineveh in the days of the Great Fast, of the year 1595 of the Greeks, and chose the monk and priest Rabban Job from Beth Khudayda, and named and proclaimed him bishop over the diocese of Beth Nuhadra. He was the twelfth bishop the maphrian ordained in the East. In the same year the village of Beth Akre, where there was the sanctuary of Mor John Bar Naggare, was devastated, there were in it a number of marauding bands and they robbed the priests and deacons who were visiting it. The maphrian began to build a convent dedicated to the same martyr, to the northwest of the citadel of Bartella in the region of Nineveh; and thus the clerics lived in great quiet. In the year 1596 of the Greeks the building of the famous convent built by the maphrian in the name of Mor John Bar Naggare outside Bartella was completed; and since the believing queen Despina Khatun¹⁵¹ [463] had summoned two illustrious painters from Constantinople, from her father the emperor, to decorate the church of the Greeks in the city of Tabriz, the maphrian summoned one of them, and he began to decorate the new church of Bar Naggare. Before this year the maphrian had sent a bishop and many monks and priests to bring the relic of the saint from the old church. When they went digging, they did not find anything; but the saint appeared to some of the faithful in a dream, saying: 'If the maphrian does not come no relic will be found.' Since the maphrian did not trust the word of the laymen, pretended to be sick and closed the door of the bedroom in his cell. He fasted, prayed and spoke to nobody, from Friday night up to the night of the following Sunday, 23 November of this year. After the nightly prayer, when he was half-asleep, he saw a glorious young man, who said to him: 'The relic is under the old throne.' When the maphrian heard this, he called his brother and said: 'I want to go in person to search for the relic.' They brought horses for him and for two bishops, and they rode to the old church. The maphrian told the diggers to dig

¹⁵¹ Maria Palaiologina (13th cent.), illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII Palaeologus. She married the Mongol Il-Khan Abaqa. According to the traditional interpretation, the epithet 'Despina' (دسپينا) corresponds to the Greek Δέσποινα 'Lady'. See D'Ohsson 1852, cited in Abbeloos-Lamy 1877: 462. Cf. RUNCIMAN 1987: 320. Note also the possibility that it is a later corruption for دسپينا, transliteration of Δούκαινα, from the name of a noble Byzantine lineage. See variants of the manuscripts in the text.

where [465] there was once the altar. When they went down under the soil, they found a sarcophagus, dust-covered, and a marble urn inside the sarcophagus; and when they forced to open it, they found bones embalmed with spices. Then they rejoiced with great joy, and sent to inform to Bartella. The priests, deacons and all the clerics of Bartella went out to meet them, and carried the coffin in the new sanctuary with hymns, and placed it in the *martyrion*. On the Sunday after the discovery of these relics, the maphrian ordained Gabriel, a monk of Bartella from the monastery of Mor Matay, bishop of Gazarta, city of Qardu, and called him Dioscorus, after the diocese had remained (widowed) for five years. He was the architect of the convent which the maphrian built above the relic of Bar Naggare. In the year 1597 of the Greeks, the sixtieth year of the maphrian, he (began) to fear death, and to wait for it. He said: 'In the year when Saturn and Jupiter were in conjunction in the sign of Aquarius I was born. Twenty years later when they were in conjunction in Libra I was ordained bishop [467] After other twenty years, when they were in conjunction in Gemini I was entrusted the maphrianate. Twenty years later when they again are in conjunction in Aquarius, I think that I will depart from this world.' He also said: 'O snare of the world, in the year 1537 your noose snatched me, and in the year 1597 I think I will be no longer in you.'

Text

חלל ו'אמלשעלעם אהםל פלעלל ו'אזלם ו'חלל ו'מחללעל רלל

מ'אמלל מ'מל ו'אמלשעלעם חלל ו'נעל סעללל מ'חללל

- 10 [1] חב אללל נלללל חללל ו'אמלשעלעם אהםל פלעלל
 ו'אזלם¹ ו'מחללעל רלל. ו'סמ ח'מלל א'לל ל'עללל ס'נלסל מ'ח
 ח'נ'ע'נע'סע מ'עללל ו'מ'סל ו'ס' א'לל אל'נל² ח' א'ז'ל א'מל
 מ'חלללל³ אללל נלללל ח' ח'לללל א'מל⁴ [3] מ'מלל ח'ללל
 ח'ס'ח'לל נ'מ ח'ללללל מ'מ'ח'לללל ח'לללל ס'מ'ח'לללל ס'ח'לל⁵
 ח' א'ס' ו'ל'ח'לל ח'מל ח'ס'ח'לל נ'ח'לל. מ'ס א' מ'ל ח'ב אלל ח'ל
 פלעלל ו'אזלם ו'ע'ל ח'לללל ח'לל א'לל: ס'מ'אמלל מ'מל ו'חל
 ו'נעל ס'סעלל ח'חללל מ' א'ז'ל ו'נע'לל מ'מל ו'ו'לללל⁶
 ח'ללל⁷ מ'לל א'לל: ס'ל'ל א'נ'ל ח'ח'לל א'לל ו'ל'ל ו'ס' מ'ס'חל
 א'ל ו'ח'ל ח'ח'לל ח'לל א'ל ו'ח'ל ח'ח'לל ח'לל. ס'מ'לל ו'אז'ל⁸ ח'ס'ל⁹
 ו'נ'ל ח'לל ס'סעלל ח'לללל א'נ'ל. ס'ח'לל ו'ח'ח'לל ס'ס'ח'לל ח'ל
 א'ס'ו ח'ס'לל¹⁰ ח'ללל. ח'נ' ח'ח'לל¹¹ ו'ח'ס'לל א'לל¹² א'ס'ו
 ס'מ'סלל. ח'לל¹³ ס'סעלל ח'ללל א'לל¹⁴ א'לל. א'לל ס'ס'ח'לל ח'ס'ח'לל
 ו'לל ח'ל א'לל¹⁵ א'לל. ס'מ'לל ו'מ' ח'ח'ללל ו'ע'ללל א'ס'ו ס'ס'ס'ס'ס'
 ס'ל'ל מ'ח [5] מ'ס'ל ו'אז'ל ח'ס'ו א'לל¹⁵ חלל ו'נע'ל ח'לל
 ו'ח'לל. ס'לל מ'ס'ללל לל מ'ס'ס'לל מ'לללל ח'ח'לללל. ח'ל¹⁶
 ח'ס'ו ח'ח'ל מ'ס'לל לל ס'ס'ס' ח'ס'לללל. ח'ללל נ'ללל ח'לל
 א'ל ר'ס'ו¹⁷ ח'ל¹⁸ ח'ל מ'לל א'ללל חלל ח'ס'מ ר'לל ח'ח'לל ס'ס'ל
 ס'ס'ס'ל. ח'לללללל ח'ל ח'ס'ל א'לל ס'ס'ל ח'ז'ל.

[7] מ'אמלל מ'מל ו'אמלשעלעם חלל ו'נעל ס'סעלל

- 30 מ'חללל.
 מ'מל¹⁹ א'ז'ל ו'נע'לל מ'מל מ' ח'ח'ל א'ס'ח'ל²⁰ ח'לל
 ל'ללל ס'ס'ח' ו'ס'ס'ל. ס'ס' מ'ס'ל ח' ח'ח'לל אללל א'ללל. ס'ח'לל
 ח'ללל ו'ח'ח'ל אללל א'ללל ח'לל. ס'נ'ס'ס' ס'ו'לל ס'ס'ח'לל
 אללל מ'לל: ס'לללל א'ס'ו א'לל. א'ס'לל ח'ל ו'ו'לל ס'ס'ס'ס'ל
 ו'ס'ח'לל ח'ח'לל. ח'ס'ל ו'ס' א'ז'ל ו'נעל ס'סעלל ו'ח'לל ס'ס'ח'לל ח'לל
 ח'ללל ס'ל'ח'לל ס'מ'לל.
 [9] ח'ללל א'ז'ל: אלל²¹ ח'ל. א'ל ח'ל²² ח'ללל ס'סעלל ס'סעלל
 ו'ח'לל ח'ב ח'ס'לל ו'מ' ח'לל ח'לל. ס'ס'ל ס'ל'לל ח'לל א'ס'לל
 ו'אז'ל: מ'לל ו'ס'זל ס'ס'לל א'לללל א'לללל. ח'ח'ל ח'ח'לל ס'לל

מ'עללל ו'מ'סל ו'ס' א'לל אל'נל ח' א'ז'ל א'מל V pro² | ו'חלל F add.¹
 ו'ס' א'לל אל'נל ח' א'ז'ל א'מל מ'חלללל מ'עללל ו'מ'סל habet מ'חלללל³ |
 ח'מ'לל א'לל ל'עללל ס'נ'ס'ס'ס' מ'עללל ו'מ'סל ו'ס' א'לל F pro
 א'לל מ'ח' ח'נ'ע'נע'סע מ'עללל מ'סל habet אל'נל ח' א'ז'ל א'מל מ'חלללל
 פלעלל ו'חל ו'נעל ס'סעלל V add. | אללל נ'ללל ח' ח'לללל א'מל⁴ V om.
 ו'ח'ללל F⁷ | ו'ו'ללל F | ו'ו'ללל ו'ס' V⁶ | ס'ח'ל[ל] אלל⁵ AL | ו'ח'לללל
 V¹⁰ | ח'ס'ל ח'לל ח'ס'ל ח'ס'ל ו'ס' F | ו'ח'ל ס'ס'ל ח'לל ו'ס' V⁸
 V¹⁴ | ח'ס' AL add.¹³ | א'ל ר'ל AL¹² | ח'לל AL¹¹ | ס'ס'לל F | ח'ס'ס'ס'ס'
 מ'מ'ל V¹⁹ | ח'ל V¹⁸ | F om.¹⁷ | לל F¹⁶ | ו'ח'לל F¹⁵ | אלללל AL²⁰
 V²² | אלל F²¹ | מ'חלל V

[illegible]

1 $V \overset{\sim}{\text{om}}$ | 2 $V \text{ om}$ | 3 $O \text{ om}$. | 4 $AL \text{ om}$. | 5 $V \text{ om}$ | 6 $F \text{ om}$ | 7 $V \text{ om}$ | 8 $F \text{ om}$ | 9 $V \text{ om}$ | 10 $V \text{ om}$ | 11 $F \text{ om}$ | 12 $V \text{ om}$ | 13 $V-F \text{ om}$ | 14 $V \text{ om}$ | 15 $F \text{ om}$ | 16 $V \text{ om}$ | 17 $V-F \text{ om}$ | 18 $O \text{ om}$ | 19 $F-O \text{ om}$ | 20 $F \text{ add}$ | 21 $V-O \text{ om}$ | 22 $V-O \text{ om}$ | 23 $V-O \text{ om}$ | 24 $F \text{ om}$ | 25 $V \text{ om}$ | 26 $V \text{ om}$

- 10 ¹ habet ² AL pro ³ AL ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹
- 10 ¹ habet ² AL pro ³ AL ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹
- 20 ¹ habet ² AL pro ³ AL ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹
- 30 ¹ habet ² AL pro ³ AL ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹
- 40 ¹ habet ² AL pro ³ AL ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹

¹ habet ² AL pro ³ AL ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹

[illegible]

[89] **حاج؛ علامہ مکہ: صفحہ ۱۰** ^{۱۰} اوسا عتلا لکھ. ۵/۱۰۵

[illegible]

ح؛ سرفهه: ١٧ لاهيهه. عتلا حله. صخا وم ح. الحج

[illegible]

كتاب¹ مع ج²ا. مع ا³ا افعلا وسمه افعلا له افعلا
 افعلا معلا وها [101] ه⁴ه⁵ه⁶ه⁷ه⁸ه⁹ه¹⁰ه¹¹ه¹²ه¹³ه¹⁴ه¹⁵ه¹⁶ه¹⁷ه¹⁸ه¹⁹ه²⁰ه²¹ه²²ه²³ه²⁴ه²⁵ه²⁶ه²⁷ه²⁸ه²⁹ه³⁰ه³¹ه³²ه³³ه³⁴ه³⁵ه³⁶ه³⁷ه³⁸ه³⁹ه⁴⁰ه⁴¹ه⁴²ه⁴³ه⁴⁴ه⁴⁵ه⁴⁶ه⁴⁷ه⁴⁸ه⁴⁹ه⁵⁰ه⁵¹ه⁵²ه⁵³ه⁵⁴ه⁵⁵ه⁵⁶ه⁵⁷ه⁵⁸ه⁵⁹ه⁶⁰ه⁶¹ه⁶²ه⁶³ه⁶⁴ه⁶⁵ه⁶⁶ه⁶⁷ه⁶⁸ه⁶⁹ه⁷⁰ه⁷¹ه⁷²ه⁷³ه⁷⁴ه⁷⁵ه⁷⁶ه⁷⁷ه⁷⁸ه⁷⁹ه⁸⁰ه⁸¹ه⁸²ه⁸³ه⁸⁴ه⁸⁵ه⁸⁶ه⁸⁷ه⁸⁸ه⁸⁹ه⁹⁰ه⁹¹ه⁹²ه⁹³ه⁹⁴ه⁹⁵ه⁹⁶ه⁹⁷ه⁹⁸ه⁹⁹ه¹⁰⁰ه¹⁰¹ه¹⁰²ه¹⁰³ه¹⁰⁴ه¹⁰⁵ه¹⁰⁶ه¹⁰⁷ه¹⁰⁸ه¹⁰⁹ه¹¹⁰ه¹¹¹ه¹¹²ه¹¹³ه¹¹⁴ه¹¹⁵ه¹¹⁶ه¹¹⁷ه¹¹⁸ه¹¹⁹ه¹²⁰ه¹²¹ه¹²²ه¹²³ه¹²⁴ه¹²⁵ه¹²⁶ه¹²⁷ه¹²⁸ه¹²⁹ه¹³⁰ه¹³¹ه¹³²ه¹³³ه¹³⁴ه¹³⁵ه¹³⁶ه¹³⁷ه¹³⁸ه¹³⁹ه¹⁴⁰ه¹⁴¹ه¹⁴²ه¹⁴³ه¹⁴⁴ه¹⁴⁵ه¹⁴⁶ه¹⁴⁷ه¹⁴⁸ه¹⁴⁹ه¹⁵⁰ه¹⁵¹ه¹⁵²ه¹⁵³ه¹⁵⁴ه¹⁵⁵ه¹⁵⁶ه¹⁵⁷ه¹⁵⁸ه¹⁵⁹ه¹⁶⁰ه¹⁶¹ه¹⁶²ه¹⁶³ه¹⁶⁴ه¹⁶⁵ه¹⁶⁶ه¹⁶⁷ه¹⁶⁸ه¹⁶⁹ه¹⁷⁰ه¹⁷¹ه¹⁷²ه¹⁷³ه¹⁷⁴ه¹⁷⁵ه¹⁷⁶ه¹⁷⁷ه¹⁷⁸ه¹⁷⁹ه¹⁸⁰ه¹⁸¹ه¹⁸²ه¹⁸³ه¹⁸⁴ه¹⁸⁵ه¹⁸⁶ه¹⁸⁷ه¹⁸⁸ه¹⁸⁹ه¹⁹⁰ه¹⁹¹ه¹⁹²ه¹⁹³ه¹⁹⁴ه¹⁹⁵ه¹⁹⁶ه¹⁹⁷ه¹⁹⁸ه¹⁹⁹ه²⁰⁰ه²⁰¹ه²⁰²ه²⁰³ه²⁰⁴ه²⁰⁵ه²⁰⁶ه²⁰⁷ه²⁰⁸ه²⁰⁹ه²¹⁰ه²¹¹ه²¹²ه²¹³ه²¹⁴ه²¹⁵ه²¹⁶ه²¹⁷ه²¹⁸ه²¹⁹ه²²⁰ه²²¹ه²²²ه²²³ه²²⁴ه²²⁵ه²²⁶ه²²⁷ه²²⁸ه²²⁹ه²³⁰ه²³¹ه²³²ه²³³ه²³⁴ه²³⁵ه²³⁶ه²³⁷ه²³⁸ه²³⁹ه²⁴⁰ه²⁴¹ه²⁴²ه²⁴³ه²⁴⁴ه²⁴⁵ه²⁴⁶ه²⁴⁷ه²⁴⁸ه²⁴⁹ه²⁵⁰ه²⁵¹ه²⁵²ه²⁵³ه²⁵⁴ه²⁵⁵ه²⁵⁶ه²⁵⁷ه²⁵⁸ه²⁵⁹ه²⁶⁰ه²⁶¹ه²⁶²ه²⁶³ه²⁶⁴ه²⁶⁵ه²⁶⁶ه²⁶⁷ه²⁶⁸ه²⁶⁹ه²⁷⁰ه²⁷¹ه²⁷²ه²⁷³ه²⁷⁴ه²⁷⁵ه²⁷⁶ه²⁷⁷ه²⁷⁸ه²⁷⁹ه²⁸⁰ه²⁸¹ه²⁸²ه²⁸³ه²⁸⁴ه²⁸⁵ه²⁸⁶ه²⁸⁷ه²⁸⁸ه²⁸⁹ه²⁹⁰ه²⁹¹ه²⁹²ه²⁹³ه²⁹⁴ه²⁹⁵ه²⁹⁶ه²⁹⁷ه²⁹⁸ه²⁹⁹ه³⁰⁰ه³⁰¹ه³⁰²ه³⁰³ه³⁰⁴ه³⁰⁵ه³⁰⁶ه³⁰⁷ه³⁰⁸ه³⁰⁹ه³¹⁰ه³¹¹ه³¹²ه³¹³ه³¹⁴ه³¹⁵ه³¹⁶ه³¹⁷ه³¹⁸ه³¹⁹ه³²⁰ه³²¹ه³²²ه³²³ه³²⁴ه³²⁵ه³²⁶ه³²⁷ه³²⁸ه³²⁹ه³³⁰ه³³¹ه³³²ه³³³ه³³⁴ه³³⁵ه³³⁶ه³³⁷ه³³⁸ه³³⁹ه³⁴⁰ه³⁴¹ه³⁴²ه³⁴³ه³⁴⁴ه³⁴⁵ه³⁴⁶ه³⁴⁷ه³⁴⁸ه³⁴⁹ه³⁵⁰ه³⁵¹ه³⁵²ه³⁵³ه³⁵⁴ه³⁵⁵ه³⁵⁶ه³⁵⁷ه³⁵⁸ه³⁵⁹ه³⁶⁰ه³⁶¹ه³⁶²ه³⁶³ه³⁶⁴ه³⁶⁵ه³⁶⁶ه³⁶⁷ه³⁶⁸ه³⁶⁹ه³⁷⁰ه³⁷¹ه³⁷²ه³⁷³ه³⁷⁴ه³⁷⁵ه³⁷⁶ه³⁷⁷ه³⁷⁸ه³⁷⁹ه³⁸⁰ه³⁸¹ه³⁸²ه³⁸³ه³⁸⁴ه³⁸⁵ه³⁸⁶ه³⁸⁷ه³⁸⁸ه³⁸⁹ه³⁹⁰ه³⁹¹ه³⁹²ه³⁹³ه³⁹⁴ه³⁹⁵ه³⁹⁶ه³⁹⁷ه³⁹⁸ه³⁹⁹ه⁴⁰⁰ه⁴⁰¹ه⁴⁰²ه⁴⁰³ه⁴⁰⁴ه⁴⁰⁵ه⁴⁰⁶ه⁴⁰⁷ه⁴⁰⁸ه⁴⁰⁹ه⁴¹⁰ه⁴¹¹ه⁴¹²ه⁴¹³ه⁴¹⁴ه⁴¹⁵ه⁴¹⁶ه⁴¹

1 V مَحَلِّه | 2 V-F-O حَصَب | 3 F-O جَد | 4 O جَدِّه | 5 V-F-O
 6 F مَلِّه | 7 V-F-O حَصَب | 8 V-F om. | 9 V-F-O حَصَف
 10 V-F-O om. | 11 V-F-O om. | 12 V عَجَزَ عَصَب | 13 O
 14 V فَعَلَ | 15 O add. هُ | 16 V لَحَص | 17 V-F مَر | 18 F

[illegible]

1 O om. | 2 AL-O de. ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸

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6 | جمعنا O⁵ | جمعنا V⁴ | هو V³ | حبنا V² | حبسنا O¹
 جلس و.. V-O om.¹⁰ | وتعمد V⁹ | ولا V⁸ | فضل AL⁷ | بلغني AL
 O¹³ | يضحى V¹³ | حبلا F add.¹² | حبسه V-O¹¹ | استل حم بنا
 V¹⁷ | V-O om.¹⁶ | حسدا O¹⁵ | سئل مذكرا وحاجبا V-O¹⁴ | يضحى
 و; عمدا وعلا لقب وبنار V-O om.²⁰ | عاصا V-O¹⁹ | وحسا AL¹⁸ | و; علسا
 رحوا O²¹

[illegible]

1 V $\bar{\alpha}$ | 2 V-O-AL $\bar{\alpha}$ | 3 AL $\bar{\alpha}$ | 4 V-O $\bar{\alpha}$ | 5 O add. $\bar{\alpha}$ | 6 F om. | 7 V-O $\bar{\alpha}$ | 8 V-O om. | 9 AL $\bar{\alpha}$ | 10 V-O om. | 11 AL $\bar{\alpha}$ | 12 O add. $\bar{\alpha}$ | 13 V-O $\bar{\alpha}$ | 14 V add. $\bar{\alpha}$ | 15 V-O add. $\bar{\alpha}$ | 16 V $\bar{\alpha}$

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 ٢٠
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1 V حلهما | 2 AL حلهما | 3 F هوهم | 4 V om. | 5 V-F لضعه | 6 O
 7 V om. | 8 V همهم | 9 V om. | 10 V
 11 O ولا يلجم | 12 V حلهما | 13 V om. | 14 V-F همهم | 15 V-F
 16 V-F سلهما | 17 V om. لضمهم | 18 V om. حلهما | 19 V
 20 V همهم | 21 F om. | 22 V همهم | 23 F add.

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1 V-O add. مَبْتَعَا | 2 V O add. تَسَا | 3 O مَحْمَلَا | 4 V-O اُؤْتِ | 5 V-O مَحْمَلَا مَحْمَلَا | 6 F حَجَّ | 7 V om. | 8 AL مَحْمَلَا | 9 V-F-O مَحْمَلَا | 10 AL نَبَلَا | 11 V مَحْمَلَا | 12 V-O لا | 13 V مَحْمَلَا | 14 O اُؤْتِ | 15 O اُؤْتِ | 16 V om. | 17 V مَحْمَلَا | 18 V مَحْمَلَا | 19 AL مَحْمَلَا | 20 V مَحْمَلَا | 21 F مَحْمَلَا | 22 V لا

[illegible]

1 O om. | 2 F وَاَلَمْ | 3 AL om. لَمْ يَكُنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ | 4 V وَفِي | 5 O فِي | 6 V-F وَفِي | 7 O فِي | 8 O فِي | 9 V وَفِي | 10 V وَفِي | 11 F وَفِي | 12 V وَفِي | 13 V وَفِي

1/فصحة فل يسهلونه فبذله لم فذمنا ففصلنا فافصه
 وذنمنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا
 2/افتحة ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا
 3/افتحة ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا
 4/افتحة ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا
 5/افتحة ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا
 6/افتحة ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا
 7/افتحة ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا
 8/افتحة ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا ففصلنا

¹ O om. | ² F om. | ³ V | ⁴ O add. | ⁵ V

⁶ AL om. | ⁷ V om. ⁸ V ⁹ om.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[199] **حَلَّ؛ فَهَلَا مَوَا: أَوْفَرُ أَهْمَةٍ.**⁷ وَمَلَمَّا حَ فُجِّلَا. هَمْ

[illegible]

[201] **حاجی، آفرین، سمیه / فریم، محبوبه.** ۱۴۰۱. **مجله دانش فنی**

[illegible]

¹ V om. | ² V-O همعلا | ³ V حمعلا | ⁴ V وحلا | ⁵ V مبالا | ⁶ O om. | ⁷ V add. حلا وحلا | ⁸ V املعلا حمعلا | ⁹ O حمعلا | ¹⁰ V مبالا | ¹¹ V حمعلا مبالا | ¹² F حمعلا | ¹³ V-F-O همعلا | ¹⁴ V om.

- 10 [211] [215] [217] [218] [219] [220] [221] [222] [223] [224] [225] [226] [227] [228] [229] [230] [231] [232] [233] [234] [235] [236] [237] [238] [239] [240] [241] [242] [243] [244] [245] [246] [247] [248] [249] [250] [251] [252] [253] [254] [255] [256] [257] [258] [259] [260] [261] [262] [263] [264] [265] [266] [267] [268] [269] [270] [271] [272] [273] [274] [275] [276] [277] [278] [279] [280] [281] [282] [283] [284] [285] [286] [287] [288] [289] [290] [291] [292] [293] [294] [295] [296] [297] [298] [299] [300] [301] [302] [303] [304] [305] [306] [307] [308] [309] [310] [311] [312] [313] [314] [315] [316] [317] [318] [319] [320] [321] [322] [323] [324] [325] [326] [327] [328] [329] [330] [331] [332] [333] [334] [335] [336] [337] [338] [339] [340] [341] [342] [343] [344] [345] [346] [347] [348] [349] [350] [351] [352] [353] [354] [355] [356] [357] [358] [359] [360] [361] [362] [363] [364] [365] [366] [367] [368] [369] [370] [371] [372] [373] [374] [375] [376] [377] [378] [379] [380] [381] [382] [383] [384] [385] [386] [387] [388] [389] [390] [391] [392] [393] [394] [395] [396] [397] [398] [399] [400] [401] [402] [403] [404] [405] [406] [407] [408] [409] [410] [411] [412] [413] [414] [415] [416] [417] [418] [419] [420] [421] [422] [423] [424] [425] [426] [427] [428] [429] [430] [431] [432] [433] [434] [435] [436] [437] [438] [439] [440] [441] [442] [443] [444] [445] [446] [447] [448] [449] [450] [451] [452] [453] [454] [455] [456] [457] [458] [459] [460] [461] [462] [463] [464] [465] [466] [467] [468] [469] [470] [471] [472] [473] [474] [475] [476] [477] [478] [479] [480] [481] [482] [483] [484] [485] [486] [487] [488] [489] [490] [491] [492] [493] [494] [495] [496] [497] [498] [499] [500] [501] [502] [503] [504] [505] [506] [507] [508] [509] [510] [511] [512] [513] [514] [515] [516] [517] [518] [519] [520] [521] [522] [523] [524] [525] [526] [527] [528] [529] [530] [531] [532] [533] [534] [535] [536] [537] [538] [539] [540] [541] [542] [543] [544] [545] [546] [547] [548] [549] [550] [551] [552] [553] [554] [555] [556] [557] [558] [559] [560] [561] [562] [563] [564] [565] [566] [567] [568] [569] [570] [571] [572] [573] [574] [575] [576] [577] [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594] [595] [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602] [603] [604] [605] [606] [607] [608] [609] [610] [611] [612] [613] [614] [615] [616] [617] [618] [619] [620] [621] [622] [623] [624] [625] [626] [627] [628] [629] [630] [631] [632] [633] [634] [635] [636] [637] [638] [639] [640] [641] [642] [643] [644] [645] [646] [647] [648] [649] [650] [651] [652] [653] [654] [655] [656] [657] [658] [659] [660] [661] [662] [663] [664] [665] [666] [667] [668] [669] [670] [671] [672] [673] [674] [675] [676] [677] [678] [679] [680] [681] [682] [683] [684] [685] [686] [687] [688] [689] [690] [691] [692] [693] [694] [695] [696] [697] [698] [699] [700] [701] [702] [703] [704] [705] [706] [707] [708] [709] [710] [711] [712] [713] [714] [715] [716] [717] [718] [719] [720] [721] [722] [723] [724] [725] [726] [727] [728] [729] [730] [731] [732] [733] [734] [735] [736] [737] [738] [739] [740] [741] [742] [743] [744] [745] [746] [747] [748] [749] [750] [751] [752] [753] [754] [755] [756] [757] [758] [759] [760] [761] [762] [763] [764] [765] [766] [767] [768] [769] [770] [771] [772] [773] [774] [775] [776] [777] [778] [779] [780] [781] [782] [783] [784] [785] [786] [787] [788] [789] [790] [791] [792] [793] [794] [795] [796] [797] [798] [799] [800] [801] [802] [803] [804] [805] [806] [807] [808] [809] [810] [811] [812] [813] [814] [815] [816] [817] [818] [819] [820] [821] [822] [823] [824] [825] [826] [827] [828] [829] [830] [831] [832] [833] [834] [835] [836] [837] [838] [839] [840] [841] [842] [843] [844] [845] [846] [847] [848] [849] [850] [851] [852] [853] [854] [855] [856] [857] [858] [859] [860] [861] [862] [863] [864] [865] [866] [867] [868] [869] [870] [871] [872] [873] [874] [875] [876] [877] [878] [879] [880] [881] [882] [883] [884] [885] [886] [887] [888] [889] [890] [891] [892] [893] [894] [895] [896] [897] [898] [899] [900] [901] [902] [903] [904] [905] [906] [907] [908] [909] [910] [911] [912] [913] [914] [915] [916] [917] [918] [919] [920] [921] [922] [923] [924] [925] [926] [927] [928] [929] [930] [931] [932] [933] [934] [935] [936] [937] [938] [939] [940] [941] [942] [943] [944] [945] [946] [947] [948] [949] [950] [951] [952] [953] [954] [955] [956] [957] [958] [959] [960] [961] [962] [963] [964] [965] [966] [967] [968] [969] [970] [971] [972] [973] [974] [975] [976] [977] [978] [979] [980] [981] [982] [983] [984] [985] [986] [987] [988] [989] [990] [991] [992] [993] [994] [995] [996] [997] [998] [999] [1000]

1 O om. | 2 AL | 3 F om. | 4 F | 5 | 6 AL | 7 V | 8 AL add. | 9 V-F om. | 10 O | 11 V om. | 12 V | 13 AL de. | 14 V om. | 15 V | 16 AL | 17 V | 18 AL | 19 V | 20 AL | 21 V | 22 AL | 23 V | 24 AL | 25 V | 26 AL | 27 V | 28 AL | 29 V | 30 AL | 31 V | 32 AL | 33 V | 34 AL | 35 V | 36 AL | 37 V | 38 AL | 39 V | 40 AL | 41 V | 42 AL | 43 V | 44 AL | 45 V | 46 AL | 47 V | 48 AL | 49 V | 50 AL | 51 V | 52 AL | 53 V | 54 AL | 55 V | 56 AL | 57 V | 58 AL | 59 V | 60 AL | 61 V | 62 AL | 63 V | 64 AL | 65 V | 66 AL | 67 V | 68 AL | 69 V | 70 AL | 71 V | 72 AL | 73 V | 74 AL | 75 V | 76 AL | 77 V | 78 AL | 79 V | 80 AL | 81 V | 82 AL | 83 V | 84 AL | 85 V | 86 AL | 87 V | 88 AL | 89 V | 90 AL | 91 V | 92 AL | 93 V | 94 AL | 95 V | 96 AL

10
 20
 30
 40

¹ 0 om. | ² V add. | ³ V om.

| ⁴ V om. | ⁵ V-F om. | ⁶ V-O-F add. ۛ | ⁷ F ۛ | ⁸ V
om. | ⁹ V ۛ | ¹⁰ V ۛ | ¹¹ O add. ۛ | ¹² F add. ۛ

13 V-O-F | 0 | فلاحه

[illegible]

¹ V add. حو | ² V-O وضعه | ³ O هاهنا | ⁴ O هف مسمي | ⁵ V om.
⁶ V اذله. مسمي، اهنا هولا، وها فلتا حلو متعصب ذنبا
 | ⁷ V عنتا له | ⁸ AL om. | ⁹ F om. | ¹⁰ O
 add. اسكفا | ¹¹ V عنتي

10
 20
 30
 40

1 V ¹ ² F om. | ³ O add. ⁴ F ⁵ O ⁶ V ⁷ V-F ⁸ V-F om. | ⁹ V om. | ¹⁰ O ¹¹ O ¹² F

١٠
 ٢٠
 ٣٠
 ٤٠

¹ AL-V-F-O om. cf. MICHAEL THE GREAT, *Chronicle*, X.16:

369T. | ² F ف | ³ V ف | ⁴ F om. | ⁵ F ف | ⁶ V ف | ⁷ O om. | ⁸ O om. | ⁹ F ف | ¹⁰ O ف | ¹¹ O ف | ¹² O om. | ¹³ AL om. | ¹⁴ V ف | ¹⁵ F ف | ¹⁶ V ف | ¹⁷ F ف | ¹⁸ O om. | ¹⁹ V ف

12 O om. | 13 AL om. | 14
V | 15 F | 16 V | 17 F | 18 O om.

١٩ V | مې صلا هلا حېغه ومه حمنې. لا زوف وياجنې

[illegible]

1 V *لَو، لَو، لَو* | 2 O add. *ص* | 3 V *حَلَا* | 4 F *جَوَّه* | 5 V *لَو، لَو، لَو* | 6 AL *om.* | 7 V *om.* | 8 F *om.* | 9 V *لَو، لَو، لَو* | 10 F *جَوَّه* | 11 F *لَو، لَو، لَو* | 12 V *جَوَّه* | 13 O add. *حَلَا* | 14 V *لَو، لَو، لَو* | 15 V *جَوَّه* | 16 F *لَو، لَو، لَو*

[illegible]

¹ حوينا مې. AL-O de. | ² فوځه ځوځو V | ³ ځوځو F | ⁴ ځوځو AL-O de. | ⁵ ځوځو V | ⁶ ځوځو V | ⁷ ځوځو V

[illegible]

1 0 om. | 2 0 | 3 V-F-O | 4 V | 5 V | 6 0 | 7 F-O | 8 V add. | 9 0

[illegible][illegible]

1 V-O لا يَضَعُ | 2 سَمِعْتُ F بِ | 3 O om. [وَسَمِعَ] هَجَّهَ | 4 يَضَعُ V | 5 F بِ | 6 F يَضَعُ | 7 V-F يَضَعُ | 8 يَضَعُ F | 9 AL يَضَعُ | 10 V يَضَعُ | 11 V يَضَعُ | 12 O يَضَعُ | 13 V om. | 14 O يَضَعُ | 15 O يَضَعُ | 16 O add. يَضَعُ

7 V-F ملح | 8 F ل | 9 AL مخفد | 10 V حجب | 11 V جعل | 12 O
add. مخب | 13 V om. | 14 O و | 15 O و | 16 O add. و

[illegible]

¹ V. ١ | ² V om. | ³ V add. ٥ | ⁴ F ١٢٢ | ⁵ F ١٢٣ | ⁶ V add. ٥
⁷ ٥ | ⁸ V om. | ⁹ F-0 add. ١٢٢

[illegible]

1 habet حلا 2 V pro 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 1 habet حلا 2 V pro 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 1 habet حلا 2 V pro 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

[illegible]

1 V *وَصَلَ* | 2 V *om.* | 3 F *عَ* | 4 V *om.* | 5 V-F *وَصَلَ* | 6 V-F *وَصَلَ* | 7 V *add.* *وَصَلَ* | 8 F *om.* *وَصَلَ* | 9 F *add.* *وَصَلَ* | 10 V *وَصَلَ* | 11 V *وَصَلَ* | 12 V *وَصَلَ* | 13 V *وَصَلَ* F *وَصَلَ* | 14 V *وَصَلَ* | 15 V *add.* *وَصَلَ*

[illegible]

¹ AL ² O ³ حمف ⁴ O ⁵ V-O ⁶ V ⁷ AL-V-O-F ⁸ V-O om. ⁹ O

[illegible]

1 F | 2 F | 3 AL | 4 V add. | 5 V | 6
V-O | 7 V om. | 8 V | 9 O om. | 10 V
11 V om. | 12 V

[illegible]

¹ V | ² F | ³ V | ⁴ V | ⁵ V | ⁶ V | ⁷ V | ⁸ V | ⁹ V | ¹⁰ V | ¹¹ V

[illegible]

¹ V add. و | ² O add. و | ³ V pro و habet و | ⁴ V
| ⁵ V om. | ⁶ O و | ⁷ F و | ⁸ F om. | ⁹ F و | ¹⁰ V
om. | ¹¹ V و

قכיה. ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

¹ V add. | ² V om. | ³ O om. | ⁴ V om. | ⁵ V add. | ⁶ V
⁷ V add. | ⁸ AL-V-O | ⁹ O om. | ¹⁰ V om. | ¹¹ V om. | ¹² V om. | ¹³ AL om. | ¹⁴ AL-O
¹⁵ V om. | ¹⁶ V om. | ¹⁷ V om. | ¹⁸ V om. | ¹⁹ V om. | ²⁰ V om. | ²¹ V om. | ²² V om. | ²³ V om. | ²⁴ V om. | ²⁵ V om. | ²⁶ V om. | ²⁷ V om. | ²⁸ V om. | ²⁹ V om. | ³⁰ V om. | ³¹ V om. | ³² V om. | ³³ V om. | ³⁴ V om. | ³⁵ V om. | ³⁶ V om. | ³⁷ V om. | ³⁸ V om. | ³⁹ V om. | ⁴⁰ V om. | ⁴¹ V om. | ⁴² V om. | ⁴³ V om. | ⁴⁴ V om. | ⁴⁵ V om. | ⁴⁶ V om. | ⁴⁷ V om. | ⁴⁸ V om. | ⁴⁹ V om. | ⁵⁰ V om. | ⁵¹ V om. | ⁵² V om. | ⁵³ V om. | ⁵⁴ V om. | ⁵⁵ V om. | ⁵⁶ V om. | ⁵⁷ V om. | ⁵⁸ V om. | ⁵⁹ V om. | ⁶⁰ V om. | ⁶¹ V om. | ⁶² V om. | ⁶³ V om. | ⁶⁴ V om. | ⁶⁵ V om. | ⁶⁶ V om. | ⁶⁷ V om. | ⁶⁸ V om. | ⁶⁹ V om. | ⁷⁰ V om. | ⁷¹ V om. | ⁷² V om. | ⁷³ V om. | ⁷⁴ V om. | ⁷⁵ V om. | ⁷⁶ V om. | ⁷⁷ V om. | ⁷⁸ V om. | ⁷⁹ V om. | ⁸⁰ V om. | ⁸¹ V om. | ⁸² V om. | ⁸³ V om. | ⁸⁴ V om. | ⁸⁵ V om. | ⁸⁶ V om. | ⁸⁷ V om. | ⁸⁸ V om. | ⁸⁹ V om. | ⁹⁰ V om. | ⁹¹ V om. | ⁹² V om. | ⁹³ V om. | ⁹⁴ V om. | ⁹⁵ V om. | ⁹⁶ V om. | ⁹⁷ V om. | ⁹⁸ V om. | ⁹⁹ V om. | ¹⁰⁰ V om. | ¹⁰¹ V om. | ¹⁰² V om. | ¹⁰³ V om. | ¹⁰⁴ V om. | ¹⁰⁵ V om. | ¹⁰⁶ V om. | ¹⁰⁷ V om. | ¹⁰⁸ V om. | ¹⁰⁹ V om. | ¹¹⁰ V om. | ¹¹¹ V om. | ¹¹² V om. | ¹¹³ V om. | ¹¹⁴ V om. | ¹¹⁵ V om. | ¹¹⁶ V om. | ¹¹⁷ V om. | ¹¹⁸ V om. | ¹¹⁹ V om. | ¹²⁰ V om. | ¹²¹ V om. | ¹²² V om. | ¹²³ V om. | ¹²⁴ V om. | ¹²⁵ V om. | ¹²⁶ V om. | ¹²⁷ V om. | ¹²⁸ V om. | ¹²⁹ V om. | ¹³⁰ V om. | ¹³¹ V om. | ¹³² V om. | ¹³³ V om. | ¹³⁴ V om. | ¹³⁵ V om. | ¹³⁶ V om. | ¹³⁷ V om. | ¹³⁸ V om. | ¹³⁹ V om. | ¹⁴⁰ V om. | ¹⁴¹ V om. | ¹⁴² V om. | ¹⁴³ V om. | ¹⁴⁴ V om. | ¹⁴⁵ V om. | ¹⁴⁶ V om. | ¹⁴⁷ V om. | ¹⁴⁸ V om. | ¹⁴⁹ V om. | ¹⁵⁰ V om. | ¹⁵¹ V om. | ¹⁵² V om. | ¹⁵³ V om. | ¹⁵⁴ V om. | ¹⁵⁵ V om. | ¹⁵⁶ V om. | ¹⁵⁷ V om. | ¹⁵⁸ V om. | ¹⁵⁹ V om. | ¹⁶⁰ V om. | ¹⁶¹ V om. | ¹⁶² V om. | ¹⁶³ V om. | ¹⁶⁴ V om. | ¹⁶⁵ V om. | ¹⁶⁶ V om. | ¹⁶⁷ V om. | ¹⁶⁸ V om. | ¹⁶⁹ V om. | ¹⁷⁰ V om. | ¹⁷¹ V om. | ¹⁷² V om. | ¹⁷³ V om. | ¹⁷⁴ V om. | ¹⁷⁵ V om. | ¹⁷⁶ V om. | ¹⁷⁷ V om. | ¹⁷⁸ V om. | ¹⁷⁹ V om. | ¹⁸⁰ V om. | ¹⁸¹ V om. | ¹⁸² V om. | ¹⁸³ V om. | ¹⁸⁴ V om. | ¹⁸⁵ V om. | ¹⁸⁶ V om. | ¹⁸⁷ V om. | ¹⁸⁸ V om. | ¹⁸⁹ V om. | ¹⁹⁰ V om. | ¹⁹¹ V om. | ¹⁹² V om. | ¹⁹³ V om. | ¹⁹⁴ V om. | ¹⁹⁵ V om. | ¹⁹⁶ V om. | ¹⁹⁷ V om. | ¹⁹⁸ V om. | ¹⁹⁹ V om. | ²⁰⁰ V om. | ²⁰¹ V om. | ²⁰² V om. | ²⁰³ V om. | ²⁰⁴ V om. | ²⁰⁵ V om. | ²⁰⁶ V om. | ²⁰⁷ V om. | ²⁰⁸ V om. | ²⁰⁹ V om. | ²¹⁰ V om. | ²¹¹ V om. | ²¹² V om. | ²¹³ V om. | ²¹⁴ V om. | ²¹⁵ V om. | ²¹⁶ V om. | ²¹⁷ V om. | ²¹⁸ V om. | ²¹⁹ V om. | ²²⁰ V om. | ²²¹ V om. | ²²² V om. | ²²³ V om. | ²²⁴ V om. | ²²⁵ V om. | ²²⁶ V om. | ²²⁷ V om. | ²²⁸ V om. | ²²⁹ V om. | ²³⁰ V om. | ²³¹ V om. | ²³² V om. | ²³³ V om. | ²³⁴ V om. | ²³⁵ V om. | ²³⁶ V om. | ²³⁷ V om. | ²³⁸ V om. | ²³⁹ V om. | ²⁴⁰ V om. | ²⁴¹ V om. | ²⁴² V om. | ²⁴³ V om. | ²⁴⁴ V om. | ²⁴⁵ V om. | ²⁴⁶ V om. | ²⁴⁷ V om. | ²⁴⁸ V om. | ²⁴⁹ V om. | ²⁵⁰ V om. | ²⁵¹ V om. | ²⁵² V om. | ²⁵³ V om. | ²⁵⁴ V om. | ²⁵⁵ V om. | ²⁵⁶ V om. | ²⁵⁷ V om. | ²⁵⁸ V om. | ²⁵⁹ V om. | ²⁶⁰ V om. | ²⁶¹ V om. | ²⁶² V om. | ²⁶³ V om. | ²⁶⁴ V om. | ²⁶⁵ V om. | ²⁶⁶ V om. | ²⁶⁷ V om. | ²⁶⁸ V om. | ²⁶⁹

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1 O ܐܘܒܝܢ | 2 O ܐܘܠܐ | 3 V ܡܚܬܠܐ | 4 V om. ܡܫܬܠܐ ܐܘܠܐ ܡܚܬܠܐ | 5 V
add. ܡܚܬܠܐ | 6 AL om. ܡܚܬܠܐ ܐܘܠܐ ܡܚܬܠܐ | 7 V om.
ܡܚܬܠܐ | 8 F ܡܚܬܠܐ | 9 V ܡܚܬܠܐ | 10 F ܡܚܬܠܐ ܐܘܠܐ ܡܚܬܠܐ | 11 V ܡܚܬܠܐ | 12 V
ܡܚܬܠܐ | 13 V-F ܡܚܬܠܐ | 14 AL-V-F-O om. cf. Michael the Great,
Chronicle, XII.4: 553T. | 15 AL ܡܚܬܠܐ

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¹ V add. | ² V-F add. | ³ V add. | ⁴ O | ⁵ O | ⁶ V add. | ⁷ F | ⁸ V add. | ⁹ V-O add. | ¹⁰ F | ¹¹ F | ¹² V | ¹³ F om. | ¹⁴ V | ¹⁵ V om. | ¹⁶ O | ¹⁷ O | ¹⁸ O | ¹⁹ V | ²⁰ V | ²¹ V | ²² V | ²³ V | ²⁴ V | ²⁵ V | ²⁶ V | ²⁷ V | ²⁸ V | ²⁹ V | ³⁰ V | ³¹ V | ³² V | ³³ V | ³⁴ V | ³⁵ V | ³⁶ V | ³⁷ V | ³⁸ V | ³⁹ V | ⁴⁰ V | ⁴¹ V | ⁴² V | ⁴³ V | ⁴⁴ V | ⁴⁵ V | ⁴⁶ V | ⁴⁷ V | ⁴⁸ V | ⁴⁹ V | ⁵⁰ V | ⁵¹ V | ⁵² V | ⁵³ V | ⁵⁴ V | ⁵⁵ V | ⁵⁶ V | ⁵⁷ V | ⁵⁸ V | ⁵⁹ V | ⁶⁰ V | ⁶¹ V | ⁶² V | ⁶³ V | ⁶⁴ V | ⁶⁵ V | ⁶⁶ V | ⁶⁷ V | ⁶⁸ V | ⁶⁹ V | ⁷⁰ V | ⁷¹ V | ⁷² V | ⁷³ V | ⁷⁴ V | ⁷⁵ V | ⁷⁶ V | ⁷⁷ V | ⁷⁸ V | ⁷⁹ V | ⁸⁰ V | ⁸¹ V | ⁸² V | ⁸³ V | ⁸⁴ V | ⁸⁵ V | ⁸⁶ V | ⁸⁷ V | ⁸⁸ V | ⁸⁹ V | ⁹⁰ V | ⁹¹ V | ⁹² V | ⁹³ V | ⁹⁴ V | ⁹⁵ V | ⁹⁶ V | ⁹⁷ V | ⁹⁸ V | ⁹⁹ V | ¹⁰⁰ V

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1 O وَصَلَ | 2 V-O حَدَّثَ | 3 AL $\text{[أَخْبَرَهُ مَبْعُودًا]}$ | V $\text{سَمِعَهُ مَبْعُودًا}$ | 4 V بَعَثَ | 5 AL $\text{[حَدَّثَ بِلَا]$ | V add. عَنْ بِلَا | 6 AL [حَبَّ] | 7 O مَحَبَّ | 8 O مَحَبَّ | 9 O حَصَصَ | 10 O عَفَا | 11 V بُورِئَ | 12 V add. وَعَفَا | 13 F حَلَا | 14 V-O عَوَّهَ | 15 O مَلَّاهَ | 16 V حَبَّ | 17 V-O حَلَّاهَ

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1 V om. | 2 O om. | 3 F om. | 4 O om. | 5 V-O add. | 6 V-O om. | 7 AL | 8 V-O om. | 9 V om. | 10 V om.

[illegible]

1 AL | مصه | V-O | مصه | 2 F | هني | 3 O | لاؤو | 4 AL-V-O | محصلا
 5 F | هني | 6 V | حني | 7 F pro | هني | 8 V add. | مع | 9 V | مصه | 10 V-F | محص | 11 O | لاؤو
 12 F | هني | 13 V | مصه | 14 V | محصلا

[illegible]

1 F مضف | 2 ولا | 3 F معصع | 4 V-O واده | 5 V-F add. اود | 6 V-
O اخضتا | 7 V معصع مدينا | 8 V-F حادلا | 9 V اخضتا | 10 AL om.
11 O اعد | 12 V اخضتا | 13 F om. | 14 V-O om. | 15 V-O
اخضتا | 16 V معصع | 17 V اخضتا | 18 V-O om. | 19 F
add. اود | 20 V اخضتا

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¹ F ١٥, | ² V ٥٥:٥٥:١٤ | ³ V-0 ١٥, | ⁴ V ١٥:١٥:١٥ | ⁵ 0 ١٥, | ⁶ V-0 ١٥, | ⁷ 0 ١٥, | ⁸ V om. | ⁹ AL ١٥, | ¹⁰ V ١٥:١٥:١٥ | ¹¹ F ١٥, | ¹² V ١٥:١٥:١٥ | ¹³ V-0 om. | ¹⁴ V-0 ١٥, |

واما هذا فمفهومه وقيل صلتا¹ هي جمعها² فمفهومها³ حبالا
 مفهوما⁴ من المفهوم⁵ السبب⁶ والقي⁷ حب⁸ وبهذه هي⁹ والحب¹⁰ وهو¹¹ مفهوما¹²
 من الحب¹³ وهو¹⁴ المفهوم¹⁵ فمفهومها¹⁶ حبالا¹⁷ وهو¹⁸ المفهوم¹⁹ حبالا²⁰
 المفهوم²¹ حبالا²² وهو²³ المفهوم²⁴ حبالا²⁵ وهو²⁶ المفهوم²⁷ حبالا²⁸
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 المفهوم⁵³ حبالا⁵⁴ وهو⁵⁵ المفهوم⁵⁶ حبالا⁵⁷ وهو⁵⁸ المفهوم⁵⁹ حبالا⁶⁰
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 المفهوم⁷⁷ حبالا⁷⁸ وهو⁷⁹ المفهوم⁸⁰ حبالا⁸¹ وهو⁸² المفهوم⁸³ حبالا⁸⁴
 المفهوم⁸⁵ حبالا⁸⁶ وهو⁸⁷ المفهوم⁸⁸ حبالا⁸⁹ وهو⁹⁰ المفهوم⁹¹ حبالا⁹²
 المفهوم⁹³ حبالا⁹⁴ وهو⁹⁵ المفهوم⁹⁶ حبالا⁹⁷ وهو⁹⁸ المفهوم⁹⁹ حبالا¹⁰⁰

1 V-O انكنا | 2 V هجعا | 3 O ونبهههمه | 4 V-O om. | 5 O
6 V-F ونبهههمه | 7 V انكنا | 8 O om. | 9 V هجعا |
10 V حبالا | 11 V اصلا | 12 F ونبهههمه | 13 O حبالا | 14 O هلا | 15 V
16 O هجعا | 17 V-O add. ونبهههمه | 18 O اصلا | 19 F
هجعا

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1 O om. | 2 V om. | مقسلا حلا عيسلا | 3 V | 4 V | 5 V | 6 F | 7 V-O | 8 V | 9 V | 10 V | 11 V | 12 V | 13 V | 14 V | 15 AL | 16 F | 17 V-O

[illegible]

1 O حَصَمِه | 2 F لَا | 3 F add. لَا | 4 V لَا | 5 V رَتَمَ | 6 O لَا | 7 V-O om. | 8 V حَصَمَ | 9 V لَا | 10 V مَصَّ | 11 O لَا | 12 V رَمَ | 13 V om. | 14 V-F-O حَصَمَ | 15 O pro لَا | 16 V حَصَمَ | 17 O لَا | 18 V-O om. | 19 V حَصَمَ | V marg. لَا

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1 V om. | 2 V add. | 3 V | 4 AL [] | 5 V-
 O add. | 6 V add. | 7 AL [] | 8 F | 9 F supr. I. | 10 O | 11 V-O om. | 12 O | 13 V | 14 AL | 15 V add. | 16 F | 17 V | 18 O om. | 19 V add. | 20 V-O om. | 21 F | 22 V | 23 V | 24 V | 25 V | 26 V | 27 V | 28 V | 29 V | 30 V | 31 V | 32 V | 33 V | 34 V | 35 V | 36 V | 37 V | 38 V | 39 V | 40 V

[illegible]

1 V-F, *وَصَفَى* | 2 V om. *مَتَلَا* | 3 AL *لَمْ يَصِفْ* | 4 O *مَعْلَمٌ* | 5 V *لَمْ* | 6 V add. *مَنْ* | 7 *مَنْ* | 8 V-F *وَصَفَى* | 9 F *حَدَّثَ* | 10 V pro *لَمْ* | 11 F *مَعْلَمٌ* | 12 V add. *مَعْلَمٌ* | 13 V *مَعْلَمٌ*

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1 V-O حاصف | 2 V om. | 3 F لوع | 4 V لوع محصلا | 5 F de. جلا
| 6 F انهبلللهه وهه فملا انهبللهه له مصطبل رجوا وهه عوه هعلا
marg. | 7 V انهبللهه وهه فملا انهبللهه وهه عوه هعلا
add. | 8 V om. | 9 V وهه | 10 V وهه | 11 V add. وهه
| 12 V om. | 13 V-O om. م صحف | 14 F وهه

[illegible]

[illegible]

1 V مَحَلَّتْ | 2 V-O add. لا عَهِدَ مَعَهُ لَوْ لَوْحًا | 3 V جُعِدَ | 4 V add. هَعَلْنَا | 5 V add. حَلَا | 6 V وَفَّ حَ V pro | 7 F <لا رَجُوْا> | 8 F <وَجَّعَ لَآلِ F | 9 AL وَفَّيْنِ | 10 V pro وَفَّ حَ V pro | 11 V-O add. لَافَّعَا | 12 V-O add. حَلَا مَعًا وَجَّعْنَا لَهَا حَبْ | 13 F <وَفَّيْنِ> لَآ F

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1 V. وذاووت | 2 V-F. فذاووت | 3 F. فذاووت | 4 V. فذاووت | 5 V. وذاووت | 6 V. وذاووت | 7 V. فذاووت | 8 V. فذاووت | 9 V. فذاووت | 10 F. فذاووت | 11 F. فذاووت | 12 F. فذاووت | 13 V-O. فذاووت | 14 V-O. فذاووت | 15 V-O. فذاووت | 16 O. فذاووت | 17 AL. فذاووت

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1 V-O add. ² F om. | ³ V-O ⁴ ⁵ V-O
⁶ V ⁷ F ⁸ V-O ⁹ V-O
¹⁰ AL pro ¹¹ V-O pro
¹² V ¹³ V-O ¹⁴ V om. ¹⁵ V-O
¹⁶ ¹⁷ V-O ¹⁸ V

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¹ V همهمه | ² V-O om. | ³ V-O اِفْعَلْ | ⁴ O رَفَعَهُ | ⁵ V-O-F فَعَّلَهُ

6 0 اقهور , 7 V هحه 8 V-0 سحعرا 9 0 اوسعورا 10 0 تخم 11

0 om. 12 V-F-0 add. 13 F

add. ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ | 14 V-O ٥٥٥ | 15 V-O ٥٥٥ | 16 F add. ٥٥٥ | 17 V

22 محل و حجم 21 V-O 20 V-O 19 V add. و 18 V om. 17 نحوه

0 ھھھھھ | 23 V-0 om.

[illegible]

1 V-F-O مَعْلَمٌ | 2 O حَلَا | 3 V-O صَبِيْرًا | 4 V مَعْلَمٌ | O add.
مَعْلَمٌ | 5 F ذَهَبَ | 6 O رَجَعَ | 7 F pro بِهِ هَابِتٌ | 8 V-OM لَا
| 9 O لَنَا | 10 V لَنَا، | 11 V-O om. | 12 V om. حَلَا | 13 V add.
حَلَا | 14 V سَجَى | 15 V مَعْلَمٌ؛ هَابِتٌ | F مَعْلَمٌ؛ هَابِتٌ | O هَابِتٌ
مَعْلَمٌ؛ هَابِتٌ | 16 V-O add. بِهِ، | 17 V-O pro زَحِبَ هَابِتٌ
habent هَابِتٌ؛ هَابِتٌ | F pro سَفَلَ زَحِبَ هَابِتٌ
هَابِتٌ؛ هَابِتٌ | 18 V-O om. فَزِنَانَا، لَسَفَلَ

[illegible]

1 F ¹ | ² V-O ³ | ⁴ V-O ⁵ | ⁶ F ⁷ | ⁸ V-O ⁹ | ¹⁰ V-O ¹¹ | ¹² V om. ¹³ | ¹⁴ V om. ¹⁵ | ¹⁶ V om. ¹⁷ | ¹⁸ V om. ¹⁹ | ²⁰ V om. ²¹ | ²² V om. ²³ | ²⁴ V om. ²⁵ | ²⁶ V om. ²⁷ | ²⁸ V om. ²⁹ | ³⁰ V om. ³¹ | ³² V om. ³³ | ³⁴ V om. ³⁵ | ³⁶ V om. ³⁷ | ³⁸ V om. ³⁹ | ⁴⁰ V om. ⁴¹ | ⁴² V om. ⁴³ | ⁴⁴ V om. ⁴⁵ | ⁴⁶ V om. ⁴⁷ | ⁴⁸ V om. ⁴⁹ | ⁵⁰ V om. ⁵¹ | ⁵² V om. ⁵³ | ⁵⁴ V om. ⁵⁵ | ⁵⁶ V om. ⁵⁷ | ⁵⁸ V om. ⁵⁹ | ⁶⁰ V om. ⁶¹ | ⁶² V om. ⁶³ | ⁶⁴ V om. ⁶⁵ | ⁶⁶ V om. ⁶⁷ | ⁶⁸ V om. ⁶⁹ | ⁷⁰ V om. ⁷¹ | ⁷² V om. ⁷³ | ⁷⁴ V om. ⁷⁵ | ⁷⁶ V om. ⁷⁷ | ⁷⁸ V om. ⁷⁹ | ⁸⁰ V om. ⁸¹ | ⁸² V om. ⁸³ | ⁸⁴ V om. ⁸⁵ | ⁸⁶ V om. ⁸⁷ | ⁸⁸ V om. ⁸⁹ | ⁹⁰ V om. ⁹¹ | ⁹² V om. ⁹³ | ⁹⁴ V om. ⁹⁵ | ⁹⁶ V om. ⁹⁷ | ⁹⁸ V om. ⁹⁹ | ¹⁰⁰ V om. ¹⁰¹ | ¹⁰² V om. ¹⁰³ | ¹⁰⁴ V om. ¹⁰⁵ | ¹⁰⁶ V om. ¹⁰⁷ | ¹⁰⁸ V om. ¹⁰⁹ | ¹¹⁰ V om. ¹¹¹ | ¹¹² V om. ¹¹³ | ¹¹⁴ V om. ¹¹⁵ | ¹¹⁶ V om. ¹¹⁷ | ¹¹⁸ V om. ¹¹⁹ | ¹²⁰ V om. ¹²¹ | ¹²² V om. ¹²³ | ¹²⁴ V om. ¹²⁵ | ¹²⁶ V om. ¹²⁷ | ¹²⁸ V om. ¹²⁹ | ¹³⁰ V om. ¹³¹ | ¹³² V om. ¹³³ | ¹³⁴ V om. ¹³⁵ | ¹³⁶ V om. ¹³⁷ | ¹³⁸ V om. ¹³⁹ | ¹⁴⁰ V om. ¹⁴¹ | ¹⁴² V om. ¹⁴³ | ¹⁴⁴ V om. ¹⁴⁵ | ¹⁴⁶ V om. ¹⁴⁷ | ¹⁴⁸ V om. ¹⁴⁹ | ¹⁵⁰ V om. ¹⁵¹ | ¹⁵² V om. ¹⁵³ | ¹⁵⁴ V om. ¹⁵⁵ | ¹⁵⁶ V om. ¹⁵⁷ | ¹⁵⁸ V om. ¹⁵⁹ | ¹⁶⁰ V om. ¹⁶¹ | ¹⁶² V om. ¹⁶³ | ¹⁶⁴ V om. ¹⁶⁵ | ¹⁶⁶ V om. ¹⁶⁷ | ¹⁶⁸ V om. ¹⁶⁹ | ¹⁷⁰ V om. ¹⁷¹ | ¹⁷² V om. ¹⁷³ | ¹⁷⁴ V om. ¹⁷⁵ | ¹⁷⁶ V om. ¹⁷⁷ | ¹⁷⁸ V om. ¹⁷⁹ | ¹⁸⁰ V om. ¹⁸¹ | ¹⁸² V om. ¹⁸³ | ¹⁸⁴ V om. ¹⁸⁵ | ¹⁸⁶ V om. ¹⁸⁷ | ¹⁸⁸ V om. ¹⁸⁹ | ¹⁹⁰ V om. ¹⁹¹ | ¹⁹² V om. ¹⁹³ | ¹⁹⁴ V om. ¹⁹⁵ | ¹⁹⁶ V om. ¹⁹⁷ | ¹⁹⁸ V om. ¹⁹⁹ | ²⁰⁰ V om. ²⁰¹ | ²⁰² V om. ²⁰³ | ²⁰⁴ V om. ²⁰⁵ | ²⁰⁶ V om. ²⁰⁷ | ²⁰⁸ V om. ²⁰⁹ | ²¹⁰ V om. ²¹¹ | ²¹² V om. ²¹³ | ²¹⁴ V om. ²¹⁵ | ²¹⁶ V om. ²¹⁷ | ²¹⁸ V om. ²¹⁹ | ²²⁰ V om. ²²¹ | ²²² V om. ²²³ | ²²⁴ V om. ²²⁵ | ²²⁶ V om. ²²⁷ | ²²⁸ V om. ²²⁹ | ²³⁰ V om. ²³¹ | ²³² V om. ²³³ | ²³⁴ V om. ²³⁵ | ²³⁶ V om. ²³⁷ | ²³⁸ V om. ²³⁹ | ²⁴⁰ V om. ²⁴¹ | ²⁴² V om. ²⁴³ | ²⁴⁴ V om. ²⁴⁵ | ²⁴⁶ V om. ²⁴⁷ | ²⁴⁸ V om. ²⁴⁹ | ²⁵⁰ V om. ²⁵¹ | ²⁵² V om. ²⁵³ | ²⁵⁴ V om. ²⁵⁵ | ²⁵⁶ V om. ²⁵⁷ | ²⁵⁸ V om. ²⁵⁹ | ²⁶⁰ V om. ²⁶¹ | ²⁶² V om. ²⁶³ | ²⁶⁴ V om. ²⁶⁵ | ²⁶⁶ V om. ²⁶⁷ | ²⁶⁸ V om. ²⁶⁹ | ²⁷⁰ V om. ²⁷¹ | ²⁷² V om. ²⁷³ | ²⁷⁴ V om. ²⁷⁵ | ²⁷⁶ V om. ²⁷⁷ | ²⁷⁸ V om. ²⁷⁹ | ²⁸⁰ V om. ²⁸¹ | ²⁸² V om. ²⁸³ | ²⁸⁴ V om. ²⁸⁵ | ²⁸⁶ V om. ²⁸⁷ | ²⁸⁸ V om. ²⁸⁹ | ²⁹⁰ V om. ²⁹¹ | ²⁹² V om. ²⁹³ | ²⁹⁴ V om. ²⁹⁵ | ²⁹⁶ V om. ²⁹⁷ | ²⁹⁸ V om. ²⁹⁹ | ³⁰⁰ V om. ³⁰¹ | ³⁰² V om. ³⁰³ | ³⁰⁴ V om. ³⁰⁵ | ³⁰⁶ V om. ³⁰⁷ | ³⁰⁸ V om. ³⁰⁹ | ³¹⁰ V om. ³¹¹ | ³¹² V om. ³¹³ | ³¹⁴ V om. ³¹⁵ | ³¹⁶ V om. ³¹⁷ | ³¹⁸ V om. ³¹⁹ | ³²⁰ V om. ³²¹ | ³²² V om. ³²³ | ³²⁴ V om. ³²⁵ | ³²⁶ V om. ³²⁷ | ³²⁸ V om. ³²⁹ | ³³⁰ V om. ³³¹ | ³³² V om. ³³³ | ³³⁴ V om. ³³⁵ | ³³⁶ V om. ³³⁷ | ³³⁸ V om. ³³⁹ | ³⁴⁰ V om. ³⁴¹ | ³⁴² V om. ³⁴³ | ³⁴⁴ V om. ³⁴⁵ | ³⁴⁶ V om. ³⁴⁷ | ³⁴⁸ V om. ³⁴⁹ | ³⁵⁰ V om. ³⁵¹ | ³⁵² V om. ³⁵³ | ³⁵⁴ V om. ³⁵⁵ | ³⁵⁶ V om. ³⁵⁷ | ³⁵⁸ V om. ³⁵⁹ | ³⁶⁰ V om. ³⁶¹ | ³⁶² V om. ³⁶³ | ³⁶⁴ V om. ³⁶⁵ | ³⁶⁶ V om. ³⁶⁷ | ³⁶⁸ V om. ³⁶⁹ | ³⁷⁰ V om. ³⁷¹ | ³⁷² V om. ³⁷³ | ³⁷⁴ V om. ³⁷⁵ | ³⁷⁶ V om. ³⁷⁷ | ³⁷⁸ V om. ³⁷⁹ | ³⁸⁰ V om. ³⁸¹ | ³⁸² V om. ³

[illegible]

1 V om. | 2 O om. | 3 V-F-O ^{لَا يَنْتَبِ} | 4 O ^{لَا} | 5 F ^{لَا} | 6 O ^{لَا} | 7 O ^{لَا} | 8 F ^{لَا} | 9 O om. | 10 V ^{لَا} | 11 F ^{لَا} | 12 V ^{لَا} | 13 V ^{لَا} | 14 F ^{لَا} | 15 AL ^{لَا} | 16 V-O om. | 17 F ^{لَا}

[illegible]

1 V-O om. | 2 V-O om. ^١ | 3 V ^٢ | 4 AL ^٣ | 5 F ^٤ | 6 V-O ^٥ | 7 V-O add. ^٦ | 8 V-O add. ^٧ | 9 V-O ^٨ | 10 V-F-
O om. | 11 V ^٩ | 12 V-O add. ^{١٠} | 13 O om. | 14 V-F-O ^{١١} | 15
F ^{١٢} | 16 V-O add. ^{١٣} | 17 F om. | 18 O ^{١٤} | 19 O ^{١٥} | 20
F add. ^{١٦} | 21 V-O ^{١٧} | 22 V-O ^{١٨} | 23 O om. | 24 O ^{١٩} | 25 O ^{٢٠} | 26 F add. ^{٢١} | 27 V-O
om. ^{٢٢} | 28 O add. ^{٢٣}

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¹ V-O pro ² habet ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³

[illegible]

¹ V-O pro **هَدِيَّةٌ** habet **هَدِيَّةٌ** **مِ** ² V om. **مِ** ³ V-O om. **لَاؤُهُنَّ** ⁴ F **فَلَحَلَّ** ⁵ O **مِ** ⁶ V-O add. **مِ** ⁷ V-O om. **مِ** ⁸ **بِجَلَدِهِ** ⁹ V-O om. **مِ** ¹⁰ **لِأَعْدَائِهِ** ¹¹ O **لِ** ¹² **بِوَأَدِهِ** ¹³ V-O **مِ** ¹⁴ V-O om. **مِ** ¹⁵ V-O **مِ** ¹⁶ V-F **فَوَيْسَهُ** ¹⁷ V-O **مِ** ¹⁸ V-O **مِ** ¹⁹ V-O add. **مِ**

[illegible]

1 V om. | 2 V *وَعَدَا* *وَعَدَا* | 3 V-O om. | 4 V add. *وَعَدَا* | 5 V-O om. | 6 V-O add. *وَعَدَا* | 7 O | 8 O *وَعَدَا* | 9 V-O add. *وَعَدَا* | 10 V-O | 11 O *وَعَدَا* | 12 O *وَعَدَا* | 13 V-O add. *وَعَدَا* | 14 V-O | 15 O om. | 16 V-O om. | 17 V om. | 18 O *وَعَدَا* | 19 V-O | 20 V-O om. | 21 F om.

[illegible]
$$^1 V_{\text{هد}} \mid ^2 V_{\text{وہ}}, \mid ^3 V_{\text{لہ}}, \mid ^4 V_{\text{لہ}}, \mid ^5 0_{\text{مہ}}, \mid ^6 V_{-0}$$

7 V-0 μ sm, 8 V μ sm, 9 V-0 μ sm, 10 V-F-0 om. 11

V-0 **الرحه** |¹² V-0 **الوعاء** |¹³ V-0 **مخزنا** |¹⁴ V-0 **فخمة الوعاء** |¹⁵ V-0

16 0 حمصا | 17 V om. | 18 V حمصه | 19 0 واهاهنا | 20

F add. 201 V om. 21 V om.

22 V-0 add. | 23 V-0 om.

[illegible]

1 AL حَقَّقُوا | 2 V وَهَذَا | 3 O om. | 4 F om. | 5 O om. | 6 V-O om. | 7 O om. | 8 فَكَلِمَ | 9 V om. | 10 V-O add. | 11 F om. | 12 O فَكَلِمَ | 13 V يَحْصِيهِ | 14 V لَمْ | 15 O لَمْ | 16 V-O om. | 17 V-F-O مِمَّنْ

[illegible]

¹ V-O om. | ² V-O **فعل** **فعل** **فعل** | ³ O **فعل** | ⁴ V-F **فعل** **فعل** **فعل**
⁵ O om. | ⁶ V-O om. | ⁷ O add. **هو** | ⁸ O add. **هو** | ⁹ V-O **فعل** **فعل**
¹⁰ O **فعل** **فعل** | ¹¹ V **فعل** | ¹² V-O om. | ¹³ V-O **فعل** **فعل**

[illegible]

1 0 مضارع | 2 V-O add. 0 جاز | 3 V-O add. 000000 | 4 V-O add. 000000 | 5 V-O
add. 000000 | 6 V-O add. 000000 | 7 V-O 000000 | 8 V 000000 | 9 V-O 000000
10 V-F 000000 | 11 V 000000 | 12 V-O 000000 | 13 000000 | 14 V
000000 | 15 V-O 000000 | 16 V-O 000000 | 17 V-O add. 000000

[illegible][illegible]

- 10 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹
- 10 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹
- 20 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹
- 30 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹
- 40 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹

¹ F om. ² V-O ³ V ⁴ V ⁵ V ⁶ V ⁷ V ⁸ V ⁹ V ¹⁰ V ¹¹ V ¹² V ¹³ V ¹⁴ V ¹⁵ V ¹⁶ V ¹⁷ V ¹⁸ V ¹⁹ V ²⁰ V ²¹ V

[illegible]

1 O ^ح | 2 V ^م | 3 V-O ^م | 4 O ^ل | 5 V-O om. | 6 V ^م | 7 V ^ح | 8 F ^ج | 9 V ^خ | 10 V-O ^م | 11 V ^م | 12 O add. ^ل | 13 V-O om. | 14 V-O om. | 15 V ^ح | 16 O om. | 17 V-O ^ل | 18 V-O ^م | 19 O ^م | 20 V add. ^ح

- 5 V-O | 1 V-O add. | 2 V-O om. | 3 V-O om. | 4 V-O om. | 5 V-O om. | 6 V-O om. | 7 V-O om. | 8 V-O om. | 9 V-O om. | 10 V-O om. | 11 V-O om. | 12 V-O om. | 13 V-O om. | 14 V-O om. | 15 V-O om. | 16 V-O om. | 17 V-O om. | 18 V-O om. | 19 V-O om. | 20 V-O om. | 21 V-O om. | 22 V-O om. | 23 V-O om.
- 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

1 V-O | 2 V-O | 3 F | 4 V-O | 5 V-O | 6 V-O | 7 V-O | 8 V-O | 9 V-O | 10 V-O | 11 F | 12 V-O | 13 F | 14 V | 15 O | 16 V-O | 17 V-O | 18 V-O | 19 F | 20 V-O | 21 V-O | 22 F | 23 V-O | 24 V-O | 25 V-O | 26 V-O | 27 V-O | 28 V-O | 29 V-O | 30 V-O | 31 V-O | 32 V-O | 33 V-O | 34 V-O | 35 V-O | 36 V-O | 37 V-O | 38 V-O | 39 V-O | 40 V-O | 41 V-O | 42 V-O | 43 V-O | 44 V-O | 45 V-O | 46 V-O | 47 V-O | 48 V-O | 49 V-O | 50 V-O | 51 V-O | 52 V-O | 53 V-O | 54 V-O | 55 V-O | 56 V-O | 57 V-O | 58 V-O | 59 V-O | 60 V-O | 61 V-O | 62 V-O | 63 V-O | 64 V-O | 65 V-O | 66 V-O | 67 V-O | 68 V-O | 69 V-O | 70 V-O | 71 V-O | 72 V-O | 73 V-O | 74 V-O | 75 V-O | 76 V-O | 77 V-O | 78 V-O | 79 V-O | 80 V-O | 81 V-O | 82 V-O | 83 V-O | 84 V-O | 85 V-O | 86 V-O | 87 V-O | 88 V-O | 89 V-O | 90 V-O | 91 V-O | 92 V-O | 93 V-O | 94 V-O | 95 V-O | 96 V-O | 97 V-O | 98 V-O | 99 V-O | 100 V-O

[illegible]

1 V لا | 2 V أو | 3 O ههلا | 4 F هج | 5 V-O om. | 6 V ي | 7 V-O
 8 V-O add. ههلا | 9 V-O ويلا | 10 V-O ههلا | 11 V ههلا | 12 V ههلا | 13 V-O ههلا | 14 V-F-O ههلا | 15 V-O ههلا | 16 V-O ههلا | 17 V-O om.
 18 F om. | 19 F ههلا | 20 V om.

[illegible]

1 V-O يَحْتَفِلُونَ | F om. | 2 O يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 3 V-O add. يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 4 V-O pro يَحْتَفِلُونَ |
يَحْتَفِلُونَ habent يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 5 O يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 6 V يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 7 F pro يَحْتَفِلُونَ
يَحْتَفِلُونَ habet يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 8 F om. يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 9 يَحْتَفِلُونَ يَحْتَفِلُونَ يَحْتَفِلُونَ |
V om. | 10 V يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 11 V-O pro يَحْتَفِلُونَ habet يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 12 V-O يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 13 V يَحْتَفِلُونَ | F add. يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 14 V يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 15 O يَحْتَفِلُونَ
16 O add. يَحْتَفِلُونَ | 17 V يَحْتَفِلُونَ

[illegible]

1 F add. مهلا لاوه. | 2 AL صهع | 3 V-O add. فعلهم | 4 V صه | 5 V-O add. وم | V corr. مع | 6 O فعلهم | 7 O om. | 8 V هو | 9 V صل | 10 V-F om. | 11 V فصلهم | 12 O om. | 13 O وخلال | 14 V-O add. وم | 15 O om. | 16 V-O add. وحا | 17 V pro habet حاملها | 18 O add. حالاهم | 19 V محتمل | 20 V حقني مع محتمل عنده om.

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1 O *هسلا* *هسلا* | 2 V *هسلا* *هسلا* | 3 V *هسلا* | 4 V *هسلا* | 5 V *هسلا*
 add. *هسلا* | 6 V-O *هسلا* | 7 O *هسلا* | 8 V-O pro *هسلا*
هسلا | 9 V-O om. | 10 V-O *هسلا* | 11 V-O *هسلا*
 | 12 V *هسلا* | 13 O *هسلا* | 14 V *هسلا* | 15 O add. *هسلا*
 | 16 O *هسلا* | 17 O add. *هسلا* | 18 V-O om. *هسلا*

[illegible]

1 V-O pro om. | 2 V om. | 3 V om. | 4 AL om. | 5 AL om. | 6 V-O om. | 7 AL om. | 8 V pro om. | 9 V om. | 10 O om. | 11 V-O-AL om.

[illegible]

1 V-O ^١ ٥ | 2 O om. ^٢ ٥ | 3 V-O ^٣ ٥ | 4 AL add. ^٤ ٥ | 5 V om. ^٥ ٥ | 6 V-O add. ^٦ ٥ | 7 V add. ^٧ ٥ | 8 V-O add. ^٨ ٥ | 9 V-O om. ^٩ ٥ | 10 V-O om. ^{١٠} ٥ | 11 V-O add. ^{١١} ٥ | 12 O ^{١٢} ٥ | 13 V-O ^{١٣} ٥ | 14 V ^{١٤} ٥ | 15 V ^{١٥} ٥ | 16 O ^{١٦} ٥ | 17 AL ^{١٧} ٥ | 18 V om. ^{١٨} ٥

[illegible]

1 AL ¹ habet | ² V om. | ³ O om. | ⁴ O pro | ⁵ habet | ⁶ AL | ⁷ V om. | ⁸ V-O om. | ⁹ V om. | ¹⁰ V om. | ¹¹ AL | ¹² V | ¹³ V add. | ¹⁴ V-O pro | ¹⁵ V-O | ¹⁶ V add.

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]

1 V-O om. | 2 O om. : *فعلهم فاعلهم* | 3 V-O add. *هو* | 4 V-O add. *هو* | 5 V-O *هو* | 6 *هو* | 7 *هو* | 8 *هو* | 9 *هو* | 10 *هو* | 11 *هو* | 12 *هو* | 13 *هو* | 14 *هو* | 15 *هو* | 16 *هو* | 17 *هو* | 18 *هو* | 19 *هو* | 20 *هو* | 21 *هو* | 22 *هو* | 23 *هو* | 24 *هو* | 25 *هو* | 26 *هو* | 27 *هو* | 28 *هو* | 29 *هو* | 30 *هو* | 31 *هو* | 32 *هو* | 33 *هو* | 34 *هو* | 35 *هو* | 36 *هو* | 37 *هو* | 38 *هو* | 39 *هو* | 40 *هو* | 41 *هو* | 42 *هو* | 43 *هو* | 44 *هو* | 45 *هو* | 46 *هو* | 47 *هو* | 48 *هو* | 49 *هو* | 50 *هو* | 51 *هو* | 52 *هو* | 53 *هو* | 54 *هو* | 55 *هو* | 56 *هو* | 57 *هو* | 58 *هو* | 59 *هو* | 60 *هو* | 61 *هو* | 62 *هو* | 63 *هو* | 64 *هو* | 65 *هو* | 66 *هو* | 67 *هو* | 68 *هو* | 69 *هو* | 70 *هو* | 71 *هو* | 72 *هو* | 73 *هو* | 74 *هو* | 75 *هو* | 76 *هو* | 77 *هو* | 78 *هو* | 79 *هو* | 80 *هو* | 81 *هو* | 82 *هو* | 83 *هو* | 84 *هو* | 85 *هو* | 86 *هو* | 87 *هو* | 88 *هو* | 89 *هو* | 90 *هو* | 91 *هو* | 92 *هو* | 93 *هو* | 94 *هو* | 95 *هو* | 96 *هو* | 97 *هو* | 98 *هو* | 99 *هو* | 100 *هو* | 101 *هو* | 102 *هو* | 103 *هو* | 104 *هو* | 105 *هو* | 106 *هو* | 107 *هو* | 108 *هو* | 109 *هو* | 110 *هو* | 111 *هو* | 112 *هو* | 113 *هو* | 114 *هو* | 115 *هو* | 116 *هو* | 117 *هو* | 118 *هو* | 119 *هو* | 120 *هو* | 121 *هو* | 122 *هو* | 123 *هو* | 124 *هو* | 125 *هو* | 126 *هو* | 127 *هو* | 128 *هو* | 129 *هو* | 130 *هو* | 131 *هو* | 132 *هو* | 133 *هو* | 134 *هو* | 135 *هو* | 136 *هو* | 137 *هو* | 138 *هو* | 139 *هو* | 140 *هو* | 141 *هو* | 142 *هو* | 143 *هو* | 144 *هو* | 145 *هو* | 146 *هو* | 147 *هو* | 148 *هو* | 149 *هو* | 150 *هو* | 151 *هو* | 152 *هو* | 153 *هو* | 154 *هو* | 155 *هو* | 156 *هو* | 157 *هو* | 158 *هو* | 159 *هو* | 160 *هو* | 161 *هو* | 162 *هو* | 163 *هو* | 164 *هو* | 165 *هو* | 166 *هو* | 167 *هو* | 168 *هو* | 169 *هو* | 170 *هو* | 171 *هو* | 172 *هو* | 173 *هو* | 174 *هو* | 175 *هو* | 176 *هو* | 177 *هو* | 178 *هو* | 179 *هو* | 180 *هو* | 181 *هو* | 182 *هو* | 183 *هو* | 184 *هو* | 185 *هو* | 186 *هو* | 187 *هو* | 188 *هو* | 189 *هو* | 190 *هو* | 191 *هو* | 192 *هو* | 193 *هو* | 194 *هو* | 195 *هو* | 196 *هو* | 197 *هو* | 198 *هو* | 199 *هو* | 200 *هو* | 201 *هو* | 202 *هو* | 203 *هو* | 204 *هو* | 205 *هو* | 206 *هو* | 207 *هو* | 208 *هو* | 209 *هو* | 210 *هو* | 211 *هو* | 212 *هو* | 213 *هو* | 214 *هو* | 215 *هو* | 216 *هو* | 217 *هو* | 218 *هو* | 219 *هو* | 220 *هو* | 221 *هو* | 222 *هو* | 223 *هو* | 224 *هو* | 225 *هو* | 226 *هو* | 227 *هو* | 228 *هو* | 229 *هو* | 230 *هو* | 231 *هو* | 232 *هو* | 233 *هو* | 234 *هو* | 235 *هو* | 236 *هو* | 237 *هو* | 238 *هو* | 239 *هو* | 240 *هو* | 241 *هو* | 242 *هو* | 243 *هو* | 244 *هو* | 245 *هو* | 246 *هو* | 247 *هو* | 248 *هو* | 249 *هو* | 250 *هو* | 251 *هو* | 252 *هو* | 253 *هو* | 254 *هو* | 255 *هو* | 256 *هو* | 257 *هو* | 258 *هو* | 259 *هو* | 260 *هو* | 261 *هو* | 262 *هو* | 263 *هو* | 264 *هو* | 265 *هو* | 266 *هو* | 267 *هو* | 268 *هو* | 269 *هو* | 270 *هو* | 271 *هو* | 272 *هو* | 273 *هو* | 274 *هو* | 275 *هو* | 276 *هو* | 277 *هو* | 278 *هو* | 279 *هو* | 280 *هو* | 281 *هو* | 282 *هو* | 283 *هو* | 284 *هو* | 285 *هو* | 286 *هو* | 287 *هو* | 288 *هو* | 289 *هو* | 290 *هو* | 291 *هو* | 292 *هو* | 293 *هو* | 294 *هو* | 295 *هو* | 296 *هو* | 297 *هو* | 298 *هو* | 299 *هو* | 300 *هو* | 301 *هو* | 302 *هو* | 303 *هو* | 304 *هو* | 305 *هو* | 306 *هو* | 307 *هو* | 308 *هو* | 309 *هو* | 310 *هو* | 311 *هو* | 312 *هو* | 313 *هو* | 314 *هو* | 315 *هو* | 316 *هو* | 317 *هو* | 318 *هو* | 319 *هو* | 320 *هو* | 321 *هو* | 322 *هو* | 323 *هو* | 324 *هو* | 325 *هو* | 326 *هو* | 327 *هو* | 328 *هو* | 329 *هو* | 330 *هو* | 331 *هو* | 332 *هو* | 333 *هو* | 334 *هو* | 335 *هو* | 336 *هو* | 337 *هو* | 338 *هو* | 339 *هو* | 340 *هو* | 341 *هو* | 342 *هو* | 343 *هو* | 344 *هو* | 345 *هو* | 346 *هو* | 347 *هو* | 348 *هو* | 349 *هو*

¹ V-0 om. | ² 0 om. : ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ^{466</}

وَيُفَصِّلُ⁵ V-O | وَيُفَصِّلُ⁴ V-O add. | وَيُفَصِّلُ³ V-O add. | وَيُفَصِّلُ² V-O add. | وَيُفَصِّلُ¹ V-O add.

9 | habet | V_{pro} | $V_{\text{مَجْلُ}}$ | $V_{\text{مَجْبِي}}$ | $V_{\text{مَع}}$ | $V_{\text{مَع}}$ |

V-0 مغيب | ¹⁰ V om. | ¹¹ O om. | ¹² V-0 pro فعلهم habent

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2022/23 2022/23

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1 V-O om. ² V. ³ V-O add. ⁴ V om. | ⁵ V-O ⁶ V-O ⁷ V ⁸ V-O ⁹ V ¹⁰ O ¹¹ V ¹² V-O om. ¹³ ¹⁴ V-O ¹⁵ V om. ¹⁶ V om. ¹⁷ V-O pro ¹⁸ V-O om. ¹⁹ V-O om.

[illegible]

1 V-O $\text{هَـ} \text{وَجَدَهُ}$ | 2 V-O pro $\text{وَجَدَ} \text{وَجَدَهُ} \text{وَجَدَهُ}$ habent وَجَدَ | 3 V-O add. وَجَدَ | 4 V-O om. | 5 V pro $\text{وَجَدَ} \text{وَجَدَهُ}$ habet وَجَدَ | 6 V-O $\text{وَجَدَ} \text{وَجَدَهُ}$ | 7 V-O add. $\text{وَجَدَ} \text{وَجَدَهُ}$ | 8 V-O $\text{وَجَدَ} \text{وَجَدَهُ}$ | 9 V وَجَدَ | 10 V وَجَدَ | 11 O وَجَدَ | 12 V-O om. | 13 O وَجَدَ | 14 V وَجَدَ

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1 V-O om. | 2 V-O om. | 3 V-O om. | 4 AL pro habet | 5 V-O om. | 6 V-O om. | 7 V-O om. | 8 V-O om. | 9 V-O om. | 10 V-O om. | 11 V-O om. | 12 V-O om. | 13 V-O om. | 14 V-O om. | 15 V-O om. | 16 V-O om. | 17 V-O om.

[illegible]

1 V-O add. *هَمْتَلْ* | 2 V-O om. | 3 V om. *أَفْ حَمْنِ* | 4 V-O *سَمْعِي* | 5 V-O om. | 6 V *مَجْرُ* | 7 V-O om. *مَحْضَرُومِ* | 8 V add. *لَمَّ* | 9 V-O *وَسَمِ* | 10 V-O om. *أَمْلُ* | 11 V *أَمْلُ* | 12 V-O *أَمْلُ*

[illegible]

¹ AL om. اُفصَحْ | ² V-O om. | ³ V-O اُفصَحْ | ⁴ V-O add. اُفصَحْ | ⁵ V-O اُفصَحْ | ⁶ V-O om. اُفصَحْ | ⁷ V اُفصَحْ | ⁸ V اُفصَحْ
⁹ V-O add. اُفصَحْ

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¹ V | ² V-O om. | ³ V | ⁴ V | ⁵ V om. | ⁶ V-O | ⁷ V-O add. | ⁸ V-O pro | ⁹ V-O habent | ¹⁰ V-O habent | ¹¹ V-O habent | ¹² V-O habent | ¹³ V-O habent | ¹⁴ V-O habent | ¹⁵ V-O habent | ¹⁶ V-O habent | ¹⁷ V-O habent | ¹⁸ V-O habent | ¹⁹ V-O habent | ²⁰ V-O habent | ²¹ V-O habent | ²² V-O habent | ²³ V-O habent | ²⁴ V-O habent | ²⁵ V-O habent | ²⁶ V-O habent | ²⁷ V-O habent | ²⁸ V-O habent | ²⁹ V-O habent | ³⁰ V-O habent | ³¹ V-O habent | ³² V-O habent | ³³ V-O habent | ³⁴ V-O habent | ³⁵ V-O habent | ³⁶ V-O habent | ³⁷ V-O habent | ³⁸ V-O habent | ³⁹ V-O habent | ⁴⁰ V-O habent | ⁴¹ V-O habent | ⁴² V-O habent | ⁴³ V-O habent | ⁴⁴ V-O habent | ⁴⁵ V-O habent | ⁴⁶ V-O habent | ⁴⁷ V-O habent | ⁴⁸ V-O habent | ⁴⁹ V-O habent | ⁵⁰ V-O habent | ⁵¹ V-O habent | ⁵² V-O habent | ⁵³ V-O habent | ⁵⁴ V-O habent | ⁵⁵ V-O habent | ⁵⁶ V-O habent | ⁵⁷ V-O habent | ⁵⁸ V-O habent | ⁵⁹ V-O habent | ⁶⁰ V-O habent | ⁶¹ V-O habent | ⁶² V-O habent | ⁶³ V-O habent | ⁶⁴ V-O habent | ⁶⁵ V-O habent | ⁶⁶ V-O habent | ⁶⁷ V-O habent | ⁶⁸ V-O habent | ⁶⁹ V-O habent | ⁷⁰ V-O habent | ⁷¹ V-O habent | ⁷² V-O habent | ⁷³ V-O habent | ⁷⁴ V-O habent | ⁷⁵ V-O habent | ⁷⁶ V-O habent | ⁷⁷ V-O habent | ⁷⁸ V-O habent | ⁷⁹ V-O habent | ⁸⁰ V-O habent | ⁸¹ V-O habent | ⁸² V-O habent | ⁸³ V-O habent | ⁸⁴ V-O habent | ⁸⁵ V-O habent | ⁸⁶ V-O habent | ⁸⁷ V-O habent | ⁸⁸ V-O habent | ⁸⁹ V-O habent | ⁹⁰ V-O habent | ⁹¹ V-O habent | ⁹² V-O habent | ⁹³ V-O habent | ⁹⁴ V-O habent | ⁹⁵ V-O habent | ⁹⁶ V-O habent | ⁹⁷ V-O habent | ⁹⁸ V-O habent | ⁹⁹ V-O habent | ¹⁰⁰ V-O habent

[illegible]

1 V مَجِبٌ | 2 V مَجِبٌ | 3 V add. وَجِبَ | 4 V مَجِبٌ | 5 V-O add. وَجِبَ | 6 AL om. لَوْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ | 7 AL مَجِبٌ | 8 V-O مَجِبٌ | 9 V-O مَجِبٌ | 10 V-O مَجِبٌ | 11 V-O مَجِبٌ | 12 V-O مَجِبٌ | 13 V-O مَجِبٌ

[illegible]

1 V-O om. | 2 AL om. | 3 V om. | 4 V-O add. | 5 V om. | 6 V-O om. | 7 V-O add. | 8 V-O om. | 9 V om. | 10 V-O add. | 11 V om. | 12 V-O pro. | 13 V-O om. | 14 V om.

[illegible]

¹ V-0 om. | ² V-0 ^{مختار} | ³ V om. | ⁴ V-0 om. | ⁵ V-0 ^{مختار}

⁶ V-O om. | ⁷ V-O om. | ⁸ V-O pro
⁹ 0 | ¹⁰ V pro | ¹¹ V-O

[illegible]

¹ V-O pro | ² habet | ³ V om. | ⁴ V-O
pro | ⁵ V-O | ⁶ V-O | ⁷ V-O om. | ⁸ V-O | ⁹ V om.

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¹ V-O om. | ² V-O om. | ³ AL om. ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹

¹ V-O om. | ² V-O om. | ³ AL om. | ⁴ وَاِلٰهَهُمْ لَا يَمْلِكُ شَيْئًا | ⁵ V-O om. | ⁶ V-O om. | ⁷ V-O om. | ⁸ V-O om. | ⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁰ V-O om. | ¹¹ V-O om. | ¹² V-O om. | ¹³ V-O om. | ¹⁴ V-O om. | ¹⁵ V-O om. | ¹⁶ V-O om. | ¹⁷ V-O om. | ¹⁸ V-O om. | ¹⁹ V-O om. | ²⁰ V-O om. | ²¹ V-O om. | ²² V-O om. | ²³ V-O om. | ²⁴ V-O om. | ²⁵ V-O om. | ²⁶ V-O om. | ²⁷ V-O om. | ²⁸ V-O om. | ²⁹ V-O om. | ³⁰ V-O om. | ³¹ V-O om. | ³² V-O om. | ³³ V-O om. | ³⁴ V-O om. | ³⁵ V-O om. | ³⁶ V-O om. | ³⁷ V-O om. | ³⁸ V-O om. | ³⁹ V-O om. | ⁴⁰ V-O om. | ⁴¹ V-O om. | ⁴² V-O om. | ⁴³ V-O om. | ⁴⁴ V-O om. | ⁴⁵ V-O om. | ⁴⁶ V-O om. | ⁴⁷ V-O om. | ⁴⁸ V-O om. | ⁴⁹ V-O om. | ⁵⁰ V-O om. | ⁵¹ V-O om. | ⁵² V-O om. | ⁵³ V-O om. | ⁵⁴ V-O om. | ⁵⁵ V-O om. | ⁵⁶ V-O om. | ⁵⁷ V-O om. | ⁵⁸ V-O om. | ⁵⁹ V-O om. | ⁶⁰ V-O om. | ⁶¹ V-O om. | ⁶² V-O om. | ⁶³ V-O om. | ⁶⁴ V-O om. | ⁶⁵ V-O om. | ⁶⁶ V-O om. | ⁶⁷ V-O om. | ⁶⁸ V-O om. | ⁶⁹ V-O om. | ⁷⁰ V-O om. | ⁷¹ V-O om. | ⁷² V-O om. | ⁷³ V-O om. | ⁷⁴ V-O om. | ⁷⁵ V-O om. | ⁷⁶ V-O om. | ⁷⁷ V-O om. | ⁷⁸ V-O om. | ⁷⁹ V-O om. | ⁸⁰ V-O om. | ⁸¹ V-O om. | ⁸² V-O om. | ⁸³ V-O om. | ⁸⁴ V-O om. | ⁸⁵ V-O om. | ⁸⁶ V-O om. | ⁸⁷ V-O om. | ⁸⁸ V-O om. | ⁸⁹ V-O om. | ⁹⁰ V-O om. | ⁹¹ V-O om. | ⁹² V-O om. | ⁹³ V-O om. | ⁹⁴ V-O om. | ⁹⁵ V-O om. | ⁹⁶ V-O om. | ⁹⁷ V-O om. | ⁹⁸ V-O om. | ⁹⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁰⁰ V-O om. | ¹⁰¹ V-O om. | ¹⁰² V-O om. | ¹⁰³ V-O om. | ¹⁰⁴ V-O om. | ¹⁰⁵ V-O om. | ¹⁰⁶ V-O om. | ¹⁰⁷ V-O om. | ¹⁰⁸ V-O om. | ¹⁰⁹ V-O om. | ¹¹⁰ V-O om. | ¹¹¹ V-O om. | ¹¹² V-O om. | ¹¹³ V-O om. | ¹¹⁴ V-O om. | ¹¹⁵ V-O om. | ¹¹⁶ V-O om. | ¹¹⁷ V-O om. | ¹¹⁸ V-O om. | ¹¹⁹ V-O om. | ¹²⁰ V-O om. | ¹²¹ V-O om. | ¹²² V-O om. | ¹²³ V-O om. | ¹²⁴ V-O om. | ¹²⁵ V-O om. | ¹²⁶ V-O om. | ¹²⁷ V-O om. | ¹²⁸ V-O om. | ¹²⁹ V-O om. | ¹³⁰ V-O om. | ¹³¹ V-O om. | ¹³² V-O om. | ¹³³ V-O om. | ¹³⁴ V-O om. | ¹³⁵ V-O om. | ¹³⁶ V-O om. | ¹³⁷ V-O om. | ¹³⁸ V-O om. | ¹³⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁴⁰ V-O om. | ¹⁴¹ V-O om. | ¹⁴² V-O om. | ¹⁴³ V-O om. | ¹⁴⁴ V-O om. | ¹⁴⁵ V-O om. | ¹⁴⁶ V-O om. | ¹⁴⁷ V-O om. | ¹⁴⁸ V-O om. | ¹⁴⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁵⁰ V-O om. | ¹⁵¹ V-O om. | ¹⁵² V-O om. | ¹⁵³ V-O om. | ¹⁵⁴ V-O om. | ¹⁵⁵ V-O om. | ¹⁵⁶ V-O om. | ¹⁵⁷ V-O om. | ¹⁵⁸ V-O om. | ¹⁵⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁶⁰ V-O om. | ¹⁶¹ V-O om. | ¹⁶² V-O om. | ¹⁶³ V-O om. | ¹⁶⁴ V-O om. | ¹⁶⁵ V-O om. | ¹⁶⁶ V-O om. | ¹⁶⁷ V-O om. | ¹⁶⁸ V-O om. | ¹⁶⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁷⁰ V-O om. | ¹⁷¹ V-O om. | ¹⁷² V-O om. | ¹⁷³ V-O om. | ¹⁷⁴ V-O om. | ¹⁷⁵ V-O om. | ¹⁷⁶ V-O om. | ¹⁷⁷ V-O om. | ¹⁷⁸ V-O om. | ¹⁷⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁸⁰ V-O om. | ¹⁸¹ V-O om. | ¹⁸² V-O om. | ¹⁸³ V-O om. | ¹⁸⁴ V-O om. | ¹⁸⁵ V-O om. | ¹⁸⁶ V-O om. | ¹⁸⁷ V-O om. | ¹⁸⁸ V-O om. | ¹⁸⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁹⁰ V-O om. | ¹⁹¹ V-O om. | ¹⁹² V-O om. | ¹⁹³ V-O om. | ¹⁹⁴ V-O om. | ¹⁹⁵ V-O om. | ¹⁹⁶ V-O om. | ¹⁹⁷ V-O om. | ¹⁹⁸ V-O om. | ¹⁹⁹ V-O om. | ²⁰⁰ V-O om. | ²⁰¹ V-O om. | ²⁰² V-O om. | ²⁰³ V-O om. | ²⁰⁴ V-O om. | ²⁰⁵ V-O om. | ²⁰⁶ V-O om. | ²⁰⁷ V-O om. | ²⁰⁸ V-O om. | ²⁰⁹ V-O om. | ²¹⁰ V-O om. | ²¹¹ V-O om. | ²¹² V-O om. | ²¹³ V-O om. | ²¹⁴ V-O om. | ²¹⁵ V-O om. | ²¹⁶ V-O om. | ²¹⁷ V-O om. | ²¹⁸ V-O om. | ²¹⁹ V-O om. | ²²⁰ V-O om. | ²²¹ V-O om. | ²²² V-O om. | ²²³ V-O om. | ²²⁴ V-O om. | ²²⁵ V-O om. | ²²⁶ V-O om. | ²²⁷ V-O om. | ²²⁸ V-O om. | ²²⁹ V-O om. | ²³⁰ V-O om. | ²³¹ V-O om. | ²³² V-O om. | ²³³ V-O om. | ²³⁴ V-O om. | ²³⁵ V-O om. | ²³⁶ V-O om. | ²³⁷ V-O om. | ²³⁸ V-O om. | ²³⁹ V-O om. | ²⁴⁰ V-O om. | ²⁴¹ V-O om. | ²⁴² V-O om. | ²⁴³ V-O om. | ²⁴⁴ V-O om. | ²⁴⁵ V-O om. | ²⁴⁶ V-O om. | ²⁴⁷ V-O om. | ²⁴⁸ V-O om. | ²⁴⁹ V-O om. | ²⁵⁰ V-O om. | ²⁵¹ V-O om. | ²⁵² V-O om. | ²⁵³ V-O om. | ²⁵⁴ V-O om. | ²⁵⁵ V-O om. | ²⁵⁶ V-O om. | ²⁵⁷ V-O om. | ²⁵⁸ V-O om. | ²⁵⁹ V-O om. | ²⁶⁰ V-O om. | ²⁶¹ V-O om. | ²⁶² V-O om. | ²⁶³ V-O om. | ²⁶⁴ V-O om. | ²⁶⁵ V-O om. | ²⁶⁶ V-O om. | ²⁶⁷ V-O om. | ²⁶⁸ V-O om. | ²⁶⁹ V-O om. | ²⁷⁰ V-O om. | ²⁷¹ V-O om. | ²⁷² V-O om. | ²⁷³ V-O om. | ²⁷⁴ V-O om. | ²⁷⁵ V-O om. | ²⁷⁶ V-O om. | ²⁷⁷ V-O om. | ²⁷⁸ V-O om. | ²⁷⁹ V-O om. | ²⁸⁰ V-O om. | ²⁸¹ V-O om. | ²⁸² V-O om. | ²⁸³ V-O om. | ²⁸⁴ V-O om. | ²⁸⁵ V-O om. | ²⁸⁶ V-O om. | ²⁸⁷ V-O om. | ²⁸⁸ V-O om. | ²⁸⁹ V-O om. | ²⁹⁰ V-O om. | ²⁹¹ V-O om. | ²⁹² V-O om. | ²⁹³ V-O om. | ²⁹⁴ V-O om. | ²⁹⁵ V-O om. | ²⁹⁶ V-O om. | ²⁹⁷ V-O om. | ²⁹⁸ V-O om. | ²⁹⁹ V-O om. | ³⁰

[illegible]

1 0 om. | 2 V-O | 3 V | 4 V | 5 V | 6 V | 7 V | 8 V add. | 9 V | 10 V | 11 0 om. | 12 0 om. | 13 V-O | 14 0 | 15 V-O | 16 V-O om.

[illegible]

¹ V-0  | ² V-0 om. | ³ V-0  | ⁴ V-0  | ⁵ AL
 | ⁶ V-0 om. | ⁷ V-0  | ⁸ V-0 om. | ⁹ V-0 om. 

- [323] ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵
- 10 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵
- 20 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵
- 30 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵
- 40 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵

¹ V om. | ² V-O om. | ³ V-O om. | ⁴ V-O om. | ⁵ V-O pro habent | ⁶ O om. | ⁷ V-O om. | ⁸ V-O | ⁹ V-O | ¹⁰ V pro habet | ¹¹ V-O add. | ¹² V-O om. | ¹³ V add. | ¹⁴ V om. | ¹⁵ V om.

[illegible]

1 V-0 | 2 V-0 om. | 3 V-0 om. | 4 V-0 add. | 5 V-0 | 6 V-0 | 7 AL | 8 V-0 | 9 V-0 om. | 10 V-0 | 11 V-0 | 12 V-0 om. | 13 V-0 add. | 14 V-0 | 15 V-0 om.

[illegible]

1 V om. | 2 AL وسول | 3 V-O om. | 4 V-O معصب | 5 V om. | 6 V-O om. | 7 V add. و | 8 V-O محصب | 9 V-O add. من | 10 V-O معط | 11 V-O فب | 12 V-O add. لـفج | 13 V pro مستملا مستملا | 14 V om. habet مستملا مستملا

[illegible]

¹ V-O ١٥٠ | ² O add. ١٥٠ | ³ V ١٥٠ | ⁴ V-O ١٥٠ | ⁵ V-O om. ١٥٠
⁶ V om. ١٥٠ | ⁷ V-O ١٥٠ | ⁸ V om. ١٥٠ | ⁹ V-O om. ١٥٠ | ¹⁰ V ١٥٠

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¹ V pro $\text{pro } \text{ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ}$ habet $\text{ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ}$ | ² V-O ܡܝܬܝܢ | ³ V add. ܡܝܬܝܢ | ⁴ V-O pro $\text{ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ}$ habent $\text{ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ}$ | ⁵ V-O $\text{ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ}$ | ⁶ V-O om. | ⁷ V-O ܡܝܬܝܢ | ⁸ V ܡܝܬܝܢ | ⁹ V-O pro $\text{ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ}$ habet $\text{ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ} \text{ ܡܝܬܝܢ}$

[illegible]

¹ V-0 om. | ² V-0 om. | ³ 0 om. | ⁴ V-0 همستبا | ⁵ V وحب | ⁶ V
add. ٥٥ | ⁷ V om. | ⁸ V-0 om. | ⁹ V-0 معضلا | ¹⁰ V حبه | 0 معصه
معصه | ¹¹ V pro ٥٥, habet ٥٥ | ¹² V om.

[illegible]

0³ | حاقا 0² | ابط، وخالحم قبل الحسمم. 0000 حه جعوا. 1 V-O om. | 0⁸ V | وبتا 0⁷ | و'000ه V-O 0⁶ | وحصه AL 0⁵ | وعبنا V-O 0⁴ | وعبه جعوميه مغبنا للامم ونه ونا حصنا. 0¹⁰ AL om. | وعبنا V-O 0⁹ | مغبنا مغبنا ملبس. وعبه مغبنا مغبنا مغبه حه حصنا حلا مغب. 0¹¹ V-O | وعبنا ملبس.

- חיבב. ¹ חבב חכמה ² חבב חכמה ³ חבב חכמה ⁴ חבב חכמה ⁵ חבב חכמה ⁶ חבב חכמה ⁷ חבב חכמה ⁸ חבב חכמה ⁹ חבב חכמה ¹⁰ חבב חכמה ¹¹ חבב חכמה ¹² חבב חכמה
- 10 ¹ חבב חכמה ² חבב חכמה ³ חבב חכמה ⁴ חבב חכמה ⁵ חבב חכמה ⁶ חבב חכמה ⁷ חבב חכמה ⁸ חבב חכמה ⁹ חבב חכמה ¹⁰ חבב חכמה ¹¹ חבב חכמה ¹² חבב חכמה
- 20 ¹ חבב חכמה ² חבב חכמה ³ חבב חכמה ⁴ חבב חכמה ⁵ חבב חכמה ⁶ חבב חכמה ⁷ חבב חכמה ⁸ חבב חכמה ⁹ חבב חכמה ¹⁰ חבב חכמה ¹¹ חבב חכמה ¹² חבב חכמה
- 30 ¹ חבב חכמה ² חבב חכמה ³ חבב חכמה ⁴ חבב חכמה ⁵ חבב חכמה ⁶ חבב חכמה ⁷ חבב חכמה ⁸ חבב חכמה ⁹ חבב חכמה ¹⁰ חבב חכמה ¹¹ חבב חכמה ¹² חבב חכמה
- 40 ¹ חבב חכמה ² חבב חכמה ³ חבב חכמה ⁴ חבב חכמה ⁵ חבב חכמה ⁶ חבב חכמה ⁷ חבב חכמה ⁸ חבב חכמה ⁹ חבב חכמה ¹⁰ חבב חכמה ¹¹ חבב חכמה ¹² חבב חכמה

¹ V-0 pro ² V-0 ³ V-0 ⁴ V-0 ⁵ V-0 ⁶ V-0 ⁷ V-0 ⁸ V-0 ⁹ V-0 ¹⁰ V-0 ¹¹ V-0 ¹² V-0

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

1 V-O om. | 2 V-O om. | 3 V-O om. | 4 V-O om. | 5 V-O om. | 6 V-O om. | 7 V-O om. | 8 V pro habet | 9 V om. | 10 V-O om. | 11 V-O om.

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 20
 30

[417] **حَلَّوْ مَحَبَّ مَسْمُوحٌ فِي مَحَبَّتِ: أَكْبَرُ مَحَبَّةٍ** {حَلَّوْ

[illegible]

1 V-O حصار | 2 V حسم | 3 V-O add. ص | 4 V-O add. وصم | 5 V حصار | 6 V add. ص | 7 V-O om. | 8 V وصم | 9 V-O pro حصار | 10 V حصار | 11 V-O om. | 12 V ص

[illegible]

¹ V-0 مبدل | ² V-0 فعل، | ³ V om. | ⁴ V موصف | ⁵ V ٥٥ | ⁶ V add.

وَجَعَلَ الْجِبَينِ هَيْجًا وَفَالَا حَارًّا / اجْلَحَ حَه V-0 om. | 7 V om. | حَه
وَجَعَلَهَا V-0 | 12 V om. | 11 V om. | 10 V-0 om. | بِجَاهٍ V | 9 هَيْجًا
مُحَسَّبٌ V-0 | 13 هَيْجٌ V | 14 V om. | 15

13 V-0 | 14 V | 15 V om.

[illegible]

¹ V-O pro | ² habet | ³ ممتلك | ⁴ V-O | ⁵ V-O om. | ⁶ V-O om. | ⁷ V om. | ⁸ V-O | ⁹ V-O om. | ¹⁰ V om. | ¹¹ AL | ¹² V om. | ¹³ V-O om.

١٥
 ٢٠
 ٣٠
 ٤٠

¹ V-0 بار، | ² V-0 مجو، | ³ V-0 حصصيه | ⁴ V om. | ⁵ V حه
⁶ V-0 om. صحف به صفيل | ⁷ V-0 om.

[illegible]

¹ V-O om. | ² V-O om. | ³ V-O om. | ⁴ O add. | ⁵ V-O | ⁶ V-O pro | ⁷ habent | ⁸ V | ⁹ V-O | ¹⁰ V-O om.

- 10 ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴
- 20 ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰
- 40 ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰

¹ V-O habent | ² V om. | ³ V-O pro habent | ⁴ V-O pro habent | ⁵ V-O pro habent | ⁶ V-O pro habent | ⁷ V-O add. | ⁸ V-O | ⁹ V-O | ¹⁰ V-O | ¹¹ AL | ¹² V-O | ¹³ V-O | ¹⁴ V-O pro habent | ¹⁵ V-O | ¹⁶ V-O | ¹⁷ V-O | ¹⁸ V-O | ¹⁹ V-O | ²⁰ V-O | ²¹ V-O | ²² V-O | ²³ V-O | ²⁴ V-O | ²⁵ V-O | ²⁶ V-O | ²⁷ V-O | ²⁸ V-O | ²⁹ V-O | ³⁰ V-O | ³¹ V-O | ³² V-O | ³³ V-O | ³⁴ V-O | ³⁵ V-O | ³⁶ V-O | ³⁷ V-O | ³⁸ V-O | ³⁹ V-O | ⁴⁰ V-O | ⁴¹ V-O | ⁴² V-O | ⁴³ V-O | ⁴⁴ V-O | ⁴⁵ V-O | ⁴⁶ V-O | ⁴⁷ V-O | ⁴⁸ V-O | ⁴⁹ V-O | ⁵⁰ V-O | ⁵¹ V-O | ⁵² V-O | ⁵³ V-O | ⁵⁴ V-O | ⁵⁵ V-O | ⁵⁶ V-O | ⁵⁷ V-O | ⁵⁸ V-O | ⁵⁹ V-O | ⁶⁰ V-O | ⁶¹ V-O | ⁶² V-O | ⁶³ V-O | ⁶⁴ V-O | ⁶⁵ V-O | ⁶⁶ V-O | ⁶⁷ V-O | ⁶⁸ V-O | ⁶⁹ V-O | ⁷⁰ V-O | ⁷¹ V-O | ⁷² V-O | ⁷³ V-O | ⁷⁴ V-O | ⁷⁵ V-O | ⁷⁶ V-O | ⁷⁷ V-O | ⁷⁸ V-O | ⁷⁹ V-O | ⁸⁰ V-O | ⁸¹ V-O | ⁸² V-O | ⁸³ V-O | ⁸⁴ V-O | ⁸⁵ V-O | ⁸⁶ V-O | ⁸⁷ V-O | ⁸⁸ V-O | ⁸⁹ V-O | ⁹⁰ V-O | ⁹¹ V-O | ⁹² V-O | ⁹³ V-O | ⁹⁴ V-O | ⁹⁵ V-O | ⁹⁶ V-O | ⁹⁷ V-O | ⁹⁸ V-O | ⁹⁹ V-O | ¹⁰⁰ V-O

Résumé

L'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* de Grégoire Bar 'Ebroyo (1225/6-1286 apr. J.-C.), auteur syro-orthodoxe et maphrien de l'Est, a depuis longtemps été reconnue comme une source historique inestimable pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive et médiévale du Moyen-Orient, mais elle a reçu une attention limitée du monde scientifique en tant qu'œuvre de littérature à part entière, et n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une monographie. En outre, l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* n'est encore et toujours seulement accessible que par l'intermédiaire d'une édition du 19^e s., qui est simplement une reproduction diplomatique d'un manuscrit du 16^e s. Bien que la *Chronique* de Bar 'Ebroyo, dont l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique* forme la seconde partie, soit le seul ouvrage historiographique en syriaque préservé dans plus d'un seul manuscrit, sa riche tradition manuscrite n'a jamais été examinée. Le but de cette thèse doctorale est tout d'abord de fournir une étude philologique et historiographique de l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique*. Plus particulièrement, je propose une analyse de a) la tradition manuscrite et de la transmission du texte, b) de la relation avec la tradition du genre de l'histoire ecclésiastique, c) l'étude des sources. Cette étude s'accompagne d'une nouvelle édition de texte et d'une traduction anglaise.

Mots Clés

Historiographie, Chrétiens d'Orient, Syrie, Tradition manuscrite

Abstract

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Gregory Bar 'Ebroyo (1225/6-1286 A.D.), Syrian Orthodox author and maphrian of the East, has long been recognized as an invaluable historical source for the history of the Late Antique and Medieval Middle East but it has received limited scholarly attention as a work of literature in its own right, and it has never been made the object of a book-length study. Moreover, the *Ecclesiastical History* is still available only via a 19th century edition, which is basically a diplomatic reproduction of a 16th century manuscript. Although Bar 'Ebroyo's *Chronicle*, of which the *Ecclesiastical History* forms the second part, is the only Syriac historiographical work preserved in more than one manuscript, its rich manuscript tradition has never been examined. The purpose of this thesis is to provide a first philological and historiographical study of the *Ecclesiastical History*. More particularly, I propose an analysis of a) the manuscript tradition and the transmission of the text, b) the relation with the tradition of the genre Ecclesiastical History, c) the study of the sources. This study is accompanied by a newly established text and an English translation.

Keywords

Historiography, Eastern Christianity, Syriac, Manuscript Tradition