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The Making of the Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage

George A. Kiraz

The making of the *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (GEDSH) was a long journey that began as a high school kid’s summer project, and ended up, twenty-eight years later, with the current volume containing contributions by seventy-six scholars from around the globe. In between, the language in which it was written changed once, its medium flip-flopped between print and electronic a few times, and its ‘operational center’ moved from continent to continent. Along the way, many individuals helped and contributed in making GEDSH what it is today. This brief story acknowledges their contributions.

The first incarnation of the project aimed at compiling, in Arabic, what we may call an encyclopedia of Syriac biographies, with an Arabic title¹ more impressive than the content itself. A lemma list was compiled in the summer of 1983 in Bethlehem, drawing from the available Arabic resources. The list constituted 526 headings, each with a reference or two to the sources. Between 1984 and 1990, now in Los Angeles but still using Arabic, the list was transferred onto 3x5 index cards and was expanded to cover Syriac scholars (both Eastern and Western), modern writers, and a few place names. During this period, the late Anton A. Kiraz helped by adding lemma headings from Nuro’s *Jawlati*² and Saka’s *al-Suryān*.³ By the end of this stage, the lemma list consisted of 1,300 headings, each with at least one reference giving the lemma’s primary source. Still, no articles were actually written. Later, the index cards would be used to add entries to GEDSH, especially for the first letter of the alphabet. A future encyclopedia covering biographies of minor personalities can make use of the index cards, which are now preserved in the Beth Mardutho Research Library, Piscataway, NJ.

The second incarnation of the project, codenamed the Syriac Hyper-text Project (SHT), began in 1993 in Cambridge, England, under the auspices of the Syriac Computing Institute, the forerunner of Beth Mardutho. As its title indicates, it had in mind a different objective (a hypertext) and hence a different medium (electronic). A hypertext is a text that includes references, or hyperlinks, to other text that can be easily accessible, say with a mouse click. While the term was coined in 1965 (by Ted Nelson) and implemented in earlier systems, hypertexts became ubiquitous when they were used in the World Wide Web (WWW), first implemented in 1992. It was this implementation of the WWW that gave rise to the idea of SHT. A team of volunteers worked on two tracks: a technical track for the implementation of the software necessary to deploy SHT and a second one for the gathering of content. As for the technical work, A. Bolton implemented a prototype system that permitted the tagging of texts with hyperlinks. One was able to import such tagged texts into a database, from which one could generate electronic and printable versions. A database backend permitted the management of bibliographical references within the encyclopedia. The technical aspects of this system have been described elsewhere.⁴ In terms of content, standard Syriac references were used to compile draft articles by a team of volunteers that

¹ Arabic title: *Arīj al-rayḥān fī tarājim al-a’yan wa-sīyar maštibīr al-suryān lil-aftīyāqon George bin Anton al Kirāz*.
included Andrew Criddle, Ken Moxham, and Daniel Ponsford. About 1,200 articles were compiled between 1993 and 1995 in ca. 150,000 words (compare with GEDSH which has 622 entries with ca. 350,000 words). A full list of the resources used to compile the content is provided in the project’s reports.5 SHT was closer in spirit to today’s Wikipedia in that it relied on anonymous volunteers. The length and quality of the articles were rather mixed, with some articles consisting of a sentence or two, while others were a few pages. Sebastian P. Brock reviewed the material to determine which articles, after an editorial process, could stay, and which needed to be re-written by a specialist.

The third incarnation of the project took place in the fall of 1996 during an informal lunch meeting at Oxford. It was during this meeting that the decision to produce a printed edition, consisting of selections from SHT, was made, and Robert Kitchen kindly agreed to manage the lemma list. It should be noted that the idea of a printed Syriac encyclopedia had been circulating for some time among Syriac scholars and was publicly suggested to the scholarly community by Witold Witakowski during the 1992 Symposium Syriacum in Cambridge, UK.) While the online goal was never abandoned, by the spring of 1998, the printed version took a life of its own and the project was renamed the Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage (EDSH). The following year, during the North American Syriac Symposium (SyrCOM-99 session) at Notre Dame, Robert Kitchen read a paper presenting the development of the project to the scholarly community,6 after which an editorial committee was formed consisting of Sebastian P. Brock, J. F. Coakley, George A. Kiraz, Robert Kitchen, Lucas Van Rompay, and Witold Witakowski. A set of guidelines was provided to the project by Everett Ferguson, editor of the Encyclopedia of Early Christianity, which was re-edited by J. F. Coakley on behalf of the committee to meet the requirements of EDSH. Scholars were invited to write articles. Soon it became clear to the group that the task was quite daunting. During the Third Peshitta Symposium in Leiden in 2001, it was decided to reduce the ambitious lemma list of 1,500 to a more manageable quantity between 300 and 500 entries. Sebastian P. Brock, George A. Kiraz, and Lucas Van Rompay became the editors of the now smaller EDSH. Robert Kitchen produced an initial lemma list of 300 or so items, which was then revised by the three-member editorial committee.

In a 2007 Hugoye paper on the status and challenges of Syriac studies, Lucas Van Rompay briefly discussed the project.7 In the same year, the editors increased their efforts, finalized the list of entries, and contacted a limited number of new contributors with the request to write missing entries. Editorial management assistance was provided by the staff of Gorgias Press which became the designated publisher; hence, GEDSH. As things progressed and more articles came in, the list of lemmata began to increase again, culminating in the 622 articles now included. The draft articles were made available online through WikiSyriaca, an online web site that made use of MediaWiki, the same software used for Wikipedia, and was hosted by Beth Mardutho. During this period, Gareth Hughes acted as Wiki Editor. WikiSyriaca was short-lived as during the following year a cyber attack on the Gorgias network rendered it inoperable, but work continued ahead with the printed edition. In 2008, the management of the project was taken up by Lucas Van Rompay, and Aaron M. Butts was added to the editorial committee, first as editorial assistant and since 2009 as full member. Together, the four-member committee read and edited the entire draft. All seventy-six authors were given a last chance to make changes or additions to their entries in 2009, and a full manuscript was sent off for typesetting in early 2010. Maps, provided by the Ancient World Mapping Center (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill), and illustrations were added in the fall of 2010. The coordination of the final editorial process was undertaken by Lucas Van Rompay, and the typesetting was done by Sr. Kassia Senina.

Beth Mardutho plans to continue the project aiming at a larger encyclopedia both in printed and electronic forms, hoping to resurrect some of the earlier content, from arîf al-raybān and SHT, and in no doubt by further contributions from the scholarly community. For now, it is hoped that readers will find GEDSH a good gedshol.

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EDITORS’ PREFACE

Sebastian P. Brock
Aaron M. Butts
George A. Kiraz
Lucas Van Rompay

The Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage is a joint venture of seventy-six students and scholars of Syriac Christianity, living in many different countries and working together over a number of years. Conceived in its present form in the mid-1990s, the plans were subsequently adjusted and revised. One result of the changes is that the present GEDSH is less ambitious and less comprehensive than had originally been planned. A number of choices were made.

The focus of GEDSH is on the Syriac Christian cultural tradition as it historically developed in the Syriac homelands of the Middle East, was carried on by a great number of religious communities of different backgrounds, and is still preserved, cherished, and studied by Syriac Christians today, in the Middle East, in India, and in the worldwide Diaspora. Without excluding manifestations of Syriac Christianity in other languages and cultures, the primary focus is on the Classical Syriac expression of Syriac Christianity. While one could legitimately argue for a much broader approach, which would give more attention to anthropological, sociological, theological, art-historical aspects (some of which have been given limited consideration), our primary focus has been on the connection between Syriac Christianity and the Syriac language. The Classical Syriac language and literary tradition are indeed the most powerful cohesive forces that join together the various communities representing Syriac Christianity.

The focus on Classical Syriac at the same time allows us to incorporate the various traditions — of an amazing linguistic, literary, and religious diversity — that are reflected in, and often intertwined with, Syriac Christianity. Several Greek writers and writings that became classics in Syriac Christianity, works of Jewish origin, authors of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Chinese, and Malayalam background and upbringing, and a rare pagan author writing in Syriac all together contribute to the truly multilingual and multicultural foundation of Syriac Christianity. GEDSH aims to reflect this richness and diversity.

This approach explains the prominence in GEDSH of authors, literary works, scholars, and locations that are associated with Classical Syriac and the Classical Syriac literary tradition. We fully realize that authors writing in Modern Syriac and much of Modern Syriac literature continue to a large extent this same tradition. We very much hope that other scholars will be stimulated to edit a companion volume devoted to this subject. In the meantime reference can be made to R. Macuch’s Geschichte der spät- und neusyrischen Literatur (1976) along with several publications by Heleen Murre-van den Berg, Alessandro Mengozzi, Fabrizio Pennacchietti, Bruno Poizat, and others, in particular the overview provided by Hannibal J. Gevargis, Ruhaniyun-e Bar-Jestab-yi Ashuri dar do qarn-i akhir (‘Assyrian religious writers of the last two centuries’; Tehran, 2000).

In the absence of up-to-date scholarly tools and handbooks on Syriac literature, ecclesiastical history, historical geography, and prosopography, GEDSH cannot claim to offer full and balanced reports for all these fields. But it is our intention to lay at least the groundwork as well as to provide some stepping stones for further work. Fully aware of the provisional and necessarily incomplete nature of many of the GEDSH entries, we have made an effort to provide the necessary bibliographical references for each entry so as to encourage further study and exploration.
A fuller and more systematic encyclopedia would obviously include many more entries on general concepts and ideas, literary genres, liturgical key-terms, etc. While in many of the entries an effort has been made to go beyond the level of factual description, a more deliberate conceptual approach would have required a different type of preparation which, in the present state of scholarship on Syriac Christianity, may not have been entirely compatible with our primary approach. We realize and acknowledge, however, that a more developed and expanded type of encyclopedia for Syriac Christianity remains a desideratum.

Several technical matters require comment. All dates are Common Era (i.e. AD) unless noted otherwise. For the sake of economy, a number of abbreviations have been employed in the text. These include General Abbreviations for commonly used titles (e.g. bp. = bishop), terms (e.g. NT = New Testament), churches (e.g. Melk. = Melkite), etc. These abbreviations are explained on p. xvii. In addition, frequently quoted publications are referred to by the author’s last name and a short title (full references are found on p. xx–xxii).

For Syriac proper nouns, we have retained the Syriac form, e.g. Yuḥannan (E. Syr.) or Yuḥanon (W. Syr.), but not John. The only general exception to this rule is Ephrem. Similarly, we have retained the Arabic form for Arabic proper nouns. In most cases, we have provided cross-references, e.g. John see also Iwannis, Yohannan (E. Syr.), and Yuḥanon (W. Syr.). For Greek proper names, we have adopted the most common English form, e.g. John Chrysostom.

The Syriac consonants are transliterated ’, b, g, d, h, w, z, š, l, m, n, s, p, q, r, s, and t. In personal names and geographic names, sin is transliterated sb instead of l. Ālap, waw, and yud are not indicated when they serve as matres lectionis. In addition, ālap is not indicated when it is word initial, e.g. ālahā‘īt. Spirantization (i.e. rakkākākā) is generally not marked, though in several more well-known words it is marked (e.g. lēth). Gemination of consonants is represented for E. Syr. but not for W. Syr. The vowels are transliterated a, ā, e, ē (i.e. rhāšā karyā), i, o, and u for E. Syr. and a, e, ī, and u for W. Syr. The distinction between a and ā is not indicated in the transliteration of Syriac geographic names. The E.-Syr. transliteration system has been used in entries pertaining to material prior to the East/West division as well as for entries that span both the E.– and W.-Syr. traditions. Schwa is not generally marked, except in certain proper names, for which the more common transliteration with šin is not indicated when it is word initial. The Arabic vowels are transliterated a, ā, i, ī, u, and ū.

Entries are alphabetized according to the Latin alphabet. Personal names that are normally accompanied by a Roman number (in particular names of patriarchs) go before the simple names (e.g. Aba I and Aba II before Aba). In composite names the English preposition ‘of’ is not counted in the alphabetization; the Syriac noun ‘bar’, however, is counted. Diacritics do not register in alphabetization, nor do ‚ or ‟.

With regard to the illustrations, as we had limited means and resources, we selected some images from existing publications (to the extent that we were able to secure permission), adding to them a number of images from private collections, kindly and generously put at our disposal by colleagues and friends. The way in which the illustrations were collected, therefore, is once again a testimony to the collegial and collaborative effort on which GEDSH is built. All images were edited and digitally enhanced by Douglas Ojala.

GEDSH is about Syriac Christianity as it historically developed and as it has been transmitted throughout the centuries, up to the present day. Syriac Christianity today is both the object of academic study and an essential part in the lives of communities and individuals. Both realities are part of GEDSH and will be appreciated, we are confident, by our diverse readership. It is our conviction that for a balanced study of Syriac Christianity the involvement of people with different backgrounds is required, reflecting not only the multi-faceted nature of Syriac Christianity itself, but also the world in which we want to preserve and cherish Syriac Christianity’s treasures.

While a more detailed report of the various phases of the preparation of GEDSH is offered in the preceding essay by G. A. Kiraz, it is appropriate to name here a few institutions and individuals whose contributions, particularly in the final stage of the work, have been crucial. As a Beth Mardutho project, GEDSH received all due care and attention from the skilled staff of Gorgias Press. Robert A. Kitchen (Saskatchewan, Canada), Wítold Witkowski (Uppsala), and James (Chip) F. Coakley (then Cambridge, MA and more recently Cambridge, UK) have all been instrumental, each in his own way, in helping GEDSH make the transition and the transformation from the twentieth century into the twenty-first. For GEDSH’s short-lived but significant WikiSyriaca
existence (giving us a foretaste of what a Syriac encyclopedia in the twenty-first century should look like) credit goes to Gareth Hughes (Oxford). Over the last couple of years we approached a number of colleagues with the request to write, often at short notice, new entries or rewrite existing ones, or to provide information that was otherwise difficult to come by. While responses to such requests were overwhelmingly prompt and positive, we would like to single out some colleagues who, at that late hour, far beyond their individual entries, provided us essential feedback and help in bringing the entire project to a successful conclusion: Adam H. Becker (New York, NY), Jeff W. Childers (Abilene, TX), Maria E. Doerfler (Durham, NC), Emanuel A. Fiano (Durham, NC), Bas ter Haar Romeny (Leiden), Amir Harrak (Toronto), Mat Immerzeel (Leiden), Karel Innemée (Leiden), Andreas Juckel (Münster), Hubert Kaufhold (München), Alessandro Mengozzi (Torino), Craig E. Morrison (Rome), Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Leiden), István Perczel (Budapest), Ute Possekel (Boston), Gerrit J. Reinink (Groningen), Hidemi Takahashi (Tokyo), Jack B.V. Tannous (Washington, DC), and Herman G.B. Teule (Nijmegen). Duke University’s Department of Religion provided a research assistantship allowing us to enlist the help of Sam Burleson, and contributed to the project in other ways as well. For the maps we were fortunate to work with Richard Talbert, Brian Turner, and Ross Twele of the Ancient World Mapping Center of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Now that this important stage of the GEDSH project is coming to an end, we dedicate its publication to the victims of Sayfo, the centenary of which is approaching. Respectfully remembering all victims, we particularly cherish and celebrate the memory of the lost generations of Syriac writers. May their voices resonate in our hearts!

August 2010
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# Sigla and Abbreviations

## I. General Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>Arabic translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td><em>bin</em> (Arabic for ‘son’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bp.</td>
<td>bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca.</td>
<td>circa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cath.</td>
<td>catholicos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cath.</td>
<td>Catholic (i.e. Roman Catholic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cent.</td>
<td>century / centuries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ch. of E.</td>
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<td>Chald.</td>
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<td>coll.</td>
<td>collection</td>
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<td>CPA</td>
<td>Christian Palestinian Aramaic</td>
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<tr>
<td>DT</td>
<td>Dutch translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>E. Syr.</td>
<td>E. Syrian / E. Syriac</td>
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<td>ed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>et al.</td>
<td><em>et alii</em> ‘and others’</td>
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<tr>
<td>ET</td>
<td>English translation</td>
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<td>fl.</td>
<td><em>floruit</em> (referring to the most productive period in a figure’s life)</td>
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<td>FS</td>
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<td>FT</td>
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<td>German translation</td>
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<td>IT</td>
<td>Italian translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>(occasionally) Journal</td>
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<td>LT</td>
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<td>Maronite</td>
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<td>Melkite</td>
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<td>ms(s).</td>
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<td>NT</td>
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<td>patr.</td>
<td>Patriarch</td>
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<tr>
<td>RT</td>
<td>Russian translation</td>
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<td>SBL</td>
<td>Society of Biblical Literature</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Spanish translation</td>
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<td>Syr. Cath.</td>
<td>Syriac Catholic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Syr. Orth.</td>
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<td>W. Syr.</td>
<td>W. Syriac / W. Syrian</td>
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II. SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS FOR JOURNALS, SERIAL PUBLICATIONS, AND REFERENCE WORKS

AB  Analecta Bollandiana.
ABD  Anchor Bible Dictionary.
ÄF  Äthiopistische Forschungen.
AIEN  Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli.
AJSL  American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
AHCA  Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum.
AS  Aramaic Studies.
BBK  Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon.
BHO  Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis, ed. Socii Bollandiani (Subsidia Hagiographica 10; 1910).
BJRL  Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
BTS  Beiruter Texte und Studien. Herausgegeben vom Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
BUSEK  Bulletin de l’Université Saint-Esprit Kaslik.
CahArch  Cahiers archéologiques.
CC  Corpus Christianorum.
CCSG  Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca.
CCSL  Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina.
CCO  Collectanea Christiana Orientalia.
CH  Church History.
CSCO  Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. (all references are to the overall number, not the Script. Syr. or Subsidia number)
DCB  Dictionary of Christian Biography.
DHGE  Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques.
DOP  Dumbarton Oaks Papers.
DSpir  Dictionnaire de Spiritualité.
DTC  Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.
EAe  Encyclopaedia Aethiopica, ed. S. Uhlig.
EI  Encyclopaedia of Islam.
EF  Encyclopaedia of Islam (2nd ed.).
Elr  Encyclopaedia Iranica.
ECA  Eastern Christian Art in its Late Antique and Islamic Contexts.
ECR  Eastern Churches Review.
ECS  Eastern Christian Studies.
ETL  Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses.
ÉtSyr  Études syriaques.
FC  Fontes Christiani.
GOF  Göttinger Orientforschungen.
GOFS  Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe. Syriaca.
GCS  Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller (der ersten drei Jahrhunderte).
Harp  The Harp: A Review of Syriac and Oriental Studies.
HTR  Harvard Theological Review.
Hugoe  Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies.
JA  Journal asiatique.
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>JAAS</td>
<td>Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAC</td>
<td>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JCSSS</td>
<td>Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEH</td>
<td>Journal of Ecclesiastical History.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JJS</td>
<td>Journal of Jewish Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSSS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JTS</td>
<td>The Journal of Theological Studies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LM</td>
<td>Le Muséon.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LThK</td>
<td>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche.</td>
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<td>MPIIL</td>
<td>Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden.</td>
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<td>MUSJ</td>
<td>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph.</td>
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<td>OC</td>
<td>Oriens Christianus.</td>
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<td>OCA</td>
<td>Orientalia Christiana Analecta.</td>
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<td>OCP</td>
<td>Orientalia Christiana Periodica.</td>
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<td>OKS</td>
<td>Ostkirchliche Studien.</td>
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<td>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta.</td>
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<td>OrSuec</td>
<td>Orientalia Suecana.</td>
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<td>OS</td>
<td>L'Orient Syrien.</td>
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<td>PAC</td>
<td>Patrimoine arabe chrétien.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ParOr</td>
<td>Parole de l'Orient.</td>
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<td>PatMagDam</td>
<td>Al-Majalla al-Batriarkiya, Damascus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PatMagJer</td>
<td>Al-Majalla al-Batriarkiya al-Suryaniyya, Jerusalem.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PETSE</td>
<td>Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile.</td>
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<td>PG</td>
<td>Patrologia Graeca.</td>
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<td>PO</td>
<td>Patrologia Orientalis.</td>
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<td>POC</td>
<td>Proche-Orient Chrétien.</td>
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<td>PRE</td>
<td>Pauys Realencyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</td>
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<td>PS</td>
<td>Patrologia Syriaca.</td>
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<tr>
<td>PTS</td>
<td>Patristische Texte und Studien.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RAC</td>
<td>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.</td>
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<td>RB</td>
<td>Revue biblique.</td>
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<td>REArm</td>
<td>Revue des études arméniennes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RHE</td>
<td>Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique.</td>
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<td>RHR</td>
<td>Revue de l’histoire des religions.</td>
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<td>ROC</td>
<td>Revue de l’Orient Chrétien.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RSO</td>
<td>Rivista degli Studi Orientali.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RSPR</td>
<td>Revue des sciences philosophiques et religieuses.</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Sources chrétiennes.</td>
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<td>SeT</td>
<td>Studi e Testi.</td>
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III. Frequently quoted publications, referred to by the author's last name and short title

Baumstark, Literatur = A. Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur (1922).
Becker, Fear of God = A. Becker, Fear of God and the beginning of wisdom. The School of Nisibis and the development of the scholastic culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia (Divinitions. Rereading Late Ancient Religion; 2006).
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Guidi et al., *Chronica minora* = *Chronica minora*, I (I. Guidi); II (E. W. Brooks and I.-B. Chabot); III (E. W. Brooks, I. Guidi, and I.-B. Chabot) (CSCO 1–6; 1903–1907).


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Reinink, ‘Edessa grew dim and Nisibis shone forth’ = G. J. Reinink, ‘Edessa grew dim and Nisibis shone forth: The School of Nisibis at the transition of the sixth-seventh century’, in Centres of learning. Learning and location in pre-modern Europe and the Near East, ed. J. W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 61; 1995), 77–89. (repr. in Syriac Christianity under Late Sassanian and Early Islamic Rule [2005], ch. 1)


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Wright, Catalogue … British Museum = W. Wright, Catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum, acquired since the year 1838 (3 vols.; 1870–1872).

Wright, Short History of Syriac Literature = W. Wright, A short history of Syriac literature (1894; repr. 1966 and 2001).
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<td>Aba I</td>
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<td>Aba II of Kashkar</td>
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<td>Aba (ca. 400)</td>
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Aba I (d. 552) [Ch. of E.]

Teacher of biblical interpretation, author, Cath. (540–52). Born from Zoroastrian parents, Aba converted to Christianity and studied at the School of Nisibis. He traveled to the Roman Empire and visited Edessa (where he was taught Greek, probably by his later disciple Toma of Edessa), Palestine, Egypt, and Constantinople. Upon his return, he became a teacher of biblical interpretation (mḥṣğnā) at the School of Nisibis and subsequently at the School of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, which he is said to have founded. Following the death of Cath. Pavlos, he was elected as his successor in 540. In 544 an itinerant synod was held, during which Aba, accompanied by a changing number of bishops, visited several dioceses, many of which still suffered from the division in the church that had existed prior to the short tenure of Cath. Pavlos. The Synodicon Orientale has preserved the following documents, which are related to this ecclesiastical visitation and, more broadly, to Aba’s reforms: 1. on reform of church governance; 2. on the orthodox faith; 3. on the polītia of correct behavior (focusing on Christian marriage and rejecting various kinds of illicit unions); 4. on the disposal of the initiators of division and schism; 5. on the various degrees in the ecclesiastical hierarchy; 6. a letter entitled Practica (fragments); 7. canons (1–40; incomplete). Aba came into conflict with the Persian authorities and spent several of his years as Cath. in prison and in exile.

The sources attribute to Aba several commentaries on OT and NT books, of which only fragments exist in later works, such as the commentaries of Isho’dad of Merv. During his travels, around 530, he served as the instructor in biblical matters to the Egyptian author Cosmas Indicopleustes, who ca. 550 wrote his Christian Topography. Cosmas (in Book II.2) acknowledges Aba, whom he calls Patrikios (derived from the Greek word for ‘father’), as his source and is aware of Aba’s later works, which, except for ‘the Letter to the leaders of the School’, are lost: the Book of the Governors (Ktāhā d-estrāṭīqē), a Commentary on the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus), a Commentary on some works concerning dialectics (probably some books of the ‘Organon’ of Aristotle), a Homily on the Martyr Zakhe, and Exegetical Homilies (Memre puššāqāyē). From the latter many fragments and extracts have been preserved in the Gān-

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Vööbus, History of the School of Nisibis, 161–70.

Abá II of Kashkar (641–751) [Ch. of E.]

Scholar, Bp. of Kashkar, and Cath. (741–751). Born in (the vicinity of) Kashkar in 641 as son of Brik Sebyaneh (‘Blessed be His Will’). He received his education in the School of Seleucia-Ctesiphon and was for a certain time Bp. of Kashkar before his election as Cath. in 741. In the sixth year of his Catholicate a conflict between Aba and the clergy of Seleucia-Ctesiphon arose; the latter accused the Cath. of having illegally taken the possessions of the city’s School. According to a letter written by Aba to the director, the teachers, and the other ‘brothers’ of the School, these charges were brought against him while he stayed outside the patriarchal seat for some time (probably for reasons of health). According to some medieval sources the Cath. retired in a monastery of al-Wāṣīṭ for a year, but returned to Seleucia-Ctesiphon after the conflict was settled. Aba is known as the author of different works which, except for ‘the Letter to the leaders of the School’, are lost: the Book of the Governors (Ktāhā d-estrāṭīqē), a Commentary on the Theologian (Gregory of Nazianzus), a Commentary on some works concerning dialectics (probably some books of the ‘Organon’ of Aristotle), a Homily on the Martyr Zakhe, and Exegetical Homilies (Memre puššāqāyē). From the latter many fragments and extracts have been preserved in the Gān-
The short-lived independent Armenian Republic (1918–1920) became part of the Soviet Union in 1920, to regain its independence only in September 1991.

Christianity came to Armenia no later than the 3rd cent. and the Armenian Church was first organized by Gregory the Illuminator in the early 4th cent. An important factor in the development of Armenian Christianity was the invention of the Armenian script by Mashtoc' (Mesrop), traditionally dated in or around 407, and preceded by Mashtoc’s travels through Syria and Edessa. This was followed by a period of intense translation activity, from both Greek and Syriac. Prior to the invention of their own script, Armenians used Greek and Syriac as their literary and liturgical languages.

Among the translations of the earliest period (first half of the 5th cent.) are several Syriac texts, such as the Demonstrations of Aphrahat, transmitted in Armenian under the name of Yaqub of Nisibis (ed. Lafontaine), several works by Ephrem (Armenian: Ephrem Asori ‘the Assyrian’ or ‘Syrian’), and a short treatise attributed to bp. Aitalaha of Edessa, which is not preserved in Syriac. Ephrem’s Armenian works include the undoubtedly genuine ‘Hymns on Nicomedia’, which were written shortly after 358, and of which only a few Syriac fragments exist (ed. Renoux), and the Commentary on the Diatessaron (ed. Leloir). While for these two works (as well as for Aphrahat) we are dealing with quite faithful translations of Syriac originals, the relationship to the Syriac original is more problematic for other works attributed to Ephrem, such as a collection of hymns (ed. Mariès and Mercier), which seem to contain Syriac materials, but may represent later rewritings, and an anti-Marcionite exposition of the Gospel (ed. Egan), which is probably not by Ephrem (see Bundy, against the view of the editor), even though a 4th-cent. Syriac original is very likely. In addition to the translations of originally Syriac works, some Greek patristic works were translated into Armenian not from Greek, but from an earlier Syriac translation. The two most well-known examples are Eusebius of Caesarea’s Ecclesiastical History and Basil of Caesarea’s Homilies on the Hexaemeron. In the earliest layers of Armenian biblical and liturgical texts as well, the mark of Armenia’s early contacts with the Syriac world is clearly visible. Among indigenous Armenian authors who are well informed about Syriac Christianity and write about it or borrow themes or interpretations from it are Eznik of Kolb (author of a work known as either ‘Against the sects’ or ‘On God’), Koriwn (author of ‘The Life of Mashtoc’), the author of the ‘Teaching of Gregory’ (incorporated into the ‘History of Agathangelos’), and the author of the ‘Epic histories’ (formerly known as Faustus of Byzantium).

In the aftermath of the Council of Ephesus (431) and the Council’s condemnation of Antiochene theology, Armenian Christianity moved away from the Syriac sphere of influence and increasingly turned to the Greek imperial church. The Council of Chalcedon (451) at first did not have an impact on the Armenians, who at the same time were involved in the Battle of Avarayr (the outcome of which led to full Sasanian rule over Armenia). It is only in the course of the 6th cent. that church leaders and councils determined Armenia’s own theological position, partly in response to missionary activity carried out by representatives of the emerging Syr. Miaphysite Church and of the Dyophysite E.-Syr. Church. Even though the Armenians repeatedly took a position against dyophysitism, associated with Nestorius as well as with the Ch. of E., a straightforward rejection of the Council of Chalcedon only took place at the Council of Dvin in 607. From the 6th-cent. documents of the Armenian church (preserved in the ‘Book of Letters’) it appears that, in contrast with the Syr. Orth. and Cop-
been the church of Saint Georges located northeast of the city and cited by an anonymous Rhenan pilgrim in 1098. It is there, the pilgrim affirms, that long ago Saint George killed the dragon. Under the Ottomans in the 16th cent., the Maronites were in possession of that church with an adjacent cemetery where their bishops were buried (Duwayhī). In the course of the 17th cent. they lost this church, which became the mosque of al-Khādir. Another Maronite church was located within the walls of Beirut, but it was taken from them in 1571 by the ruling local emir Maḥṣūr ʿAssāf in the aftermath of his participation in the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus. ʿAssāf seized the church, but the Maronites did not leave, and they even named their first known bishop of Beirut a few years later, in 1577. Maronite bps. were named for Beirut but did not reside in the city, staying instead in different monasteries of the Kisrawyja and the Matn districts near the capital. In 1736 the Council of Luwayz mentioned eight Maronite dioceses among which the Beirut diocese included the Matn, the Jurdi, and the Gharb up to Jisr al-Qānim in the 19th cent., when refugees from Diyarbakır, Tarsus, Abdīn, and Lamy, Abbeloos and Lamy, arrived in Lebanon, followed by those coming from Adana, Tarsus, Edessa, and in the first half of the 9th cent.)

The Lebanese civil war (1975–90) greatly affected the Maronite diocese of Beirut, which numbered 140 churches before 1975 but lost 62 during the war as a result of the evacuation of Christians from 60 villages.

As for the Syr. Orth., a new diocese was created in the 19th cent., when refugees from Diyarbakır, Mardin, and Tur Abdin began to arrive in Lebanon, followed in the 20th cent. by those coming from Adana, Tarsus, and Edessa. Beirut also became an important center for the Syr. Cath. Church, which transferred its patriarchal residence from Mardin to Beirut under Patr. Ignatius Ephrem Rahmani (1898–1929) and had its main seminary in Sharfeh. In the second half of the 20th cent. Beirut also became an episcopal see for the Chald. Church (with Raphael Bidawid as its most notable incumbent, between 1966 and 1989) as well as for the Ch. of E.

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Chabot, Chronique de Michel le Syrien. (Syr. and FT)
M.-A. Kugener, Zacharie et Scolastique. Vie de Sévère (PO 2; 1907), 5–115.

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Honigmann, Études et étêchés monophysites, 32–3.

Bello, Estipān (1910–1989) [Chald.]
He was born in Alqosh of Jūnā Mīkāh Ballo and Teresa Mīkāh Sāko and given the baptismal name ʿAbd al-Aḥad (he is somewhat related to the family of Patr. Yoḥannan Sullaqa). He became a monk in 1924, and in 1927 joined the Seminary of St. John in Mosul where he was ordained a priest in 1934. He studied in Rome from 1935 until 1940, the year of his return to Iraq. In 1958 he became a vicar for Aleppo, and in 1960 was consecrated a bp. for Syria. He died in Rome in 1989 and was buried in Iraq. In addition to his major study La Congrégation de S. Hormisda et l’Église chaldéenne dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle (OCA 122; 1939), he translated from Italian into Syriac a small book titled L’appay urbā da-gmirā (Mosul, 1957). He also wrote a chronic title fele yawnayē (ms.) and a book titled ktābā d-purrē (ms.).

Abūnā, Adīb, 514–5.
Macuch, Geschichte, 416.

G. A. Kināz

Benedictus, Petrus see Mubārak, Buṭrūs

Benjamin of Edessa

Benjamin of Edessa (first half of the 9th cent.) [Syr. Orth.]
Metropolitan bp. of Edessa, professor of dogma, commentator on the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus and on the works of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Prior to his consecration as bp., Benjamin was monk in the Monastery of Mor Yaʿqūb (most likely in Kaysum). Later in his life he was found teaching at the monasteries of Eusebona (833/4) and Tell ʿAda (836/7), when in his capacity of Rabban d-dogma, ‘professor of dogma’,
Denḥa (9th cent.?) [Ch. of E.]

Author of a commentary on the Psalms. On the basis of remarks by Yoḥannan bar Zobi, Wright and Baumstark identify Denḥa as a disciple of Isho’ bar Nun, placing him in the first half of the 9th cent. His only extant work is a commentary on the Psalms, which along with the commentary by Isho’ dad of Merv is an important witness to E.-Syr. interpretation of the Psalms. The earliest ms. of the commentary, Paris Bib. Nat. Syr. 367 (dated 1252; formerly Siirt 29), identifies two authors: ‘Rabban Denḥa, but others say Rabban Grigor, monk of Gamre.’ This double attribution, found in all the extant mss., seems to refer to a new edition of Denḥa’s commentary by the monk Grigor of Gamre, who is otherwise unknown, with the additions having been made in red ink.

Van Rompay has shown that the Denḥa-Grigor commentary is in fact an expanded form of the anonymous Psalm commentary found in ms. Sachau 215 (dated 1882), both commentaries preserving elements of the exegesis of the Psalms by Theodore of Mopsuestia. The Denḥa-Grigor commentary was supplemented by material ascribed to Ahob Qatraya and has been preserved in mss. that incorporate, in whole or in part, other works on the Psalms, notably a Book on the Cause of the Psalms of Mar Ahob Qatraya, an introduction to the Psalms by Nathnel of Sizor (ca. 600), and one of Isho’ bar Nun’s ‘Selected Questions’ (dealing with Ps. 119). The commentary appears to have been popular in the E.-Syr. tradition and is found in a number of 19th-cent. mss. (e.g., ms. Mingana Syr. 58 and ms. Cambridge Univ. Libr. Or. 1318). Echoes of the Denḥa-Grigor commentary are found in W.-Syr. commentaries on the Psalms by Dionysios bar Ṣalibi (factual commentary) and Bar Ebroyo. A few extracts of the Denḥa-Grigor commentary dealing with messianism have been published by Vandenhoff.

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Baumstark, Literatur, 220.

W. Bloemendaal, The headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church (1960), 16.


Diamper, Synod of (20–27 June 1599)

Diocesan synod of the Thomas Christians, or the Syriac-rite Christians of Kerala, held in the village of Udayamperur (Diamper) to the south of Kochi (Cochin). It marked a watershed in the process of strengthening Roman and Portuguese control over the Thomas Christians.

Prior to the Synod of Diamper, the Thomas Christians had been ruled by E. Syr. and, since the middle of the 16th cent. — after the recognition of Patr. Yoḥannan Sullaqa by Rome in 1553 and the arrival of his brother Mar Yawsep in Kerala in 1558 — by Chald. bishops. At the same time, the second half of the 16th cent. had seen an increase in the activities of Latin missionaries in Kerala and moves by the Portuguese to strengthen their control over the Thomas Christians, who were indispensable for them as partners in the spice trade, with the result, for example, that the Chald. bp. Mar Abraham, who had arrived in India in 1568, was summoned in 1585 to attend the Third Provincial Council of Goa and was made to agree to the introduction of a number of Latin practices in the liturgy of the Thomas Christians.

Following the death of Mar Abraham in 1597, Archbishop Aleixo (Alexis) de Menezes of Goa (1559–1617, Archbishop of Goa 1595–1612) arrived in Kerala in 1599. After gaining the support of the local rulers and some of the local clergy, partly by ordaining a large number of new priests, and forcing Archdeacon George of the Cross (archdeacon 1594–1640), the leader of the Thomas Christians, to submit to him, Menezes called for a synod to be convened in June 1599. Udayamperur, more easily accessible from the Portuguese stronghold at Kochi than the traditional center of the diocese at Angamali, was chosen as the venue of the synod.

The synod, attended by 153 local priests and 660 lay representatives, lasted from the 20th to the 27th of June, and passed more than 200 decrees in rapid succession and evidently without any serious debate. The decrees covering doctrinal, liturgical, and customary matters were designed to bring the Church of the Thomas Christians in line with the post-Tridentine Roman Church, as well as to sever her links with the E.-Syr. (Chald.) Church, and included condemnations of ‘Nestorian’ heresy and prohibition of any recognition of the Patriarch of Babylon.

The Jesuit Francisco Ros (Roz), writing in 1604, reported that Menezes had altered the text of the acts and decrees of the synod which he sent to Rome after the
of alternative readings would remain a feature of many later Syriac commentaries. He and his contemporaries also used Jewish exegetical traditions. In the 5th cent. Greek interpretations were taken over that may have appeared more precise and systematic than the earlier Syriac tradition, but they were actually quite similar in terms of their general approach to the biblical text. Greek sources became so popular that the exegetes of the 6th and 7th cent. even seem to have lost sight of the earlier Syriac tradition.

The balance was redressed, however, after the 7th cent., paradoxically when Arab rule gradually began to weaken the position of the Syr. Churches. In this period, their members started editing anthologies and summaries of earlier exegetical literature. In the process of sifting, selecting, and summarizing, choices were made and new elements were added. Thus they built authoritative interpretative traditions that helped to give answers to questions posed by the political and religious circumstances of the period. Though the translation of Greek texts in the 5th cent. can be associated with the split between the Syr. Churches, later exegetes would also recognize the common ground formed by the teaching of Ephrem and the Cappadocians, by the Antiochene interpretation and method of John Chrysostom, and by philological comments, even if they originated with their doctrinal opponents. Some of the existing collections have assumed canonical status themselves, and are fostered and studied to the present day.

Becker, Fear of God.
S.P. Brock, The Bible in the Syriac tradition (Gorgias Handbooks 7; 2006).
S.D. Ryan, Dioscurius bar Salibi’s factual and spiritual Commentary on Psalms 73–82 (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 57; 2004).
Malabar Catholic Church

Syro-Malabar Church

This sui juris Catholic Church of the E.-Syr. liturgical tradition represents the continuity of the Catholic ecclesial tradition in South India that came into being in the 16th cent. (see Thomas Christians). Under Portuguese and other European missionary influence in the late 16th and early 17th cent. the local Church became heavily Romanized, especially after the Synod of Diamper (1599); Syriac, however, was retained as the liturgical language by Archbishop Francisco Roz, SJ, even though the rite was adapted to Roman norms. Following the revolt against the Padroado and the Jesuits in 1653, the Propaganda Fide sent the Carmelite Sebastiáni to Malabar (1659) as an Apostolic Commissary, and as a result the Catholic party came under the double jurisdiction of the Padroado and the Propaganda Fide, though the influence of the former waned after the Dutch took Cochin in 1663. This event, however, led to the expulsion of Sebastiáni, though not before he had consecrated an Indian bp., Alexander (1663–87) to take his place. Sebastiáni left an interesting account of his time in Malabar (see Pallath 2006). Another informative account, covering 1773–86, is by a Malabar priest (see Paremakkal 1971), who went to Lisbon in 1783 for the consecration of another Indian bp., Mar Karyatil, who, however, died in Goa (1786) on his way back to Malabar. With the exception of Alexander and Karyatil, all other bishops were Europeans, and it was only in 1896 that three native Indian bishops were again appointed, thus marking the beginnings of an indigenous hierarchy, which was only able to develop again in the 20th cent.

In 1923 Ernakulam was made a metropolitan see, with seven suffragan eparchies, and in 1958 Changanacherry became a second metropolitan see. Since 1962 a number of eparchies outside Kerala have been created (including one for USA, in 2001). On 16 Dec. 1992 Er-
Methodius, Apocalypse of Pseudo-Menander

Influential Apocalyptic work of the late 7th cent. Composed in Syriac and ascribed to bp. Methodius of Olympus (martyred in 312), this apocalyptic survey of world history was clearly composed in the late 7th cent., in response to the rise of Islam. Formerly dated to earlier in the 7th cent., it is now thought to date from about 692, during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (685–705). The first 7 chapters cover the period up to the rebuilding of the Temple in 538 BC; beside the biblical text, these draw on traditions in the Cave of Treasures. Alexander the Great is then introduced, in connection with Gog and Magog, and he is linked by a remarkable genealogy to the royal lineage of Ethiopia, as well as to that of Rome and Byzantium; the aim of this is to explain Ps. 68:31, ‘Kush will surrender to God’, which is taken to refer to the final Byzantine emperor, who will surrender his kingdom to God after the appearance of the Son of Perdition (a motif borrowed from the Julian Romance). The Apocalypse was soon translated into Greek and then into Latin, where it proved very influential, especially in the Medieval West. The earliest forms of the Greek and Latin are re-edited by W. J. Aerts and G. A. A. Kortekaas (CSCO 569–70; 1998). There is a related fragmentary apocalyptic text associated with Edessa (ed. F. Nau, in J. IV XI.9 [1917], 415–71).

Primary Sources

Secondary Sources

Michael I Rabo

Patr. and historian, most notably author of a World Chronicle. Michael I Rabo (1126–99) was a distinguished Patr. and a dominant figure in the intellectual history of the Syr. Orth. Church during the 12th cent. He was renowned for his intrepid diplomacy, his rigorous legislation, and sanctions in order to reform the Syr. Orth. ecclesiastical administration as a means to enhance Christian autonomy. Michael was born in 1126 in a still largely Christian Melitene, where Greeks as well as Syr. Orth. and Armenians lived side by side with Muslims. Being a member of a clerical family, Michael was sent to the nearby Dayro d-Mor Barṣawmo for education. He stayed on as a monk and prior. In the year 1166 Michael was elected patr. of the Syr. Orth. Church under the pressure of a reform party among the bishops. In order to ensure his and his flock's interests and freedom of action Michael balanced out his relations with the warring parties in the area of his jurisdiction. Especially in the first half of his patriarchate his authority was felt and sought within the entire group of non-Chalcedonian churches, Copts and Armenians included. Michael
lated into Syriac; several different recensions survive in Syriac, of which the earliest two may go back to a lost early form of the Greek text, whereas the third and fourth reflect the short and long recensions, respectively, of the extant Greek text. In the 7th century 'Enanisho' took over Palladius’ work in the first part of his 'Paradise of the Fathers' (a few further texts from Palladius are in the second part), using a source not identical with any surviving early Syriac ms.

*CPG* 6036–6038.


E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Paradise* (2 vols; 1904). (The translation was also issued separately, *The Paradise, or the Garden of the Holy Fathers* [2 vols; 1907].)


S. P. Brock

**Papa bar ’Aggai** (d. between 327 and 335) [Ch. of E.]

Bp. of Seleucia-Ctesiphon. Elected around the middle of the 3rd cent., Papa’s tenure is said to have lasted until a few years after the Council of Nicea (325). Bar ’Ebroyo reports that either Papa himself or his disciple and later successor Shem'on bar šabbā’ē attended the Council of Nicea, but there is no corroboration for this claim. Widely discussed in many sources, both Syriac and Arabic, is an event that took place most likely around 325. All sources agree that there was a conflict between Papa and some other Syriac bishops in the Persian Empire. It may have had to do with Papa’s efforts to establish his primacy, or with the way in which he exerted his power as the bp. of the empire’s leading city. The main spokesman of Papa’s opponents was Miles, bp. of Susa (martyred in 345). The Acts of Miles speak about the incident in terms very unfavorable to Papa; the report by bp. Agapetos of Beth Lapat, which is included in the Synod of Dadisho’ (424), takes Papa’s side and is negative about Miles; Bar ’Ebroyo’s summary report is neutral and dispassionate. Upset about the accusations that Miles brought forth against him at the synod, Papa is said to have struck the Gospel book in front of him, either in an act of despair or in contempt and defiance. As a result his hand was paralyzed. The sources disagree about whether Papa subsequently was deposed and about how long he lived after the incident. Agapetos used the incident around Papa in his defense of Cath. Dadisho’ and described the conflict as resulting from the rebellion by Miles and others (similar, in his view, to the rebellion in Dadisho’s day). Agapetos mentioned, and even quoted from, letters from the West, which were sent in Papa’s support and led to his rehabilitation. Bar ’Ebroyo also knew of these letters, but doubted their authenticity and pointed to Cath. Yawsep as their possible author. These letters, expressing support for Papa, are preserved among a collection of 8 letters (some written by Papa and others addressed to him), transmitted in the *Synodicon Orientale* and translated into German by Braun. They are attributed to Yaḵub of Nisibis, Ephrem, and ‘the Western Fathers’. In Demonstration XIV, traditionally attributed to Aphrahat, the author complains about the abusive leadership in the Church and about the crowned head who was rejected by his own people and found support with foreign leaders. Some scholars (most recently Fiey) have seen this as a description of Papa’s leadership. If indeed Papa were the subject of this diatribe, the traditional date for this Demonstration (343/4) would have to be rejected, and the text would have to be separated from the original list of Aphrahat’s twenty-two Demonstrations. The author’s view on Papa would be closer to that expressed in the Acts of Miles than to the one endorsed by Agapetos in the Synod of 424.


idem, *Jalons* (CSCO 310), 72–5.


I. Van Rampay

**Papyri, Syriac**

Throughout its long history (more than two millennia), the *Syriac language* has been written on a variety of different mediums. The two most common are parchment for the early period and paper for the later period (see *Manuscripts*). Syriac has, however, also been set in tile mosaic, inked onto stoneware, and incised into stone, wood, and metal. In addition, Syriac has occasionally been written on papyrus.

The earliest surviving example of Syriac written on papyrus is associated with the three 3rd-cent. Syriac parchments (see *Old Syriac documents*). While all three of these documents are parchments, the two from the Middle Euphrates region were found with a cache of
influenced the compilers of Syriac Masora mss. But the exact role monks from Qarqapho played in the composition and transmission of all or part of the existing masoretic mss. remains unclear.

Assemanni, BibOr, vol. 2, 283.
C. Brovender, *The Syriac SHEMA/AHE manuscripts: A typological and comparative study* (Ph.D. Diss., Hebrew University; 1976); (in Hebrew)
I. Hall, ‘On some Syriac manuscripts recently acquired by the Union Theological Seminary, New York’, *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* 5 (1885), 100.

idem, ‘A note in reference to the “Masora among the Syrians”’, *Hebraica* 2 (1886), 967.
G. Hoffmann, in *ZDMG* 32 (1878), 745.


idem, ‘Histoire de la ponctuation ou de la Massore chez les Syriens’, *J.S. 4* 7.5 (1875), 81–208.


J. A. Loopstra

Qarṭimin, Monastery of

see Gabriel, Monastery of Mor

Qdām w-Bāthar Book of before and after

[Ch. of E., Chald.]

Book containing parts of the daily offices. The name (Syr. ktāba da-qdām wad-bāthār ‘book of before and after’) comes from one section of the book which gives the *suraye* (variable Psalms) before and after Ps. 140 at the evening service (*ramātd*). In alternate weeks, one or the other of the two choirs begins the service. Thus the weeks are also styled weeks ‘before’ and weeks ‘after’. In spite of its practical importance, mss. of the *Qdām w-Bāthār* were always rare. It was first edited in print by P. Bedjan as part of the *Breviarium Chaldaicum* (Paris 1886), 341*–398*. The Ch. of E. uses a Mosul edition of 1923 (reprinting that of Urmia 1892) or the printed *Hudra* (pp. 1–110 of each volume). The editions vary in content.


J. F. Cossley

Qenneshre, Monastery of Qenneshrin

A W.-Syr. monastery that in its heyday (6th–9th cent.) stood out as a center of Greek study in the Syriac-speaking Near East and which played a key role in the transmission of Greek learning into Syriac. ‘Qenneshre’ means ‘eagles’ nest’ and should not be confused with the northern Syrian town of Qenneshrin or Chalcis (Ar. *Qinnarīn*). Arabic sources refer to the monastery as Qinnišrī. According to Yaqūt, Qenneshre was located on the eastern shore of the Euphrates River in the Jazira, facing Jirhās (i.e. Europos), four parasangs from Mabbug, seven parasangs from Serugh. Yaqūt also adds that Qenneshre was a ‘large’ monastery that had some 370 monks when it was inhabited.

In the context of increasing imperial pressure on miaphysite monks throughout northern Syria, John bar Aphtonia led a group of monks from the monastery of St. Thomas near Seleucia Pieria, where he was Abbot, to the banks of the Euphrates and there founded Qenneshre ca. 530; some evidence suggests that it, too, may have been dedicated to St. Thomas. Scholars disagree as to whether mention of the ‘monastery of Beth Aphtonia’ in Syriac texts should be understood as a reference to Qenneshre. The monastery of St. Thomas in Seleucia-Pieria seems to have been known as a center of Greek studies and Qenneshre continued this tradition. *Tumo* of Ḥarqi, Athanasios II of Balad, and Yaʿqūb of Edessa all studied Greek at Qenneshre. Severos Sebokht, Athanasios II’s teacher, was also likely associated with the monastery and Giwargi *bp. of the Arab tribes*, probably studied there as well. Many important translations from Greek into Syriac of both secular and religious works were undertaken by these men and others trained at Qenneshre. A note in ms. Oxford (Bodleian) Poc. 10, which contains the hymns of Severus translated by Pawla of Edessa, informs us that Pawla’s translation was made ‘according to the tradition of Qenneshre.’ A study of the translation technique of scholars trained at Qenneshre remains a desideratum. Qenneshre also played a significant role in the life of the Syr. Orth. Church, providing it with a number of bishops and no less than seven Patriarchs.

At some point after the death of Hārūn al-Rashid in 809, perhaps ca. 811, Qenneshre was plundered and burned by a band of Arabs probably associated with the rebel leader Naṣr b. Shabath al-ʿUqaylī. Around 820, Patriarch Dionysios of Tel Maḥre (himself, a product of the monastery) obtained permission from ʿUthmān b. Thumāma to rebuild it. Ibn al-ʿAdīm’s (d. 1262) *Bagfīyat al-talāb fi taʾrikh Hālāb* contains a brief anecdote related to Qenneshre, the contents of which suggest that the monastery was a popular spot for visitation and revelry for people from Mabbug into the reign of Sayf al-Dawla (d. 967). At some point in the Middle Ages, perhaps the mid-13th cent., Qenneshre ceased to be inhabited.

In the 1990s, Spanish archaeologists conducting rescue operations in the Tishrin Dam area in northern Syria identified a large monastic site near the confluence of the Sayūr and Euphrates Rivers as being the location of Qenneshre. In late 2005 and early 2006, however, Syrian archaeologist Yousef al-Dabte conducted exca-
latter were omitted from most Greek mss. This Hexaplaric Septuagint column was also translated literally into Syriac by Pawlos of Tella in 616–17 and supplemented with short readings from the other Greek versions. The Syro-Hexapla is of particular value for scholars, because it has preserved the text–critical signs as well as fragments from the later Jewish Greek versions. For theological and geographical reasons, it was much more influential among W. Syrians than in the Ch. of E., though it seems to have been ‘rediscovered’ by Timotheos I (see Braun) and was certainly used by the 9th-cent. E.-Syr. scholar Isho‘dād of Merv in his biblical commentaries (see Van Eynde, XXII–XXV). It was an influence on Ya‘qūb of Edessa’s revision of the OT, and individual readings have sometimes crept into later Peshitta mss.


A. M. Ceriani, Pentateuch Syrohexaplaris quae supersunt cum notis (Monumenta sacra et profana 2; 1864).
F. Field, Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta (1875; repr. 1964).


eadem (ed.), Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 58; 1998).


A. G. Salvesen

Tagrit Tikrit, Takrit

Tagrit is a modern city located on the west bank of the Tigris, almost mid-way between Mosul and Baghdad. While the early history of Christianity in this city and its region is shrouded in mystery, by the late 5th cent., there is evidence of a local E.-Syr. community. By the mid-6th cent., Tagrit had become a W.-Syr. stronghold headed by ‘metropolitans’ representing the Syr. Orth. patriarchs of Antioch in Sasanian and Islamic Iraq and further east. Three such leaders left monumental churches on the citadel of Tagrit or outside of it: Aludemmneh, the first Metropolitan (559–75), Marutha

Fig. 115. Seal of Athanasios, metropolitan of Tagrit (late 9th cent.), in the form of a cross, of which three edges contain a Syriac inscription, found in Athanasios’s tomb in Tagrit. Baghdad, Iraqi Museum. Courtesy of A. Harrak.

See A. Harrak, ‘Recent archaeological excavations in Takrit and the discovery of Syriac inscriptions’, JCSSS 1 (2001), esp. 23–24 as well as Harrak, Syriac and Garshuni inscriptions of Iraq, FA.01.04.

the ‘Great Metropolitan’ (629–49), who not only built the Great Church of the citadel but is also said to have opened the city to the Arab invaders, and Metropolitan Bar Isho’, who, between 669 and 683, built the Church of Sergius and Bacchus recently excavated by Iraqi archaeologists. Fortress-like monasteries were also known to Tagrit. The monumental one recently uncovered in the nearby site of al-Kanīṣa ‘The Church’, contained coins dated as late as 1225, and offered wall paintings, graves of abbots buried along with their crosses and staffs, and Syriac inscriptions and records of such metropolitans as Yuḥa‘n bar Kipho (d. 688), Yawsep I (d. 778), and Athanasios I (d. 903). The 9th–11th cent. period, the Golden Age of Christian Tagrit, witnessed the rise of such great authors as the theologian and apologist Ḥabīb b. Khidmā Abu Ṛa‘īta (fl. 828), Anṭūn of Tagrit (9th cent.), and the brilliant translator and ‘dialectician’ Yāḥyā b. ‘Adī (d. 974). Trade was a major occupation of Tagritans, some of whom (it was later claimed) purchased in the early 9th cent. a Coptic monastery in
Among the biblical (almost all, NT lectionaries) and liturgical texts are the Nicene Creed (in a Psalms ms., anticipating later usage), the *Gloria in excelsis*, an early form of a commentary on Baptism and the Eucharist, known in both E.- and W.-Syr. tradition, and a verse text by Babai of Nisibis (‘On the final evil hour’, not extant in Syriac). Hagiography is well represented, with fragments of the following: Barshabba, Cyriacus and Julitta, Eugenius, Eustathius, Finding of the Cross, *Yohanan of Daliam*, Acts of Peter, Petthon, Sarapon, Sergius and Bacchus, four martyrdoms under Shapur II (Shahdost, Tarbo, 120 martyrs, and Barba’shmin), and the *Sleepers of Ephesus*. Also prominent are monastic texts, which include Evagrius’s *Antirrheticus*, Dadisho’s Commentaries on *Isaiah of Scetis* and the Paradise of the Fathers, some Sayings of the Fathers, and some unidentified texts, including parts of a homily on the three periods of the solitary life.

In Middle Persian there is one fragment of a Psalter, and some forty or more in Uighur Turkish; these include a fragment on St. George (ed. W. Bang, in *LM* 39 [1926]).

In contrast to the ms. finds from the Turfan area, Syriac is barely represented at all at Dunhuang, further east: only two fragments have so far come to light, one of a Pauline Lectionary (W. Klein and J. Tubach, in *ZDMG* 144 [1994], 1–3; cf. H. Kaufhold, in *ZDMG* 146 [1996], 49–60), and the other of a Psalter (D. Qing, in *OC* 87 [2001], 84–93). Two Syriac fragments of liturgical texts were also found at Kara Khoto, a center of the Tangut (N. Pigulevskaya, in *ROC* 30 [1938], 3–46).


I. Gillman and H.-J. Klimkeit, *Christianity in Asia Before 1500* (1999), ch. 9. (for background)


Zuqnin, Chronicle of

A universal chronicle which begins with the creation of the world and ends with the year 775/6, the time of composition. It is known from a single ms., partially palimpsest, purchased by J. S. Assemani from Dayr al-Suryān in Egypt in 1715 and added to the treasures of the Vatican Library under the siglum Codex Zuqninensis Vat. Syr. 162. Separate folios belonging to the last part of the chronicle were acquired in 1842 from the same monastery by H. Tattam, and are now housed in the British Library (Add. 14,665, ff. 2–7). The author’s name is not given; the first folios which may have included it are missing. A likely candidate, however, is Yeshu ʿthe Stylite of Zuqnin, whose name is commemorated in a 9th cent. colophon inserted in the chronicle by a Syriac monk residing in Egypt. The work is conveniently divided into four parts reflecting more or less the major literary sources compiled by the author. Part I spans from the creation of the world to the reign of Constantine, and in it the Chronicle of Eusebius of Caesarea is a major source. Part II goes from the time of Constantine to the time of Theodosius II, on the basis of the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates Scholasticus and such other literary sources as the so-called Chronicle of Yeshu ʿthe Stylite. Part III, based among others on the Ecclesiastical History of Yuḥanan of Ephesus, covers the reigns of Zeno, Anastasius, Justin I, and Justinian. Part IV, essentially the personal contribution of the chronicler, deals with the reign of Justinian and continues to the year 775. The accounts dealing with the period between 767 and 775 are particularly detailed and altogether they form a unique source on the economic policies of the early Abbasids, namely Caliph Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, and on the history of the Syr. Orth. Church in the Jazīra in those years.


R. Hespel, Chronicon Anonymum Pseudo-Dionysiannum dictum, II (CSCO 507; 1989).

idem, Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mabre. Chronicle (known also as the Chronicle of Zuqnin). Part III (TTH 22; 1996).

A. Harrak
COLOR PLATES
Five maps are provided here to serve as an initial aid in locating some of the main centers, cities, towns, and monasteries in the lands of Syriac Christianity in the Middle East, both in the historical and in the contemporary periods. These maps should not be seen as an attempt to fully document the historical geography of Syriac Christianity. As a matter of fact, the geography of Syriac Christianity is a much underdeveloped field, and the creation of a set of historical maps remains an urgent desideratum.

All five maps were specifically designed and drawn by the Ancient World Mapping Center of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, based on the data provided by the GEDSH editors. For all of the maps the terrain depiction was calculated from Environmental Systems Research Institute. SRTM Shaded Relief, on ESRI Data & Maps 2006 [DVD-ROM]. Redlands, CA. While Maps I and II have a primarily historical approach, Maps III to V were created from a contemporary perspective, reflecting the sites of Syriac Christianity in the present-day Middle East. As a rule we have followed the terminology most current among Syriac Christians, without attempting to match the Syriac (or Arabic names) with existing non-Syriac nomenclature.

While preparing the maps, we have relied on a great number of existing maps as well as on other relevant publications. The main sources are listed below and users of GEDSH are encouraged to turn to them as a first step in their more advanced study of any aspect of the historical geography of Syriac Christianity.

I. Syriac Christianity in the Roman and Sasanian periods
   — E. Honigmann, Évêques et évêchés monophysites d’Asie antérieure au VIe siècle (CSCO 127; 1951).

II. Syriac Christianity in the Islamic period
   — Tübingen Atlas (see under I).

III. Syriac-Orthodox Christianity centered around ṬurʿAbdin

IV. The heartland of East-Syriac Christianity in the modern period
— A. Harrak, *Syriac and Garshuni Inscriptions of Iraq* (Recueil des inscriptions syriaques 2; 2010). (several maps)
— J. C. J. Sanders, *Assyro-Chaldean christenen in Oost-Turkije en Iran. Hun laatste vaderland opnieuw in kaart gebracht* (1997; ET as *Assyrian Chaldean Christians in Eastern Turkey and Iran. Their last homeland re-charted* [1997])

V. Main sites of Syriac Christian wall paintings in Lebanon and Syria
LIST OF PATRIARCHS OF THE MAIN SYRIAC CHURCHES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Samuel Burleson & Lucas Van Rompay

The following lists provide overviews of the church leaders in the different Syriac traditions of the Middle East. They are not based on a fresh reading of the primary sources, but have been compiled from existing lists in secondary sources. The discrepancies that frequently exist in the primary sources, in particular with regard to the exact commencement or conclusion of a patriarch’s tenure, have led to different interpretations in the secondary sources. No attempt has been made here to reconcile the conflicting data. Alternative years have occasionally been added in parenthesis or, when the divergences were small, the abbreviation ‘ca.’ (i.e. around) has been used. For less well-known figures, differences of one or two years are common and have been ignored in the present lists. All dates have been converted to the Christian era. The conversion from the Seleucid era has sometimes led to a double year (as the first year according to the Seleucid era fell in BC 312/11), but no conclusions should be drawn from the use of either a double or a single year, as this merely may reflect the practice adopted in the secondary sources.

Within some traditions (esp. the Church of the East and the Syriac Orthodox Church) the patriarchal lineage is commonly traced back to the apostolic age. This practice, however, has not been followed here. Not only is the information for the early period very scanty, but also our focus has been on the time when a clearly distinct Syriac Christian hierarchy existed, even if – as in the case of the Syriac Orthodox – this hierarchy merely continued an earlier, reputedly ‘orthodox’, tradition.

The numbering (with Roman numbers) of patriarchs having a common name is largely a modern scholarly practice. In several cases discrepancies among the various existing lists will be found or names unaccompanied by Roman numbers are found more frequently than those with numbers. When they occur, alternative numberings have often been added in parenthesis.

Names in bold are used for patriarchs/catholicoi to whom a full entry is dedicated. Three dots (…) are used either for a vacancy or for uncertainty in the chronology. Square brackets ([…]) are occasionally used for counter-patriarchs.

I. THE CHURCH OF THE EAST AND ITS UNIATE CONTINUATIONS

Main secondary sources:

D. D. Benjamin, The patriarchs of the Church of the East (Translated from Assyrian into English by Y. A. Baaba) (2008). (includes a comparison of different existing lists)


J. M. Fiey, Pour un Orients christianus novus (Beiruter Texte und Studien 49; 1993), 20–41.
H.L. Murre-van den Berg, ‘The patriarchs of the Church of the East from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries’, *Hugoye* 2.2 (1999).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aḥadabu(h)y</td>
<td>c. 204 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahlupa</td>
<td>220 – 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Papa bar Ṭaggai</strong></td>
<td>d. between 327 and 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shem’on bar Ṣabba’e</strong></td>
<td>d. 341 or 344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahdost</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barba’shmin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomarsa/Tamuza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qayyoma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ish’aq</strong></td>
<td>ca. 399/400 – 410/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aḥai</td>
<td>410 – 415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yahbalaha I</strong></td>
<td>415 – 420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’na</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farabokht</td>
<td>421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dadisho I</strong></td>
<td>ca. 421 – 456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babowai</td>
<td>457 – 484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aqaq</strong></td>
<td>484 – 495/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babai</td>
<td>497 – 502/03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shila</td>
<td>503 – 523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narsai and Elisha’</td>
<td>524 – 537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawlos</td>
<td>537 – 538/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aba I</strong></td>
<td>540 – 552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yawsep I</strong></td>
<td>552 – 567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥazqiel</td>
<td>567 (or 570) – 581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ish’o’yahb I</strong></td>
<td>ca. 581/2 – 595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sabrisho I</strong></td>
<td>596 – 604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grigor I</strong></td>
<td>605 – ca. 610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>… (enforced vacancy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ish’o’yahb II of Gdala</strong></td>
<td>628 – 645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maremeh</td>
<td>646 – 649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ish’o’yahb III of Adiabene</strong></td>
<td>649 – 659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gewargis I</strong></td>
<td>ca. 659 – 680/1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yohannan I</td>
<td>680/1 – 683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ḥenanisho I</strong></td>
<td>685/6 – 699/700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Yohannan II]</td>
<td>ca. 692 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣlibhazkha</td>
<td>713/4 – 727/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petyon</td>
<td>731 – 741</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## II. The Syriac Orthodox Church and its Uniate continuations

The present list starts with the patriarchate of Severus of Antioch (512–538). Earlier incumbents of the see of Antioch are known through the historical writings of the Imperial Church. While the Syriac Orthodox patriarchs obviously continued this earlier line of patriarchs, it is only with Severus that a distinct Syriac Orthodox hierarchy emerged.\(^5\)

Main secondary sources:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bryatam</th>
<th>Yübêlu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Severus of Antioch</td>
<td>512 – 538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergius of Tella</td>
<td>ca. 557 – 560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawlos of Beth Ukome</td>
<td>564 – 578 (d. 581)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter of Kallinikos</td>
<td>ca. 578 – 591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulyanos I</td>
<td>591 – 594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athanasios I Gamolo</td>
<td>594/95 – 631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuhanon of the Sedre</td>
<td>630/31 – 648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodoros</td>
<td>649 – 666/67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severus bar Mashqo</td>
<td>667/68 – 684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athanasios II of Balad</td>
<td>683/84 – 687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yulyanos II Rumoyo</td>
<td>687 – 707/8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eliya I</td>
<td>709 – 724 (d. 729)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athanasios III</td>
<td>724 – 739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwannis (Yuhanon III)</td>
<td>739 – 755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ishq</td>
<td>755 – 756 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athanasios Sandaloyo</td>
<td>756 (?) – 758(^6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giwargis of B’eltan</td>
<td>758 – 789/90(^7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yawsep</td>
<td>790 – 792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quryaqos</td>
<td>793 – 817</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Abraham] Dionysios of Tel Mahe</td>
<td>818 – 845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuhanon III (IV)</td>
<td>847 – 874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignatius II (I)</td>
<td>878 – 883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodosios (Romanos the physician)</td>
<td>887 – 896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysios II</td>
<td>896 – 909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuhanon IV (V)</td>
<td>910 – 922</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^5\) The traditional approach, which considers Peter to be the first of the Orthodox bishops (later patriarchs) of Antioch, is found in most existing lists. A list of ‘Patriarchs who sat on the apostolic throne of Peter, the head of the apostles, in Antioch’, however, which is preserved in ms. Dayr al-Surûyân 31, f. 81r–v, counts Severus as the first patriarch (and runs until Patriarch Dionysios II, d. 909).

\(^6\) Ishq and Athanasios Sandaloyo are regarded as illegitimate (see Dolabani, 67–68). They are not included in the list of ms. Dayr al-Surûyân 31.

\(^7\) Around 760 there were two counter-patriarchs: Yuhanon of Kallinikos and Dawid of Dara.
III. THE MARONITE CHURCH

Continuing the Chalcedonian tradition of the Patriarchate of Antioch, it is only with Yuḥanon Maron that a specific Maronite hierarchy emerged. While the Christological controversies formed the background against which, in the early Islamic period, a separate Maronite Church was created, the Maronites remained closer to the Syriac Christian tradition of the Patriarchate of Antioch, in contrast to the Melkites who, even though in the earlier period they represented this same tradition, in the following centuries increasingly moved into the orbit of Byzantine Orthodox Christianity. It should be noted that prior to the Crusader period only very few names are known.

Main secondary sources:


Yuḥanon Maron

... ca. 685 – ca. 707

Yūsuf of Jirjis ca. 1100

Buṭrus ca. 1121

Grigorios of Hālāt ca. 1130

Yāqūb of Rāmāt ca. 1141 and 1154

Yūḥannā of Leḥfēd after 1155

Jeremiah of ‘Amshīt\(^\text{13}\) ca. 1199 – 1230

Daniel of Shāmāt 1230 – 1236

Yūḥannā of Jā́j ca. 1239

Shem’ūn ca. 1245 – 1258

Yūḥannā 1258 – ca. 1277

Daniel of Hadshīt d. 1282

Luqā of Bnāhrān 1282 – 1283

Jeremiah of Dmalsa 1282 – 1297 (?) ca. 1322 – 1339

Yūḥannā ca. 1357

Gabriel of Hajjula d. 1367

Dā’ūd Yūḥannā d. 1404

Yūḥannā of Jā́j 1404 – 1445

Yā’qūb of Ḥadath 1445 – 1468

Buṭrus b. Yūsuf b. Ḥassān of Ḥadath 1468 – 1492

Shem’ūn of Ḥadath 1492 – 1524

Mūsā of ’Akkār 1524 – 1567

Mikhail al-Rizzī of Kfar Ḥawra 1567 – 1581

Sarkiš al-Rizzī 1581 – 1596

\(^\text{12}\) The present list is largely based on Mouawad’s work, which incorporates Maronite scholarship from the time of al-Duwayhī to the present day (see the bibliography on p. 224). For most patriarchs the name is followed by the place of origin.

\(^\text{13}\) For the chronological problems related to this patriarch (who in fact may belong to the late 13th cent.), see P. G. Borbone, ‘Codicologia, paleografia, aspetti storici’, in *Il Tetravangelo di Rabbula*, ed. M. Bernabò (2008), 56–58.
GENERAL INDEX

The present index includes references to historical persons, anonymous literary works, geographic locations, and monasteries. All GEDSH entries are also included; page numbers referring to these entries are in bold. For broader, more conceptual entries (such as Art and Architecture, Exegesis, etc.), references are limited to the entry in GEDSH, where the reader will find relevant cross-references. For geographical names, references to the maps (I–V) are included. Not included in the present index are names of saints and church buildings.

A

Aba I, 1, 105, 193, 198, 217, 231, 238, 267, 272, 324, 346, 388, 411, 416, 435
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